ADVERTISING AS ECOGOVERNMENTALITY: ANALYSIS OF AKKUYU NÜKLEER CAMPAIGN

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Abstract

In recent years, companies all around the world directed their concerns towards environmental issues regarding the promotion and sales of their products and services. Such developments have been theoretically debated under the terms “green marketing” and “green advertising” in academia, especially in the fields of public relations and advertising. It is certain that the increasing market interest in the “green” has cultural, political and ideological implications, in addition to the market-oriented interests. In this regard, this paper undertakes a critical discourse analysis of the advertisements by “Akkuyu Nükleer”, a nuclear power plant company that initiated the construction of Turkey’s first nuclear plant. By analyzing the campaign’s TV and outdoor advertisements, this paper will argue that the green advertising campaign facilitated by the company provides an example for a peculiar form of “ecogovernmentality”, a term coined after Michel Foucault’s notion of governmentality; in the sense that the discourse of the campaign aims to eliminate the potential threats of the nuclear power plantation and hence regulate the ways in which individuals relate themselves to the environment. An agreement between Russia and Turkey for the construction of a nuclear power plant has been signed at May 2010 and the work began at Mersin’s Akkuyu district in 2011. As the public raised critical concerns over the project with an increasing attention, the company responded with an advertising campaign launched at March 2015. As this paper will show, the discourse of the campaign focused on the positive aspects of a nuclear plant project especially in terms of its contribution to the energy production, environment and the overall development of future generations. The discourse of advertisements particularly focus on progress, youth and the future; aiming to persuade the public that what they approach in skeptical manner is actually a project with which their hopes for the future will be guaranteed. Significantly, children appear in advertisements as actors and actresses to draw attention to the contribution that the nuclear power plant will make for the safety of future generations. The advertisement discourse however systematically conceals any potential threats and fears that the nuclear power plant may cause. Moreover, the advertisement discourse is constructed in such a homogeneous way since it presents an “ideal” imagination of Turkey’s nuclear era without any risks. Referring to Foucault’s terminology, this paper will point at the power-discourse dynamics by analyzing the ways in which the discourse regarding the nuclear plant project is instrumentalized to provide the public with a certain form of understanding about the nuclear phenomenon; which helps the state and the market to govern the existing power relations. To sum up, this paper will first address the ways in which such a discourse is constructed and then will continue with the deconstruction of meaning production in the advertisements by a critical discourse analysis. This paper will eventually show that advertising as a “technology of government” provides a legitimate space for power-discourse-knowledge dynamics to be exercised via advertising as ecogovernmentality to discursively eliminate the potentialities of an ecological disruption.

Keywords: Advertising, Ecogovernmentality, Michel Foucault, Discourse Analysis, Nuclear Power Plant

1 INTRODUCTION

With the advent of industrial societies in a global scale, the problems of the environment have been one of the most important concerns of 20th century. The industrial mode of production resulting in manufacturing of goods in mass quantities inevitably brings along certain dangers for human beings, whose lives may be disrupted by possible problems related to the processes of production. Borrowing from Ulrich Beck (1992) in his famous analysis, our contemporary society has been characterized as "risk society", which continuously reestablishes itself through the element of threat that may possibly haunt human populations. The concerns towards the environment have been one of the major points of debate in a society relying on risk in course of reproducing social, economic and political relations. Individuals have shown increasing interest in the quality of their lives and the lives of future generations as the states undertook certain policies towards environmental protection as well as the modification of energy resources towards that end.

The development of environmental concerns in a global era that is characterized as late capitalism or post-industrialism towards the end of 20th century and the early 21st century were also manifest in certain works of visual/popular culture. 20th century witnessed the establishment of industrial societies with distinct mode of socio-economic dynamics, namely the transition from production-oriented society to consumption oriented one (Bauman, 2005, p.24), especially during the second half of 20th century. The increasing growth and establishment of consumer societies worldwide also brought together the development of certain sub-industries such as advertising. During this era with distinct social and economic conditions that is also identified as post-Fordism, producers needed the urge to persuade the populations to engage in consumption, in a market competition characterized by a variety of goods. As a powerful rhetorical device capable of constructing discourses to which individuals can associate themselves in symbolic meanings, advertising played an important role in mediating between producers and consumers. During this period, advertising was widely applied not only for sales purposes, but also for non-commercial uses, especially in causes of social responsibility and social change.

