

T.C.
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
THE DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES ON BOOK READING
BEHAVIORS

MASTER'S THESIS
YAVUZ BİRTANE

İSTANBUL 2023

T.C.
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
THE DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

**THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES ON BOOK READING
BEHAVIORS**

MASTER'S THESIS
YAVUZ BİRTANE

THESIS ADVISOR
PROF.DR. İPEK ALTINABAŞAK FARİNA

ISTANBUL, 2023

T.C.
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

...../...../.....

MASTER THESIS APPROVAL FORM

Program Name:	MBA
Student's Name and Surname:	YAVUZ BİRTANE
Name of The Thesis:	THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES ON BOOK READING BEHAVIORS
Thesis Defense Date	16.06.2023

This thesis has been approved by the Graduate School which has fulfilled the necessary conditions as Master thesis.

.....
Institute
Director

This thesis was read by us, quality and content as a Master's thesis has been seen and accepted as sufficient.

	Title, Name	Institution	Signature
Thesis Advisor:	Prof. Dr. İpek Altınbaşak Farina	Bahcesehir University Graduate School	
2nd Member	Dr. Burçak Vatansever Durmaz	Bahcesehir University Graduate School	
3rd Member (Outside Institution)	Prof.Dr. Mert Uydacı	Marmara University Marketing & Advertising Department	

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Surname: Yavuz Birtane

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES ON BOOK READING BEHAVIORS

Birtane, Yavuz

Master's in Business Administration

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. İpek Altınbaşak Farina

June 2023, 175 pages

This research aims to examine how readers' political ideologies affect their book reading behavior from the perspective of consumer behavior discipline and business science. The thesis investigates the relationship between readers' consumption patterns in the book sector and their political ideologies, political attitudes and political identities. In the first part of the thesis, political ideology and related theories are analyzed with a historicist approach and conservatism, socialism, liberalism and nationalism are comprehensively discussed. The second part focuses on analyzing the historical development and current state of the book industry and publishing, with a particular focus on understanding readers as consumers. In this section, data on book production and consumption in Turkey and the world are analyzed. Finally, the findings of a qualitative study on the relationship between reading behaviors and ideologies are presented.

Keywords: Reading Behaviors, Political Ideology, Book Industry, Book Sector, Reading Habits, Political Attitudes, Political Identification

ÖZET

SİYASAL İDEOLOJİLERİN KİTAP OKUMA DAVRANIŞLARINA ETKİSİ

Birtane, Yavuz

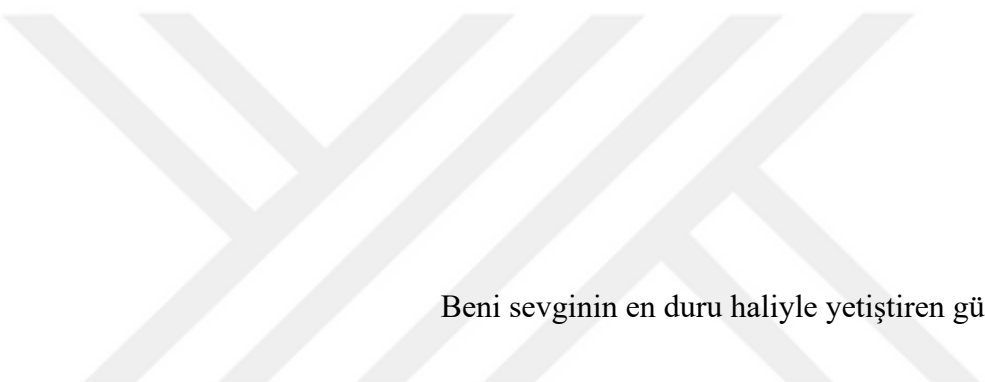
İşletme Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. İpek Altınbaşak Farina

Haziran 2023, 175 sayfa

Bu araştırma, okuyucuların siyasi ideolojilerinin kitap okuma davranışlarını nasıl etkilediğini, tüketici davranışları disiplini ve işletme bilimi perspektifiyle incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tez, okuyucuların kitap sektöründeki tüketim kalıpları ile siyasi ideolojileri, siyasi tutumları ve siyasi kimlikler arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmaktadır. Tezin ilk bölümünde siyasi ideoloji ve ilgili teoriler tarihselci yaklaşımla incelenerek muhafazakârlık, sosyalizm, liberalizm ve milliyetçilik kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmaktadır. İkinci bölüm, kitap endüstrisinin ve yayıncılığın tarihsel gelişimini ve mevcut durumunu analiz etmeye, özellikle de tüketici olarak okuyucuları anlamaya odaklanmaktadır. Bu bölümde Türkiye'de ve dünyada kitap üretimi ve tüketimine ilişkin veriler analizler sunulmaktadır. Son olarak kitap okuma davranışları ve ideolojiler arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmak üzerine geliştirilen nitel araştırmanın bulguları sunulmuştur.

Keywords: Okuma Davranışları, Siyasi Ideoloji, Kitap Endüstrisi, Kitap Sektörü, Okuma Alışkanlıkları, Siyasi Tutumlar, Siyasi Kimlikler



Beni sevginin en duru haliyle yetiřtiren gzel anneme
ve
hayatım boyunca beni cesaretlendiren, arkamda duran deęerli babama

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my esteemed teacher Prof. Dr. İpek Altınbaşak Farina, who has always supported me and patiently approached all my problems in the planning, research, execution and formation of this thesis study. It would not have been possible for me to complete this thesis without her kind approach and counseling. I would like to thank my maestro Erol Cihangir who gave me the motivation to walk in the light of science. I would like to thank my esteemed teacher Prof. Dr. Oktay Koç, from whose ideas and experience I have benefited many times throughout the thesis.

I would like to express my gratitude to my dear friend and art director, poet Ozan R. Kartal, who filled the gap I created every time I took a break due to my thesis in my demanding working life. Without him, it would have been impossible for me to carry out my work and my scientific research at the same time. I would like to thank Ms. Fatma Başak Gözbay, Mr. Atakan Mustafa Doğan, Mr. Hakan Boz and Mr. Hasan Şevki Bilgin, the experts of the ANKA Advisory Group, who helped me with their advice.

I would like to thank my beloved family, especially my big brothers Yasin Birtane and M. Emre Birtane, who have been the most influential in helping me discover life and become the person I am.

I would like to thank my dear friend Pauline for her moral support throughout my thesis and for boosting my motivation, which has fallen many times.

I would also like to thank and greet my dear friends and comrades Alperen Aşkar, Emircan Aykar, Doğan Pehlivan, Ömer Kara, Alperen Güteryüz, Saffet Doğan and Osman Çelebi for their support.

Yavuz Birtane

TABLE OF CONTENT

ETHICAL CONDUCT	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Interest and Question	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review	3
2.1 Ideology.....	3
2.1.1 Theoretical framework and interpretation of ideology.....	3
2.1.1.1 <i>Definition of Ideology</i>	3
2.1.1.2 <i>Ideology theories</i>	4
2.1.1.3 <i>Right and left as a classification method</i>	8
2.1.2 Liberalism.....	10
2.1.2.1 <i>Introduction to liberal ideology</i>	10
2.1.2.2 <i>The roots and development of liberalism</i>	10
2.1.2.3 <i>Values of liberalism</i>	14
2.1.3 Conservatism	20
2.1.3.1 <i>Introduction to conservative ideology</i>	20
2.1.3.2 <i>The roots and development of conservatism</i>	21
2.1.4 Socialism	33
2.1.4.1 <i>Introduction to socialist ideology</i>	33
2.1.4.2 <i>The roots and development of socialism</i>	34
2.1.4.3 <i>Values of socialism</i>	39
2.1.5 Nationalism	45
2.1.5.1 <i>Introduction to nationalist ideology</i>	45
2.1.5.2 <i>Values of nationalist ideology</i>	47
2.2 The Book Industry	56

2.2.1 History of Book and Book Industry	56
2.2.1.1 <i>Early era of the book</i>	56
2.2.1.2 <i>Emergence of the book industry</i>	59
2.2.1.3 <i>Brief history of book sector in Turkey</i>	64
2.2.2 Statistics about industry	71
2.2.2.1 <i>Numbers and statistics about book industry today</i>	71
2.2.2.2 <i>Numbers and statistics about book industry in Turkey</i>	73
2.2.3.1 <i>Consumer and consumption</i>	74
2.2.3.2 <i>Consumer behaviour</i>	76
2.2.3.3 <i>Factors affecting consumer behavior</i>	79
Chapter 3	85
Data And Method.....	85
3.1 Aim and Scope of Research	85
3.2 Research Model.....	87
3.3 Universe And The Participants	88
3.4 Limitations	88
Chapter 4	89
Findings.....	89
4.1 Demographic Analysis	89
4.1.1 Participants' perceptions of identity	94
4.1.2 Frequency of preference of book types	97
4.2 Factor Analysis.....	98
4.2.1 Factor analysis of political values scale	98
4.2.1.1 <i>Factor analysis of non-economic values of political values scale</i>	99
4.2.1.2 <i>Factor analysis of economic values of political values scale</i>	101
4.2.2 Factor analysis of book reading behavior	104
4.3 Reability analysis	108
4.4 T-Test Analysis	110
4.4.1 T-test analysis between gender and noneconomic political values	110
4.4.2 T-Test Analysis Between Gender and Economic Political Values	112
4.4.3 T-test analysis between gender and book reading behavior scale.	113

4.4.4 T-test analysis political activity and noneconomic political values	114
4.4.5 T- test analysis for political activity and economic political values	116
4.4.6 T-test analysis political activity and book reading behavior scale .	118
4.4.7 T-test analysis between gender and political identity	119
4.4.8 T-test analysis between marital status and political identity	122
4.4.9 T-test analysis between political activity status and political identity	124
4.4.10 T-test analysis of book preferences and gender	126
4.5 Anova Analysis	129
4.5.1.1 <i>One-way analysis of variance between conservatism and book types</i>	129
4.5.1.2 One-way analysis of variance between religious identity and book types	130
4.5.1.3 One-way analysis of variance between communist identity and book types.....	132
4.5.1.4 One-way analysis of variance between liberal identity and book types	133
4.5.1.5 One-way analysis of variance between laic/secular identity and book types.....	134
4.5.1.6 One-way analysis of variance between socialist identity and book types	136
4.5.1.7 One-way analysis of variance between kemalist identity and book types	138
4.5.1.8 One-way analysis of variance between social democracy identity and book types	139
4.5.1.9 One-way analysis of variance between nationalist identity and book types.....	141
4.5.1.10 One-way analysis of variance between ülkücü identity and book types	142
4.5.2 One-way analysis of variance between identities and book reading behaviors	144
4.5.2.1 One-way analysis of variance between conservative identity and reading behaviors.....	144
4.5.2.2 One-way analysis of variance between religious identity and reading behaviors	145

4.5.2.3 One-way analysis of variance between communist identity and reading behaviors.....	147
4.5.2.4 One-way analysis of variance between liberal identity and reading behaviors	148
4.5.2.5 One-way analysis of variance between laic/secular identity and reading behaviors.....	149
4.5.2.6 One-way analysis of variance between socialist identity and reading behaviors	151
4.5.2.7 One-way analysis of variance between kemalist identity and reading behaviors	151
4.5.2.8 One-way analysis of variance between social democrat identity and reading behaviors	153
4.5.2.9 One-way analysis of variance between nationalist identity and reading behaviors	153
4.5.2.10 One-way analysis of variance between ülkücü identity and reading behaviors	155
Chapter 5 Conclusion.....	157
REFERENCES.....	160
APENDIX	168

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1.....	72
Table 2.....	80
Table 3.....	89
Table 4.....	90
Table 5.....	90
Table 6.....	91
Table 7.....	91
Table 8.....	92
Table 9.....	93
Table 10.....	94
Table 11.....	96
Table 12.....	97
Table 13.....	98
Table 14.....	99
Table 15.....	99
Table 16.....	102
Table 17.....	102
Table 18.....	103
Table 19.....	104
Table 20.....	105
Table 21.....	105
Table 22	107
Table 23.....	109
Table 24.....	109
Table 25.....	110
Table 26.....	111
Table 27.....	112
Table 28.....	112
Table 29.....	113
Table 30.....	114
Table 31.....	115
Table 32.....	115
Table 33.....	117
Table 34.....	117
Table 35.....	118
Table 36.....	118
Table 37.....	120
Table 38.....	121
Table 39.....	122
Table 40.....	123
Table 41.....	124

Table 42.....	125
Table 43.....	126
Table 44.....	127
Table 45.....	128
Table 46.....	128
Table 47.....	131
Table 48.....	133
Table 49.....	134
Table 50.....	135
Table 51.....	137
Table 52.....	139
Table 53.....	140
Table 54.....	141
Table 55.....	143
Table 56.....	145
Table 57.....	146
Table 58.....	147
Table 59.....	149
Table 60.....	150
Table 61.....	151
Table 62.....	152
Table 63.....	154
Table 64.....	155

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Interest and Question

Publishing as a form of communication has changed its form and method dozens of times since the beginning of human history and has taken its current form. Book publishing, which is claimed to have started with the invention of papyrus rolls in 3000 BC, developed itself as production and distribution opportunities progressed, and became a widespread cultural sector all over the world by starting mass production especially after Gutenberg. The book has been accepted as the most effective way of spreading knowledge, culture, tradition, technology and accumulation to large masses and transferring it from generation to generation, from the first form it was produced to the last century. The book, which is one of the biggest tools in making religions, ideas, ideologies, laws and rules permanent, has been a major trade item for thousands of years both at home and abroad. This form of communication, which has preserved its existence for hundreds of years in Turkish cultural life with its traditional forms of production, evolved into a different form with the spread of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century. With the modernization movements that started in the 19th century, it reached large masses all over the Empire. With the widespread use of the printing press, a book industry has also sprouted in our land. Book publishing, which became an industry with the Republic, is today one of the largest cultural sectors in Turkey. According to the 2022 Book Market Report of the Publishers Association of Turkey, 380,296,402 books were produced and offered to the market, and 87,231 individual books were published for the first time. According to data from the International Publishers Association, Turkey ranks 5th among countries that publish the most new books. (Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği'nin Kitap Pazarı Raporu, 2021, p.13)

The discipline of Consumer Behavior examines the process of consumers' purchasing, usage, and disposal of products or services. It investigates the factors that

consumers consider when making a purchase decision, how they conduct research, and which criteria influence their choices. Consumer behavior, which is shaped under the influence of social, cultural, psychological and economic factors, is also indirectly shaped by the consumers' political ideologies, views, attitudes, perceptions, needs and motivations. Political views are attitudes, beliefs and values that have many different factors in their formation, formed over a long period of time and can develop and change in this process. Each individual is considered to have a political view, although its depth and influence are different. (Eroğlu and Bayraktar, 2008, p.185)

This research aims to examine the effect of readers' political ideologies on their book reading behavior from the perspective of consumer behavior discipline and business science. Within the scope of the thesis, it is attempted to establish a relation between the book reading behaviors of readers, who are consumers in the book sector, and their political views. In this context, the first part of the thesis examines the concept of political ideology and ideology theories. In the next section, the ideologies of conservatism, socialism, liberalism and nationalism are defined in detail through a comprehensive review of the literature. The political processes and phenomena that bring these ideologies into existence are analyzed with a historicist approach, and the common values of the people who follow these ideologies are tried to be identified.

In the second part of the thesis, in order to examine the complex and intricate reading behaviors and habits, the historical development and current data of the book, the "book industry" and publishing in Turkey and the world were examined, again with a historicist approach. At this stage, the reader is defined as a consumer and the literature on their behaviors is reviewed. Production and consumption data on the book industry in Turkey and the world are analyzed and summarized, and detailed data on the sector are shared.

In the last part of the study, the results of the field research conducted in Turkey to determine the political ideologies, political attitudes and values, self-definitions of politics, reading behaviors, reading habits and demographic characteristics of Turkish citizens between the ages of 18-75 and to relate these data are shared.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Ideology

2.1.1 Theoretical framework and interpretation of ideology. In this part of the research, the differences of the concept of ideology in daily use, its meaning, its meaning in philosophy and politics, and the basic theories developed so far are evaluated within the theoretical scope.

2.1.1.1 Definition of ideology. After the great French Revolution, a new world had to be built on the ruins of an era. As everything changed in the world after the Enlightenment, the thinkers of the age felt the need to find another name for philosophy. The French philosopher Destutt de Tracy found a new word that would reread the history of mankind and re-evaluate all concepts of humanity, which for some would bring peace, tranquility, happiness, order, justice, and Enlightenment; for others, revolutions, revolts, and wars: Ideology. The subject of this new science, which replaced philosophy, was "thoughts, their laws, their relations with the signs that express them and their sources." The French philosopher François-Pierre-Gontier de Biran says, "Ideology soars above all sciences because sciences are made up of our thoughts and the various relations between them." The French sociologist Adolphe Coste adds more to these statements: "It is a science initiated by Plato, refreshed by Descartes, and narrowed down more than necessary by the philosophers of the eighteenth century." (Meriç, 1967, p. 120). According to Meydan Larousse, Ideology is the system of thought and views that directs the actions of a class, government, party or group that gives rise to a political or social doctrine (1971, p.213).

David McLallen(1995, pp.1-3) defined Ideology as "of all the social sciences, it is the most difficult to define." The biggest problem with Ideology from the

beginning until today is that there is no consensus on the definition of Ideology. Heywood, one of the leading scholars in the field, finds the source of this ongoing debate on Ideology for two reasons. First and foremost, Ideology recognizes the link between theory and practice and raises many controversial issues. Second, ideologies are not outside the fierce struggle between political ideologies. A significant part of the term's history has been devoted to its use as a political weapon, a tool of criticism for rival ideas or belief systems. (Heywood, 2013, p.23). McLellan argues that, with some notable exceptions, ideology has consistently carried negative connotations. According to him, while people readily attribute ideological qualities to others, they tend to deny the existence of ideological elements in their thinking. Consequently, the evolution of the concept of ideology can be seen as a constant search for a stable foundation beyond ideological discourses (McLallen, 1995, p.1-3).

When analyzed etymologically, ideology, which is a direct translation of the Greek words "eidos" and "logos", means the science of ideas (Bulut, 2011, p. 185). Although ideology today implies objectlessness in ideas, it actually had the opposite meaning in the past. Ideology, which meant "right thinking" when it first emerged, gained a more political meaning over time and turned into its current meaning. This concept was introduced by a group of philosophers who claimed that it was possible to objectively study people's ideas and the process of their formation. These thinkers claimed that through this "science" the right thinking could be made to think (Mardin, 1992, p. 20).

2.1.1.2 Ideology theories. It can be said that almost nothing about ideologies can be fully agreed upon. Various scholars and thinkers have debated what defines ideology, what theoretical framework it has, and what science or discipline it belongs to for more than two centuries. In this part of the thesis, the theoretical framework of the concept of "ideology" and the theories of ideology will be discussed and the studies conducted so far will be summarized.

According to Mardin, in the history of Western political sciences, Marx's ideas are of extraordinary importance in the emergence of Ideology from the spiritualists or

"ideologists" and starting to be used with its current meaning. Marx used the word Ideology to mean a biased idea, and in his work named *German Ideology*, he tried to prove how much German thinkers were influenced by these biased ideas (1992, p. 18-24). It can be said that Marx approached ideology from a negative perspective. For Marx, Ideology is the manifestation of power. Ideology obscures the contradictions of capitalism that exist in all class societies. It tries to hide the fact that it is exploited by the proletarians exploited in this way. It tries to get the proletarians to approve their unequal class power utilizing Ideology. In other words, the dominant view of the age literally means Ideology. According to Marx, Liberalism is the exact equivalent of classical Ideology, meaning that rights can only be enjoyed by the property owners and the privileged class (Heywood, 2013, p.24). Marx and Engels, who insisted many times that the Ideology of a certain class is not something created only by the individuals who are actually in that class, stated that when the ruling class collapses, classes will join the revolutionary class (Meriç, 1967, p. 132). Later generations following Marxism were more concerned with the concept of Ideology than with Marx (Heywood, 2013, p.25).

According to Lenin and many neo-Marxists, different from Marx, Ideology has been defined as ideas that help maintain a social class and can work for their benefit, become their voice, and direct them to activities that benefit them. The negative meaning of Ideology, which was negated by Napoleon and gained a political meaning with Marx and Engels, started to be considered as a positive value in these periods. The meaning of "false form of consciousness" or "unscientific" has been lost. With the age of Lenin, cognitive socialism became the official Ideology of the working class. Afterwards, it became the most useful tool of class struggle (Savaş and Akyol, 2021, p.166).

Heywood argues that "perhaps" Antonio Gramsci most challenged the Marxist theory of Ideology. Gramsci argued that not only inequality and economic power created the capitalist class system, but also the hegemony of bourgeois ideas and Ideology. Ideological hegemony is when bourgeois ideas replace opposing views and become the common sense of the age. According to Gramsci, Ideology is hidden in

art, literature, the education system, everyday life and popular culture, and this hegemony can only be fought on a political and intellectual level. This fight will be possible through a proletarian hegemony of socialist principles, values and theories against the bourgeois hegemony (Heywood, 2013, p.25).

Apart from Marxism, the German sociologist Karl Mannheim made one of the first attempts to construct the concept of Ideology. Although Marx attributed a negative meaning to the concept of Ideology, Mannheim tried to save Ideology from this implication. However, similar to Marx, he accepted that thoughts are shaped according to social conditions (Heywood, 2013, p.26). According to Breiner (2013, p.59), commentators typically associate Karl Mannheim with the Mannheim paradox when discussing his contribution to the theory of Ideology. In essence, this paradox arises from Mannheim's well-known critique of Marx's theory of Ideology: "The analysis of thought and ideas in terms of ideologies is much too wide in its application and too broad a weapon to become the permanent monopoly of any one party. Nothing is to prevent the opponents of Marxism availing themselves of the weapon of applying it to Marxism itself" (Mannheim, 1936, p.75).

Apart from the philosophers' approach to the concept of ideology from a philosophical perspective, the development of totalitarian dictatorships during the World Wars and the high ideological tensions of the Cold War shaped the concept of ideology. Liberal Theorists described the distinctive, historically new ideologies that emerged in Stalinist Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany as repressive and "official" ideologies, without debate and criticism. Many different thinkers such as J.L. Talmon, Karl Popper, Arendt and Crick saw the most prominent features of ideology in fascism and communism and interpreted the term ideology as closed systems of thought. Liberals, on the other hand, excluded their own ideologies from this "evaluation", defined ideologies as secular religions and defined Ideology as a means of subjugation and guaranteeing obedience (Heywood, 2013, p.26).

Conservatives have negated Ideology as dangerous, unreliable, and romantic ideas born out of the arrogance of rationalists. They described Ideology, which moves

away from reality and realpolitik, as intricate thoughts that will drag society into unrealistic adventures. Socialism and Liberalism, from the conservatives' point of view, are the exact counterparts of Ideology. Fascists, on the other hand, took an exclusionary attitude towards Ideology and defined Ideology as a dry and intellectual thought based on pure reason, without passion and will. They named their ideas a worldview rather than an ideology (Heywood, 2013, p.26).

Heywood argues that the meanings attributed to political ideologies can be summarized briefly as follows:

- a) A comprehensive framework of political beliefs that serves as the basis for ideological orientation.
- b) A collection of politically oriented ideas characterized by a propensity for action and practical application.
- c) Ideological perspectives held by the ruling elite or dominant class in a given social context.
- d) The overarching worldview prevalent among a particular social class or social group, defining their perceptions and values.
- e) Manifestations of political thought that express different social classes or groups' interests and aspirations.
- f) Concepts that spread within society and create a distorted sense of awareness among those subjected to exploitation or oppression.
- g) Concepts that contextualize the individual within a broader social fabric and foster a sense of shared identity and social solidarity.
- h) A set of ideas legitimizing a particular political system or regime endowed with official recognition and privilege.
- i) A political doctrine characterized by the claim of monopolistic ownership of truth and ultimate righteousness.
- j) An abstract and complexly organized set of political ideals, often exhibiting systematic consistency in their formulation and implementation. (Heywood, 2013, p.23).

2.1.1.3 Right and left as a classification method. The most famous and oldest method of classifying political ideologies is the distinction between right and left. Many attempts exist to separate, relate and classify political ideologies and ideas. The simplest model of separating ideologies on a spectrum is left, right and center. Apart from ideologies, many groups of people are also called leftists, rightists, and centrists (Heywood, 2013, p.26). The use of the concept of right and left in politics is as old as the French Revolution (Meriç, 1974, p.77) At the *Estates-General Assembly* in France in 1789, an alliance of aristocrats who supported the king sat to his right, while radicals, representing the *Third Estate*, sat to his left. The French Assemblies followed the same seating pattern for a long time and this positioning became a tradition (Heywood, 2013, p.26). In common understanding, the linear spectrum indicates contrasting political values or thoughts about economic policy. Value-wise, the spectrum is sometimes seen as reflecting different approaches to equality. The left is committed to equality and is optimistic about the possibility of achieving it, while the right sees equality as undesirable or impossible. According to Kayacan, the understanding of equality, human nature, radical social change and modernity and the analysis of capitalism are left. According to Imaduddin Halil's claim, the left stands as a fierce enemy against imperialism and exploitation by defending the rights of workers and peasants with a scientific, realistic and progressive understanding. It is reported that the right evaluates the human nature, equality-freedom relationship with tradition-evolution-loyalty trio and preserves the priority of private property (Kayacan, 2010, p. 292).

Ideologies can arouse all the emotions of those who follow them and mobilize people with stubborn faith at the cost of bloodshed. Political thought can turn into unwavering firm beliefs over time. The ideological fight of two different armies and groups, which took on the colors of red and white during the Russian revolution, turned into a great war and revolution in time. In Spain, "left" and "right" have evolved into a phenomenon known as the Great Spanish Civil War, which resulted in the deaths of one million people between 1946 and 1939 (Mardin, 1992, p. 172)

In Europe, after the Second World War, there was curiosity about whether the ideological wars that marked the 20s and 30s would continue. However, towards 1955, it was becoming clear that a new situation would arise due to the change in the environment and the differentiation of the symptoms. Despite the cold war of the two great states representing the right and left, it was seen that the middle landscape was more about the interests of the state, and the right and left were less dominant accordingly. In the following times, it has become clearer that the power of ideologies based on class conflict within political parties has decreased (Mardin, 1992, p. 172)

Although the concept of left and right is often used for political categorization, its accuracy in political science and social sciences is highly debatable. For example, Yağcı explains how the values and attitudes expressed by the concept of right and left have been shaped in Turkey and the West as follows:

"The classical meaning of the left-right distinction in twentieth-century Western societies was established with reference to the economic conflicts that characterized industrial relations. Nevertheless, it is known that the attitudes to which the conceptual dichotomy corresponds and the social classes that favor them have changed over time and space. In Turkey, the extent to which individuals position themselves closer to the left on the left-right spectrum depends more than anything else on the extent to which they embrace secular and post-material libertarian cultural values. Individuals who share these values meet at similar political tendencies despite differences in income, employment status and economic policy preferences. Secularism in particular, emerges as the most important determinant here" (Yağcı, 2022, p.22-23).