Among a variety of social issues that have been advertised to draw the public attention, environmental issues were one of the mostly referred points of debate in the subject of advertising in 21st century. States and local municipalities all over the globe have advertised for responsible use of natural resources and the better treatment of the environment for the future generations. Non-governmental organizations such as Greenpeace have undertaken various demonstrations and advertising campaigns, which called states and individuals for action towards a better environment. Moreover, companies also included a discourse of environmentalism in their sales activities and provided their environmental ambitions to their consumers with the necessary meanings attached to their goods. Referred to as "green marketing" (Peattie, 1995) (Dahlstrom, 2011) and "green advertising" (Nakajima, 2001) (Alniacik and Yilmaz, 2012), a particular discourse on the "green" has been established within the market for a greater responsibility towards nature and the earth's ecological balance. Eventually, environmental and ecological issues have been increasingly manifest in the advertising discourse throughout 21st century.

Basing its argument at the intersecting dynamics of ecology and advertising, this article aims to point out the ways in which a particular discourse of the nature is established through advertising in Turkey's recent social, political and economic landscape. The advertising campaign by Akkuyu Nükleer, Turkey's first nuclear power plant in construction, took off in March 2015 as a series of TV and outdoor advertisements. The advertisements are significant in the sense that they aim to govern individuals' concerns on the perceived risks of a nuclear power plant by constructing an ecological discourse that associates the phenomena of the nuclear with the "green", rather than a possible catastrophe that may result. With reference to the work of Michel Foucault, this article will attempt to point out that the possible threats of the nuclear project are "governed" by the state-sponsored nuclear power plant company to produce new "subjectivities" through the portrayal of individuals in the advertising discourse. Eventually, this article will point at the role of advertising as sustaining "ecogovernmentality" by a critical discourse analysis of Akkuyu Nükleer advertisements.

2 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

2.1 Governmentality

The term "governmentality" first appears in Foucault's lecture on "Governmentality" (1991) that he delivered at College de France in 1978. Foucault further articulated the notion during his lectures between 1978 and 1979, where he explored the status of the modern subject within the premises of governmental organizations (Xavier Inda, 2005, p.2). After the publication of Foucault's series of lectures in governmentality, the term has been a subject of curiosity among various academic disciplines, ranging from political science, history and psychiatry

to anthropology and the studies on globalization (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.7). Accordingly, many studies have been conducted in the fields of medicine, and psychology (Ong 1995); colonialism (Stoler 1995; Kalpagam, 2002); globalization (Ong 1999); postcolonial theory (Gupta 1998); historical geography (Hannah 2000) and political ecology (Rutherford 1999; Luke 1999) and global politics (Walters, 2012). Foucault's way of conceptualizing the procedure of the modern forms of government has been extended to the critical study of the interrelations between nature and power relations especially with the invention of the terms "ecogovernmentality" (sometimes referred to as "green governmentality" or "environmentality") (Agrawal, 2005; Barber 2009; Luke 1999; Malette, 2009), which aims to address the ways in which ecological issues are governed.

The concept of governmentality were especially found useful for the critical elaboration of the function of the state apparatus, particularly governmental structures, in generating subjectivities and reproducing the existing power relations. According to Foucault, particular necessity to manage the populations emerged as an inclination of the state apparatus in 16th century (Foucault, 1991, p.87). Historically identified as the early modern period, this era is characterized by the increasing concern towards various questions that Foucault addresses, such as how to govern oneself, how to govern others and how can one become a successful government (1991, p.87). Consequently, as evident in Machiavelli's "The Prince" as cited by Foucault, there emerged "the art of government" (1991, p.92) which would spread the exercise of power of the state throughout the population. As a result, the state would manage to govern its subjects not by simply imposing power from above, but by making individuals or institutions self-police and self-regulate themselves in a disciplinary fashion.

Power, which is a central concept in Foucault's writing, occupies a significant role in the reproduction of existing social dynamics and the emergence of governmentality. According to Foucault, power is productive, than being merely repressive (O'Farrell, 2005, p.149). Foucault criticizes the "repressive hypothesis" put forth by sociologists and historians to explain how power operates (1990, p.49). Contrarily, Foucault proposes a different definition of power by suggesting that power is exercised, rather than being possessed (1990, p.94) and that it exists in the social nexuses of societal relations, rather than being imposed on individuals from above. The productive nature of power brings along the reproduction of subjectivities, by which individuals would perceive themselves as free beings making their own decisions, rather than enslaved beings objectified by authorizing structures. As Foucault reckons, power can only be exercised on free individuals (1982, p.790), which shows that Foucauldian notion of power is productive in essence and capable of generating subjectivities.

In this respect, governmentality appears in Foucault's writings as a critical medium through which the relations between modern statehood and modern subjectivity are established (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.2). Foucault considers governmentality as an analytical tool, which sheds light on the procedure of the governments via the state apparatus and the evolution of modern subjectivities altogether (Foucault, 2008, p.358). For this reason, Foucault considers governmentality neither as the policies of the state nor as the mere practice by individuals; he rather identifies it as "conduct of conduct" (1982, p.790). A "conduct of conduct" refers to the situation where individuals act upon the state's interest not by being imposed to such interests but by internalizing what the state expects from them. In this sense, individuals are guided through "their own freedom" by governing themselves accordingly, and at the same time perceiving their existences as free individuals (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.13). Thus individuals are governed through certain "technologies", namely the apparatuses by which power is exercised in course of generating subjectivities.

Foucauldian notion of governmentality investigates the significance of conducts by "individuals, groups or people" (Foucault, 1982, p.790) in various social and political settings including non-governmental organizations, companies, transnational organizations or local governance. Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke summarize the methodological principles of the studies in governmentality in five main points. First, studies in governmentality attempt to uncover the systems through which technologies of the government are applied within an interrelated set of themes, by going beyond the already given dichotomies such as power and subjectivity, state and society, structure and action, ideas and practices (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.12). Second, the research departs from micro-practices rather than grand theoretical narratives and aims to explore the ways in which subjectivities are generated and power is reproduced (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.12), by what Foucault names "an ascending analysis" (Foucault, 1980, p.99). Third, by aiming to unveil the operation of power relations, the studies in governmentality engages in a critical investigation of discourses, not to show which is true or false, should be allowed or banned; but to point at the ways in which knowledge, truth and individuals subjectivities are produced (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.12). Fourth, the studies in governmentality aim to uncover the technologies of the government, namely, the technical and procedural devices by which exercises discipline on individuals (Bröckling, Krasmann and

Lemke, 2011, p.12). Fifth and finally, the studies in governmentality aim to explore the realm of the political by exposing the ways in which power operates and individuals take place in such relations as seemingly free participants of political, social or economic conditions (Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke, 2011, p.13). Following the methodological principles of the studies on governmentality, this article will point out the role of advertising as a technology of the government, based on a critical discourse analysis of Akkuyu Nükleer advertising campaign. In this respect, it is necessary to extend the discussions on governmentality to "ecogovernmentality" for the purposes of the research, in order to point out the theoretical basis, which thereupon will attempt to explore the relations between the governance of ecological matters and its visual practice in the form of advertising as a technology of the government.

2.2 Ecogovernmentality

Foucault's theoretical attempts to conceptualize the ways in which the government functions since 16th century were further elaborated in his writings on "bio-politics" (2008). Proposed by Foucault as a specific form of power that is being exercised in modern societies, bio-politics refers to the disciplining and regulation of human beings' biological activities within the wider framework of modern state's ambitions. Intersecting with the liberal government that emerged in the modern era, bio-politics makes use of disciplines such as demography, statistics, epidemiology and biology in order to analyze the life processes of individuals to produce or implement certain forms of knowledges onto populations for the purposes of regulating, disciplining, normalizing or correcting them; in other words, to "govern" them (Lemke, 2011, p.176). In this regard, the notions of health, hygiene, birthrate, life expectancy and race become vehicles by which particular discourses on human life is constructed so that certain technologies of government can be actualized via the exercise of bio-power on individuals (Foucault, 2008, p.317). Considering the productive nature of Foucauldian notion of power, bio-power does not operate in a repressive manner; it rather targets individuals to internalize, self-regulate and self-discipline their behavior in accordance with the interests of the government. Eventually, governmentality of biological activities of human beings results in a process in which life becomes "an object of power" (Foucault, 2007, p.161) by means of bio-political practices.