2.1.2 Liberalism

2.1.2.1 Introduction to liberal ideology. Liberalism, as a political doctrine, recognizes safeguarding and advancing individual freedom as the focal concern of politics. It has been one of the ideologies that have significantly influenced history since its inception. While liberals generally acknowledge the necessity of government intervention to protect individuals from harm inflicted by others, they also remain vigilant to the potential encroachment on liberty posed by the very existence of governmental power. It is crucial to note that, akin to other political ideologies, Liberalism is a multifaceted concept that lacks universal consensus. Diverse thinkers, both within Turkey and globally, have put forth distinct perspectives on Liberalism and its core principles and have formulated varied interpretations. Consequently, this section of the thesis aims to explore, comprehend, and elucidate the values intrinsic to Liberalism and the perspectives of liberals. To achieve this, this part of the thesis will examine the historical roots and evolutionary trajectory of Liberalism.

2.1.2.2 The roots and development of liberalism. The definition of Liberalism is derived from the Latin word "liber" meaning free. This word, used to distinguish between enslaved and free people, had a class meaning. Much later, it began to be used to describe a political doctrine and to have a political meaning (Heywood, 2013, p.47).

Although it is claimed that Liberalism was based in antiquity, as in other political philosophies that developed during this process, it can be said that it gained its modern meaning after the 17th century. With the reform movements and the rise of nations in Europe, the medieval feudal order was shaken, and the Ideology of Liberalism began to develop under the leadership of the bourgeoisie (Elma, 1996, p. 8). During these years, Liberalism demanded reforms and revolutions quite radically. During the conflict between absolute monarchs and landed aristocrats, the ideas and demands of the middle class, which had the opportunity to grow, were met with Liberalism. During the 17th-century British, 18th-century American, and French

revolutions, the word liberal had liberal elements, although it is not used politically in the sense it carries today (Heywood, 2013, p. 41).

According to Hayek (1982, p.121), the first people who theorized the ideal of individual freedom were the ancient Greeks, especially the Athenians, during the antiquity of the 4th and 5th centuries BC. He opposed the claim that Liberalism was only a post-17th-century political thought. According to him, "an Athenian general reminding his soldiers at a perilous moment on a campaign in Sicily that they were fighting for a country that allowed them to exercise their power of personal decision free from restrictive ties so that they could live as they wished" was a sign of the antiquity of Liberalism. The Athenian understanding of freedom was "freedom under the law". The ideal of equality before the law or isonomia mentioned by Aristotle was at the very foundation of liberal thought.

The most crucial feature of Liberalism is the belief that the level of welfare in the society will increase with the unconditional provision of free enterprise and the acceptance of the individual as sacred. (Gismondi, 2008, pp. 17-22). Liberalism, which has a pragmatist philosophy, prioritizes the market in the relationship between the state and the market, which argues that the enrichment of individual individuals will increase the general welfare of the society and that free-market conditions will increase the capacities of individuals. (Oğuzlu, 2014, p. 97)

It can be claimed that Liberalism, which, like every Ideology, has been fed from a historical source and turned into an intellectual and political tradition, is provided from three primary sources. These main sources are John Locke, Scottish Enlightenment and Kant. The most outstanding share in the birth of this political theory belongs to the pioneer of English classical Liberalism: John Locke. Locke, one of the most important names in the transformation of Liberalism into an ideology and theory, can be considered the first owner of the natural rights doctrine and the idea of self-ownership, which is the main issue of this thought. Locke's importance, both in world political life and in the history of liberal thought, is based on an assumption: according to him, people had "natural rights" while living in nature. After that, the individuals

who came together came to an agreement and formed a state and civilization. People who protected their natural rights in this civilization appointed the state as the guardian of these rights. The English intellectual Locke summed up the rights derived from this self-ownership in three terms: "life, liberty, property". (Erdoğan, 2009, p.8) According to Erdoğan (2009, p.9) Locke's ideas on state and property still take place as a primary source in the approach to many general and current problems within the liberal intellectual and political tradition. The Scottish Enlightenment, the other tradition that most influenced liberal thought, was shaped around the concept of self-order and natural freedom system and was represented by David Hume, Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson.

Franchis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid, William Robertson, John Millar, Dugald Stewart and Lord Kames can be considered as other great representatives of this tradition, which is built on the core values of "universities, churches and legal activities". (Baygul, 2019, p. 38)

David Hume claimed that divine rules do not provide justice and social peace order, but consensus-based practices deliver the order. According to him, reason alone is insufficient to provide a social order, it cannot determine moral and legal norms. Along with these, tradition, experience and the constant features of human nature guide correct social behavior. According to Barry (1982, p.3), as quoted by Erdogan, "Hume's thesis is that rationality should be used to 'soften' the excessive demands made by Enlightenment philosophers in the name of reason." Society, justice and property are inseparable institutions, and the concepts of justice and property must be constituted together for society to emerge. Again, from a pragmatist perspective, the existence of these institutions ultimately leads to increased welfare (Erdoğan, 2009, p.4).

According to the philosopher Adam Smith, who theorized capitalism with his book *The Wealth of Nations*, the essential duty of the ruler is to protect a community from invading another community. After the defense, he should ensure that the justice mechanism works to prevent community members from being wronged. Finally, the

ruler must undertake public works that are unprofitable to independent individuals but which must be done (Zorlu and Kırmızıoğlu, 2018, p.82). Smith believed a "system of natural liberty" was at work in civil society life. As a result of individuals' actions motivated by dissatisfaction with external constraints, the spontaneous order emerges by working for their own well-being while benevolently benefiting society in general. (Erdoğan, 2009, p.4) Kant, who has considerable importance in developing liberal thought, argues that people are equal because of the common rational nature and the resulting moral personalities. Kant's universalist approach to justice directly relates to "personal autonomy". Moral character restrains passions and desires, pushing people to do what is right. According to Erdoğan, this idea of autonomy made liberals who followed Kant not only political but also inclusive. (Erdoğan, 2009, p.5)

According to the liberal scholar Friedrich August von Hayek, a distinguishing characteristic of continental European Liberalism, in contrast to British Liberalism, was its prominent freethought aspect, manifested through a solid adherence for clerical, religious, and often anti-traditionalist attitudes. This was particularly evident in France and other predominantly Roman Catholic regions of Europe, where an ongoing conflict with the Roman Church became a defining feature of Liberalism. In fact, for many observers, this antagonism seemed to encapsulate the essence of Liberalism, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Church vehemently opposed "modernization" and, consequently, most calls for liberal reforms. During the first half of the century, before the revolutions of 1848, the liberal movement in France, as well as in other parts of Western and Central Europe, maintained a much closer alliance with the democratic movement compared to British Liberalism. However, as the century progressed, the liberal current gradually gave way to the rising tide of the democratic and socialist movements. Except for a brief period in the mid-century, when the free trade movement briefly rejuvenated liberal factions, Liberalism ceased to occupy a significant role in the political landscape of France. Thus, it can be observed that continental European Liberalism, influenced by its confrontations with the Roman Church and its affiliation with the democratic movement, followed a distinct trajectory divergent from the development of Liberalism in Britain (Hayek, 2009, p.198).

Heywood claims that the political and historical developments of the 19th century and later clearly influenced the nature and characteristics of liberal Ideology. According to him, the character of liberal thought has evolved into conservative thought with the abandonment of the radical attitude in favor of change and reform and the preservation of liberal institutions under the influence of the middle class that has taken over the economic and political dominance. At this stage, the classical early liberals were questioned and their ideas were revised from many angles (Heywood, 2013, p.42).

According to Voegelin and Algozin, (1974,p.506) the image of Liberalism changes because Liberalism itself has changed in the historical process. They argue that Liberalism is not timeless scientific propositions about political reality, but rather political thought and attitude driven by the most appropriate truth. This change of Liberalism is natural. To understand and see the clarity of this nature, the change in the world of the 19th century should be examined.

2.1.2.3 Values of liberalism. According to Heywood (2013, p.43-45), the most prominent values of liberals are individuality, freedom, reason, justice, tolerance, and difference. During the period of feudalism in medieval Europe, it is almost impossible to talk about individuals with personal rights and unique identities. People were evaluated more as members of the family, village, local community, and social class to which they belonged. The lives of people have also been shaped according to the characteristics of these groups due to the nature of this lifestyle. With the collapse of feudal life, rational and scientific thoughts replaced traditional religious thought with newly born intellectual thought. After that, society began to be understood more often from the individual's point of view. With the emergence of the acceptance that each individual has a special value, the "natural right understanding" of liberal thought has developed.

According to the liberal foundation "Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit" in the context of Liberalism, several core values can be identified, each representing fundamental principles that guide liberal thought:

- a. Individualism: This value emphasizes the importance and significance of the individual over any social group or collective entity. It underscores the belief in personal autonomy, self-determination, and the protection of individual rights and freedoms.
- b. Rationalism: Liberalism upholds the belief that the world operates according to a rational structure and that this structure can be comprehended and revealed through the exercise of human reason and critical inquiry. Rationalism is a foundation for informed decision-making, policy formulation, and societal progress.
- c. Freedom: Integral to Liberalism, freedom encompasses the capacity to think and act following one's own volition and self-determination. It contains political liberties, such as freedom of speech and assembly, personal freedoms, economic freedoms, and individual choice.
- d. Responsibility: Liberalism stresses the importance of personal responsibility for one's own actions and outcomes. Individuals are seen as accountable for their own economic, social, and moral circumstances, promoting a sense of self-reliance and autonomy within a liberal framework.
- e. Justice: A key value for Liberalism, justice relates to the morally justifiable distribution of rewards and punishment within society. It encompasses the principles of fairness, equality, and the protection of individual rights, ensuring that all community members have access to equal opportunities and are treated impartially.
- f. Tolerance: Liberalism promotes the virtue of tolerance, which entails a willingness to accept and respect differing views, beliefs, and actions, even when one disagrees or disapproves of them. Tolerance fosters social harmony, diversity, and open dialogue, allowing for the peaceful coexistence of diverse individuals and ideas within a liberal society. (Freiheit, 2017)

These rights, defined by Locke as "life, liberty and property", were expressed by Kant with the concept of "end in itself". The typical theme of liberal Ideology is the presupposition of the primacy of the individual. While the early liberals considered the concept of society as merely the sum of individuals seeking to satisfy their own needs and interests, later liberals took a more optimistic view by attaching more meaning to the concept of human and tended to think that individuals have social responsibilities towards each other, especially those who cannot care for themselves (Heywood, 2013, pp.43-45).

2.1.2.3.1 Individualism. Individualism relates to a political and social perspective that prioritizes individual rights over collective rights, attributes all value to individual agency, and emphasizes the supreme importance of the individual in social interactions. Liberalism, as a political ideology, advocates protecting and promoting individual political freedoms. Emerging as a response to the communitarian tendency prevalent in the pre-Renaissance period, individualism developed as a transformative movement that positioned the individual above society while challenging established religious and traditional norms and value systems (Çetin, 2001, p.221).

For the British philosopher John Stuart Mill, one of the important theorists of utilitarianism and Liberalism, the individual is at the base of liberal thought. Mill, who wrote the defense of freedom based on the individual, tried to explain the superiority and value of being an individual before talking about the limits of the freedom of movement of individuals in his work called *On Liberty*. According to him, being an individual is the most essential condition of freedom. The person who has the final and sole decision on their actions, decisions, body, thoughts, and life is called an individual. Personal abilities can only be used when one can be an individual. According to Mill, society should accept differences of opinion and lifestyles and recognize that differences are a natural right of individuals (Pınarcı, 2013, p.54.).

According to Heywood (2013, p.47) the prioritization of the individual in Liberal thought brought a dedication to individual freedom. For liberals, individual freedom is both a unifying and supreme political value. However, they do not believe

in the limitlessness of freedom, it is out of question to talk about absolute individual freedom. Although they agree on the value of freedom, they have different ideas about the limits of freedom. Early classical liberals believed that freedom was the autonomy of individuals. Individuals are free when they are free from interference and can be on their own, without external constraints. Freedom that is mentioned in here is negative. Modern liberals, on the other hand, have adopted a more positive conceptualization by dealing with the individual rather than their environment.

According to Hayek, 19th century liberalism encompassed two different currents of thought that shared certain fundamental principles, including freedom of thought, expression and the press. These commonalities allowed for a collective opposition to conservative and authoritarian ideologies and created a cohesive movement. While most proponents of Liberalism simultaneously advocated freedom of individual initiative and a degree of equality between individuals, closer examination reveals that this consensus was partly based on literary interpretations, as the terms 'liberty' and 'equality' are used with different connotations. While the traditional British perspective prioritized individual liberty in the sense of legal protection against the arbitrary use of force, the Continental European tradition emphasized the self-determination of each group in determining its own system of government. As a result, an early alliance was formed between Continental European liberalism and the democracy movement, which was concerned with different concerns compared to the primary focus of the British liberal tradition (Hayek, 2009, p.198).

2.1.2.3.2 Rationalism. Heywood argues that Liberalism, founded on the values of freedom, is entirely linked to reason and is still very much part of the Enlightenment project. According to him, enlightenment rationalism, which has the central theme of getting rid of superstitious thoughts and getting rid of ignorance, greatly influenced Liberalism. This rational understanding reinforced Liberalism's belief in the individual and freedom. Their ability to define what is best for them is directly proportional to their rational thinking. Pursuing one's well-being has also led liberals to believe strongly in progress (Heywood, 2016, p.48).

On the other hand, while Mill teaches the orders of the mind in the physical world, imagination and sharing the same feelings can teach the meaning of humanity and the meaning of life. Mill, who was highly influenced by the concept of imagination, argued that science would be strengthened with art and reason with imagination. He claimed that true freedom can only be possible by imagining outer freedom (Pınarcı, 2013, p.27.).

According to Hayek, Liberalism in Continental Europe was influenced by the rationalist perspective, which advocated a prearranged restructuring of society based on rational principles. Originating from the rationalist philosophy of Descartes and gaining significant influence through the thinkers of the French Enlightenment throughout the 18th century, this approach was also influenced by the ideas of Thomas Hobbes in England. Particularly influential figures such as Voltaire and J.J. Rousseau played essential roles in the intellectual movement that culminated in the French Revolution and shaped the Continental or mainstream form of Liberalism. The essence of this movement can be captured in Baruch Spinoza's claim that "It is only a free man who lives according to the dictates of reason". At the core of liberal principles is the belief that better solutions to social problems can be achieved by encouraging the interpersonal exchange of ideas rather than relying solely on personal knowledge. This belief emphasizes the importance of debate and mutual criticism, drawing on different experiences to facilitate the discovery of the truth or the closest approximation to the truth. Hayek counters the claim that Liberalism focuses only on material progress by emphasizing the importance of scientific and technological advances in addressing social issues. But this expectation of progress extends beyond the material sphere. According to him, Liberalism combines the anticipation of moral progress with an uncritical but empirically justifiable belief that freedom promotes such advancement. The fact that, as civilization advances, moral views that were previously only partially accepted tend to gain more comprehensive acceptance points to the positive effect of freedom on moral development (Hayek, 2009, p.198).

2.1.2.3.3 *Justice*. The liberal understanding of law is one of the main elements that shape the liberal understanding of justice. It is possible to mention that the liberal understanding of justice differs from the general understanding of justice in two aspects. This understanding is based on the discovery of objective and independent rules of fair behavior and is concerned with the righteousness of human behavior. (Hayek, 2009, p.214).

As a result of "neutralist" Liberalism, liberal states which accept the pluralistic nature of their conceptions of the good cannot forcibly apply their conceptions of the good as a matter of justice. Suppose the state judges the preferences of its own citizens and engages in systematic discrimination. In that case, it will not respect the equality of its other citizens who have a different understanding from the mass it favors. (Erdoğan, 2009, p.11)

2.1.2.3.4 *Tolerance And Difference*. The theory of justice, which has an important place within the framework of liberal Ideology, is based on the principle of equality. Individualism, one of the fundamental values of Liberalism, reflects a commitment to equality. All individuals are considered to be equal from birth, which gives rise to the concept of natural rights. The principle of equality also encompasses formal equality, arguing that all individuals should have the same legal status in the distribution of rights. Liberals oppose factors that confer social privileges and advantages, such as gender, color, creed, race, religion, or social status, because these factors lead to social exclusion. Legal and political equality are pillars of formal equality, emphasizing equality before the law. Political equality strengthens democratic commitment. The principle of equal opportunities emphasizes the importance of rewarding individuals according to their skills and willingness to work. To achieve this, social disadvantage must be eliminated, and individuals must be given equal opportunities to develop their skills and talents. The concept of social justice has been debated among liberal schools of thought. While modern liberals equate social justice with social equality, classical liberals argue that the market and capitalist economy, which replaced feudalism, create the necessary social conditions for individuals to succeed according to their merits. The different perspectives on social justice among liberal schools are directly related

to debates about the emergence of a just society. However, the dominant feature of liberal social ethics is the acceptance of political, cultural, and moral differences. Heywood notes that this acceptance of differences is sometimes taken to extremes. Tolerance serves as a guiding principle in this regard, as exemplified by the following statement attributed to the French liberal writer Voltaire: "I hate what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." (Heywood, 2013, p. 49-50).

Liberalism advocates the concept of negative freedom, where freedom is defined as the absence of external coercion limiting the individual's actions. The degree of freedom is determined by the lack of interference in one's behavior. According to Mill, a leading figure in liberal philosophy, freedom encompasses more than one dimension. First, freedom of conscience allows free thought and feeling in the intellectual, scientific, moral and theological fields. The importance of freedom of expression and the dissemination of ideas cannot be underestimated. Second, individuals enjoy freedom in their personal pursuits and choices, enabling them to shape their lives according to their own character and act autonomously, even when in conflict with societal norms. Third, individuals can voluntarily organize and associate based on common conditions and principles. A society that neglects these freedoms cannot be considered truly free. Liberalism thrives in an environment characterized by voluntary cooperation and freedom from coercion or coercion. The ideal goal is consensus through public debate among responsible individuals, rather than submission to the dictates of the majority. Maintaining social order is based on consensus that is not enforced through external sanctions or pressures. While tradition alone cannot achieve consensus, the state is indispensable in interpreting and enforcing rules, reconciling different norms and imposing penalties for non-compliance. The function of the state is to facilitate the modification of rules, mediate conflicts between them and ensure justice. (Çetin, 2001, p.221).

2.1.3 Conservatism.

2.1.3.1 Introduction to conservative ideology. Under this heading, Conservatism, one of the most influential political ideologies and political attitudes in shaping people's

values and attitudes, will be analyzed. Erdoğan (2004, p.5) mentions that conservatism is one of the main ideologies in itself, although it is occasionally seen in the politics of different political ideologies. According to him, conservatism is commonly characterized as a political philosophy oriented towards preserving established social norms and resisting sudden social transformations. However, conservatism is more complex than this definition suggests at first glance. This complexity is primarily due to two main factors. First, the essence of conservatism is linked to the specific traditions of each country, which prevents the creation of a uniform definition that encompasses programmatic content while maintaining a general stylistic closeness. Second, conservatism is inherently skeptical of comprehensive doctrines or ideologies, which prevents it from moving towards a coherent and systematic ideological framework.

Conservatism is a political idea that is widespread in all societies. In order to understand the transformation of "conservatism" as an attitude into a political ideology, it is necessary to examine the development process and origins of this Ideology.

2.1.3.2 The roots and development of conservatism. The first use of the term conservative in political terminology appeared in French. This word, which was born during the Restoration period, started to be used with the Conservative newspaper, a radical newspaper published by Chateaubriand in 1818. After J.W. Croker described the British Tory Party as the Conservative Party in an article published in 1830, the party began to be called by this name, and soon the name of the party completely changed to the Conservative Party. The word conservative began to be used frequently in German politics in the same years. After these years, the term "conservative" began to have different meanings in different countries and to live an active public life. It has become one of the essential concepts of British politics due to the Conservative Party, which has been either the ruling party or the main opposition party for two centuries. For this reason, the word conservative has become a political concept that evokes respectability in England. The word, which has a negative connotation as it is used

rhetorically as a synonym for fundamentalism in France, did not find widespread use in America as much as in Europe. (Beneton, 1991, p.7-8)

The concept of Conservatism is derived in Turkish with the direct translation of the word in Western languages. The Turkish word "muhafaza", which means protection, is a concept that envisions preservation, conservation, remembrance and memory in Turkish. The Arabic word "hafiza" means memory, while the words "muhafız" meaning guard and "hafız" (one who knows all the words of the Qur'an by heart) come from the same root as "muhafaza". (Çağbayır, 2017, p.3278)

When an analysis is made on the discourses, political thoughts and attitudes called Conservatism in Turkey; the emphasis on the bright days of the past against the modern, religious and historical or nationalist conservative historical aspirations draws attention (Genç and Coşkun, 2015, p.28).

Conservatism as a tendency, attitude, and way of thinking about life and the world, emerged as a political reaction against rationalism, a progressive understanding of history, and revolutionary movements that appeared in the Enlightenment period as a political ideology. Conservatism, which has built its identity of existence with the thoughts and actions it opposes, has become one of the critical thought traditions of the 20th century, with a stance against initiatives that aim to change the society radically. The Ideology defended the value of tradition, the wisdom of authority and hierarchy against ideologies such as utopian and radical Marxism, socialism and fascism, and the currents of thought that construct a society with secular thought (Duman, 2020, p.40).

According to Mannheim, modern Conservatism can be understood as a product of a specific historical and sociological context. He posits that Liberalism serves as the ideological framework for the bourgeoisie, while socialism and Marxism represent the ideologies embraced by the proletariat. In contrast, Conservatism emerges as the Ideology closely intertwined with the aristocracy. Consequently, it becomes inherently linked to feudalism, social status, the traditional regime, landed interests, medievalism,

and the nobility. Moreover, it adopts an irreconcilable stance against the middle class, labor, commercialism, industrialism, democracy, Liberalism, and individualism (Huntington, 1957, p. 545).

According to Şahin (2007, p.894-895), the thought systems and ideological currents that developed under the influence of Enlightenment thought aimed to establish societies that functioned harmoniously in an order. The significant changes experienced in social life during industrialization brought social problems and caused inevitable pain. Freedom, liberty, equality ideas, Liberalism, socialism, and Conservatism thought systems emerged due to the search for harmonious social structure models in these troubled times. Contrary to other methods of thought, Conservatism opposed the thesis that the old institutions of the social structure have no function and claimed that the institutions and traditions that it claims to hold the society together should be preserved. Although it has become a common acceptance that it was born as a reaction against the idea of Enlightenment, some claim that Conservatism, like other ideologies, was founded in antiquity.

According to Çelik (2004, p.216) as quoted by Şahin, the Roman thinker and statesman Cicero, with his views such as the continuation of the state, social classes and aristocratic tutelage, respect for traditions, loyalty to historical experiences and the past, carries the basic features of traditional conservative Ideology. Conservatism has moved into the arena of political philosophy in the modern sense with the publication of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which took an opposing stance against the French Revolution. In this work, (1968,p.87) Burke claimed that the revolution taking place in France would have devastating consequences for society. Thinking that social changes should be made by considering history, tradition and values, Burke claimed that the revolution that took place in France would not be limited to France only and that it would soon spread to other countries and create instability, and as a result, it would drag the countries into chaos. He showed England as an excellent example for social changes that took place under the supervision of tradition and values. (Şahin, 2007, p.894-895) According to Heywood (2013, p.83), Burke did not advocate a natural blind resistance to change. Burke has a moderate

desire to "change to preserve." The British Conservatism created by Burke also approved a political and social order in the island's change process.

Conservatism argues against Liberalism's idea of an autonomous individual and claims that pure rationality is impossible for humankind which is a flawed being with limited mental capacity. In contrast to Liberalism's idea of the autonomous individual, Conservatism claims that a pure rationality is not possible for human beings, who have a limited capacity for reason and are imperfect beings. It criticized the Enlightenment's absolute faith in reason with various religious and secular arguments and considered this attitude of the Enlightenment as arrogance. For conservatives, who always emphasized the limits of reason, absolute faith in reason was the philosophical basis for social chaos and violence. For conservatives, the basic notions that rationalists saw as obstacles in the functioning of reason were natural and necessary notions in the workings of reason. Reasoning without these notions, namely tradition, culture, society, emotion, prejudice, religion, authority, etc., was not possible for conservative epistemology. These theses, developed against the Enlightenment's rationalism and atomistic individualism, formed the basis of social theory and emphasized the primacy of the social. Considering the individual as a social product, Conservatism stresses the need to analyze rules, institutions, and relationship styles to understand the individual, claiming that society is not the sum of individuals but that complex relationships with historical depths form the roots of society. Conservative thinkers believe society cannot be understood based on contract theories. The social is morally, logically, historically and functionally prior to the individual, and the institutions between the individual and power are of great importance for order. Social order involves differences, hierarchy, classes, groups, and authorities, and individuals are separated from each other by various contexts. On a moral level, individuals are equal, but this is not how equality is reflected in life (Duman,2017, p.20).

Conservatism, as a political attitude, involves preserving the existing order. Although there are various disagreements among conservatives about what should be held and why, they have a clear common attitude about what they should stand against. When considered as a social theory, they are concerned, fearful, and often anxious

about rapid social change. (Duman, 2020, p.40-41) According to Heywood (2016,p.84), although Conservatism has a modest intellectual unit compared to other ideologies, perhaps for this reason, it has remarkable flexibility and the ability to recover quickly according to the situation and time. Since it does not bind itself with fixed systems of ideas, it can participate in constant change within itself.

According to Duman (2020, p.40-41), the search for stability is at the heart of Conservatism, which often grows in the shadow of romanticism and in the pursuit of tradition and draws a path for itself with romanticism. This quest is combined with adherence to tradition and a stance against the unusual, irregular, and unexpected. This stance sometimes results in striving to be more like the cluster to which one belongs, while at other times, it leads to behavior that is even more antagonistic to those who are different from oneself. For Burke, who transformed this concern of conservatives into a political philosophy, the continuity of history is imperative. This is one of the fundamental principles of both Burke and conservative Ideology. For him, a sudden revolution is a meaningless idea of rupture. The peoples have their heritage to preserve. For him, to destroy the remnants of the past is to destroy the idea of what society is. Legacy, and ultimately the transmission of this legacy, is an essential element of social life. This idea constituted one of the main characteristics of conservative Ideology with the principle of "the heritage of the past" (Beneton, 1991, p.82).

2.1.3.3 Values of conservatism. According to Şeyhanlıoğlu (2014,p.80), Conservatism has not claimed an ideal order or utopia since its inception. However, values and attitudes such as the indispensability of religion, social engineering, the defense of slow change, and the sanctity of private property have been included in this Ideology since its inception. Zürcher (2014, p.40), as quoted by Şeyhanlıoğlu, lists the main features of Conservatism that have not changed in the course of the history of political thought as follows:

- a. Religion holds significant importance, emphasizing its role in shaping conservative Ideology.

- b. The potential threat of injustice inflicted upon individuals in the pursuit of reform, thereby leading to opposition against revolutionary social interventions.
- c. Acknowledgment and endorsement of rank and job distinctions, reflecting a commitment to hierarchical structures.
- d. The fundamental belief in the inviolability of private property as a cornerstone of conservative thought.
- e. The conceptualization of society as an organic entity rather than a mechanical construct, implying a holistic perspective.
- f. A strong emphasis on historical continuity and preservation of traditional values, establishing a profound connection to the past

Şeyhanlioğlu(2014,p.80), summarizes the basic principles of Conservatism from the perspective of the American conservative thinker Russel Kirk(2005,p.89) as follows:

- a. The conservative Ideology upholds the existence of an enduring moral order, emphasizing the presence of overarching ethical principles.
- b. Conservatives place great value on traditions, customs, and the preservation of continuity, recognizing their significance in maintaining social cohesion.
- c. The principle of habituation holds importance for conservatives, as they believe in the power of established practices and routines to shape individual behavior and foster stability.
- d. Guided by the precautionary principle, conservatives approach societal change cautiously, emphasizing the need to consider potential risks and unintended consequences.
- e. Attention is given to the principle of diversity, acknowledging the importance of diverse perspectives, traditions, and institutions in enriching the societal fabric.
- f. Conservatives view freedom and property rights as interconnected, recognizing the vital role that property ownership plays in safeguarding individual liberties.

g. A preference for a voluntary society, also known as a natural society, is exhibited by conservatives, as they oppose collectivist systems that lack a foundation in voluntary participation.

h. Conservatives advocate for prudently limiting the power and human ambitions, recognizing the potential for abuses and the importance of checks and balances in preserving societal order.

These principles collectively form the core of conservative thought within academic discourse.

According to Heywood (2013, p.90), it is wrong to portray Conservatism as mere resistance to change in discussions about Conservatism. According to him, if Conservatism were only a natural defense of the status quo, Conservatism should be recognized as a political attitude, not an ideology. As an attitude, Conservatism in certain areas may appear in every individual. But this does not mean that they have a conservative ideology. Although resistance to change is dominant in conservative Ideology, Conservatism constructs its own political understandings by emphasizing the importance of unique political values to human nature and society. According to Heywood, the main features of Conservatism are tradition, human incompleteness, organic society, hierarchy-authority, and property.

2.1.3.3.1 Tradition. Tradition is the cultural codification and routinization of the rules and norms of society. It is the most critical ideological apparatus for Conservatism. For conservatives, tradition refers to practices and values that have stood the test of time. These practices and values are the expression of the historical continuity of society, and society ensures its stability through this historical continuity. Tradition is the historical product of society, not the individual, and is not designed with a rational consciousness. It has been shaped spontaneously in history and expresses the wisdom and wisdom of the experience concept (Duman, 2020, p.44).

Liberals evaluate the concept of tradition, which constantly repeats itself in conservative Ideology, differently from conservatives. Liberals are not interested in the historical continuity of social theories but in the extent to which these theories

benefit the needs and interests of individuals. If these theories do not fulfill this condition, they should be reformed or abolished altogether. Conservatives argue that tradition creates a sense of identity for both the individual and society. Tradition gives people a sense of belonging and having a root. For them, historically based-feelings create an emotional social bond. Change creates insecurity as it is a journey into the unknown. Tradition, which has survived the test of time, provides security rather than the uncertainty of change (Heywood, 2013, p.86-87).

When conservative epistemology is examined, the difference distinguishing conservative politics from the reaction is that its relationship with tradition establishes a link between reason and politics through its philosophy of history and characterizes the transition between reason and politics through this link (Öztürk and Mollaer, 2006, p. 50).

According to Duman (2020, p.41), the distrust of reason that underlies conservative epistemology is matched with the idea of distrust of society, which they think has an organic structure. Conservatives believe that communities should be governed by custom and tradition, not by contract, and at this point, they consider tradition as the founding value of society. Conservatism is a reflection of tradition in the management of society. Preserving tradition, which is society's collective memory, means maintaining order, and for this, cultural institutions must survive.

2.1.3.3.2 Human Imperfection.

Philosophically and theologically, conservative thought approaches authority in two main ways. First, conservative thinkers criticize and even oppose the optimistic view of human nature, the "rational autonomous subject" that emerged during the Enlightenment. Secondly, they defend the philosophy of "human imperfection" arising from opposition to this idea. This means that human nature is flawed or incomplete. These two assumptions constitute the philosophical roots of conservatives' basic ideas about the social and political sphere. (Duman, 2017, p.139)

According to rationalism, man is essentially good, free, equal and even perfectible. Christianity, on the other hand, is based on the existence of an inherently evil and sinful character. Against this approach, Enlightenment thinkers argue that social, political and religious institutions make people evil, that this is not in their nature, and that if these institutions were abolished, human beings would regain their inherent goodness. Conservatives oppose the Enlightenment with the argument that human beings are inclined to evil, sometimes with reference to religion. Conservatives, on the other hand, who have religious and secular foundations, develop arguments with explanations based on empirical analysis of human nature (Duman, 2017, p.140).

According to Conservatives, human beings fear loneliness and instability and psychologically tend to draw closer to those they trust and know. Liberals, on the other hand, paint a picture of a sociable and self-sufficient utilitarian individual. This is a far cry from the conservative portrait of a person who is sure of their position and has a strong sense of belonging. Their distrust of human nature has made conservatives skeptical of the notion of freedom, which is why they have always emphasized the importance of social order. Conservatives argue that freedom can be sacrificed for the sake of social order and believe that when it comes to crime and immorality, it is rooted in the individual, not in society. According to them, people can only be part of a healthy, civilized, and orderly society if they can be dissuaded from violent and antisocial behavior. The most potent force for deterrence is a deterrent and strict legal system. For this deterrent legal system, they may advocate long sentences, corporal punishment and even the death penalty (Heywood, 2013, p.88-89).

2.1.3.3 Organic Society. Conservative Ideology differs from liberals and socialists in its approach to society. Liberals believe that society is born out of the actions of people pursuing individual utility. Social groups are held for them due to contracts in which individuals voluntarily and consensually participate. (Heywood, 2016, p.90) Although socialists emphasize collectivism like conservatives, for them, the source of all evils in the society and the cause of conflicts are capitalist production relations that divide society based on class and create social inequality (Duman, 2020,

p.13). On the other hand, traditional conservatives believe that people cannot exist outside society and need to belong to the roots in society (Heywood, 2016, p.91).

According to Huntington (1957, p.456), there is a consensus that the essential elements of conservative thought are shaped around Burke's theory. According to this consensus, the essential elements can be listed as follows.

- a. The innate religiosity of humanity and the indispensable role of religion in establishing the foundation of civil society. The legitimacy of the existing social order is bolstered by its divine sanction.
- b. Society emerges as a natural consequence of gradual historical development. Established institutions embody the accumulated wisdom of preceding generations. As articulated by Burke, the concept of "prescription" asserts the enduring validity of longstanding customs and practices.
- c. Human beings are multifaceted creatures driven by instincts, emotions, and reason. Prudence, prejudice, experience, and habit are deemed superior guides to action when compared to pure reason, abstract thinking, and metaphysical speculation. Truth is found not solely in universal propositions but rather in concrete experiences.
- d. The collective community takes precedence over the individual, with individual rights derived from corresponding duties. The roots of evil lie within human nature itself rather than being exclusive to specific social institutions.
- e. Inequality among individuals exists, except when considering ultimate moral values. Social organization inherently entails complexity, encompassing various classes, orders, and groups. Differentiation, hierarchy, and leadership emerge as certain features of any functioning civil society.
- f. A presumption arises in favor of established governance systems compared to untested or experimental projects, underlining settled arrangements' inherent stability and reliability.

These principles collectively form the academic underpinnings of Conservatism, providing a comprehensive framework for understanding its core tenets.

For Conservatives, explaining society's existence with theories of individual will, contract or abstract rights is impossible. The social structure, which resembles an organism, is inherently limited and has obligations. Like the obligations of the human body, the organic social structure offers opportunities to individuals and, along with these opportunities, imposes responsibilities on individuals. For this reason, the understanding of free choice and rights cannot be separated from the idea of responsibility (Duman, 2017, p.146).

2.1.3.3.4 Hierarchy. Conservative thought recognizes that social grades are inherent and fixed in society and that society has a natural hierarchy. For this reason, power, status and property have been unequally distributed throughout human history, and social equality is unachievable and undesirable for society. Conservative and liberal views on natural inequality between individuals are similar. According to them, some people are born with abilities that others do not possess. But liberals and conservatives differ on the consequences of this. While conservatives accept that inequality arises from inevitable individual differences and that this is the nature of society, liberals argue that the abilities and ambitions of individuals will create the status of people and this will lead to the concept of meritocracy. (Heywood, 2013, p.93)

Although the inequality of individuals arising from birth is a feature that is not strange for conservatives, Conservatism defends the continuity of this inequality order. According to conservatives, they believe that authority must exist to prevent human beings, who always have a sense of security and belonging, from falling into feelings of rootlessness and anomie. For them, the authority will ensure that the will of human beings, who have an imperfect nature, is limited and, when necessary, prevented. In this way, authority will guarantee the functioning of social order. But for Conservatism, which seeks to strike a delicate balance between authority and people, authority is not unilateral and arbitrary. Authority in the political sphere is valid, but it must be based on mutual rights, powers and responsibilities. Although the conservative view of authority matches paternalism to some extent, this authority is never absolute (Duman, 2017, p.146).

The understanding of organic social integrity, one of the fundamental principles of Conservatism, directly relates to the other principles of Conservatism: the concepts of property and hierarchy. These principles are integrated with an understanding that all three are considered valuable. Property, power and status are naturally distributed unequally in human society, which is inherently unequal (Kartal and Yaman, 2022, p.230).

2.1.3.3.5 Property. Private property, one of the most essential concepts for conservative thought, is important not only for the individual but also for society and state life. For them, property is one of the pillars that will preserve and ensure the vitality of traditions. Conservative thought believes that with property protection, freedom will also be protected. Private property, which increases civilization instead of statehood, stands out as an obstacle to the depersonalization and de-identification of society. According to Conservatism, private property is sacred because it is the carrier of identity, personality and traditions, and Conservatism strongly opposes nationalization within the framework of the state-individual relationship (Şeyhanlıoğlu, p.97).

According to Kartal and Yaman (2022, p.242), for conservative thought, there is a direct relationship between preventing the rights and freedoms of individuals, creating a state monopoly over these rights and despotism. Private property ownership should be facilitated and encouraged to eliminate the danger of tyranny, and as many individuals as possible should own property. However, this sanctity attributed to private enterprise and property is not absolute and has its limits.

As an economic model, Conservatism is closer to Liberalism than communism. However, Conservatism differs from Liberalism in that it places a great deal of responsibility on private property owners. Individuals are responsible to their environment for their wealth and should allocate a share of their wealth for the existence of traditional institutions (Ademi, 2021, p.76). However, they differ from liberals in one more fundamental value since the freedom of the free market can be

restricted if there is a national interest in government intervention in the economy. The property does not belong only to the individual and the generation that holds it. The current generation has acquired wealth through the accumulation of the previous generation and is responsible to the next generation. For this reason, the individual who holds property is also considered the custodian of national wealth (Heywood, 2013,p.94).

2.1.4 Socialism.

2.1.4.1 Introduction to socialist ideology. Socialism is a political ideology that proposes economic, political and social arrangements for the establishment of social equality and justice. The main argument and main aim of socialism is to ensure a fair and equal distribution of economic resources and to protect people's economic, social and cultural rights.

Developed as an ideology in Europe in the late 19th century, socialism has left a lasting mark on human history since its inception. Although thinkers defending the values of socialism have been around since antiquity, the first socialist theories as an ideology emerged after the French Revolution. Thinkers who laid the foundations of socialism include Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg.

The fundamental values of socialism include the rights of the working class, equality, justice, social solidarity, freedom and human rights. Socialists advocate the abolition of private property and the common use of the means of production by society. Furthermore, under socialism, the state is used to meet the needs of society and the means of production are controlled by society. The free market and capitalist economy are rejected and the liberal state is opposed. Different interpretations and approaches to socialism have emerged throughout its history. Some socialists have argued that revolutionary actions and violent struggles would lead to socialist revolution, while others have adopted more moderate approaches and aimed to realize socialism through democratic means.

2.1.4.2 The roots and development of socialism. The word socialism, derived from the Latin word "sociare", etymologically means to unite or share. It was first used as a political term in Britain in 1827 in an issue of the Co-operative Magazine. Followers of the French economist and philosopher Henri de Saint Simon and the Welsh reformer Robert Owen began to call their beliefs socialism and it soon became a familiar term, especially in continental Europe. The rapid development of industrial capitalism had created problematic social and economic conditions. In reaction to this, socialism emerged as an idea that opposed and offered an alternative to the liberal market society and soon became associated with the working class living under harsh and poor conditions (Heywood, 2013, p.117).

According to Harrison and Boyd (2003, p. 214), all political ideologies need a group in society in which they can operate. And for Harrison and Boyd, socialism without industrialization and a working class would remain a utopian and idealistic movement. The force that created both the working class and socialism was in fact, the capitalist industrialization of the 19th century. Hobsbawm mentions two different dimensions of socialism in the early period: critical and pragmatic. Socialist intellectuals of this period criticized the social, economic, and political conditions in which they lived and, at the same time, developed projects to change this order. It is possible to mention that some of these projects were tried to be implemented. It is seen that many of the ideas developed are an evolution of the utopian approach, which is an 18th-century tradition (Hobsbawm, 2011, p. 25; Uslu, 2014, p.36-37).

Socialism, like conservatism and liberalism, which is the opposite of socialism, is a political ideology born in the 19th century in the modern sense. In the 19th century, when industrialization was advancing very rapidly, the laissez-faire policies of the liberal economy gave full power to the owners of capital. Since there was no authority to regulate the wage levels, working days, and hours of factory workers, the owners of capital preferred to employ workers with low wages, sometimes working over 12-hour shifts and often used children and women workers. The first socialists were looking for an alternative with a pro-revolutionary attitude so that thousands of people could

be liberated from these conditions. While Fourier and Owen imagined utopias where people were free from greed and based on feelings of cooperation and love, two revolutionary friends in Germany, Marx and Engels, theorized the idea of revolution, which they wanted to abolish capitalism completely, with a complex and ordered system. For Marx and Engels, the collapse of capitalism was inevitable, but the process leading to revolution had to follow a program (Heywood, 2013, p.117).

In order to understand all political ideologies correctly and to see their historical development, the 19th century should be carefully monitored. In the 19th century, which coincided with the maturation of modern political ideologies, the idea of equality, one of the fundamental values of democracy today, became an essential feature of politics with the development of liberalism and socialism as ideological movements. While liberalism, with its emphasis on equality as a birthright, defended this principle in a romantic way, socialism kept it at the very core of its ideology and program for social change. (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p. 104) As James Alexander (2014, p. 12) notes, within socialist ideology, liberals' own assessment of liberalism is always rejected and liberalism is always criticized. For them, liberalism is an unacceptable ideological reflection of the social order they oppose.

Despite the utopian thought, it is possible to mention that Socialism took on a rather radical character in the first quarter of the 19th century. According to Uslu (2014, p.40-41), the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 created serious chaos in Europe, and the political and social restructuring with a conservative infrastructure triggered the development of popular movements and radical political ideas. After a year of war, unemployment reached critical levels, naturally resulting in generalizing misery. This, in turn, gave radicalism a new organization and consciousness, with revolutionary and radical movements gaining more ownership throughout society. (Thompson, 1966, p.603-633)

Uslu (2014, p.40-41), citing Mandel (1994, p. 57), sees the biggest source of the rise of radical socialism in Great Britain in this period as "the movement organized

by William Cobbett between 1815 and 1819 for universal suffrage and the improvement of workers' living and working conditions".

After 1840, movements organized under the definition of communism began to appear frequently. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, co-authored by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, was published in London and France in February 1848. This text emphasizes that the Communist revolution is the most radical break with traditional property relations (BRİE and SPEHR, 2009, p. 8-10). Soon after its publication, this text became the fundamental work of communists all over the world. Dr. Şefik Hüsnü, one of the first socialist revolutionaries of the Ottoman Empire and a pioneer of Turkish socialism,(Kıvılcımlı, 1968,p.10) translated this book from German into Turkish. His preface to the book reveals how passionate a resource it was for communists:

“ This historic declaration, which we have the opportunity to translate into English today, was written exactly 75 years ago by the famous German genius and theorist of the international workers' revolution, Karl Marx and his comrade Friedrich Engels. At its congress in London in November 1847, the International Workers' Association, then working in secret under the name of the Communist League, resolved at its congress in London in November 1847 to write for publication a document giving a scientific interpretation of the revolutionary point of view and gave this task to Marx and Engels. A few months later, before the February Revolution of 1848, this masterpiece was written and sent to London. The first edition was in German. In June of the same year it was translated into French. The English was published in 1850, and the Russian in 1860. And until today, new editions have been published in these languages, as well as being translated into all the languages of the world. I regret to say that this literary and scientific monument, which has already appeared in Armenian, Jewish and Chinese, has not been translated into the Turkish language until now. One of the efficient results of the populist revolution, which the revolutionaries based on the power of the Anatolian workers and peasants succeeded in realizing, is that it has provided us with the opportunity to fill this regrettable gap. The individualistic governments that

followed each other in our country had caused us to lag behind other nations in the field of ideas, as in every other field. The fact that these precious works, which record a critical stage in the intellectual evolution of mankind, have only today - 75 years after they were written - been translated into our language and made available to the Turkish intelligentsia and working class is a compelling example of the pathetic situation we have been living in until today. We are hopeful that from now on we will be able to walk on the same side with other nations in the valley of scientific and economic development, since the nation's taking over the sovereignty and reign by its own power has put an end to this unbearable situation. We believe that by translating the Communist Declaration into Turkish, in as clear a language as possible and always trying to remain faithful to the original text, we have done our humble service to the realization of this hope. Apart from the very limited points reflecting the events and party discussions of the time it was written, the years that have piled up on it have neither aged nor aged this declaration. The main points it contains are, in their main outlines, still applicable today. It is still possible today to illuminate the contradictions of capitalist society and the social issues and proletarian movements which they continually raise with the light of this book. The Communist Declaration is a key in the hands of the leaders of the revolution. It is hoped that the Turkish workers will not read it as an ordinary work, but will reflect deeply on every sentence; and that they will always carry it in their pockets like a prayer book and organize their class movements according to the facts therein. However, the fact that today, 75 years after it was written, it has been translated into our language and made available to the Turkish intelligentsia and the working class is an effective example of the pathetic situation we have been living in until today. Since the nation's taking over sovereignty and sultanate by its own power has put an end to this unbearable situation, we are hopeful that from now on we will march in line with other nations in the valley of scientific and economic development. We believe that by translating the Communist Declaration into Turkish, in as clear a language as possible and always trying to remain faithful to the original text, we have done our humble service to the realization of this hope.

Apart from the very limited points reflecting the events and party debates of the time it was written, the years that have piled up on it have neither aged nor aged this declaration. The main points it contains are, in their main outlines, still applicable today. It is still possible today to illuminate the contradictions of capitalist society and the social issues and proletarian movements which they continually raise with the light of this book. The Communist Declaration is a key in the hands of the leaders of the revolution. It is hoped that the Turkish workers will not read it as an ordinary work, but will reflect deeply on every sentence; and that they will always carry it in their pockets like a prayer book and organize their class movements according to the facts contained therein.” (Hüsni, 2008, p. 10)

As Heywood summarizes (2013, p. 117), the character of socialism, which initially advocated a rather radical class revolution, gradually changed with the advance of political democracy in Europe. In the process, the living conditions and standards of the working class, the main constituency and supporters of socialism, improved. The reason for this improvement was that the trade unions, workers' parties, and clubs organized by socialists ensured the economic security of the working class and integrated workers into industrial society. "In the advanced industrial societies of Western Europe," Heywood writes, "it became increasingly difficult to continue to see the working class as a revolutionary force." One of the main reasons for this was the adoption of legalized strategies by pro-socialist parties and the gradual enfranchisement of workers. Until the period of the World Wars in Europe, socialist parties that sought to rise to power through democratic means and the ballot box, and through reform rhetoric, were in the majority compared to other socialist parties. In Russia and similar countries, which were less developed than Europe, parties that emphasized that the need for revolution was still a priority were dominant. Socialism around the world was divided into reformists and revolutionaries. Eventually, with the 1917 Revolution in Russia, this dichotomy became clear and the reformers were called "Socialists" or "Social-Democrats", while the supporters of the Russian model, the Bolsheviks, were called "communists".

2.1.4.3 Values of socialism. In *Socialism, A Very Short Introduction*, Newman (2005, p. 4) explains that socialism has been adopted in various societies with very different methods since its inception; for this reason, it has been interpreted with a different understanding by everyone:

“In fact, socialism has been both centralist and local; organized from above and built from below; visionary and pragmatic; revolutionary and reformist; anti-state and statist; internationalist and nationalist; harnessed to political parties and shunning them; an outgrowth of trade unionism and independent of it; a feature of rich industrialized countries and poor peasant-based communities; sexist and feminist; committed to growth and ecological.”

According to Newman, claiming that all forms of socialism that have been created agree on certain basic principles and share an essence, is one way of discussing socialism based on such different methods. While this method, in his view, simplifies the analysis and "degenerates into rather dogmatic assertions about the nature of real socialism" by introducing an essentialist approach to the issue, there are equal dangers in defining socialism too broadly and making the issue intractable. Newman interprets socialism as a commitment to create a society based on the concept of equality. Although the method, how, when and to what extent inequality will be eliminated is an issue that different interpretations of socialism bring different interpretations, it is not possible to claim that any socialist defends the wealth and power inequalities that exist in the system. All socialists are united in the goal of eliminating inequality by opposing the property relations that are the basis of capitalism, the entire social order that arises from these property relations, the cycle of poverty created by this order, and the privileges that this order creates. According to socialists, the overcoming of this system, which is created by these property relations and which only works for the benefit of a limited section of society, is possible through human beings' commitment to the values of solidarity and cooperation. However, the degree of importance of these values, which are believed to be inherent in human nature, varies among socialist theories in terms of their methods and approaches to human nature. In socialist methods built on hierarchical parties and strong state systems - the biggest examples of which are Nazism and Stalinism - this optimistic approach to human nature is quite limited. The emergence and subsequent disappearance of these examples from the

stage of history has given this optimistic attitude a hard realistic touch, somewhat diminishing its effectiveness. However, in all socialist theories there is a strong rejection of the assumption that individual interests and competition are the most basic behavior of human nature. According to them, it is an outcome of societies and social order based on property relations (Newman, 2005, p. 1-5).

In addition to the aforementioned common perspectives among socialists, Harrison and Boyd, (2003, p. 104) mention that several key themes emerge that underpin their ideology, albeit with varying degrees of emphasis or priority in their realization. These key themes include:

- a) An optimistic view of the intrinsic nature of humanity.
- b) A belief in the necessity of some form of collective ownership.
- c) An unwavering commitment to the pursuit of equality.
- d) Recognition of freedom as a fundamental goal of socialism.
- e) The complex relationship between socialism and the state.

According to Heywood, who builds his narrative on the main themes of ideologies while explaining political ideologies, and whose model we frequently refer to in the ideologies section of this thesis, socialism is interpreted with different meanings by its adherents, and although it is difficult to analyze, it is possible to mention that socialists agree on certain sets of values. Heywood lists these values as follows:

- a) Society
- b) Cooperation
- c) Equality
- d) Social Class
- e) Shared ownership

2.1.4.3.1 Society. According to socialism, human beings have the capacity to come together to find solutions to economic and social problems and to act together to implement these solutions. With a collective vision derived from this tendency, people have the ability to pursue goals by working together. For this reason, they develop various bonds of solidarity among each other. Socialism, as a critique of liberalism and conservatism, which claim that human nature is prone to stagnation, holds that human beings are shaped by their environment and experiences, and that changes in these surrounding phenomena will change human nature. This change is often closely linked to collectivist thinking. Socialists in favor of development aspire first to change the social order that surrounds man and affects his nature. Unlike liberals, socialists do not consider society and the individual as separate entities. In order to keep this change alive, they see the responsibilities of the state, which is the main machinery that supports the collective interest, as very important. This is because man is not a self-sufficient creature and can never live independently of society. Socialism offers a harsh criticism of the liberals' thesis of the atomized, self-interested and egoistic individual. According to them, this definition of the individual common to liberals and conservatives does not point to the nature of man. According to socialists, this character of the human being is not the result of creation but of social conditioning, and collectivism is a cure for the character he has been taught (Heywood, 2013, p. 119-121).

People, for socialists, want to be a valued member of society, and for this they want to be part of common goals. Their optimistic attitude towards human nature applies directly to their vision of society. A good society is possible precisely for this reason. Capitalism, on the other hand, leads to war, ignorance, poverty and all the evils that this entails. The possibility of a good society and good people is possible only by combating capitalist society (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p. 139-141).