Although Foucault never stressed ecological issues in his writings, his theory of governmentality and bio-politics had profound impact to study human beings' relation to nature (Darier, 1999, p.6). Foucault's historical analysis pointing at the ways in which life becomes an object of power as well as political strategies of the modern state further paved the way for many researchers to bring together the notions of governmentality and ecology. The increase of ecological consciousness towards the end of 20th and during 21st centuries also raised concerns over the quality and the future of human life. Consequently, several governments, local administrations and non-governmental organizations have taken steps towards the solution of problems regarding human life that is deeply affected by ecological distortions. The term ecogovernmentality (sometimes referred to as "environmentality" or "green governmentality") refers to the set of practices and discourses conducted by governmental or government-related structures, which aim to regulate and discipline human beings' relations to the environment. Basing his analysis on the U.S. environmental policies, Luke (1999) points at the ways in which environmental policies become a way of regulating and disciplining the populations. The government's concern towards ecological problems inevitably brings along a strategy of power, which instrumentalizes the discourse of environmental consciousness to enhance state power and to increase the benefits of corporations (Luke, 1999, p.133). Rutherford (1999) also draws attention to the ways in which environmental consciousness is reworked as a state policy to administer human life. By an analysis of international gatherings including 1992 United Nations Earth Summit and 1994 UN Population Conference, Rutherford suggests that environmental management is an expression of bio-politics in the sense that ecological governmentality aims to administer the "continuous and multiple relations between the population, its resources and the environment" (1999, p.45). In his study on Indian Himalaya, Agrawal (2005) points out the reproduction of subjectivities through environmental discourses, which attempt to measure and manage the natural resources by creating self-discipline in individuals. Fletcher also underlines the aspect of self-discipline by suggesting that ecogovernmentality promotes an environmental ethic by which "people will self-regulate themselves for environmental purposes under certain disciplinary techniques" (Fletcher, 2010, p.175). Similar to how Foucault approached the notions of madness, sexuality and criminality, the issues regarding ecology can also be considered as a source of constructing certain knowledges and regulating populations (Bäckstrand, 2004, p.703). In sum, ecogovernmentality points out a particular version of politics, that is, "eco-politics" (Rutherford, 2007, p.297), which circulates certain discourses on human life to regulate its relations to the nature.

3 METHODOLOGY

The critical research of how the relations between individuals and the nature is regulated and disciplined has been the main focus of the studies in ecogovernmentality. Moreover, as Bröckling, Krasmann and Lemke suggests (2011, p.12), the studies in governmentality attempts to undertake an ascending analysis by focusing on the local contexts to uncover the microphysics of power actualized through certain technologies. Advertising, in this regard, provides a useful categorical tool in order to engage in a critical interrogation of how certain discourses on the environment are constructed and widely circulated.

Many researches in the existing literature pointed out the social, political, cultural and ideological function of advertising in contemporary societies from a critical point of view (Williamson, 1978; Goldman, 1992; Williams, 1999; Dyer, 2009). The increasingly visual experience of everyday life in consumer cultures attributed a significant role to advertising in the sense that advertisements become the most encountered popular/visual items of contemporary societies. Rather than serving merely to commercial interests, advertising became a powerful medium by which certain discourses that sets up the realities of individuals can be conveyed, reproduced or constructed (Dyer, 2009, p.91). The discourse specific to advertising produces ideologies and meanings in parallel to the existing power relations or ideological dominance in a given society (Dyer, 2009, p.91). Eventually, to borrow from Foucault, it is possible to underscore that advertising can be considered as a "technology", which regulates reality and perceptions by employing self-discipline and surveillance on viewers with certain meanings constructed in the form of an advertisement discourse.