2.1.4.3.2 Cooperation. Brie and Spehr (2009, p.41) used a simple formula when summarizing socialism in the handbook they prepared for the "Rosa Luxemburg Foundation", a socialist thought association. According to them, the goal of a socialist

society is to enable the free, universal development of the individual through the solidaristic development of all.

According to conservative and liberal ideology, it is healthy and natural for people to compete in order to build a healthy society. According to them, competition is the emotion that encourages individuals to work harder, and competition causes them to develop their skills and abilities more. Individuals who work harder and strive more in this competition are rewarded within the system, thus creating a social order that is more encouraging for competition. Socialists, on the other hand, argue that man is a social animal and that the idea of cooperation is more dominant than the feeling of competition. For them, competition is a phenomenon that does not enable people who are brothers and sisters to work together but to turn against each other. It dulls the sense of solidarity and reinforces feelings of selfishness and aggression. For this reason, socialism embraces competition with each other, not against each other. Individuals working together strengthen bonds of compassion and help. People should be motivated not only by material motives but also by moral motives; in a socialist system, it is essential to work hard for the common good and the benefit of humankind, not to work hard to earn a lot. This approach of socialism played a major role in the spread of cooperatives promoting cooperation all over the world after the 19th century (Heywood, 2013, p. 121-124).

For example, according to Insel,(1996) it is a fallacy for socialists that the supreme value is labor. For socialists, an ideology built for the well-being of society, the supreme value should be liberation. Because labor is ultimately a way of consuming life. Socialism should make it possible to work less as a result of the concept of solidarity and liberate human beings. For Insel, concepts such as labor, work and revolution should never override the concept of solidarity, and if they do, the consequences for society and socialism should be carefully considered.

2.1.3.3.3 Common Ownership. For socialists, cooperation is an important theme. But this cooperation includes an important detail.

According to socialists, cooperation based on common ownership is necessary for the common good. Because private ownership of wealth creates personal wealth at the expense of the labor of the community, this unjust system also encourages conflict rather than cooperation (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p.221).

Wealth acquired through people's power should be owned by all people, not a privileged few. The reason why people seek only wealth for self-realization is that private property drives people to greed. For this reason, while some socialists aim for the complete abolition of private property and full common ownership, some socialists and social democrats have argued for strong public ownership and a limited preservation of property rights in the interests of society (Heywood, 2013, p. 125).

2.1.4.3.4 Equality. Socialism's most dominant principle, equality, also distinguishes it from other ideologies with its approach to this concept. Because socialism is built on the belief in equality, and the society that socialist ideology wants to establish can only emerge through the unconditional application of this principle. They claim that the innate abilities and predispositions of individuals, who are the constituent parts of society, are not the source of inequality in the distribution of wealth. However, they do not claim that all members of society are born with the same capacities and skills. For them, the most important reason for inequality between people is the imbalances between the conditions surrounding the individual rather than the creation of the individual. Conservatives, on the other hand, are in favor of a "hierarchical balance" in society, arguing that inequality between people is natural. Opposing the idea of social equality, they defend the inalienability of innate abilities and birthright. Liberals approach the concept of equality, one of their fundamental principles, differently from both socialists and conservatives. According to them, individuals should have equal rights. Individuals born with different skills and talents should be rewarded, and for this mechanism to work, equal opportunities must be ensured. But like socialism, they are not directly concerned with the consequences of this equality. For socialists, the liberal idea of legal and political equality is not correct. Because the capitalist system, which is built entirely on inequality, should not be considered unequal. The claim of equality of opportunity is considered a tool to legitimize the inequality inherent in

human beings. Social inequality that causes conflict must be completely eliminated. Social equality, which forms the basis of society and cooperation, also reinforces the idea of solidarity. People living under the same conditions are more prone to solidarity. Socialists are convinced of the benefits of social equality. But there are differences in socialist theories about what equality would bring them. Marxists and socialists are in favor of absolute equality, which would be made possible by the complete appropriation of capital by the state and the complete abolition of private property. Social democrats, on the other hand, think that equality will be achieved by redistributing capital and spreading prosperity throughout society. According to them, capitalism is not something that needs to be abolished, but a phenomenon that needs to be controlled and its negative effects reduced (Heywood, 2013, p.122-124).

According to Harrison and Boyd (2003, p.221), "the idea that everyone will have exactly the same material wealth" is found only in the most extreme versions of socialism. Inequalities in education, wealth and between social classes are the main source of inequalities in the overall structure of society. These inequalities not only prevent justice, but also waste the capital available to human beings. Socialism believes that these inequalities must be radically resolved to ensure the common good. For them, the solution is either the abolition or the redistribution of private property.

2.1.4.3.5 Social Class. According to Heywood, (2013, p.124) one of the main themes of socialism and one of the main values of socialists is social class. According to socialists, capitalism has constructed social strata, the most important of which is the concept of social class, which consists of people in similar social and economic circumstances. People with the same economic position tend to think and act together, and this tendency leads people to defend both general and political interests. The privileged class, born out of the unfair property system of the capitalist system, tends to oppress the disadvantaged working class in order to protect their class. Socialism, which interprets human history as the history of class struggle, aims to eliminate class injustice by focusing on the economic and political interests of the working class. For to socialists, when capitalist exploitation and domination of the working class is eliminated, a classless society where everyone is equal will emerge.

2.1.5 Nationalism.

2.1.5.1 Introduction to nationalist ideology. Among the political ideologies, it is possible to mention that the most discussed ideology conceptually is nationalism. The concept of nation and nationalism are phenomena that cannot be fully agreed upon. Many scholars differ in these debates. (Ataç, 1994, p.1) Nationalism, one of the most challenging concepts for social scientists, has various reasons that make it difficult to define. According to Gönen (2021, p.216), even examining the relationship between the concept as it is conveyed in the global literature and as it is in Turkey is a difficult process in itself. The complex relationship that the concept of nation has with identity definitions such as race, lineage and ethnicity makes even defining the boundaries of the concept of "national identity" an academic problem that must be overcome.

The word "nation", which is used in French, German, English and many European languages, has been widely used since the 13th century, derived from the Latin word "natus" meaning birth. The "natio" version of the word describes people united in terms of place of birth. The word nation refers to a human species and racial group. (Heywood, 2013, p.161) The word "millet", which means nation in Turkish, has passed from Arabic, this word used to describe religious groups, after the 19th century, the Ottomans began to use it for the Latin-origin "nation" concept. This is how it got its meaning in modern Turkish. (Ortaylı, 2020, p.66) The word "ulus", which has the same meaning as the word Nation but with certain notions when used, means "share, city, country" in Old Turkish and Mongolian. Although this word, which indicates the unity of the Turkmen tribes and a large tribal structure, has been used for centuries in the sense of "nation", it became widespread in the Republican period (Nişanyan, 2023).

According to Heywood (2013, p.161), scholarly evidence establishes that the concept of nationalism, which attained full prominence during the French Revolution, was initially coined by the clergyman Augustin Barruel. Nationalism, a potent ideological force that has significantly influenced and directed historical trajectories

across various regions of the globe during the past two centuries, started to gain recognition as a political doctrine during the mid-19th century. Heywood asserts that nationalism stands out as the most triumphant ideology in shaping historical events over the course of the last two centuries. Conversely, Harrison and Boyd note the challenge of envisioning a more potent conceptual framework than nationality among the multitude of motivating ideologies (2003, p.38).

Getting the concept of nation to its modern meaning is a long adventure in history. It has evolved over the centuries and has become intricate, deep and complex. This transformative process unfolded over the centuries, intricately intertwined with the emergence of centralized state mechanisms following the Treaty of Westphalia, which is widely regarded as the catalyst for the disintegration of imperial structures. The profound changes engendered by these mechanisms within Europe's ancient social fabric reciprocated with the British, American, and ultimately the French revolutions. These revolutions both precipitated and served as significant outcomes of these transformations. Because it is both the cause of these changes and a great result of these changes. In the process leading up to these revolutions, the blood loss of the feudal structure and the loss of power of the clergy created a legitimacy problem in the new structure. The transformation of the state's dogmatic sources of legitimacy into a rational form over time resulted in the evolution of the concept of nation into a doctrine and the feudal state into a nation-state organization (Saygılı, 2020, p.13).

According to Erdem (2020, p.28), the difficulty in determining the boundaries of the concept of nation, which emerged as a result of a long process, often results in mistakes when defining the "political thought of nationalism", whose main body is built on this concept. Because nation, nationality and nationalism depend on different definitions, conceptually different backgrounds and ontologically different reasons. In a general definition, a nation defines a community with a common language, often a common religion and culture. Although this community has the experience of living together for a long time, they have the desire to live together in the future with the "*asabiyya*" bond established by this past. Many times, under the same rules, they

cherish loyalty and love to the community to which they belong, with values that are close to each other.

Citing Anthony Smith (2013, p.15), Ertan and Örs (2018, p. 41) summarize the diversity of meanings created by definitional approaches to nationalism:

- “1. The process of formation or development of nations;
2. Sensitivity or awareness of belonging to a nation;
3. Representation of a nation by language and symbols;
4. Social and political movement representing a nation;
5. Both a general and a specific national doctrine and/or ideology”

2.1.5.2 Values of nationalist ideology. Whether nationalism is a political thought, a political ideology, or a political emotion and attitude is another issue frequently discussed by theorists. While Erdem (2020, p.30) points to the source of this debate, he again emphasizes that there is no consensus among social scientists on the definition of nationalism. At the same time, according to him, nationalism has left deep traces in the development and progress of other phenomena many times in history, since it has the "elasticity of interpenetration and compatibility" with religions and other ideologies. Heywood (Heywood, 2013, p.164) summarizes the challenges encountered during the study of nationalism as an ideology on three basic problems. First, nationalism is often defined as a political doctrine. Its unique ideological structure, which is constantly maturing, is overlooked. Nationalism places the phenomenon of nation in the natural source of government. However, when evaluating nationalism, focusing only on classical nationalism while ignoring other dimensions of nationalism ideology, such as cultural and ethnic nationalism, results in misreadings. All these dimensions make nationalism much more complex than merely the result of the union of the nation-state and self-government. The broad sociological reality created by the currents and ideas that created the concept of nation throughout history, combined with historical accumulation, creates the complex structure of nationalism. Evaluating only the emotional aspect of nationalism during readings of nationalism is one of the reasons for encountering an incorrect result. Because although the emotional expression aspect is one of the strongest ideologies, this expression is only one of the

characteristic features of the ideology. At the same time, nationalism may emerge at different times in history, on different societies, with different characters and characteristics. Throughout history, liberal and conservative people, parties and movements have been interested in, fed and benefited from nationalism. Likewise, some political ideologies directly opposed and attacked the notion of nation and nationalism many times. For this reason, it is difficult to read nationalism, which has been in contact with many different movements, from a historical perspective (Heywood, 2013, p.164).

Harrison and Boyd mention that conservatism and fascism often refer to the concept of nation produced by nationalism and that they make their own ideological constructions based on this concept. In summary, these two ideologies were heavily influenced by nationalism. However, both liberalism, which claims to place the individual in its political center, and socialism, which makes class politics, have benefited from the characteristic structure of nationalism many times. In fact, the influence of nationalism in the formation of these ideologies today is quite high (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p.38).

According to Erdem (2020, p.31), nationalism does not accept any concept other than the nation as an element to be loyally attached to. Class, society or family are parts of the nation. The individual can only preserve his or her freedom and existence on the condition that the free nation continues to exist, so he or she must devote his or her loyalty to the nation. According to Erdem, who states that nationalism sees the world as a whole of nations with different characters and histories, the basic propositions of nationalism are as in the quote:

- "1 - The world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny,
- 2- The nation is the sole source of political power,
- 3- Loyalty to the nation outweighs all other loyalties
- 4- Every individual has to depend on the nation to be free
- 5- Every nation needs full self-expression and autonomy

6- Global peace and justice require an autonomous world of nations." (Erdem, 2020, p.31)

According to Heywood (2013, p.164), who builds his narrative on the main themes of ideologies while explaining political ideologies, and whose model we frequently refer to in the ideologies section of this thesis, the main themes and intellectual underpinnings of nationalism are as follows:

- a) Nation
- b) Organic society
- c) Self-determination
- d) Identity politics

2.1.5.2.1 Nation. According to Ziya Gökalp (1940, p.18), one of the first theorists of Turkish nationalism and the first Turkish sociologist, a nation is a special type of community formed by the combination of many different ties. He defines the nation directly as "the nation is neither a racial, nor a tribal, nor a geographical, nor a political, nor a voluntary group. A nation is a group of individuals who are common in language, religion, morality and art, that is, who have received the same upbringing". Another Turkish nationalist theorist Sadri Maksudi Arsal, a contemporary and close collaborator of Gökalp, defines the nation as "a mass of people who speak the same language, have the same national character, common history and common national aspirations." (Arsal, 1979, p.37).

It is the main principle of nationalism that the concept of nation should be the basis of political organization. However, both within the nationalist ideology and outside this context, there are disagreements about what the concept of nation means and who it includes. Many times the concepts of nation, state, country and race are used interchangeably, when in fact they characterize completely different communities. Nationalism reserves the recognition and representation of certain rights and statuses exclusively to the nation. In the same way, it develops arguments about which human communities can and cannot be considered a nation and which rights

they can benefit from. These arguments are not accepted in the same way and to the same extent by all factions of the ideology (Heywood, 2013, p.164).

However, the state, which is the name of a legal entity ruled by a government, does not necessarily have a direct or indirect relationship with the nation. Yet the concept of a nation that shares certain characteristics and is built on a sense of belonging is such a powerful concept that states often define themselves as nations while emphasizing their legal personality. The "League of Nations" and the "United Nations" established as a result of the World Wars are the biggest examples of this (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p.38). States, communities and individuals often benefit from the unifying power of the concept of nation, which is remembered more frequently and brought to the forefront in discourses, especially in times of crisis. Peyami Safa, one of the most prominent nationalist writers in Turkey, in his book *Millet ve İnsan* (Nation and Man), written before the establishment of the "United Nations", makes a remarkable assessment of the ability of nationalism and the nation to unite people:

"The notion of national unity, which we all cling to like a lifeline today, is not merely territorial unity, state unity, or even the temporary unity of a nation strengthened by the consciousness of cohesion that emerges in times of great adversity. National unity is a living cohesion that organizes the activities of individuals according to the national ideal and national interest in normal and abnormal times, in times of crisis, revolution, war, prosperity and peace." (Safa, 1944, p.18)

2.1.5.2.2 Organic Society. The general acceptance of the concept of nation is that people who live in the same geographical area, share a common language, and belong to the same religion and history constitute a nation. Heywood criticizes this definition for its tendency to move away from objectivity: "While the basic parameters of nationhood, such as language, religion, ethnicity, history and tradition, can be defined as given cultural characteristics, there is no definite blueprint or objective criterion that can indicate when and where a nation can exist." (Heywood, 2013, p.164).

Opposite to the objective point of view, according to the subjective point of view, which is often represented by Renan, the totality of people who make up the nation unites and brings together "the unity of past, memory, purpose, ideal, future, ideal". Because, according to the subjective view, the common sufferings of the past and the victories achieved together create a common purpose and bind people together (Gözler, 2001, p.114).

While looking at the concept of nation, Renan evaluates not only the facts that unite and constitute society, but also the essence of the human being, the individual. And according to him, man is not the product of his race, language or geography. According to Renan, it is the spiritual consciousness created by the nation formed by the coming together of people with "strong feelings and warm hearts" that also creates the individual. (Gözler, 2001, p.114: Renan, 1911, p.208)

Nations are composed of both objective and subjective values; The importance of cultural and psycho-political factors in the formation of this concept is one of the views that almost all nationalists and nationalists agree on (Heywood, 2013, p.167). For example, Ziya Gökalp, one of the founding fathers of Turkish nationalism, in his work titled The Principles of Turkism, which is also accepted as the doctrine of Turkish nationalism, claims that the physical and cultural characteristics that make up the individual are formed as a result of the nation formed by the commonality of blood, language, religion and manners: "As a matter of fact, a man wants to live with people with whom he has common language and religion rather than with people with whom he has common blood. Because our human personality is in our soul, not in our body. If our physical abilities come from our race, our spiritual abilities come from the society in which we are raised." (Gökalp, 1940, p.19).

One of the most fundamental arguments of nationalism is that every nation is born through a natural process and that process brings good results. According to nationalists, the welfare of the nation, which is the legitimate basis for political organization, should be the greatest wish of the individual member of that nation. Because the prosperity of the nation brings well-being to the individual. In the name

of this well-being, which is built through collective life, members of the nation should sacrifice their property and lives when necessary. Many political scientists object that nationalism is not a natural concept that arises as a result of a natural process, or challenge this claim of naturalness of nationalism (Harrison and Boyd, 2003, p.156).

Hobsbawm, one of the most referenced figures of the modernist approach, who claims that the birth of the concept of nation is not a natural process and that social units called nations are not born organically, claims that the concept of nation was born only after the birth of land-bound nation states, in other words, in modern times (Selçuk, 2011, p.3859; Hobsbawm, 2006 p.24). Likewise, Gellner claims that nationalism is directly linked to the modernization process of humanity and that the community called nation was born with the industrial revolution. According to him, while people before the modern era had relationships based on feudal ties, the cultural ties that would hold the new society born of modernity together were only possible with the phenomenon of nationhood. Although Gellner claims that nationalism is an inorganic phenomenon that emerged under certain conditions, he emphasizes that the notion of nation will always persist due to the impossibility of returning to pre-modern identities and that there is no other alternative (Heywood, 2013, p.168).

2.1.5.2.3 Self-Determination. According to Britannica, "the process by which a group of people, usually of a certain national consciousness, establish their own state and elect their own government" is called the right or idea of self-determination (Britannica, 2023). This concept, which emerged in the footsteps of the French Revolution, matured over time and became a widespread concept of international law in the early 20th century after US President Wilson's speech called the "Wilson Principles". Self-Determination does not legitimize the occupation and sovereign restrictions of foreign nations in the territories where nations live and are sovereign. This principle has been very effective in establishing the concept of sovereignty on a legitimate basis in the world and in ensuring international law and order (Pehlivanoğlu, 2021).

According to Heywood (2013, p.168) the concepts of national will and national sovereignty that developed in the context of nationalism were heavily influenced by

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the architect of the French Revolution and considered the founding father of modern nationalism. The idea of general will developed by Rousseau has become one of the fundamental principles of the already developing doctrine of nationalism. According to Rousseau, when the general interest of society is at stake, the actions taken and reactions produced by everyone independently of each other constitute a general will. With the French revolution, the rights gained by the peoples transformed the sovereign power into the sovereignty of the nation and the power of the nation. Rousseau's ideas were put into practice with the ideology of nationalism. For this reason, the goal of nationalism is to make the nation the foundation of society and the sovereign of the state. By establishing a national-state, the nation's right to self-determination is taken away from other communities or monarchs and given back to the nation.

As with the concepts of nationalism, it is not possible to talk about the existence of a complete agreement on the definition and framework of the principle of self-determination. According to Pehlivanoglu, one of the main reasons for this is that the principle of self-determination is sometimes used as a unifying and sometimes as a divisive tool. Because states have defined this principle according to their own interests (Pehlivanoglu, 2021).

Sönmez (2019, p.19) states that the concept of self-determination was developed in Europe and America for the decision they would take regarding their own political status. Until the mid-20th century, the concept did not have a legal definition and was mostly used morally and politically. According to him, self-determination, which has taken on a completely different form today, has become ambiguous and less powerful compared to the last century due to its frequent use and broad interpretation. Today, it has become one of the main motivations for many conflicts between both peoples and states.

2.1.5.2.4 Identity politics. The concept of identity is one of the most important political tools of the 20th and 21st centuries. In *Identity as Ideology, Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Siniša Malešević begins by making an interesting observation on the

diversification of identity politics in the 21st century, before describing identity politics as one of the most fundamental politics of nationalism:

“Identity is not something tangible or visible: you cannot touch, smell, taste or see it. Yet many claim that its presence is so prevalent today that nearly everything has become a matter of identity. Television, radio and newspapers bombard us on everyday basis with information on how ‘the very identities of numerous cultures or ethnic groups are threatened’. We hear over and over again, explicitly or covertly, how our national identity has to be preserved either from the ‘the floods of immigrants’ or polluting influences of culturally or morally inferior Others: the West, the Imperialists, the Muslim fundamentalists, the Americans, the uncivilised barbarians, the EU bureaucrats, the terrorists, the Asians, the Africans, and so on. Romanticist writers and organic intellectuals demand that we discover and respond to our cultural identities. Advertising seduces us daily with consumerist messages that sell us distinct status identities. As numerous studies and publications demonstrate ‘identity’ has become a dominant idiom in popular, activist, and contemporary academic discourse. This near absolute dominance can best be illustrated by the simple fact that Google search lists over 93 million sites linked to the key word ‘identity’.¹ This concept has not only acquired almost universal acceptance, it has also become a normative strait jacket. Today, a person is expected and required to have an identity. Even though there is profound popular disagreement on whether identities are essential or existential, primordial or constructed, singular or multiple there is almost no dispute over the question of whether identities exist or not. It is assumed that ‘an identity’ constitutes an indispensable ingredient of every human being so that making the claim of not having or wanting an identity might be regarded at best as bizarre and at worst as suspicious, immoral or sinister. For the keepers of today’s moral order being identity-impaired might be perceived socially as more problematic than being mentally or physically impaired.” (Malasevic, 2006, p. 13-14).

Identities and identity problems are diversifying and increasing in the century we live in. Identity is one of the main concepts that creates conflict in society today, both domestically and internationally. All ideologies resort with varying frequency to identity politics, which has become one of the most powerful political tools. Many times, nationalism is associated with identity politics. All types of nationalism are directly linked to the concept of identity. However, not all identity concepts are directly linked to nationalism. Although the goals and doctrines of nationalism vary, a sense of collective identity is at the forefront of all forms of nationalism. Nationalism often works not only for political programs, but also offers people a strong identity construction of who they are. It is strengthened by a sense of common destiny, a bond of social and collective spirit, and makes strong references to the notion of history (Heywood, 2013, p.168). According to Hobsbawm, who is often critical of nationalism, national identities are always in a state of transformation. In other words, national identity evolves without ever reaching its final form. For example, even if a national identity claims to be superior to other identities, it always merges with other types of identities. The elements of identity can change even in short periods of time, values can be abandoned and new values can be adopted (Hobsbawm, 1996, p.26).

Nationalism often idealizes an ideal human type by referring to the ties of language, religion, race, culture and history that it uses in constructing the concept of nation. As a result, social identity develops a sense of belonging to the rules, world of thought, world of art, language, traditions and customs, religion, religious way of life and even sect of the society surrounding the individual (Özbey, 2019, p.1201).

Although this constructed collective consciousness has been criticized by some social scientists, thinkers and politicians, it is natural for nationalists to idealize the individual in order to elevate society, and ultimately the nation "above all else". Nationalists' ideals of creating unity and progress in society through identity-building are often reflected in their rhetoric, in the names of their societies and parties, in their slogans and artworks, often in ways that they themselves are outspoken and proud about. The nationalist writer Peyami Safa summarized the nationalists' passion for idealism in a single paragraph:

"The idea of nationality is a seed in the early ages of history, a sapling in the Middle Ages, and a tree spreading its shadow all over the world in our time. History shows that every axe struck at the root of this tree to topple it is broken. Because the great longing of human communities throughout history is to attain a complete and independent national existence. Man has found the secret of his immortality in clinging to an ideal that will keep him alive as a tangible reality above his mortal individuality." (Safa, 1943, p.38).

2.2 The Book Industry.

From Gutenberg to the present day, and even from their earliest form in antiquity to the versions reflected on screens today, books and everything about them have undergone endless evolution. This huge modernizing market has undergone a major transformation, influenced by emerging literary styles, content production techniques, new design concepts, and the development of marketing techniques (Faustino, 2013, p.87).

As the book industry continues to evolve, the complexity of the industry with thousands of variables is a virgin area that has not been sufficiently studied by the social sciences. In this part of the thesis, the changes in the industry will be summarized from the beginning to the most recent changes. Following the summary of the book's journey, the book as a consumption material will be evaluated from the perspectives of marketing and business sciences, and current consumption and production data in the world and Turkey will be shared.

2.2.1 History of Book and Book Industry.

2.2.1.1 Early era of the book. Famous French poet Charles Baudelaire once said "A book is a garden, an orchard, a storehouse, a party, a company by the way, a counselor, a multitude of counselors." Since the beginning of history, books have meant more to people than just material. But it took a long time for the modern book, which had

turned into a gigantic industry with its production, publishing, sales, distribution, marketing and advertising, to become what it is today.

As a material, the book has undergone great changes from its most primitive form to the form used today. However, since the day it was produced, the book has maintained its feature of being a source of information and transferring information in every age and in every form (Dalkıran, 2013, p. 201). It is known that texts were written on different materials in ancient times. Studies have identified writing and signs on materials such as tree bark and leaves, clay tablets, bones, animal skins, plant shells, ivory, linen, papyrus, and ceramics (Yıldız, 2000, p.211).

According to most historians, the first form of the book was the scrolled papyrus paper of ancient Egypt, which differs significantly from the modern book form. In the 6th century BC, papyrus was the most common writing material in the Mediterranean and was used by the Egyptians as well as the Greeks and Romans. After a while, it also became a trade material. Since papyrus only grew in Egypt, the Egyptians monopolized papyrus trade and production (Lule, 2018, p. 91).

The early years of the Roman Empire saw some developments in the book production system and the use of parchment. These new methods were used to produce books from the parchment in the form used in tablets, and the newly developed material was called "codex" (Dalkıran, 2013, p. 206). The Greek book tradition was continued on Roman soil during the Roman conquest of the world. The fact that Greek book collections were brought back to Rome by Roman generals as spoils of war indicate the value given to books in Ancient Rome.

The emergence of the book trade in Rome can be attributed primarily to the influx of Greek immigrants. Roman merchants, recognizing the interest in books, employed booksellers known as "bibliopolae" and specialized and literate slaves called "servi literati" to reproduce texts to achieve more mass production and reach more customers. During the Republican period, the book trade remained relatively limited and the profession of "publishing" did not make any significant progress. However,

with the rise of the Roman Empire, the book trade grew significantly in Rome and other urban centers. Within large cities, bookstores, often located along busy streets, began to serve as gathering points for writers and intellectuals. It is a matter of historical record that these establishments displayed new book catalogs taped to the walls or door pillars. These bookstores often also functioned as publishers (Dahl, 1958, pp. 27-28).