The advertising campaign by Akkuyu Nükleer in Turkey is significant in terms of its construction of an ecological discourse, which aims to regulate the relations between individuals and their environment. On the basis of the theoretical links established between governmentality and advertising, this article will undertake a methodological framework with reference to Fairclough's (1995, 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Fairclough, CDA points out three different yet interrelated segments of a communication process: the text, the discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice (1995, p.87). While the text may refer to linguistic or visual expressions, the discourse practice points out the ways in which the text is constructed or perceived in a certain way, according to a particular view of the world (Fairclough, 2003, p.3). Furthermore, the socio-cultural practice refers to the social and cultural implications of the text, which includes the "socially constructive effects of discourse" (Fairclough, 2003, p.3). Referring to Foucault, Fairclough asserts that a discourse is a domain of statements, which represents social relationships and may go beyond mere representation by projecting "a set of worlds that are different from the actual world" (Fairclough, 2003, p.124). In this sense, CDA engages in a critical interrogation regarding the ways in which a discourse is constituent of a particular version of social reality, which involves the reproduction of hierarchical structures such as ideology, power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995, p.89). Following the methodological framework put forth by Fairclough, this article will analyze the advertising campaign visuals by Akkuyu Nükleer to point out the discursive layers by which an advertising discourse on ecology is constructed to provide an idealized version of social reality that is different from the actual world and how this discourse enables the ecogovernmentality of the nuclear phenomenon.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE CAMPAIGN

4.1 Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant: A Background

The project to construct Turkey's first nuclear power plant officially started at 13.01.2010 with an agreement between the governments of Russia and Turkey. At 13.12.2010, "Akkuyu Nükleer" was founded as a private company with ROSATOM, a Russian nuclear power company as shareholders, to operate the necessary engineering processes of the nuclear power plant, which was planned to build in Akkuyu province in the city of Mersin. On December 2012, an information center was founded to provide public with the necessary details of the project and to respond to the questions[1]. Since then, the company undertook a series of public relations events including the socialization of the local public with national and religious holiday celebrations[2]. Moreover, the company initiated a digital "nuclear dictionary" in Turkish to inform the public about the advantages that the project will bring along for Turkey[3]. The advertising campaign was launched at 23.03.2015 with a TV advertisement and a series of outdoor advertisements in major cities all around Turkey, prior to the construction of the power plant started with an official event organized at 14.04.2015. The following section will undertake a critical discourse analysis of the campaign advertisements, including three outdoor ads and one TV ad.

[1] "Project History" Retrieved online from http://www.akkunpp.com/project-history-2 at 20.08.2015.
[2] "Photo Gallery" Retrieved online from http://www.akkunpp.com/photogallery at 20.08.2015.
[3] "Glossary" Retrieved online from http://www.akkunpp.com/glossary at 20.08.2015.

Outdoor ads were photographed between 23.03.2015 and 01.04.2015 after the campaign was launched. In addition to the outdoor ads, the TV ad will be analyzed since it marks the beginning of the campaign nationwide. The analysis will first include the text, and then show how the text constructs an ecological discourse. Finally the analysis of socio-cultural practice will point out the ways the discourse aims to act on viewers to generate subjectivities and actualize ecogovernmentality accordingly.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of Akkuyu Nükleer Ads

4.2.1 Analysis of Outdoor Advertisement Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.

The Text: The advertisement includes both textual and visual signifiers. The text is structured in three main layers. The expression “Güçlü Türkiye’nin güvenli enerjisi” (Powerful Turkey’s safe energy) is situated below the logo of Akkuyu Nükleer Company in capital letters. As the text proceeds below, the name of the company and the project is written in purple and capital letters, “AKKUYU NÜKLEER”. On top of the image, the sentence is provided and goes as follows: “Türkiye tarihinin en büyük yatırımını gerçekleştiriyor, enerjide dışa bağımlı olmaktan kurtuluyor. Bu gurur Türkiye’nin, bu yatırım hepimizin!” (Turkey is actualizing the largest investment in its history, becoming independent of outside energy sources. This pride belongs to Turkey, this investment belongs to all of us!). The end of the text signals the beginning of the visual part of the advertisement. For this part, a middle-aged male individual is portrayed as smiling, standing in front of a nuclear power plant. The visual expression is constituted with the concomitance of purple and blue colors with the images of trees and seagulls accompanying the person and the nuclear power plant.

The Discourse Practice: The concomitant operation of textual and visual indicators in the advertisement play crucial role in the construction of a particular discourse on ecology. The textual and visual indicators are situated on top of a white background, which provides a clear and hopeful area to this discourse to get manifested. While the logo of Akkuyu Nükleer stands on top, which is the combination of a piece of leaf and the atomic circles; the expression “Powerful Turkey’s safe energy” emphasizes that the nuclear power plant will provide the necessary energy resources nationwide without any risks. Besides, the emphasis on safety is accompanied by a longer textual expression, which points out the historical importance of the project. The text suggests that Turkey is undertaking its most significant investment in its history and is about to pass a crucial threshold to gain independence in terms of energy resources. Stating that this is a matter of “pride”, the discourse of the ad is constructed in a way, which aims to underscore the element of national strength, unity and independence. The visual part of the advertisement includes markers such as a seagull and trees with a person smiling in front, which associates nuclear power plant with “the natural”. Eventually, a particular discourse on “safety” is manifest in the advertisement with a particular emphasis on nationalism and environmentalism.

The Socio-cultural Practice: In terms of its aimed effects in socio-cultural terms, the discourse of the advertisement significantly aims to govern the anxieties of individuals regarding the possible disasters that the nuclear power plant may result. At this point, the discourse of the ad puts emphasis on “safety” and does not include any remarks about the project’s possible threats to the nature. At this point, discourse systematically conceals a version of reality by projecting its own version in accordance with the interests of the state and the company. The textual strategy, which includes the expressions of a nationalist ideology, aims to convince individuals about the usefulness of the project as it also addresses the people stating that, “this investment belongs to all of us!” In this sense, the discourse aims to engage the individuals in a feeling of ownership; so

that they would consider themselves as active participants of the project rather than passive agents. Eventually, discourse aims to generate a certain form of subjectivity within the viewers, projecting them as active participants to a socio-cultural experience actualized by the event of communication through advertising. In sum, the whole process of communication serves as a technology of power to implement ecogovernmentality.

4.2.2 Analysis of Outdoor Advertisement Fig. 2.

Fig. 2.

The Text: Similar to Fig. 1, Fig. 2 includes almost the same textual components. The text and visual markers are situated on top of a white background. The logo is positioned on top in the middle and the slogans below take place between the logo and the visual part. The textual part however has a small difference compared to Fig. 1. Below the Akkuyu Nükleer logo, the text goes as follows: "Güçlü Türkiye'nin yeni enerjisi" (Powerful Turkey's New Energy). Different than Fig. 1, Fig. 2 textually refers to the aspect of innovation rather than safety. Below the text, the expression "Akkuyu Nükleer" is positioned in the middle and large, capital letters, in green color. On top of the image, the text is a repetition of the slogan at Fig. 1; stating once again "Turkey is actualizing the largest investment in its history, becoming independent of outside energy sources. This pride belongs to Turkey, this investment belongs to all of us!" Finally, the visual part of the image creates the main distinction between Fig. 1 and Fig. 2. The visual expressions include three children, two of whom are riding a bicycle. The child in front is looking at the camera wearing a cap, indicating that he is undertaking a sportive activity. Children are all looking at the camera in smiling manner. It is also important to note that the children are all male. Different than Fig. 1, this advertisement includes the multiplicity of colors, ranging from red, green to blue and purple. Similarly, a seagull is recognized in the corner of the image in color blue.