According to Lule (2010, p. 91), there were various developments and discoveries in printing, books and publishing around the world outside Rome. For example, before other civilizations, the use of block printing on paper began in Tang Dynasty China around 700 AD. Although this block printing technique is considered a great innovation and discovery in the history of books, it took centuries for this technique to reach and spread in Europe.

An examination of medieval Europe reveals that scribes still copied texts by hand. Throughout the Middle Ages, monasteries dominated the book culture and became centers of intellectual life. Large monasteries had rooms called scriptoria where monks copied, decorated and protected religious and secular books (Lule, 2010, p. 95).

In the early stages of the development of Islamic culture, there were two types of book culture: oral and written. Written books are classified into rolls, codexes, leaves and juz (forms). The codex is a primitive book form produced by assembling scrolls, the closest to the book form of today. Jewish scriptures were written on rolls, while Christian and Muslim scriptures were written on codices (Erünsal, 2018, p. 130). The Qur'an is the first book of Islamic culture and is an oral book that was written down piece by piece during the period of revelation. It was included in the memories orally. However, the book was compiled after the Prophet's death, during the time of Hazrat Abu Bakr. It was turned into a book between two covers of parchment leaves during the time of Hazrat Osman and the first codex and book of Islamic civilization emerged (Erünsal, 2018, p. 35).

Papermaking from rags and other textiles, which began in China in the 2nd century, reached the Islamic world in the 8th century, leading to this culture's flowering. It is said that in the 12th century, modern-day Marrakech, Morocco, had a street lined with 100 bookstores. However, it was not until the 14th century that papermaking began in earnest in Europe (Lule, 2010, p. 96).

As medieval monks did in Europe, Ottoman officers took portable libraries. The fact that they carried books with them even during war shows how essential books were for army officers. Valentine summarizes the book's adventure within Islam by saying, "Muslims were first the people of the oral book, then the manuscript book, and then, reluctantly, the printed book" (2012, p. 51).

2.2.1.2 Emergence of the book industry. Labarre contends that with the rise of the communal movement, a transformative urban resurgence occurred by the late 12th century, leading to a profound shift in societal dynamics. The burgeoning cities became vibrant hubs of intellectual life, serving as centers for reproducing and exchanging knowledge. Concurrently, the domain of education underwent a parallel evolution. Historically, teaching had been predominantly rural within monastic schools, while urban centers housed cathedral monasteries. However, as the monastic schools waned, the growth of cities during the 12th century bolstered the episcopal schools, resulting in an increased influx of students. Consequently, educators and students were compelled to form alliances to safeguard their shared interests and establish the indispensable autonomy required for their work. The guilds they established in the 13th century adopted the name "universitas." Instruction in these settings primarily relied on oral traditions, heavily emphasizing memorization. However, given the emphasis on commentary, discussion, and text interpretation, the utilization of books became essential for both teachers and students, who often needed to consult supplementary professional texts. Thus, book-related professions emerged symbiotically alongside universities. In addition to scribes, who frequently comprised aspirants for the priesthood or financially constrained students, two commercial vocations flourished. The first was the bookstore, which functioned as a book vendor or intermediary. Manuscripts, although scarce, circulated for prolonged periods,

frequently changing hands. This circulation nourished the availability of books. The growth of cities also engendered a new clientele for books. Expanding royal palaces attracted many settled lawyers and a bourgeoisie class that had amassed wealth through commerce. These individuals, encompassing diverse interests, necessitated books within specific domains such as law, recreational diversions (chronicles, novels, fabliaux), or educational tools (religious pamphlets). (Labarre, 1994, pp. 31-32).

Gutenberg, in the year 1448, made a groundbreaking advancement in the history of books by developing the mechanical movable type. While creating movable letters may seem trivial in the present digital age, characterized by microchips and digital devices, Gutenberg's invention profoundly altered the world. It opened the doors to a realm of new possibilities. Surrounding Gutenberg's life are numerous enigmatic facets. During the 1440s, he garnered investors for an undisclosed project while engaging in jewelry making and book printing in Germany. The invention of the printing press stemmed from his amalgamation of existing technologies. Utilizing his invention, he revolutionized book production by using independently rearrangeable metal letters and punctuation marks, enabling unprecedented flexibility (Lule, 2010, p. 96).

The advent of the printing press brought about significant transformations in the processes of book creation, distribution, and consumption, spanning several centuries. Gutenberg's invention sparked a proliferation of printing establishments throughout Europe, fundamentally reshaping the very essence of a book. The printing press standardized the production of books, making them abundant and comparatively cost-effective. Printers soon recognized the economic viability of producing multiple identical copies of a single text, leading book printing to evolve into a speculative enterprise, wherein printers endeavored to gauge the potential sales of a given book (Lule, 2010, p. 97).

Before the printing press, the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center estimates that Europe housed approximately 30,000 books. However, by the conclusion of the 15th century CE, the book had undergone a remarkable transition

into an industrial commodity, with the number of books in Europe reaching an astonishing 10 to 12 million (Jones, 2000).

According to Labarre (1994, p. 50) as printing spread throughout Central Europe in the 15th century, it entered Poland (1473), Hungary (1473), Bohemia (1476), , and even Montenegro (1495) and Croatia (1494). Eastern Europe was exposed to it slightly later. Transylvania (Sibiu) had it in 1563, Moscow had it in 1727, Istanbul had it in 1821, and Greece had it in 1821. In the meantime, colonists and missionaries from Spain and Portugal had long ago taken the printing press to foreign lands. Cambridge (Massachusetts) was the first workshop in North America, established in 1638.

The history of the press can be traced back to the 15th century, when handwritten sheets containing recent news began to emerge. This practice of disseminating news through handwritten means persisted until the 18th century. However, the advent of the printing press revolutionized the news industry, accelerating the trade of information. As early as the 15th century, printed publications emerged as broadcasting organs, primarily serving as propaganda and providing military or political news. These publications typically presented ordinary current events or events concisely (Labarre, 1994, p. 83).

The mechanical reproduction of books resulted in a greater availability of books at lower prices, aided by the expansion of international trade. As noted by Lule (1994), this phenomenon fostered the growth of middle-class interest in knowledge. The increasing accessibility of classical texts from ancient Greece and Rome significantly fueled the Renaissance, characterized by celebrating the individual and humanism. The widespread distribution of texts facilitated the dissemination of ideas in the realms of politics, intellectualism, religion, and culture on an unprecedented scale. For the first time, a large number of people were exposed to the same ideas and books simultaneously, ushering in the era of mass media and mass culture (Lule, 1994, p. 98).

The dissemination of ideas through books raised concerns among authorities. Although the church initially supported the printing press, it was also responsible for safeguarding religious practices and preventing the spread of heretical ideas (Labarre, 1994, p. 71). Pope Innocent VIII, merely a few decades after Gutenberg's first printed Bible, mandated in 1487 that all books undergo prior screening by church authorities before they could be printed (Green & Karolides, 1990, p. 111). Similar to ancient Egypt, libraries during the Renaissance became symbols of national power and wealth, reflecting the high value placed on human knowledge. Gutenberg's invention of the printing press enhanced accessibility to knowledge and facilitated the emergence of mass culture, while simultaneously transforming the nature of writing into a potential source of revenue (Lule, 1994, p. 98).

With the explosive growth of the European printing industry, authors could profit from their works if their legal rights were recognized. (Lule, 1994, p. 99) The business of itinerant book-sellers experienced a remarkable expansion, surpassing previous intensity levels. These sellers offered hymn books in German editions and Bibles, operating from both booths located near churches and within the church premises. Of significant popularity was Luther's catechism, which garnered substantial sales. Notably, one of Luther's pamphlets sold an impressive 4,000 copies within a mere five days, while over 100 editions of the New Testament, published between 1519 and 1534, amassed sales of approximately 20,000 copies. In Germany, spanning towns and countryside alike, book agents diligently promoted and sold many pamphlets produced by Protestant and Catholic factions (Dahl, 1958, 1935).

During the Renaissance and the widespread dissemination of the printing press, literacy experienced a significant surge throughout Europe. Scholars, clergy, teachers, lawyers, merchants, and government officials alike demonstrated an increased demand for books, driven by their desire for enhanced accessibility (Valentine, 2012, p. 76). Labarre (1994) further contends that the Enlightenment era witnessed the emergence of new ideas that managed to penetrate the confines of book-related legislation, ultimately leading to the erosion of censorship systems. The prevalence of counterfeit printing was a notable feature during this period. De Felice, a printer from Yverdon,

expressed in 1770 that "good books do not belong to the booksellers, but to humanity seeking enlightenment and a disposition towards virtue. Publishers and booksellers serve merely as agents in this redemptive endeavor. Hence, any bookstore that swiftly provides good books through imitation editions proves immensely beneficial to humanity... and I dare say it is even indispensable" (Labarre, 1994, p. 88).

Although individuals and libraries' acquisition of printed books increased steadily, it did not instantaneously supplant manuscript books. Rather, this transformation followed a gradual social continuum over time as people and libraries progressively embraced purchasing printed books (Valentine, 2012, p. 65). A consequence of the Industrial Revolution, which was felt worldwide, was the qualitative change in human history and its consequential impact on books and print culture (Valentine, 2012, p. 112).

However, the influence of print continued to exert a significant impact during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Books, magazines, and newspapers still relied on the process of typesetting, physical distribution, and reading. The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of information as a lucrative business, evident in the proliferation of books on science and geography. Explorers like James Cook and Alexander von Humboldt sought knowledge rather than merely seeking spices and gold. With the industrialization of the printing industry, including advancements in distribution, review, and sales processes, the reading public expanded substantially. Books could now be printed in large quantities and marketed worldwide (Valentine, 2012, p. 115).

Transportation and communication improvements in the early to mid-nineteenth century greatly impacted the print industry. The introduction of faster sail and steamboats, along with the development of improved canals, roads, steam railways, and the expansion of the postal service, facilitated the mass production and swift transportation of printed materials both domestically and internationally (Valentine, 2012, p. 124).

The proliferation of publications and editions can be attributed to several factors, including increased literacy rates, technological advancements, and the removal of previous legal barriers. In contrast to the 15th century, which saw the production of approximately 30,000 to 35,000 books and 150,000 to 200,000 copies, the nineteenth century alone witnessed the production of 8.25 million books, with an additional 5 million produced in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Labarre, 1994, p. 88). Feather (2006) notes that "universal literacy, along with a general improvement in disposable incomes and living standards, created new opportunities for publishers, although competition within and beyond the book trade became more formidable than ever before" (p. 150).

During the twentieth century, publishing houses began specializing in various areas of book publishing, such as religious texts, art books, technical publications, children's literature, textbooks, adolescent divisions, and reference materials, along with the establishment of university presses (Boyraz, 2006, p. 7).

2.2.1.3 Brief history of book sector in Turkey.

2.2.1.3.1 Early phase of book sector in Turkey. The publishing and book sector, which today is a major cultural industry in Turkey, has a centuries-long history. In order to examine and comprehend the behavior of the market, the industry and consumers, it is necessary to examine the history of the book industry in Turkey, which differs to a certain extent from other countries. In this part of the thesis, the history and adventure of the book industry in Turkey will be examined in detail and the sources in the literature will be summarized.

Contrary to popular belief, the printing press was not a new invention for the Ottomans that emerged with İbrahim Müteferrika and during the Tulip Period. (Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p.251) The first printing press in the Ottoman Empire was founded by two Jewish brothers, David and Samuel, who were among the Jewish immigrants who fled to the Ottoman Empire from different parts of Europe, especially Spain, due to the oppression and mistreatment they faced. (Akkaya, 2008, p.5) The

first printing press was established in the Ottoman Empire about 40 years after Gutenberg published his first book in Europe in 1455. Approximately 40 years after Gutenberg published his first book with printing technology in Europe in 1455, the first printing house was established in the Ottoman Empire. (Gevgilili, 1984, p.203) Within a short period of time, twenty Jewish printing houses were opened in Istanbul and Ottoman cities such as Thessaloniki and Izmir. In addition to Hebrew, Greek, Spanish and Latin works were also printed in these printing houses. Most of the books printed were about religion. There were also books on history, language and society (Akkaya, 2008, p.5).

The printing of Turkish-Arabic books outside the Empire, especially in Europe, affected the opening of Ottoman Turkish printing houses. This is also an important effect, apart from the presence of printing houses belonging to non-Muslims. (Akkaya, 2008, p.6) According to Davulcu and Kıpçak(2016, p. 252) It is stated that a total of 50 books were published in Istanbul and Selanik between 1481-1512, and most of them had sentences on the first page meaning "under the shadow of the reign of Sultan Bayezid II" and "under the shadow of the reign of Sultan Selim I" (Akbulut, 2002, p. p. 1640).

Originally from Hungary, Ibrahim Müteferrika, who came to the Ottoman country in 1694, became a Muslim and held key positions there after he became a state official. Müteferrika is considered the first Turkish (Turkified) person to establish the printing system in the Ottoman Empire (Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p. 253) As it is understood from the records accessed after Müteferrika's death, the sale of the first Ottoman editions was somewhat heavy and difficult (Sabev, 2006, p. 227). It is known that Müteferrika possessed a collection of 100 books in Arabic script and 36 books in Latin script, with an estimated value equivalent to 1/5 of his assets (Sabev, 2006, p. 110).

2.2.1.3.2 Publication and book sector during modernization era of Ottoman Empire.

In the 19th century, when newspapers and magazines with the aim of informing the public began to be published, many printing houses were established and used extensively in the Ottoman Empire. Henri Cayol made a great contribution to the acceleration of the book industry by bringing lithography, a printing technique that began to spread in Europe in the early 19th century, to the Ottoman geography (Kahraman, 2011, pp. 144-145).

The first newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, *Takvim-i Veka-i*, served as the official state publication from 1831 to 1840, providing news organized according to the preferences of the administration for nine years (Nalcıoğlu, 2005, p. 256). The first journal in the Empire, *Vakayı-i Tıbbiye*, was published on March 6, 1849, focusing on medical developments and information, including translations from abroad (Nalcıoğlu, 2005, p. 256).

Another important publication, *Mecmua-i Fünun*, which was started to be published by the "Ottoman Science Association" in July 1862, brought together scientists of the period in various fields such as geology, physics, biology, geography and history, and also touched upon finance, economics, philosophy and international relations (Kabacalı, 2000, p. 69). *Ceride'yi Askeriye* was published in 1863, *Mecmua-i Askeriye* in 1864 and *Takvim-i Ticaret* in 1865 (Kabacalı, 2000, p. 69). As the 19th century progressed, the number of newspapers and magazines increased, and the habit and curiosity of reading on various topics, especially politics, patriotism, military issues and popular science, developed (Davulcu & Kıpçak, 2016, p. 256).

By the end of the century, approximately two hundred different newspapers and magazines were being published, with an average of eight periodicals starting and ending each year (Kabacalı, 2000, p. 70). From 1869 to 1875, an average of one hundred and sixty books were published annually. More than 700 novels were published between 1851 and 1900. In the 19th century, 25% of the works of Turkish literature were translations (Ayaydın, 2009, p. 184). Ahmet Mithat Efendi is an example of a prolific writer with nearly 200 works in various genres and subjects. Referred to as "the first teacher", Ahmet Mithat Efendi's aim was to enlighten the

public and promote knowledge and education through his writings (Ayaydın, 2009, p. 184).

According to Ortaylı (1983, pp. 9-14), the 19th century is of great importance as an era of reforms in Turkey's Westernization adventure. In Turkey, the press has been one of the greatest tools in forming public opinion and mobilizing the masses. For this reason, the press has been one of the biggest instruments of Turkish modernization. However, the press was not born easily, as in the West, but in a difficult and painful way.

It is possible to say that intellectual structures were born in the years when Turkish press history recorded an unexpected acceleration. These structures both benefited from and reinforced the acceleration of the press. The pioneering and dominant society among these structures was the Young Ottomans Society.

The Young Ottomans, founded in 1865, was an organization that quickly became the carrier and a transformative group of the modernization movement. Although Namik Kemal, Ali Suavi, Şinasi, Agah Efendi, and Ziya Pasha had different ideas, they were the leaders of the first-born opposition movement against the authority of the monarchy. These names, who witnessed different ideas and revolutions in Europe, matured the Ottoman modernization movement. (Kızıltan, 2006, p. 254) The Young Ottomans movement, which emerged as a literary movement, gained a political character after a while. (Kasalak, 2009, p. 69)

Between 1867 and 1870, the Young Ottomans published newspapers such as *Muhbir*, *Hürriyet*, *Ulûm* and *İttihad* in different cities in Europe, and as a result, a Turkish press was born in exile. (Demirel, 2007, p.35) Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Pasha published romantic and passionate articles about homeland and freedom, criticizing the state's borrowing from other states and capitulations. As a result of their powerful policies and movements, the Sultan was forced to declare the Constitution. New schools were established with their ideas and the education system was secularized (Yesevi, 2012, p. 77).

Although the Constitutional Monarchy, which was the dream of the Young Ottomans, was proclaimed, this process did not last long and the constitution was soon suspended as a result of Sultan Abdulhamid's repressive policies.

The press, which had been subjected to oppression and censorship for many years under the repressive regime, and journalists who tried to publish newspapers by hiding their political views for fear of espionage, who had to flee abroad and were sent into exile, began to write harshly, express their thoughts, write and criticize unhindered after the 1908 Revolution. (Torun, 2015, p.95) According to Torun, in the reports of the British Embassy, the situation of the Ottoman press is described in the following words: "In the first part of 1909, the Turkish press enjoyed its newly acquired freedom of the press to the fullest. Everyone was criticized and everyone was written about, regardless of relations." (2015, p.95).

According to Soysal (2007,p. 24-25) as cited by Candan (2011, p.477), following the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the increase in liberties that followed, there was an increase in legal regulations. This change resulted in a significant expansion of publishing activities and a general increase in the number of publications, which in turn led to the growth of libraries. The government programs of the Committee of Union and Progress often emphasized the importance of establishing a national library and organizing publications across the country. Despite numerous efforts, the establishment of a national library was not completed. Nevertheless, several libraries were established in different provinces between 1912 and 1918, and some of them received the title of national library. Especially the Turkish Hearth founded in 1912 and the libraries established in its provincial branches played an important role as public libraries.

2.2.1.3.3 Publication and book sector during early republic era of Turkey. After the First World War, with the occupation of the Ottoman Empire, the country entered a troubled time period in terms of freedom. With the occupation laws enacted after February 1919, all kinds of printing had to be approved by the authorities. With the

official and de facto occupation of Istanbul on March 16, 1920, journalists, writers and intellectuals who support the Turkish National Struggle were arrested and exiled to Malta (Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p. 258).

After the establishment of the Representative Committee at the Sivas Congress convened on September 4, 1919, Mustafa Kemal Psaha ensured the publication of the “*İrade-i Milliye Newspaper*” as the publication organ of the Representation Board. After the Delegation of Representatives came to Ankara, *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* started to be published on 10 January 1920 upon Mustafa Kemal's request (Kabacalı, 2000, p. 152). Thus, a press that would support the struggle in Anatolia and voice the righteousness of the cause was created and strengthened (Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p. 258).

According to Candan(2011, p. 478) During the initial period of the Republic, there was a strong emphasis on not only establishing new libraries but also preserving the valuable works inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Extensive catalog studies were conducted nationwide to ensure the protection and accessibility of these historical works (Ersoy, 1962, pp. 27-28).

According to Candan (2011,p.478) In Turkey, textbooks were published by various publishing houses until 1926, and teachers were allowed to choose one of them and lecture on it. The Ministry of National Education undertook the printing and distribution of some books in 1926 due to the problems that arose in the printing and distribution of books. (Ogur, 2009, p. 382) In 1928, the Alphabet Revolution, a revolution that would deeply affect Turkish education and cultural life, was carried out. The difficulty of reading and writing letters in Ottoman Turkish and the difficulty of using them in printing houses were eliminated and the standard Latin letters of the West were started to be used. The attempts to establish the National Library took a serious shape with the alphabet reform. (Candan, 2011, p.478)

Dr. Ahmet Kuşçi, in his article titled "The First Planning of Republican Publishing: The First Turkish Publishing Congress", (2021) he drew attention to the professional programming of publishing in Turkey:

“On May 1, 1939, in the tenth year of the Turkish alphabet reform, the "Ten Years Publication Exhibition" was opened at the Ankara Exhibition House. The exhibition included many books published after the alphabet reform. After that, The First Turkish Publications Congress started on May 2, 1939 with the opening speech to Prime Minister Refik Saydam. Hasan Ali Yücel made a speech explaining the purpose and purpose of the congress Yucel in his speech stated that the congress would examine not only the publications but also the needs concerning the cultural life of the country The purpose of the First Turkish Publication Congress, which was held by the Ministry of Education, is to connect the country's future publication activities to a systematic and regular program and to seek ways to provide the most efficient results from the available opportunities by establishing cooperation between private and public institutions working in this field The opening of the First Turkish Publication was given wide coverage in the national press. M. Zekeriya Sertel, in his article titled "What We Expect from the Publication Congress" in the newspaper Tan, stated that the best expected result from the Publications Congress is the planning of the Publication works. According to the author, although the printing and sales of books in Turkey increase every year, the cultural needs of the new generation growing up with the Turkish alphabet still cannot be met.

- a. The author listed the things that should be done for the planning of the publication as follows:
- b. Allocating the publication to areas of expertise such as children's publications and public publications,
- c. Establishing a committee to identify the works that the country needs,
- d. Making a five-year program for the publication of the works to be determined by this committee”

Hasan Ali Yücel had a translation office established after the First Publication Congress. Western classics constitute the majority of the publications of this Bureau. (Anameriç, 2008, p. 153) According to Kıpçak and Davulcu, works submitted to this office to be translated from different languages into Turkish: Greek and Latin Classics:

38, German Classics: 34, Russian Classics: 29, Italian Classics: 10, Oriental Classics: 7, Scandinavian Classics: 10, Spanish Classics: 6, English Classics: 42, American Classics: 5 and French Classics: 112, and it was decided to translate the works into Turkish (Elbir and Karakaş, 2007 , p. 388 and Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p.541). Although it was decided to hold a congress every five years in the First Publication Congress, the Second Turkish Broadcasting Congress could convene on 24-27 January 1975, 36 years later (Davulcu and Kıpçak, 2016, p.542).

The most important newspapers published between 1931 and 1938 can be listed as Cumhuriyet, Akşam, Tan, Son Posta and Ulus. With the new restrictions adopted in 1938, press initiatives were subject to special permissions. According to these restrictions, it was envisaged to provide a letter of guarantee of one thousand to five thousand liras from a bank in order to publish newspapers and magazines. Again within the same restrictions, the license system was returned. (Akkaya, 2020, p. 16)

According to Candan (2011, p.477) After the victory of the War of Independence, the newly established Republic of Turkey entered a period of restructuring from education to culture, from health to agriculture. Since the Lausanne negotiations, issues related to publishing and librarianship have been included in the education and cultural policies of the government; It has often been brought up in government programs. The government granted exemption to Turkey for translation works protected by international agreements in Lausanne, and later formed the Copyright and Translation Committee within the Ministry of Education (Yazıcı, 1984, p. 20; İskit, 2000, p. 105).

2.2.2 Statistics about industry.

2.2.2.1 Numbers and statistics about book industry today. With the spread of printing throughout Europe, publishing has become an industrial sector that today has a multimillion-dollar volume in Turkey and around the world. The absence of a single authority that keeps data on the publishing and book industry makes it challenging to compile industry reports and data published by different authorities in various

countries. Nevertheless, the scale that causes this difficulty gives an idea of the size of the sector globally. According to Thompson (2010, p.15), the publishing industry, which has been present in the creative industries for the longest time, has been studied relatively little. Little is known about how the printing and publishing sector, founded in the modern sense in the 15th century, has been organized for over half a millennium. Despite being a product that has maintained its primary form for such a long time, books still remain the center of attention on television, radio, and newspapers. Books continue to provide material and inspiration for movies, theaters, and similar entertainment activities and have a significant impact on novelists, historians, scientists, and many others. It would not be entirely wrong to claim that the reputation the sector has gained through the aura it has created is not shown to many professions.

According to the report titled *"The Global Publishing Industry in 2021,"* prepared based on publishing industry data acquired from 23 countries and published in 2023 by the *World Intellectual Property Organization*, a Switzerland-based non-governmental organization, the revenue generated by the publishing industry in 2021 was 71.6 billion US dollars. The country that generated the highest revenue among the 23 countries included in the report was the United States, with 26.8 billion US dollars. The top five countries with the highest revenue are listed in Table 1 according to the report. The Covid-19 pandemic, which started in 2019 and affected the whole world, caused a delay in the publication of the report until 2023.

Table 1

Top 5 Countries Generating The Most Revenue From Publishing in 2021

1	United States of America	USD 26.8 billion
2	Germany	USD 11.4 billion
3	Japan	USD 11.3 billion
4	United Kingdom (United Kingdom)	USD 5.4 billion
5	Italy	USD 4.1 billion

Despite the negative impact of the pandemic on the publishing industry (YAYBIR, 2021), a strong increase in revenue has been reported in the top five countries. According to The Global Publishing Industry in 2021 report, "the United States (+13.6%) and Italy (+12.2%), Japan (+7.5%), the United Kingdom (+5.1%), and Germany (+3.5%) have reported strong revenue growth." The United Kingdom is the country with the highest revenue share from exports, with a rate of 40.7%. Furthermore, the United Kingdom has obtained the highest revenue share from online sales, with a rate of 67.4%, followed by Italy, Finland, Sweden, and Turkey, which is ranked fifth with a revenue share of 36.0% in online sales (The Global Publishing Industry in 2021, 2023, p.6).

2.2.2.2 Numbers and statistics about book industry in Turkey. The Turkish Publishers Association, established in 1985 to represent publishers and distributors in Turkey (Türkyaybir Bylaw, 2021, p.1), has been publishing the Turkey Book Market Report annually since 2008, based on the data and research they collect about the book market in Turkey. The challenging conditions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 have deeply affected the publishing industry, as it has affected other sectors in 2022. Due to the pandemic, publishers' sales channels have narrowed, the publication of new books has been delayed, and the rising costs due to challenging financial conditions have adversely affected the sector. The currency crisis in Turkey has had a disruptive effect on the industry, which is dependent on external markets for raw materials. The nearly 300% increase in paper prices has put the Turkish publishing industry in a serious crisis. Nonetheless, the number of books per capita in Turkey has increased by 5% compared to the previous year, reaching 7.97 for a population of 85 million. However, the Turkish publishing industry, which produced 438,679,864 books in 2021, experienced a decline of 58.3 million books or a proportional decrease of 13.3% compared to the previous year, producing only 380,296,402 books by the end of 2022. The effects of the pandemic and currency crisis highlight the significant problem facing the publishing industry, which has experienced a decline for the first time in the last ten years (Türkyaybir 2022 Book Market Report, 2023, p.1-2).

According to the 24th Working Report of the Publishers Association of Turkey (2021), there are 2,212 registered publishers in Turkey. These publishers employ 28,236 individuals and have paid 939,858,220 Turkish liras in taxes. An estimated 5,000 retail book sales firms operate in Turkey, and approximately 9,000 printing houses that provide offset and web printing services have been identified. There is also diversity in the genres of books published in Turkey, with a significant share of books in the education field. "Adult research and investigation books accounted for 19.4% of books published in 2022, approximately 9% were adult literature and art books, 12.1% were children and young adult books, approximately 8.7% were religious books, approximately 1.4% were academic publications, 1.5% were imported publications, and 47.9% were educational books." According to the data, cultural publications account for 40.55% of books produced in 2022, with 73,844,863 research and investigation books, 34,299,328 literature and art books, and 46,048,282 children's books produced. One of the most significant reasons for the high share of educational books is that the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Turkey alone produced 262,100,000 books, making it the largest publisher in Turkey's market, dominated by the private sector. The market share of imported books is 13.52%, and this rate does not include copyright trade. Due to high inflation, there was an 83.68% increase in book prices in 2022 compared to the previous year. It is estimated that all the costs of the publishing sector, which has many different expenditure items in various fields, have increased by 84% in foreign currency. High online sales are notable in the sales of cultural publications. In 2022, 49.95% of cultural publications were sold through online stores, indicating that almost one out of every two books sold was sold online. (Publishers Association of Turkey 2022 Book Market Report, 2023, p.4-16)

2.2.3 Consumer Behaviour of Reader.

2.2.3.1 Consumer and consumption. The concept of consumer, which has undergone a significant change with the modernizing and developing society, is a concept in which different disciplines such as sociology, psychology and economics are

interested. Consumption is an action that lasts from birth to death for every individual, and people have to consume in order to live. The purchasing behavior of people who consume throughout their lives is closely monitored for marketing strategy decisions of businesses (Yayla, 2022, p. 11).

The consumption process has the feature of renewing itself and reappears after being satisfied. Basic needs such as food, drink, shelter, clothing and security are necessary to ensure the continuity of an individual's life. As the needs diversify, the variety of goods and services must also increase. The division of labor and specialization arose as a result of the diversification of both needs and the responses to these needs, and the methods of meeting the needs have continuously gone through various processes and evolved from the beginning of human history to the present. Although consumption changes and develops very rapidly today, it takes almost half a million years for the reasons that led to production, domestication of animals regularly, inventing writing and peeing mines, which the people who get the products they will consume by hunting and gathering, have never known. had to pass (Yıldız and Özişen, 2012, p. 2).

The phenomenon of consumption holds a significant position in both the daily life and economic realm, given that individuals are not merely productive beings, but also active participants in the consumption process. Throughout the course of human history, consumption can be traced back to its earliest beginnings. It is essential, however, to acknowledge the noteworthy distinctions between the consumption patterns observed in primitive tribes and those prevalent in contemporary societies. During the early stages of human existence, consumption primarily entailed utilizing resources without active involvement in production. It assumed a prominent role, with people relying on hunting and gathering to secure their means of survival. Such a form of consumption did not involve the creation of new goods or services, but rather centered on utilizing nature's offerings. Consequently, individuals derived their sustenance from the environment in exchange for their labor, without exerting control over their livelihood. In this context, it becomes evident that the concept of consumption occupies a pivotal position not only in economic life but also in the day-

to-day experiences of individuals. This is particularly pertinent in the current era, wherein every newborn is considered a potential consumer (Ürkek, 2019,p.5).

2.2.3.2 Consumer behaviour. According to Akturan (2015, p.36), it is accepted that modern consumption was born in the middle of the 17th century. The relationship between the concept of production and the understanding of Puritanism, Calvinism and Protestantism, which emerged in the European society in these years, is associated with the birth of the modern consumption concept. Calvinism's doctrine of hard work and thrift triggered the increase in personal well-being and led to the birth of large manufacturing enterprises. Again, in line with the teachings of Calvinism, capital owners used some of their income to increase general welfare. (Akturan, 2015, p.36)

The German social scientist Weber established causality between the Protestant ethic and professional efficiency, frugality, hard work, strict discipline, and ultimately the accumulation of capital resulting from these, and he put forward his famous thesis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. According to him, there is a strong connection between rational economic behavior and the moral understanding of the Protestant sect (Akalın, 2018, p.4).

During this historical period, a welfare class emerged in European urban centers due to the rise of the bourgeoisie. The development of the bourgeoisie class exhibited different trajectories in different European cities. As this new social class emerged to power, it valued various professions and sought to explore new markets and establish trade networks. The result was an increase in trade and entrepreneurial activity. The expansion of domestic and foreign markets during this period marked the beginning of mass consumption. The industrial revolution played an essential role in the proliferation of factories, stimulating the growth of cities and towns and subsequent population explosions. Moreover, the increasing and diversifying labor force contributed to the diversification of consumption patterns. For example, the middle class, which experienced significant growth following the industrial revolution, turned to leisure consumption to make use of their time outside working hours. The 19th century in particular witnessed the spread of industrialization in Europe and the

transformation of America into an industrial powerhouse. This transformation encouraged intercontinental trade, the development of innovative technologies to facilitate the exchange of industrial goods and the diversification of trade. The exponential growth of the working class and the emergence of gigantic enterprises gave rise to new sectors. The emergence of mass production, first exemplified by the Fordism model in the early 20th century, took consumer culture to unprecedented heights (Akturan, 2015, pp. 37-39).

Significant changes in consumption have led to the marketing efforts of businesses. At the same time, these marketing efforts have changed in order to keep up with this constant change. Today, with the modernization of consumer societies, businesses are trying to transform the consumer's desire into a need and their need into a desire to develop persuasive and effective marketing strategies. Businesses try to offer interesting options for consumers, introduce new products and create new customers to gain competitive advantage. (Yayla, 2022, p. 11)

Ultimately, the concept of consumer behavior was born. Consumer behavior is defined as the behavior of consumers while searching, purchasing, using, evaluating and disposing of products and services that they think will meet their needs. The available time, money, effort, etc. that individuals have. Consumer behavior, which examines how they spend resources for consumption and how their decisions about spending are formed, often focuses on the following questions: what consumers buy, why they buy, when they buy, where they buy, how often they buy, how often they use what they buy. How do consumers evaluate the product or service after purchasing, and what effect do these evaluations have on future purchases? If they want to dispose of the product they bought, what kind of way do they follow? (Schiffman, Lazar, Hansen, 2012, p. 23)

According to Kassarian and Goodstein, consumer behavior, which is considered a new branch of social sciences, emerged in the 1950s. The science of marketing, which can be considered as a higher category of consumer behavior, has existed as an academic endeavor a hundred years ago. The discipline of Consumer

Behavior, which evolved over time within the field of Marketing, which started as a small unit of Economics in the early twentieth century, began its academic adventure with units called Distribution Industries and Product Distribution at various universities in the United States. In the 1940s, great progress was made for the birth of consumer behavior theories. The birth of Freudian Psychoanalytic Theory, Behavioral Learning Theory and Lewinian Field Theory led to the birth of Economic Psychology.

However, research into the effects of propaganda and persuasion on behavior and attitude change was heavily supported by the US Government due to the war years. In the same years, the British Economist John Maynard Keynes made a major challenge to the prevailing economic understanding. Keynes emphasized the role of the Government in the economy and highlighted the expectations of business. His work resulted in a rethinking of the dominant understanding of business and economics. As a result of Hungarian psychologist George Katona's work on economics and psychology, he argued that economists ignore human behavior and do not pay enough attention to it. According to him, consumers' expectations, attitudes and emotions have a major impact on the economy and consumer confidence needs to be studied in more detail to understand economic fluctuations. With this idea in mind, Likert, along with Campbell and other leading social scientists, founded the Survey Research Center and argued for the development of survey methodology to collect data. Today, consumer confidence is an important indicator in economic forecasting. After the Second World War, the mass media began to study the formation and change of attitudes on individuals and societies, which was a big step for the field of Consumer Behavior. The above-mentioned scholars have indirectly contributed to the transformation of "consumer behavior" research into a discipline. (Kassarjian and Goodstein, 2021, pp.39-41).

Consumer behavior encompasses a broad spectrum of products and services that individuals purchase and utilize, examining how these purchasing behaviors impact their daily lives (Christmas, 2009, p.12). As an interdisciplinary field, the study of consumer behavior faces the challenge of establishing a unified and integrated

discipline that encompasses various perspectives. Universities and research institutions have grappled with role ambiguity, with differing opinions on whether to prioritize academic research or managerial objectives (Foxall, 2015, p. 18).

Despite the divergent views within the social sciences, scholars unanimously acknowledge the intricate nature of the phenomena they investigate. Human behavior is influenced by a myriad of interconnected factors, making it exceedingly challenging to decipher the underlying drivers. Consumer behavior presents a unique challenge as it appears, at first glance, to be straightforward to comprehend, explain, and even predict. Basic economic principles suggest an inverse relationship between the demand for a good and its price, and a cursory analysis of the role of money in industrial society confirms the accuracy of economic principles (Foxall, 2015, p. 18).

The study of consumer behavior encompasses a wide range of consumers and products, amplifying the scope of research in this field. Individuals engage in consumption to fulfill diverse needs, ranging from basic necessities to desires for status, love, respect, and spiritual gratification. Consumer preferences span a vast array of products, reflecting the varied passions of individuals. Although consumers ultimately determine their needs and desires, engage in purchasing behaviors to satisfy those needs, and subsequently dispose of the acquired products, their consumption process is influenced by a multitude of situational and interpersonal factors (Foxall, 2015, p. 18).

2.2.3.3 Factors affecting consumer behavior. Consumer behavior refers to a complex phenomenon involving the deliberate identification, acquisition and use of goods and services to fulfill consumers' desires. Similar to other aspects of human behavior, consumer behavior is governed by a complex interplay of various interconnected and independent cognitive processes. As explained by Gajjar,(2013, p.11) in the first stage, the consumer engages in an evaluative process to identify the goods or services they prefer, and then prefers only those offers that increase perceived utility. Following the selection process, consumers try to estimate the monetary capacity available for spending by carefully assessing their financial resources. Finally, consumers

thoroughly examine prevailing market prices in order to make an informed decision on their optimal consumption choices. At the same time, a myriad of external factors covering social, cultural, personal and psychological dimensions also influence consumers' purchasing decisions to varying degrees.

Odabaşı and Barış (2003,p.30) identify seven key aspects that summarize the different characteristics inherent in consumer behavior. First, consumer behavior emerges as a motivated behavior driven by underlying needs and desires. Second, it is dynamic in nature and represents an ongoing process rather than a static phenomenon. Third, consumer behavior encompasses a multitude of activities that individuals undertake in their search for goods and services. Fourth, the characteristics of consumer behavior vary over time. Fifth, consumer behavior is multifaceted as individuals play different roles in decision-making and consumption processes. Sixth, environmental factors have a significant impact on consumer behavior and shape and guide consumer preferences. Finally, the differences observed between individuals in consumer behavior lead to unique patterns and preferences.

According to Noel,(2009,p.14) the various factors that can influence consumer behavior are grouped under three conceptual areas and headings. These influences are: external influences, internal processes (including consumer decision-making) and post-decision processes. According to Noel's model of Consumer Behavior, External influences and internal processes collect various variables under two main headings and post-decision processes under a single heading. These variables and their titles are given in the table below respectively:

Table 2

Influences Of Consumer Behaviour

External influences	
Firm's marketing efforts:	The consumer's culture:

Table 2 (cont.d)

a.Product b.Promotion c.Price d.Place	a.Religion b.Ethnicity c.Reference groups d.Social class
--	---

Internal processes	
Psychological processes:	Decision making:
a.Motivation b.Perception c.Attitudes d.Knowledge	a.Problem recognition b.Information search c.Judgment d.Decision making

Post-decision processes
a. Purchase b. Post-purchase behaviour

Eroğlu states that the consumer behavior model serves as an analytical framework that illuminates the complex mechanisms underlying consumers' purchase decisions. This model comprehensively addresses the consumer's decision-making process and enumerates the factors that influence this process. These influential factors

can be classified into two distinct categories: internal and external. External factors, which cover socio-cultural dimensions, include factors such as culture, subculture, demographics, social class, reference groups, familial influences and marketing activities. Internal Factors, or Individual Factors, are the main determinants of behavior, include perception, learning, memory, motivation, personality, emotions and attitudes (Eroğlu,2012, p.20).

In her book called *Consumer Behavior And Behavioral Intentions* Yayla (2022, pp. 37-47) argues that an individual's attitudes, ideas, beliefs and value judgments may be subject to the influence of reference groups consisting of different groups of people. This influence may arise due to the individual's membership in the group, the desire to gain the group's approval or the tendency to emulate the group. In addition, an individual's consumer behavior is also shaped by the value judgments and influence of the family environment in which he/she is raised. The cultural environment to which the individual belongs is an important determinant of consumer behavior, given its impact on the sense of identity and values. Moreover, the consumer's age significantly transforms their attitudes and simultaneously shapes their needs. As a result, the consumer's age and the corresponding age group are of great importance in consumer behavior analysis. Moreover, the consumer's occupation is of great importance both in the formulation of marketing policies and in the study of consumer behavior, as it shapes the consumer's desires, needs and environment.

2.3.3.4 Factors affecting book reading and purchasing behavior. Almost all commercial activities that aim to sell their products are in fierce competition in the market. However, the competition in the publishing industry has a unique competitive structure in many ways compared to other commercial activities. Publishers have to compete with other publishers for existing or potential content. This is because they are in a contractual relationship with content creators, often referred to as authors or editors. Therefore, they are in competition with other publishers who are interested in the same content. After acquiring the ownership of the content and converting it into a book, a different type of competition emerges; they must sell their products in the highly crowded book market. In this market, they must compete with other publishers while also convincing diverse customers, i.e., readers with varying interests, habits,

and behaviors. During this process, publishers must attract not only the attention of customers but also that of the media and natural advertising areas. To be able to make their books the focus of purchasing among thousands of books published each year, publishers need powerful marketing techniques and analyses (Thompson, 2010, p. 28). Additionally, books are in competition with other entertainment industries, and publishing is one of the industries with the highest consumer resistance to price (Cole, 1999, p. XIV).

There are numerous academic studies on consumer behavior and retail management. Although these studies can serve as a resource for conducting research on the book industry, there is a shortage of academic research directly examining consumer behavior in book sales (Laing, 2008, p.1). Most of the literature in this area focuses on the educational sciences approach to reading behavior, and the scarcity of research on consumer behavior related to books is one of the challenging aspects of this research. When the literature on consumer behavior in the book industry is reviewed, the abundance of field studies stands out. However, old reports on the book industry that are integrated into fast e-commerce do not provide enough data while examining the habits of today's consumers. For example, Koç (2020, p. 283) made the following criticism after his literature review on reading behaviors:

“When we look at the literature, there are many studies separately on reading attitude and values. Studies on reading books were carried out to measure the reading attitudes, skills and habits of students at all levels of education, from pre-school to university (Elbir - Bağcı, 2013). Studies on values have been conducted in the form of studies that examine both general values and a value (Baş - Bayhan, 2012; Dünder - Movement, 2016; Metin - Metiner, 2019). However, no research has been found that examines the possible relationship between reading attitude and values.”

Books produced by publishers are sold to readers using various marketing methods. As a result of this relationship, publishers are evaluated as producers, books as products, and readers as consumers. Similar to other consumption behaviors, readers

are influenced by various factors when making consumption decisions while purchasing books (Öksüz, 2022, p.17). According to Altuna and Aysuna (2009, p.209), the secret behind the fact that only some books out of thousands published annually are consumed by wide readership is not only the impactfulness of the subject matter or its contribution to literature. The reason for the widespread adoption of these books is effective marketing activities. The factor of the product's characteristics is also valid for a cultural product such as a book in consumer preferences. In terms of directing purchase desires and developing production and distribution strategies, the type of book is an important feature. At the same time, the reader in the consumer position repeating the consumption preference is important in terms of having previously experienced the same type and author (Altuna and Aysuna, 2009, p.211).

According to Adorno (2014, p.109), the culture industry prepares familiar things for consumption by the masses by combining them with new qualities, while constructing a system that is similar in its structures, devoid of gaps, and planned. (Bahçecioğlu, 2021, p.29). As a cultural industry, the book sector strives to create marketing strategies using the new techniques brought about by consumer culture in order to construct a seamless process of consumption and obtain more customers. It attempts to direct the reader's reading tendency by selecting attention-grabbing titles. As with almost all consumer products, it tries to take advantage of the positive effect of an attention-grabbing package on sales. For this purpose, attention-grabbing and dazzling colors, visuals that will direct the reader's perception, and quality packaging materials are used. The budget that the publishing house allocates to marketing, public relations, promotion, and advertising, as well as the strategy studies conducted in these areas, are effective factors in directing book sales (Altuna and Aysuna, 2009, p.211).

The book industry has gone through significant transformations in recent years, with digitalization and e-commerce playing a critical role in shaping consumer behavior. Consumers' purchasing decisions are affected by several factors, including the book's content, price, format, availability, and marketing strategies. Understanding these factors can help publishers, authors, and marketers create effective marketing and distribution strategies to attract and retain consumers. In this article, we explore

the main factors that affect consumers in the book industry, drawing on academic literature and industry reports.

Yayla argues that consumers are exposed to a numerous social influences such as individual, environmental and familial factors that significantly affect their purchasing decisions. By recognizing and understanding the factors that influence consumers' purchasing behavior, marketers have the potential to align their products or services with these influential forces. Tracking such factors by publishers enables them to customize the books they offer to efficiently meet consumer demands and preferences.

(2020,p.37)

Chapter 3

Data And Method

This study, which aims to analyze the relationship between political ideologies and book reading habits based on literature review, utilized various information collection methods. In this section, the purpose of the research is explained in detail and data collection tools and methods are listed.

3.1 Aim and Scope of Research

There are many different, diverse and dimensional factors that determine and shape consumer habits. These factors can be summarized as social, cultural, demographic, situational and psychological factors. Social factors such as roles, status, reference groups and family play a major role in the formation of consumer behavior.

This research aims to examine the relationship between political ideologies, which heavily influence and determine the various factors mentioned in the previous paragraph, but are also heavily influenced by these factors - just like consumer

behavior - and people's book reading behavior from the perspective of consumer behavior discipline and business science. The relationship between ideologies and consumer behavior is examined through book reading behavior, which is also influenced by dozens of different external factors.

Ideologies are very complex concepts that are difficult to measure and define. For this reason, with a historicist approach, the historical development of ideologies, the phenomena that led to the emergence of these ideologies and the people who were active in the theoretical construction of ideologies are explained in detail in the literature review of the study. In the ideologies section of the literature review, the common values of the people who follow ideologies were tried to be identified. The ideologies of conservatism, socialism, liberalism and nationalism were defined in detail through a comprehensive review of the literature.

In the second part of the thesis, in order to examine the complex and intricate reading behaviors and habits, the historical development and current data of the book, the "book industry" and publishing in Turkey and the world were examined, again with a historicist approach. At this stage, the reader is defined as a consumer and the literature on their behaviors is reviewed. Production and consumption data on the book industry in Turkey and the world are analyzed and summarized, and detailed data on the sector are shared.

In the last part of the study, the data obtained from a field survey developed and applied to determine the political ideologies, political attitudes and values, their own political definitions, reading behaviors, reading habits and demographic characteristics of Turkish citizens between the ages of 18-70 in Turkey are shared.

Another aim of the research is to draw attention to this field, which has been little studied. In Turkey, there are many studies in the field of book history in Turkish literature and Turkology chairs. Research on reading habits and reading comprehension has been conducted in faculties of education and institutes. However, there are almost no studies on book reading behavior as a consumption habit from the

perspective of business science. Since the 1950s, when the discipline of consumer behavior emerged as a discipline, thousands of studies have been conducted on the factors affecting consumer behavior (Kassarjian, Goodstein, 2021, p.39- 41). However, the scarcity of studies on the effects of political ideology and attitudes, which are both social, cultural, psychological and economic factors, on consumer behavior is striking. This thesis aims to contribute to the literature in these areas where there are few studies and at the same time to help future studies in these areas.

In the findings section, this study aims to determine the relationships between reading behaviors and political ideologies, to interpret the effects of political values on reading behaviors, and to examine whether political identification and political attitude profiles have similar behaviors in consumption habits in the context of the book industry. As a result of this research, it will be tried to determine which significant differences exist between the reading behaviors of readers with different political profiles.

3.2 Research Model

Within the scope of the research, in addition to the findings of the literature review, quantitative analysis applications were made. In order to obtain the necessary data for this research, a questionnaire was selected as the appropriate data collection method. A literature review was conducted before creating survey questions on the subject. As a result of the literature review, a questionnaire consisting of four main sections was prepared.

In the first part of the form, there are statements to determine the demographic characteristics of the participants. In this section, in addition to demographic information, factual and behavioral statements about political activism and political definitions were asked to the participants. While preparing these statements, the "Political and Cultural Attitude Scale" developed by Küçüker (2007) was benefited from.

In the second part of the questionnaire, 30 statements were included to determine the political values that affect the political ideology and attitudes of the participants. These statements were prepared by benefiting from the "Political Values Scale" developed by Rose and McAllister (1990) and adapted to Turkey by Demirtaş (2017).

In the third part of the questionnaire, a new scale was prepared by benefiting from the "Attitude Scale for Reading Habits" prepared by Gömleksiz (2004) in order to determine the reading behavior of the participants. In the fourth part, 10 different book categories were presented to the participants and they were asked which book categories they preferred and how often.

3.3 Universe And The Participants

In the questionnaire form consisting of 86 statements and questions in total, a 5-point Likert ranking scale was used except for demographic categorical questions.

For the quantitative analysis, a pilot survey was applied to 240 participants in April 2023, and the questionnaire was subjected to reliability and validity analyses with the IBM SPSS program, and positive results were obtained. Following the pilot survey, the questionnaires were distributed in May 2023 to 697 book readers between the ages of 18-75 who are Turkish citizens. Convenience sampling was used to determine the sample population. The questionnaire form was uploaded to the survey application named LimeSurvey and distributed to the participants via the internet. The results were transferred to IBM SPSS program and analyzed.

3.4 Limitations

In this study, it should be taken into account that the answers given by the surveyed readers are influenced not only by how they position themselves politically, but also by how they are politically positioned at the moment they answer. Likewise, political identification and political attitudes are highly subjective, highly variable

from person to person, undergo various transformations over time and are difficult to measure. It should be taken into consideration that individuals may attribute different affiliations to themselves for various reasons such as surroundings and education, regardless of their opinions.

Chapter 4

Findings

This section aims to explain the research methodology and findings in detail. In total, 691 respondents answered the questionnaire. 189 of the respondents did not complete the questionnaire and their responses were considered invalid and not included in the analysis. The responses of 502 participants were analyzed. Therefore, the number of participants in the research is 502.

4.1 Demographic Analysis

In this section, the demographic data of the participants determined as a result of the research will be presented.

Among 502 participants, 1 participant preferred not to answer the gender question. Although equal gender distribution was targeted, 13% more men participated in the survey. 43.4% of the participants were female and 56.4% were male. The total number of women participating in the research is 218. The total number of men participating in the study is 283. Frequency and rate distribution is given in the Table 3.

Table 3

Gender Distribution of Participants

Gender				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Table 3 (cont.d)

Valid	Female	218	43,4	43,5	43,5
	Male	283	56,4	56,5	100,0
	Total	501	99,8	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,2		
Total		502	100,0		

Most of the participants are single. Only 27.9% of the participants stated that they were married. Marital status distribution is given in Table 4.

Table 4

Marital Status Distribution

Marital status					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		2	,4	,4	,4
	Bachelor	360	71,7	71,7	72,1
	Married	140	27,9	27,9	100,0
	Total	502	100,0	100,0	

Participants were asked three separate mandatory questions about education. According to the results of the research, the majority of the participants are university graduates with a rate of 45.8%. This is followed by high school graduates, master's degree graduates, doctorate graduates, secondary school graduates and primary school graduates. Table 5 shows the frequency and ratio distributions of the participants' degrees.

Table 5

Distributions Of The Participants' Degrees

Degree					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School to High School	167	33,3	33,3	33,3
	Bachelor	230	45,8	45,8	79,1
	Master's and PhD	105	20,9	20,9	100,0
	Total	502	100,0	100,0	

Although the age of the respondents varied considerably, it was observed that there was a concentration between the ages of 20-30. Turkish citizens between 18 and 75 years of age were sampled in the survey, with an average age of 30.3 years. 11 respondents preferred not to state their age. Age distribution is presented in the Table 6 below.

Table 6

Age Distribution of Participants

Age Distribution of Participants					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-25	220	43,8	45,0	45,0
	26-35	156	31,1	31,9	76,9
	36-50	80	15,9	16,4	93,3
	51-65	27	5,4	5,5	98,8
	65-75	6	1,2	1,2	100,0
	Total	489	97,4	100,0	
Missing	System	13	2,6		
Total		502	100,0		

When the monthly household income of the participants was analyzed, it was determined that 35.5% had an income of 10-20 000 TL and 34.9% had an income of 20-40 000 TL. Details are given in the Table 7.

Table 7

Monthly Household Income of the Participants

Monthly household income					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		1	,2	,2	,2
	5-10 000 TL	62	12,4	12,4	12,5
	10-20 000 TL	178	35,5	35,5	48,0
	20-40 000 TL	175	34,9	34,9	82,9
	above 40 000 TL	86	17,1	17,1	100,0
	Total	502	100,0	100,0	

Participants were also asked about the educational status of their families. According to the results, most of the participants' mothers are primary school graduates. The rates of primary school, high school and university graduation of their fathers are close to each other. Unfortunately, the education level of their mothers is lower than that of their fathers. Table 8 show the distribution of the participants' family education levels.