The Discourse Practice: Fig. 2 can be considered as a reworking of Fig. 1 with certain different aspects in terms of its discursive formation. As indicated regarding its textual orientation, Fig. 2 includes a distinct discourse of "innovation". While the logo of Akkuyu Nükleer is situated at top, the textual strategies to constitute the discourse underscores the idea of being "new" with regards to the nuclear power plant project. The emphasis on innovation is further accompanied by the general argument of the project, namely, by the element of "national pride" put forth in the text on top of the image. The capitalized expression of "Akkuyu Nükleer" is given in green color; which aims to attribute an ecological impression to the project. Below the text stands the image, which consists of the multiplicity of colors and plurality of individuals. The image further contributes to the discourse of "innovation" since it provides three different images of "youth". Three children represent the future generations and are associated to the ambitions of the nuclear power plant project. The children are riding bicycles and are portrayed as engaging in sportive activities, an image that shows the active future of the children as the carriers of the nation. The nationalist impulse that combines the ideas of youth and innovation is also visually manifest in the red color on top of the image. Together with the white color in the background, it resembles the flag of Turkey and relates the nationalist argumentation to the portrayed image of the youth, reproducing the discourse of innovation.

The Socio-cultural Practice: Fig. 2 points out the discursive formation of power relations, which creates an efficient space for ecogovernmentality to take action in socio-cultural terms. To begin with, the name of the company and the project, "Akkuyu Nükleer" is written in green colors as an indicative of the "environmental" meanings attributed to the project. This expression strengthens the green image of Akkuyu Nükleer logo; including a green leaf and atomic circles. Green governmentality is practiced by the advertisement discourse with the bold emphasis on this color so that individuals can associate the project with ecological consciousness. The discourse of innovation combined with nationalist ideology stressing power and independence further emphasizes the significance of the project. The image of three children, smiling and

acting sportively systematically conceals the possible threats that the nuclear power plant may result in young people's lives. Rather, the discourse constructs an alternative version of reality, which suggest that the future of new generations is directly related to the nuclear power plant in construction. While the multiplicity of colors also draw attention to the plurality of agents in society, the aim of the discourse aims a variety of viewers to internalize the usefulness of the nuclear power plant. Having in mind that the outdoor advertisement in Fig. 2 is placed in a university campus in Turkey among other urban spaces nationwide, it is possible to conclude that young populations are targeted as active participants of the ambitions conveyed by the advertisement's socio-cultural implications.

4.2.3 Analysis of TV Advertisement

The Text: Akkuyu Nükleer's TV advertisement was launched at 23.03.2015, which was the start of the nuclear power plant's publicity campaign. The advertisement is made of several layers of narrations with textual and visual components. The name of the advertisement is "Powerful Turkey's New Energy". The advertisement lasts 1 minute and 6 seconds. The narrative through the advertisement is uttered by a male voice, which goes as follows: "Together we always aimed to progress further. To learn more, to win more, to be more powerful, to produce more, to rise more, to succeed more, for more enlightenment. Turkey is actualizing the largest investment in its history, becoming independent of outside energy sources. This pride belongs to Turkey, this investment belongs to all of us! Powerful Turkey's new energy. Akkuyu Nükleer."[4] The narrative proceeds throughout the advertisement with a series of visual scenes where different individuals take part in several settings. The advertisement begins with a scene of nature consisting of mountains with forests and the sky. The second scene portrays a flat in which a male child is seen lying in his bed in dark and trying to do his homework with a flashlight. The third scene consists of an elderly male individual who is about the leave his workplace. The narrative at this point emphasizes "winning more" which also refers to the accumulation of capital in workplaces. The fourth scene represents the departure scene of a space satellite with the technical staff celebrating the event. The fifth scene portrays an automobile factory and the production of automobiles in mass quantities. The sixth scene includes the take-off of an aircraft with the pilot in control. The seventh scene represents a male athlete winning the race and celebrating with a Turkish flag. The eight scene portrays children with riding bicycles in a smiling manner. In the final scene, children are seen as riding through Turkey's cultural and natural attractions such as the Blue Mosque and Cappadocia, as the scene makes a transition to the end of advertisement with the logo of Akkuyu Nükleer appearing.