Table 8

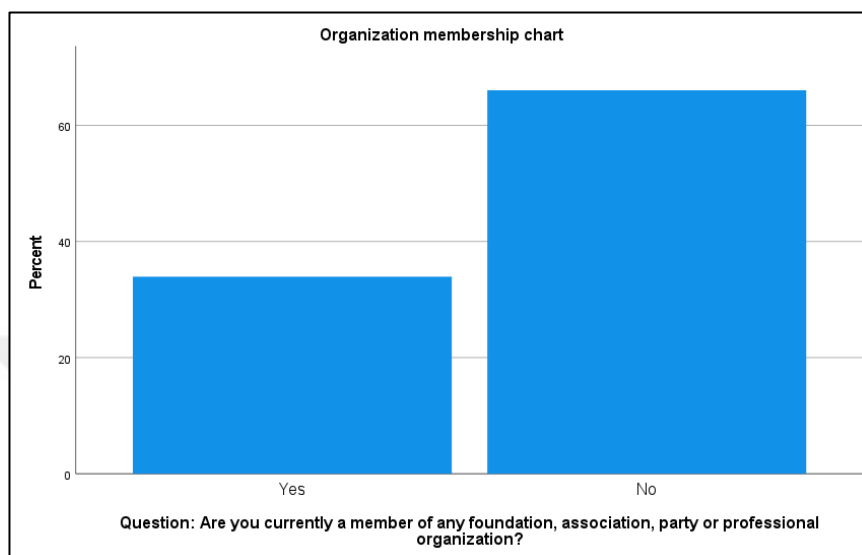
Participants' Parents' Degree

Participants' Fathers' Degree					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School to High School	334	66,5	66,7	66,7
	Bachelor	131	26,1	26,1	92,8
	Master's and PhD	36	7,2	7,2	100,0
	Total	501	99,8	100,0	
Missing	System	1	0,2		
Total		502	100,0		
Participants' Mothers' Degree					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School to High School	387	77,1	77,7	77,7
	Bachelor	93	18,5	18,7	96,4
	Master's and PhD	18	3,6	3,6	100,0
	Total	498	99,2	100,0	
Missing	System	4	0,8		
Total		502	100,0		

Participants were asked whether they were members of foundations, associations, parties or professional organizations in order to find out their political participation rates. While 2.6% of the participants preferred not to answer the question,

the majority of them, 64.3%, stated that they were not members of any of the above-mentioned organizations. The rate of those who are members of an organization is 33.1%.

Figure 1



However, the rates of interest in politics and political issues were considerably higher compared to organizational membership. Respondents were asked to answer a 5-point Likert-type question on how interested they are in politics and political issues. The rate of "I am interested" was 51%, while the rate of "very interested" was 29.5%. This rate shows that the interest of the survey group in politics is quite high.

The Table 9 below show the rate of organization membership and the rate of declaration of interest in politics.

Table 9

Interest in Politics

Interest in Politics							
			1	2	3	4	5
How interested are you in politics and political issues?	N	3	17	34	44	256	148
	%	0,6%	3,4%	6,8%	8,8%	51,0%	29,5%

4.1.1 Participants' perceptions of identity. The participants were given 12 categories of identity definitions and were asked to indicate how close they found themselves to these by marking one of the options "Not at all appropriate", "Not appropriate", "Neither appropriate nor inappropriate", "appropriate", "very appropriate".

Table 10

Distribution Of Answers To The Definition Of Identities.

		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Conservative	N	178	125	98	72	13	486	16
	%	35,5	24,9	19,5	14,3	2,6	96,8	3,2
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Religious	N	217	92	92	57	27	485	17
	%	43,2	18,3	18,3	11,4	5,4	96,6	3,4
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Communist	N	309	80	56	18	14	477	25
	%	61,6	15,9	11,2	3,6	2,8	95,0	5,0
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Liberal	N	205	107	103	43	19	477	25
	%	40,8	21,3	20,5	8,6	3,8	95,0	5,0
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Secular	N	50	34	66	124	205	479	23
	%	10,0	6,8	13,1	24,7	40,8	95,4	4,6
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Islamist	N	364	51	27	27	9	478	24
	%	72,5	10,2	5,4	5,4	1,8	95,2	4,8

Table 10 (cont.d)

		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Socialist	N	194	98	81	58	48	479	23
	%	38,6	19,5	16,1	11,6	9,6	95,4	4,6
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Kemalist	N	55	29	70	105	227	486	16
	%	11,0	5,8	13,9	20,9	45,2	96,8	3,2
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Social Democrat	N	141	81	119	73	60	474	28
	%	28,1	16,1	23,7	14,5	12,0	94,4	5,6
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Nationalist	N	59	55	79	79	219	491	11
	%	11,8	11,0	15,7	15,7	43,6	97,8	2,2
		Valid						Missing
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System
Ülkücü	N	261	66	50	35	69	481	21
	%	52,0	13,1	10,0	7,0	13,7	95,8	4,2

It is possible to make the following comments by analyzing the frequency and ratio distribution:

- Based on the survey results, the majority of participants (35%) expressed that the definition of conservative is not appropriate for them, with 24.9% specifically stating it as "not appropriate."
- More than half of the participants stated that the definition of religious was not suitable for them.
- Over 75% of the participants indicated that the definition of communist identity is not appropriate for them.
- Regarding the definition of liberal identity, more than half of the participants found it unsuitable. Notably, the option "Neither defines them nor does not define them" received a slightly higher response rate of 20.5%.

- e. Approximately 66% of the participants found the definition of laic/secular identity appropriate according to the survey results.
- f. The survey revealed that 72.5% of the participants considered the definition of Islamist identity not suitable for them. Among those, 10.2% specifically chose the expression "not suitable," while only 1.8% (9 respondents) found it very suitable, indicating the lowest level of relevance among the self-identifications.
- g. The definition of socialist identity showed a varied distribution among the answers according to the survey results.
- h. The majority of participants stated that the definition of Kemalist (Atatürkçü) identity was not appropriate for them.
- i. According to the survey results, the majority of participants found the definition of nationalist suitable for them.
- j. The survey results indicated that the majority of participants stated that the definition of Ülkücü does not suit them.

Descriptive statistics on political identity definitions are given in Table 11 in ranked according to mean order.

Table 11

Political Identity Definitions

	Statistics					
	N		Mean	Median	Std. Deviation	Variance
	Valid	Missing				
Kemalist	486	16	3,86	4,00	1,362	1,854
Laic/Secular	479	23	3,84	4,00	1,329	1,766
Nationalism	491	11	3,70	4,00	1,432	2,051
Social Democrat	474	28	2,64	3,00	1,377	1,896
Socialist	479	23	2,31	2,00	1,368	1,870
Conservative	486	16	2,21	2,00	1,166	1,359
Religious	485	17	2,14	2,00	1,261	1,591
Ülkücü	481	21	2,14	1,00	1,488	2,214
Liberal	477	25	2,09	2,00	1,166	1,360
Communist	477	25	1,63	1,00	1,024	1,048
Islamist	478	24	1,46	1,00	0,964	0,929

4.1.2 Frequency Of Preference Of Book Types. Within the scope of the research, in order to obtain information about the participants' book preferences, the participants were asked how often they read book genres consisting of 12 categories. According to the findings, the most preferred genre by readers is history books. Participants read personal development books the least frequently. The list of book preference frequencies ranked according to the mean is presented in Table 12 in detail. The distribution of responses regarding the frequency of book catalogue preferences is given in table 13.

Table 12

Frequency Distribution of Categories In Participants' Book Reading and Purchasing Preferences

	N		Mean	Std. Deviation
	Valid	Missing		
[History]	494	8	3,84	1,146
[Novel]	496	6	3,7	1,074
[World Classics]	494	8	3,66	1,141
[Turkish	493	9	3,58	1,177
[Politics]	493	9	3,26	1,367
[Philosophy]	494	8	3,2	1,293
[Story]	494	8	3,08	1,196
[Poetry]	493	9	2,83	1,348
[Religion]	493	9	2,41	1,257
[Self Development]	494	8	2,11	1,296

Table 13

Frequency Distribution of Answers of Categories in Participants' Book Reading and Purchasing Preferences

		Valid						Missing	
		1	2	3	4	5	Total	System	
Novel	N	16	52	132	163	133	496	6	502
	%	3,2	10,4	26,3	32,5	26,5	98,8	1,2	100,0
Story	N	45	127	137	113	72	494	8	502
	%	9,0	25,3	27,3	22,5	14,3	98,4	1,6	100,0
Poetry	N	104	111	116	89	73	493	9	502
	%	20,7	22,1	23,1	17,7	14,5	98,2	1,8	100,0
History	N	21	48	100	146	179	494	8	502
	%	4,2	9,6	19,9	29,1	35,7	98,4	1,6	100,0
Politics	N	69	80	121	98	125	493	9	502
	%	13,7	15,9	24,1	19,5	24,9	98,2	1,8	100,0
Philosophy	N	64	84	134	115	97	494	8	502
	%	12,7	16,7	26,7	22,9	19,3	98,4	1,6	100,0
Personal Development	N	237	88	83	52	34	494	8	502
	%	47,2	17,5	16,5	10,4	6,8	98,4	1,6	100,0
Religion	N	153	123	115	65	37	493	9	502
	%	30,5	24,5	22,9	12,9	7,4	98,2	1,8	100,0
World Classics	N	21	56	138	132	147	494	8	502
	%	4,2	11,2	27,5	26,3	29,3	98,4	1,6	100,0
Turkish Classics	N	25	66	140	122	140	493	9	502
	%	5,0	13,1	27,9	24,3	27,9	98,2	1,8	100,0

4.2 Factor Analysis

4.2.1 Factor analysis of political values scale. The first stage of the questionnaire prepared for the study includes questions asked to learn the demographic information of the participants. In the second stage of the survey, the "Political Values Scale" developed by Rose and Mcallister (1990) and adapted to Turkish and Turkey by Demirtaş (2017) was used to determine the political values of the readers. The "Political Values Scale" adapted by Demirtaş (2017) consists of "economic values" with four sub-factor groups such as "opposition to social assistance, fairness in income distribution, opposition to privatization, opposition to Social Expenditures " and "non-economic values" with six sub-factor groups such as "support for authority, nuclear

support, traditional morality, environmental protection, equal opportunity, internationalization". The "anti-unionism and centralization" sub-factors in Rose and Mcallister (1990) scale were removed as a result of the pilot tests conducted by Demirtaş (2017).

4.2.1.1 Factor analysis of non-economic values of political values scale. In the first analysis applied to the 18 statements related to "non-economic values", the KMO value was found to be 0.787 as a result of KMO and Barlett's Test. As a result of this result, "non-economic values" was accepted as reliable and significant. During the factor analysis, 5 sub-factors were identified. The variance value after Varimax Rotation was found to be 60.2%. However, 5 statements were excluded from the analysis with the assumption that the statements in more than one factor group and with eigenvalues below 0.4 were excluded from the question set. As a result of the factor analysis applied again on 13 statements, although the new KMO degree was found to be 0.722, the variance value after rotation increased to 71.547%. The results of KMO and Barlett's Test are given in Table 14 and the factor analysis for non-economic values is given in Table 15. The dimensions found as a result of the factor analysis are "traditional morality", "protection of the environment", "equal opportunity", "" and "nuclear support", respectively.

Table 14

KMO and Barlett's Test of Non-Political Values

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,722
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1934,196
	df	78
	Sig.	,000

Table 15

Factor Analysis For Non-Economic Values

Rotated Component Matrix^a	
	Component

Table 15 (cont.d)

	Traditional Values	Environm ent Values	Equalit y Values	Nuclear Support Values	Inter- nationalization
Sexual phenomena and nudity in movies are excessive.	,839				
Censorship is necessary to establish broadcasting standards.	,784				
I do not agree with abortion.	,735				
Measures should be taken to protect the environment, regardless of the costs.		,873			
The environment should be protected even if it negatively affects business operations.		,859			
Housing construction areas in Turkey have increased at a level that pushes the limits of natural life.		,712			
Equality of opportunity for ethnic identities is well advanced in Turkey.			,784		

Table 15 (cont.d)

Equality of opportunity for sexual orientation (LGBT) is quite advanced in Turkey.			,755		
Equality of opportunity for women in Turkey is quite advanced.			,754		
Turkey should have nuclear power plants to produce its own energy.				,882	
Turkey should have nuclear weapons for national defense.				,866	
Turkey should remain in NATO.					,829
Turkey should not give up its goal of joining the European Union.					,823
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.					
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.					
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.					

4.2.1.2 Factor analysis of economic values of political values scale. As a result of the KMO and Bartlett's Test applied to the responses to the 12 statements about "economic values", which is another part of the political values scale, the KMO value was found to be 0.700 and the total variance value was found to be 60.118%. However, 2 statements were excluded from the analysis because they had low factor loadings and were in more than one factor group. In the renewed factor analysis, the KMO and Bartlett result was 0.685 and the total variance value was found to be 65.515%. The results of KMO and Bartlett's test are presented in detail in Table 16.

Table 16

KMO and Bartlett's for Economic Values of Political Values Scale

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,685
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	857,950
	df	45
	Sig.	,000

As a result of the factor analysis, 4 dimensions were identified. These dimensions are respectively: “Opposition to Social Expenditures, Privatization, Attitude towards Fairness in Income Distribution and Opposition to Social Welfare.” The distribution details of the factor analysis are presented in Table 17 and the variance values are presented in Table 18.

Table 17

Factor Analysis of Economic Values of Political Values Scale

Rotated Component Matrix^a				
	Component			
	Anti-social Expenditures	Privatization	Fairness in income distribution	Anti-social assistance
No more should be invested in the health sector.	,876			
No more should be invested in the education sector.	,849			
More should not be spent on poverty alleviation.	,627			
Privatization activities in Turkey are more than they should be.		,787		

Table 17 (cont.d)

Privatization activities carried out by the state are the right initiatives.		,742		
The state should take an active role in commercial life.		-,717		
The state fails to ensure fairness in income distribution.			,768	
The share of working people in national income is fair.			,762	
Social aids make the individual's life dependent on the state.				,874
The level of social assistance provided by the state is quite high.				,620
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.				
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.				
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.				

Table 18

Total Variance Values of Economic Values of Political Values Scale

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
1	2,644	26,442	26,442	2,049	20,488	20,488
2	1,552	15,521	41,963	1,747	17,474	37,962
3	1,226	12,260	54,223	1,456	14,558	52,520
4	1,129	11,292	65,515	1,300	12,995	65,515
5	,756	7,558	73,073			
6	,713	7,131	80,204			
7	,606	6,057	86,261			

Table 18 (cont.d)

8	,582	5,820	92,082			
9	,450	4,501	96,583			
10	,342	3,417	100,000			
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.						

4.2.2 Factor analysis of book reading behavior. In the other phase of the research, the " *Book Reading Behavior* " was developed by benefiting from Gömleksiz's "Attitude Scale on Book Reading Habits" in order to examine book reading habits and attitudes in the context of consumer behavior. Consisting of 29 statements, the Cronbach Alpha reliability test applied to this scale resulted in high reliability. Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was 0.814. As a result of the factor analysis applied to 29 statements, reliable and significant results were obtained. KMO and Barlett Test results are given in Table 19 Total variance value as a result of factor analysis is %56,42.

Table 19

KMO and Bartlett's Test result for Book Reading Behavior Scale

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,884
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	4415,175
	df	406
	Sig.	,000

As a result of the factor analysis using the Varimax rotation method, 3 statements with low factor loadings, cross-loading problems and 3 statements in more than one factor group were excluded from the analysis and factor analysis was applied again. As a result of the renewed Chronbach's Alpha Reliability analysis, a high reliability coefficient of 0.780 was reached. According to the renewed KMO and Barlett test, reliable and significant results were obtained. The new test result is given in Table 20

Table 20

KMO and Bartlett's Test Book Reading Behavior

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,866
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	3443,287
	df	276
	Sig.	,000

As a result of the factor analysis using Varimax rotation, 7 sub-factors were identified in the " *Book Reading Behavior*" scale. Under the 1st dimension " the desire for personal development ", under the 2nd dimension "favor" and under the 3rd dimension "sophistication", 5 separate statements were collected. 4 statements were collected under the 4th dimension "preference", 3 statements under the 5th dimension "ideological sympathy", 2 statements under the 6th dimension "ideological responsibility" and finally 1 statement under "background". Detailed information on the sub-dimensions of the scale and the statements loaded on it can be seen in Table 21

Table 21

Factor Analyses of Book Reading Behavior

Rotated Component Matrix^a						
	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Through reading we can make connections between the past and the present.	,730					
Reading increases our mental capacity.	,728					
Reading books gives us the habit of thinking fast.	,692					

Table 21 (cont.d)

Reading different kinds of books affects our perspective on life.	,671					
Reading books helps us understand people and the world better.	,565	,409				
I think reading books is boring		,679				
I find reading books unnecessary		,667				
I like to read books in my free time.		,654				
I do not like reading books.		,622				
I find it necessary to read books.		,598				
The reason why ignorant people stay ignorant is because they do not read books.			,757			
If people read more, this country would be in a better state.	,498		,623			
I trust a politician more if I know he/she is a good reader or writer.			,560			
I complain that people in my worldview read too little			,531			
I try to find out about the author of the book before I read it				,709		
I do not read randomly, I am selective about books.				,636		
I allocate a sufficient budget for books within my means		,466		,525		

Table 21 (cont.d)

I prefer people who read books in my circle of friends				,432		
For me, the political opinion of the writer/poet I read is not important					,744	
I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.					,699	
I also often read opinions contrary to my own ideology				-,452	,579	
Reading books is an ideological duty						,736
If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology						,693
In the house where I grew up, our family had a beautiful library						
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.						
a. Rotation converged in 16 iterations.						

According to factorial analysis, total variance of Book Reading Behavior Scale is %59,742.

Table 22
Total Variance of Book Reading Behavior

Total Variance Explained						
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
1	6,305	26,272	26,272	2,967	12,364	12,364
2	1,982	8,260	34,533	2,888	12,033	24,397
3	1,579	6,580	41,113	2,302	9,590	33,987

Table 22 (cont.d)

4	1,421	5,922	47,035	2,105	8,773	42,760
5	1,208	5,032	52,067	1,629	6,790	49,550
6	1,029	4,286	56,353	1,399	5,831	55,380
7	1,002	4,174	60,527	1,235	5,147	60,527
8	,911	3,795	64,323			
9	,820	3,416	67,739			
10	,766	3,192	70,931			
11	,763	3,178	74,109			
12	,682	2,840	76,949			
13	,634	2,643	79,592			
14	,609	2,536	82,127			
15	,577	2,406	84,534			
16	,533	2,220	86,754			
17	,521	2,171	88,924			
18	,498	2,077	91,001			
19	,475	1,978	92,979			
20	,442	1,842	94,821			
21	,391	1,628	96,449			
22	,345	1,438	97,887			
23	,301	1,253	99,139			
24	,207	,861	100,000			
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.						

4.3 Reability analysis

In this section of the study, reliability analysis of the scales used in the research is presented. The first scale used for the research was the "Political Values Scale" which developed by Rose and McAllister (1990) and adapted for Turkey by Demirtaş (2017) in order to determine the political values that affect the political ideology and attitude of the consumer. The other scale used in the study is the "Book Reading Behavior" scale, which was created by benefiting from the "Attitude Scale towards Reading Habits" developed by Gömleksiz (2004). The scales were subjected to reliability analysis using IBM SPSS program. In this section, the results of Cronbach's

Reliability Analysis, one of the most generally accepted reliability tests, will be presented.

Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis is a type of analysis produced by Lee Cronbach in 1951 that tests the reliability of scales and survey items. It is an appropriate internal consistency analysis to be used in studies where items are formed with Likert-type scales (Ercan and İsmet Kan, 2004, p.213).

Özdamar (2002) and Kılıç (2016) states that "There may be a single α value determined for each item, or there may be an average α value for all items in the scale. The α value obtained for all items indicates the overall reliability of that questionnaire and the general acceptance is that this value is 0.7 or higher. There are different classifications in the literature for the interpretation of Cronbach's alpha coefficient." According to Kılıç, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients can be interpreted as described in Table 23.

Table 23

Commentary of Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients

Cronbach Alfa Value	Comment
$0.81 < \alpha < 1.00$	The scale has high reliability
$0.61 < \alpha < 0.80$	The scale is of medium reliability
$0.41 < \alpha < 0.60$	The scale has low reliability
$0.00 < \alpha < 0.40$	The scale is not reliable

The Cronbach's Alpha coefficients of the scales of this research, calculated using the SPSS program, are given in Table 24, and their interpretations in the light of the above information are given below the table.

Table 24

Reliability Analysis of Scales

Reliability Statistics		
	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Book Reading Behavior Scale	0,773	18
Political Attitude Scale	0,720	27

As a result of the analysis, the Political Attitude Scale scored 0.720 and the Book Reading Behavior Scale scored 0.720. Both scales are considered reliable.

4.4 T-Test Analysis

4.4.1 T-test analysis between gender and noneconomic political values. In order to determine whether the participants' non-economic political values show a significant difference according to their gender, independent groups t-test was applied. The test results and interpretations applied to all sub-factors are given below.

Table 25

Group Statistics					
Gender		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Traditional Values	F	217	2,2995	1,19407	0,08106
	M	282	2,3121	1,05313	0,06271
Environmental V.	F	217	4,5223	0,62000	0,04209
	M	282	4,1874	0,82473	0,04911
Equality V.	F	216	2,1728	0,95030	0,06466
	M	282	2,6483	0,98454	0,05863
Nuclear Support V.	F	217	3,3502	1,36403	0,09260
	M	282	3,8493	1,18012	0,07028
Internationalization V.	F	217	3,3733	1,04142	0,07070
	M	282	3,5177	1,23330	0,07344

Table 26

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Traditional Values	Equal variances assumed	9,364	0,002	-0,124	497	0,901
Environmental V.	Equal variances assumed	24,161	0,000	4,994	497	0,000
Equality V.	Equal variances assumed	0,003	0,955	-5,422	496	0,000
Nuclear Support V.	Equal variances assumed	11,398	0,001	-4,375	497	0,000
Internationalization V.	Equal variances assumed	10,112	0,002	-1,386	497	0,166

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' traditional morality showed a significant difference according to their gender, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Protection of the Environment Values show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Women have a more positive attitude ($\bar{x}=4,5223$) towards policies aimed at protecting nature than men ($\bar{x}=4,1874$).

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Protection of the equal opportunity values show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Men agree more ($\bar{x}=2,6483$) than women ($\bar{x}=2,1728$) that equal opportunity is provided for genders, minorities and homosexual individuals in Turkey.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Nuclear Support values show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Men agree ($\bar{x}=3,8493$) that there should be nuclear activities in Turkey more than women ($\bar{x}=3,3502$).

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' traditional morality showed a significant difference according to their gender, no significant difference was found.

4.4.2 T-test analysis between gender and economic political values. Independent groups t-test was applied to determine whether the participants' economic political values showed a significant difference according to their gender. The test results and interpretations applied to sub-factors are given below.

Table 27

Group Statistics					
Gender		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Anti Social Expenditure	F	217	2,4562	0,97381	0,06611
	M	282	2,9752	1,04153	0,06202
Privatization Support	F	217	3,7158	0,79585	0,05403
	M	282	3,5065	0,99785	0,05942

Table 28

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Anti Social Expenditure	Equal variances assumed	0,165	0,685	-5,675	497	0,000
Privatization Support	Equal variances assumed	14,732	0,000	2,532	497	0,012

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' support for opposition to social expenditure values show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Women tend to support for opposition to social expenditure less ($\bar{x}=2,4562$) than men ($\bar{x}=2,9752$).

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' support for privatization show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Women ($\bar{x}=3,7158$) are tend to support privatization than men ($\bar{x}=3,5065$).

4.4.3 T-test analysis between gender and book reading behavior scale.

Independent samples t-test was applied to determine whether the participants' book reading-purchasing behaviors showed a significant difference according to their gender. The test results and interpretations applied to all sub-factors are given below. The values "favor", "preference" and "background" did not pass the normality distribution test and therefore were not included in the t-test.

Table 29

Group Statistics					
Gender		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Sophistication	F	217	3,9113	0,79997	0,05431
	M	280	3,7589	0,87345	0,05220
Ideological Sympathy	F	217	2,6705	0,98450	0,06683
	M	280	2,6452	0,84781	0,05067
Ideological Responsibility	F	215	2,9767	1,11465	0,07602
	M	281	3,0036	1,18848	0,07090

Table 30

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Sophistication	Equal variances assumed	2,313	0,129	2,000	495	0,046
Ideological Sympathy	Equal variances assumed	3,600	0,058	0,307	495	0,759
Ideological Responsibility	Equal variances assumed	1,897	0,169	-0,256	494	0,798

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' sophistication values show a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Women ($\bar{x}=3,9113$) desire sophistication in case of reading more than men ($\bar{x}=3,7589$).

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' ideological sympathy showed a significant difference according to their gender, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' ideological responsibility showed a significant difference according to their gender, no significant difference was found.

4.4.4 T-test analysis political activity and noneconomic political values. In order to determine whether the participants' non-economic political values show a significant difference according to political activity, independent groups t-test was applied. The test results and interpretations applied to all sub-factors are given in the table 31 and 32 below.

Table 31

Group Statistics of Political Activity and Noneconomic Political Values

Group Statistics					
Are you currently a member of any foundation, association, party or professional organization?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Traditional Values	Yes	166	2,3574	1,13444	0,08805
	No	322	2,2495	1,08653	0,06055
Environmental Values	Yes	166	4,3956	0,76595	0,05945
	No	322	4,2883	0,76129	0,04243
Equality Values	Yes	166	2,5251	1,04746	0,08130
	No	321	2,3904	0,96916	0,05409
Nuclear Support V.	Yes	166	3,5542	1,35515	0,10518
	No	322	3,6599	1,25615	0,07000
Internationalization V.	Yes	166	3,2410	1,24526	0,09665
	No	322	3,5807	1,07998	0,06018

Table 32

Independent Samples Test of Political Activity and Noneconomic Political Values

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Traditional Values	Equal variances assumed	0,094	0,760	1,024	486	0,306
Environmental Values	Equal variances assumed	0,011	0,916	1,472	486	0,142
Equality Values	Equal variances assumed	1,712	0,191	1,413	485	0,158
Nuclear Support V.	Equal variances assumed	2,226	0,136	-0,857	486	0,392
Internationalization V.	Equal variances assumed	6,653	0,010	-3,123	486	0,002

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' traditional morality showed a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Environment Values showed a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Protection of the equal opportunity values show a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Nuclear Support values show a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' support for internationalization values show a significant difference according to their political activity, a significant difference was found. Politically active people tend to support internationalization less ($\bar{x}=3,2410$) than politically inactive people ($\bar{x}=3,5807$).