The Discourse Practice: The TV advertisement involves a combination of discursive strategies that appear in the campaign's outdoor advertisements. The discourse is mainly based on empowerment, with major sub-themes as innovation and national feelings. The discourse of the advertisement systematically employs the emphasis on empowerment with linguistic and visual strategies. The use of the expressions such as "progress further", "win more", "produce more", "rise more", "succeed more" and "more enlightenment" indicates that the main axis of discursive strategies is embodied by a specific focus on the power accumulation. This particularity inherent in the discourse of advertisement uncovers the relations of power evident on the level of discourse practice. The discourse of the advertisement aims to reproduce a particular view of nuclear power plant project by mainly emphasizing the aspect of innovation with the portrayal of children, and the dimension of nationalism, as Turkish flag appears in the scenes. Furthermore, the idea of the environment and ecological consciousness is depicted in the deep narrative structures. The representation of Turkey's historical and natural attractions, most especially the Cappadocia region, is a significant strategy, which points out that the nuclear power plant does not pose any challenge to the country's natural environmental resources.

The Socio-cultural Practice: In terms of the ways in which the advertisement's discourse aims to circulate a particular version of reality among the populations, it is crucial to note that the TV advertisement is the most important component of the general campaign since it aims to encourage individuals for action. Children riding bicycles as if they are progressing towards the country's powerful future with the establishment of the nuclear power plant constitutes the basis of discursive strategy employed in the advertisement, which consequently aims to generate subjectivities in accordance with ecogovernmentality. The discourse conceals the element of risk with the construction of the nuclear power plant and instead proposes the project almost as the savior of the nation as a whole. Carrying out the ideology of nationalism, the TV advertisement makes use of the images of children so that the viewer can identify themselves as the bearers of these children and feel responsible for the country's future. Aiming to facilitate the subjective mechanisms of responsibility towards

[4] Author's translation. Original Turkish narrative goes as follows: "Birlikte hep daha ileri gitmeyi hedefledik. Daha çok öğrenmek için, daha çok kazanmak için, daha güçlü olmak için, daha çok üretmek için, daha çok yükselmek için, daha fazlasını başarmak için, daha çok aydınlık için. Türkiye tarihinin en büyük yatırımını gerçekleştiriyor, enerjide dışa bağımlı olmaktan kurtuluyor. Bu gurur Türkiye'nin, bu yatırım hepimizin. Güçlü Türkiye'nin yeni enerjisi. Akkuyu Nükleer."

the nation and future generations, the advertisement is a significant example of ecogovernmental technologies in the sense that it triggers the subjective dynamics of self-discipline and self-surveillance within the viewers. In sum, the advertisement performs ecogovernmentality in accordance with the interests of the nuclear power plant project by means of the discursive practices that are made of a series of scenes representing the nation.

5 CONCLUSION

Concerns for ecological issues have been one of the most debated problems in 21st century. The steps taken by governments towards ecological issues open up a discussion of whether the problems are successfully tackled or reproduced in accordance with the existing power relations. Based on a critical discourse analysis of the nuclear power plant advertisements in Turkey, the article pointed out that advertising becomes an instrument to govern ecological issues. Following a Foucauldian framework, this article aimed to show that a particular advertising discourse is constructed to conceal the risks of a nuclear power plant project so that the anxieties towards the project can be replaced with future hopes and nation's ambitions. Outdoor advertisements focus primarily on the aspects of "innovation" and "trust", distributing the message to the public regarding the advantages that the project will bring along. The TV advertisement also aims to convey the meanings attached to innovation and trust, as it at the same time goes beyond these meanings and constructs a general discourse of power particularly in the name of "progress". The two main themes that make up the wider framework of ecological discourse in advertisements include the ideology of nationalism and the emphasis on progress. Several of sub-layers that are also constitutive of the ecological discourse involve the elements of trust, production, enlightenment and youth. With several layers constitutive of the wider ecological discourse, the advertisements perform in socio-cultural context in the sense that they aim to generate certain subjectivities with regard to the ambitions of the nuclear power plant project. The advertisement discourse construct an alternative reality regarding the nuclear power plant that is free of any threats and calls individuals to become active participants of such a reality. In sum, advertisements serve to the ecogovernmentality of nuclear debates in Turkey by the production and circulation of a particular discourse on ecology.

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