4.4.5 T- test analysis for political activity and economic political values. In order to determine whether the participants' non-economic political values show a significant difference according to political activity, independent groups t-test was applied. The test results and interpretations applied to all sub-factors are given in the table 33 and 34 below.

Table 33

Group Statistics of Political Activity and Economic Political Values

Group Statistics					
Are you currently a member of any foundation, association, party or professional organization?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Privatization	Yes	166	3,6556	0,97271	0,07550
	No	322	3,5611	0,89684	0,04998
Anti Social Expenditures	Yes	166	2,9036	1,12669	0,08745
	No	322	2,6599	0,97956	0,05459

Table 34

Independent Samples Test of Political Activity and Eeconomic Political Values

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Privatization	Equal variances assumed	1,950	0,163	1,072	486	0,284
Anti Social Expenditures	Equal variances assumed	2,610	0,107	2,472	486	0,014

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Privatization Support values show a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' Opposition to Social Welfare show a significant difference according to their political activity, a significant difference was found. Politicly active people tend to support Opposition to Social Welfare more ($\bar{x}=2,9036$) then politicly unactive people ($\bar{x}=2,6599$).

4.4.6 T-test analysis political activity and book reading behavior scale.

Independent samples t-test was applied to determine whether the participants' book reading-purchasing behaviors showed a significant difference according to their political activity. The test results and interpretations applied to all sub-factors are given in the table 35 and 36 below. The values "favor", "preference" and "background" did not pass the normality distribution test and therefore were not included in the t-test.

Table 35

Group Statistics of Political Activity and Economic Political Values

Group Statistics					
Are you currently a member of any foundation, association, party or professional organization?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Sophistication	Yes	166	3,8434	0,81204	0,06303
	No	321	3,7983	0,86422	0,04824
Ideological Sympathy	Yes	166	2,7058	0,94671	0,07348
	No	320	2,5969	0,87676	0,04901
Ideological Responsibility	Yes	166	3,1205	1,22991	0,09546
	No	319	2,9044	1,11145	0,06223

Table 36

Independent Samples Test of Political Activity and Economic Political Values

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Sophistication	Equal variances assumed	0,375	0,540	0,557	485	0,578
	Equal variances not assumed			0,568	352,536	0,570
Ideological Sympathy	Equal variances assumed	1,659	0,198	1,264	484	0,207

Table 36 (cont.d)

	Equal variances not assumed			1,233	312,491	0,218
Ideological Responsibility	Equal variances assumed	4,245	0,040	1,958	483	0,051
	Equal variances not assumed			1,896	306,332	0,059

As a result of the independent samples t-test applied to determine whether the participants' sophistication values show a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' ideological sympathy showed a significant difference according to their political activity, no significant difference was found.

As a result of the independent groups t-test applied to determine whether the participants' ideological responsibility showed a significant difference according to their gender, a significant difference was found. Politically active people tend to have the feeling of ideological responsibility for reading more ($\bar{x}=3,1205$) than politically inactive people ($\bar{x}=2,9044$).

4.4.7 T-test analysis between gender and political identity. In the questionnaire prepared for the research, following the questions asked to measure demographic information, the respondents were asked to answer categorical statements prepared by utilizing the Political and Cultural Attitude Scale developed by Küçüker (2007). These statements are political identity definitions that have been generally accepted by Turkish politics and society and have been used for many years, and are still important

today. The participants were asked how appropriate the identity descriptions "Conservative, Religious, Communist, Liberal, Laic/Secular, Socialist, Kemalist-Atatürkist, Social Democrat, Nationalist, Islamist and finally Ülkücü" are in defining themselves. The respondents were asked to rank these identities using a 5-point Likert scale with the options of "not at all appropriate", "not appropriate", "neither appropriate nor inappropriate", "appropriate" and "very appropriate".

Political identities are subjective concepts that change according to each person, time, place and perception. The concept of identity has been of constant importance in various fields of social sciences, particularly politics and sociology. It serves as a fundamental element shaping the social structure and carries value within society. Identity has a multifaceted structure that encompasses the cultural, social and economic position of individuals and also reflects their attitudes, beliefs and value judgments. The development of identity is primarily influenced by the process of socialization and emphasizes the extent to which our identities are shaped by our interactions with society. It is also clear that societal transitions from traditional to modern contexts have significant impacts on identities.

Considering the importance of the concept of identity, in order to test the hypotheses of the thesis, to reveal the relationship of identity definitions with the findings obtained within the scope of the research and to provide data for future studies; identity definitions were subjected to T-test analysis with the findings.

Table 37

Group Statistics Between Gender and Political Identity

Group Statistics					
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Conservative	Female	211	2,07	1,130	0,078
	Male	275	2,32	1,184	0,071
Religious	Female	210	2,22	1,291	0,089
	Male	275	2,08	1,237	0,075
Communist	Female	204	1,72	1,040	0,073
	Male	273	1,57	1,009	0,061
Liberal	Female	203	2,08	1,185	0,083
	Male	274	2,09	1,155	0,070

Table 37 (cont.d)

Laic/Secular	Female	205	3,83	1,282	0,090
	Male	274	3,84	1,365	0,082
Socialist	Female	206	2,60	1,447	0,101
	Male	273	2,08	1,262	0,076
Kemalist-Atatürkçü	Female	211	3,90	1,347	0,093
	Male	275	3,84	1,374	0,083
Social Democrat	Female	202	2,79	1,417	0,100
	Male	272	2,53	1,339	0,081
Nationalist	Female	214	3,50	1,472	0,101
	Male	277	3,86	1,382	0,083
Ülkücü	Female	206	1,94	1,340	0,093
	Male	275	2,29	1,576	0,095

Table 38

T-Test Analysis Between Gender And Political Identity

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Conservative	Equal variances assumed	1,369	0,242	-2,344	484	0,019
Socialist	Equal variances assumed	15,529	0,000	4,172	477	0,000
Social Democrat	Equal variances assumed	0,347	0,556	1,992	472	0,047
Nationalist	Equal variances assumed	3,729	0,054	-2,811	489	0,005
Ülkücü	Equal variances assumed	19,060	0,000	-2,570	479	0,010

According to the independent samples T-Test analysis conducted to see whether there is a significant difference between political identity definitions and gender, no significant difference was found between Religious, Communist, Liberal, Secular/Secular and Kemalist identity definitions and gender. On the other hand, a

significant difference was found between conservative, socialist, social democrat, social democrat, nationalist and nationalist identifications and gender.

According to the results, women($\bar{x}=2,79$) identify themselves as social democrats more than men($\bar{x}=2,53$). Similarly, women($\bar{x}=2,60$) identify themselves as socialists more than men($\bar{x}=2,08$).

Men, ($\bar{x}=2,32$) on the other hand, define themselves as conservative more than women($\bar{x}=2,07$). According to the results, male($\bar{x}=3,50$) respondents identify themselves as nationalist more than female($\bar{x}=3,86$) respondents. When the definition of Ülkücü identity is compared by gender, it is understood that women($\bar{x}=1,94$) embrace this definition less than men($\bar{x}=2,29$).

4.4.8 T-test analysis between marital status and political identity. Independent samples t-test analysis was conducted to see whether there is a significant difference between marital status and political identity definitions. According to the data, a significant difference was found between religious secular/secular, Islamist and Ülkücü identifications and marital status, while no significant difference was found between other identifications. Group statistics and t-test analysis results are presented in Table 39.

Table 39

Group Statistics Marital Status and Political Identity

Group Statistics					
Marital Status		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Conservative	Sing	356	2,15	1,148	0,061
	Mar	130	2,38	1,202	0,105
Religious	Sing	355	1,97	1,229	0,065
	Mar	130	2,61	1,236	0,108
Communist	Sing	355	1,67	1,050	0,056
	Mar	122	1,52	0,938	0,085
Liberal	Sing	354	2,11	1,187	0,063
	Mar	123	2,01	1,105	0,100

Table 39 (cont.d)

Laic/Secular	Sing	354	3,92	1,294	0,069
	Mar	125	3,61	1,402	0,125
Islamist	Sing	354	1,40	0,911	0,048
	Mar	124	1,65	1,083	0,097
Socialist	Sing	355	2,33	1,399	0,074
	Mar	124	2,23	1,276	0,115
Kemalist	Sing	357	3,93	1,372	0,073
	Mar	129	3,69	1,322	0,116
Social Democrat	Sing	354	2,61	1,368	0,073
	Mar	120	2,73	1,407	0,128
Nationalist	Sing	356	3,72	1,428	0,076
	Mar	134	3,65	1,452	0,125
Ülkücü	Sing	353	2,05	1,435	0,076
	Mar	128	2,39	1,603	0,142

Table 40

T Test Analysis of Marital Status and Political Identity

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Religious	Equal variances assumed	0,238	0,626	-5,017	483	0,000
Laic/Secular	Equal variances assumed	4,564	0,033	2,232	477	0,026
Islamist	Equal variances assumed	12,531	0,000	-2,439	476	0,015
Ülkücü	Equal variances assumed	9,619	0,002	-2,259	479	0,024

According to the results, married people($\bar{x}=1,60$) embrace the definition of Islamist more than single people($\bar{x}=1,40$). Similarly, the rate of agreement is higher for the definition of Religious with married people($\bar{x}=2,67$) than singles($\bar{x}=1,91$). It is observed that married people($\bar{x}=2,39$) embrace the identity of Ülkücü more than single people($\bar{x}=2,05$). Singles($\bar{x}=3,92$), on the other hand, show a more secular tendency compared to married people($\bar{x}=3,61$) .

4.4.9 T-test analysis between political activity status and political identity. In order to determine whether there is a significant difference between political activism status and political identification, an independent samples t-test analysis was conducted. According to the data, no significant difference was found between political activism status and identity definitions other than social democrat and Ülkücü. Group statistics in Table 41 and T-Test analysis results in Table 42 are presented in detail.

Table 41

Group Statistics of Marital Status and Political Identity

Group Statistics					
Are you currently a member of any foundation, association, party or professional organization?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Conservative	Evet	159	2,31	1,202	0,095
	Hayır	318	2,17	1,143	0,064
Religious	Evet	159	2,16	1,285	0,102
	Hayır	317	2,13	1,252	0,070
Communist	Evet	155	1,72	1,226	0,098
	Hayır	314	1,57	0,874	0,049
Liberal	Evet	155	2,05	1,205	0,097
	Hayır	314	2,12	1,154	0,065
Laic/Secular	Evet	156	3,75	1,431	0,115
	Hayır	315	3,91	1,254	0,071
Islamist	Evet	156	1,51	1,019	0,082
	Hayır	314	1,45	0,942	0,053

Table 41 (cont.d)

Socialist	Evet	156	2,28	1,444	0,116
	Hayır	314	2,32	1,328	0,075
Kemalist	Evet	158	3,72	1,418	0,113
	Hayır	319	3,93	1,331	0,075
Social Democrat	Evet	154	2,34	1,280	0,103
	Hayır	312	2,79	1,391	0,079
Nationalist	Evet	161	3,76	1,528	0,120
	Hayır	320	3,67	1,386	0,077
Ülkücü	Evet	158	2,44	1,676	0,133
	Hayır	315	1,98	1,355	0,076

Table 42

T Test Analysis of Political Activeness and Political Identity

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Social Democrat	Equal variances assumed	1,219	0,270	-3,328	464	0,001
Ülkücü	Equal variances assumed	34,534	0,000	3,202	471	0,001

According to the results of the analysis, in the comparison of political activism status and identity definitions, those who are politically active($\bar{x}=2,34$) define themselves as social democrats less than those who are not($\bar{x}=2,79$). Those who are politically active($\bar{x}=2,44$) are more likely to define their identity as ülkücü than those who are not politically active($\bar{x}=1,98$).

4.4.10 T-test analysis of book preferences and gender. In order to understand whether there is a significant difference between gender and frequency of book genre preference, independent samples t-test analysis was applied. According to the results, a significant difference was found between genders and book preferences in terms of novel, story, history, politics, personal development, world classics and Turkish classics.

Table 43

Group Statistics of Book Preferences and Gender

Group Statistics					
Gender		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Novel	Female	217	4,07	0,950	0,064
	Male	279	3,40	1,075	0,064
Story	Female	216	3,39	1,196	0,081
	Male	278	2,84	1,142	0,068
Poetry	Female	215	2,85	1,331	0,091
	Male	278	2,81	1,363	0,082
History	Female	217	3,53	1,221	0,083
	Male	277	4,08	1,020	0,061
Politics	Female	215	2,84	1,366	0,093
	Male	278	3,59	1,276	0,077
Philosophy	Female	216	3,17	1,284	0,087
	Male	278	3,22	1,301	0,078
Self Development	Female	216	2,58	1,435	0,098
	Male	278	1,74	1,040	0,062
Religion	Female	215	2,38	1,295	0,088
	Male	278	2,44	1,229	0,074
World Classics	Female	216	3,98	1,041	0,071
	Male	278	3,42	1,158	0,069
Turkish Classics	Female	216	3,86	1,087	0,074
	Male	277	3,36	1,201	0,072

Women prefer to read novels, stories, personal development, world classics, and Turkish classics more frequently than men. Men, on the other hand, prefer history

and politics books more frequently than women. Mean differences are shown in detail in Table 44 above.

Table 44

Independent Samples Test for Book Preferences and Gender

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Novel	Equal variances assumed	7,615	0,006	7,269	494	0,000
Story	Equal variances assumed	2,116	0,146	5,176	492	0,000
History	Equal variances assumed	22,060	0,000	-5,528	492	0,000
Political Science	Equal variances assumed	0,700	0,403	-6,328	491	0,000
Self Dev.	Equal variances assumed	52,432	0,000	7,550	492	0,000
World Classics	Equal variances assumed	6,741	0,010	5,529	492	0,000
Turkish Classics	Equal variances assumed	3,377	0,067	4,782	491	0,000

4.4.11 T-test analysis of book preferences and political activity. In order to determine whether there is a significant relationship between the status of being politically active and the frequency of book genre preferences, an independent samples t-test analysis was conducted. According to the results, a significant difference was found between political activism status and book genres such as, history, politics, philosophy, world classics and religion.

Table 45

Group Statistics of Book Preferences and Political Activity

Group Statistics					
Are you currently a member of any foundation, association, party or professional organization?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Novel	Yes	165	3,61	1,085	0,084
	No	320	3,73	1,076	0,060
Story	Yes	165	2,96	1,236	0,096
	No	318	3,13	1,181	0,066
Poetry	Yes	165	2,80	1,289	0,100
	No	317	2,85	1,366	0,077
History	Yes	164	4,04	0,952	0,074
	No	319	3,76	1,218	0,068
Political	Yes	165	3,77	1,182	0,092
	No	317	3,01	1,387	0,078
Philosophy	Yes	165	3,38	1,256	0,098
	No	318	3,13	1,299	0,073
Self D.	Yes	164	1,96	1,169	0,091
	No	319	2,17	1,352	0,076
Religion	Yes	164	2,59	1,329	0,104
	No	318	2,32	1,217	0,068
World Classics	Yes	164	3,64	1,124	0,088
	No	319	3,67	1,161	0,065
Turkish Classsics	Yes	163	3,60	1,174	0,092
	No	319	3,56	1,188	0,066

Table 46

Independent Samples Test Book Preferences and Political Activity

Independent Samples Test						
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
[History	Equal variances assumed	18,773	0,000	2,520	481	0,012

Table 46 (cont.d)

Politics	Equal variances assumed	2,990	0,084	6,021	480	0,000
Philosophy	Equal variances assumed	0,000	0,995	2,028	481	0,043
Religion	Equal variances assumed	3,241	0,072	2,192	480	0,029

According to the results, those who are politically active($\bar{x}=4,04$) read history books more often than those who are not($\bar{x}=3,76$). Similarly, political books attract the attention of those who are politically active($\bar{x}=3,77$) more than those who are not($\bar{x}=3,01$). Those who are politically active($\bar{x}=3,38$) are more interested in philosophy books than those who are not($\bar{x}=3,19$). Those who are politically active($\bar{x}=2,59$) prefer religious books more often than those who are not active($\bar{x}=2,32$).

4.5 Anova Analysis

4.1.1 One-way analysis of variance between political identities and book types. In this section, the results of the one-way analysis of variance applied to detect significant differences between political identification and book genre preferences are presented in detail.

4.5.1.1 One-way analysis of variance between conservatism and book types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of conservatism and

the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the increase in the level of conservatism and the frequency of reading Turkish classics, world classics, personal development, politics, history, poetry, philosophy, stories and novels.

However, a significant difference was found between conservatism identification and the frequency of reading religious books. According to the results, those who identify themselves as conservative read religious books more frequently ($\bar{x}=3$) than those who are neutral towards conservatism ($\bar{x}=2,68$) and those who do not identify themselves as conservative ($\bar{x}=2,14$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 47.

Table 47

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Religious Books	Between Groups	58,147	2	29,073	19,819	0,000
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Religious Books	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	-,540*	0,141	0,000
			3,00	-,860*	0,150	0,000
		2,00	1,00	,540*	0,141	0,000
			3,00	-0,320	0,181	0,181
		3,00	1,00	,860*	0,150	0,000
			2,00	0,320	0,181	0,181

4.5.1.2 One-way analysis of variance between religious identity and book types.

In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Religious identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the increase in the level of religious identity and the frequency of reading Turkish classics, world classics, history, poetry, philosophy, stories and novels.

However, a significant difference was found between conservatism identification and the frequency of reading religious books, personal development books and political books.

According to the results, those who identify themselves as religious, read much more religious books frequently ($\bar{x}=3,36$) than those who are neutral religiosity ($\bar{x}=2,74$) and those who do not identify themselves as religious ($\bar{x}=2,03$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 48.

Table 48

ANOVA analysis of Religious Identity And Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Religious	Between Groups	129,648	2	64,824	49,305	0
Political	Between Groups	19,411	2	9,706	5,213	0,006
Self Development	Between Groups	11,691	2	5,845	3,522	0,03
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable		(I) Dindarr34	(J) Dindarr34	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Religious	Tukey HSD	1	2	-,715*	0,137	0
			3	-1,328*	0,141	0
		2	1	,715*	0,137	0
			3	-,613*	0,174	0,001
		3	1	1,328*	0,141	0
			2	,613*	0,174	0,001

Table 48 (cont.d)

Political	Tukey HSD	1	2	0,131	0,164	0,701
			3	,542*	0,168	0,004
		2	1	-0,131	0,164	0,701
			3	0,411	0,207	0,117
		3	1	-,542*	0,168	0,004
			2	-0,411	0,207	0,117
Self Devolopment	Tukey HSD	1	2	-,408*	0,154	0,023
			3	-0,127	0,159	0,704
		2	1	,408*	0,154	0,023
			3	0,282	0,195	0,32
		3	1	0,127	0,159	0,704
			2	-0,282	0,195	0,32

4.5.1.3 One-way analysis of variance between communist identity and book

types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Communist identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the increase in the level of Communist identity and the frequency of reading Turkish classics, world classics, history, poetry, philosophy, stories, religious books, personal development books, political and novels.

However, a significant difference was found between Communist identification and the frequency of reading history and philosophy books.

According to the results, those who identify themselves as Communist, read much more philosophy books frequently ($\bar{x}=4,19$) than those who are neutral communist identity ($\bar{x}=3,30$) and those who do not identify themselves as communist ($\bar{x}=3,31$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 49.

Table 49

ANOVA analysis of Communist Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Politic	Between Groups	7,702	2	3,851	2,030	0,133
Philosophy	Between Groups	34,814	2	17,407	10,832	0,000
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
History	Games-Howell	1	2	,427*	0,157	0,022
			3	0,177	0,214	0,687
		2	1	-,427*	0,157	0,022
			3	-0,250	0,253	0,586
		3	1	-0,177	0,214	0,687
			2	0,250	0,253	0,586
Philosophy	Games-Howell	1	2	-0,192	0,172	0,508
			3	-1,076*	0,160	0,000
		2	1	0,192	0,172	0,508
			3	-,884*	0,215	0,000
		3	1	1,076*	0,160	0,000
			2	,884*	0,215	0,000

4.5.1.4 One-way analysis of variance between liberal identity and book types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of liberal identity and the preference of book genres, one-way ANOVA analysis was applied to each book genre separately.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found in any category except the poetry category with the increase in the level of liberal identity. According to the test results, those who identify themselves as liberal prefer to read poetry books less ($\bar{x}=2,46$) frequently than those who do not identify ($\bar{x}=2,93$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 50.

Table 50

ANOVA Analysis of Liberal Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
[Şiir]	Between Groups	12,141	2	6,071	3,387	0,035
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
[Şiir]	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,191	0,153	0,426
			3,00	,467*	0,188	0,035
		2,00	1,00	-0,191	0,153	0,426
			3,00	0,276	0,217	0,410
		3,00	1,00	-,467*	0,188	0,035
			2,00	-0,276	0,217	0,410

4.5.1.5 One-way analysis of variance between laic/secular identity and book types.

In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Laic/Secular identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the increase in the level of Laic/Secular identity and the frequency of reading Turkish classics, world classics, history, poetry, stories, personal development books and novels.

However, a significant difference was found between Laic/Secular identification and the frequency of reading political, religious and philosophy books.

According to the results, those who identify themselves as Laic/Secular, read much more philosophy books frequently ($\bar{x}=3,32$) than those who are neutral to Laic/Secular identity ($\bar{x}=2,78$). And surprisingly, those who do not identify themselves as Laic/Secular ($\bar{x}=3,11$) has a significant difference over the one who are neutral to Laic/Secular identity ($\bar{x}=2,78$) and read more philosophy.

According to other results, there is a significant difference between the frequency of reading religious books among those who identify themselves as Laic/Secular, those who are neutral towards secularism and those who do not identify themselves as Laic/Secular. Those who identify themselves as Laic/Secular read religious books less($\bar{x}=2,14$) frequently than those who are neutral($\bar{x}=2,62$) and those who do not identify themselves as Laic/Secular($\bar{x}=3,12$).

There is a significant difference in the frequency of reading political books between those who identify themselves as Laic/Secular and those who are neutral towards secularism. Those who identify themselves as Laic/Secular read political books more often($\bar{x}=3,36$) than those who are neutral($\bar{x}=2,83$). There is no significant difference between secularists and non-secularists. The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 50.

Table 51

ANOVA Analysis of Laic/Secular Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Political	Between Groups	16,157	2	8,079	4,322	0,014
Philosophy	Between Groups	16,654	2	8,327	5,076	0,007
Religion	Between Groups	67,242	2	33,621	23,834	0,000
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Political	1,00	2,00	0,341	0,227	0,293	
		3,00	-0,195	0,168	0,477	
	2,00	1,00	-0,341	0,227	0,293	
		3,00	-,536*	0,187	0,012	
	3,00	1,00	0,195	0,168	0,477	
		2,00	,536*	0,187	0,012	

Table 51 (cont.d)

Philosophy	1,00	2,00	0,324	0,212	0,279
		3,00	-0,213	0,157	0,368
	2,00	1,00	-0,324	0,212	0,279
		3,00	-,536*	0,174	0,006
	3,00	1,00	0,213	0,157	0,368
		2,00	,536*	0,174	0,006
Religion	1,00	2,00	,505*	0,197	0,028
		3,00	,976*	0,146	0,000
	2,00	1,00	-,505*	0,197	0,028
		3,00	,471*	0,161	0,010
	3,00	1,00	-,976*	0,146	0,000
		2,00	-,471*	0,161	0,010

4.5.1.6 One-way analysis of variance between socialist identity and book types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Socialist identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the increase in the level of Socialist identity and the frequency of reading Turkish classics, poetry books, political books and novels.

There is a significant difference between those who identify themselves as socialists and those who do not identify in terms of the frequency of reading story, history, philosophy, personal development, religious and world classics. Those who identify themselves as socialists read story books more($\bar{x}=3.42$) frequently than those who do not identify themselves as socialists ($\bar{x}=2.95$).

Those who identify themselves as socialists ($\bar{x}=3,56$) read history books less frequently ($\bar{x}=4,03$) than those who do not identify. Those who identify as socialists ($\bar{x}=3,76$) read philosophy books more frequently than neutrals ($\bar{x}=2,95$) and non-identifiers ($\bar{x}=3,05$). Those who identify themselves as socialists ($\bar{x}=2,30$) read personal development books more frequently ($\bar{x}=1,93$) than those who do not identify. Those who identify themselves as socialists ($\bar{x}=2,11$) read religious books less

frequently than those who do not identify ($\bar{x}=2,52$). Those who identify themselves as socialists($\bar{x}=3,93$) read world classics more often than those who do not identify ($\bar{x}=3,57$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 52.

Table 52

ANOVA Analysis of Socialist Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Story	Between Groups	17,687	2	8,843	6,299	0,002
History	Between Groups	24,115	2	12,057	9,459	0,000
Philosophy	Between Groups	45,091	2	22,545	14,235	0,000
Self Dev.	Between Groups	14,678	2	7,339	4,470	0,012
Religion	Between Groups	14,312	2	7,156	4,684	0,010
World Classics	Between Groups	10,410	2	5,205	4,092	0,017
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Story	1,00	2,00	-0,163	0,149	0,518	
		3,00	-,476*	0,135	0,001	
	2,00	1,00	0,163	0,149	0,518	
		3,00	-0,313	0,175	0,173	
	3,00	1,00	,476*	0,135	0,001	
		2,00	0,313	0,175	0,173	
History	1,00	2,00	,448*	0,142	0,005	
		3,00	,471*	0,128	0,001	
	2,00	1,00	-,448*	0,142	0,005	
		3,00	0,024	0,167	0,989	
	3,00	1,00	-,471*	0,128	0,001	
		2,00	-0,024	0,167	0,989	
	3,00	1,00	-0,153	0,155	0,587	
		2,00	0,460	0,201	0,059	

Table 52 (cont.d)

Philosophy	1,00	2,00	0,101	0,158	0,798	
		3,00	-,712*	0,143	0,000	
	2,00	1,00	-0,101	0,158	0,798	
		3,00	-,814*	0,186	0,000	
	3,00	1,00	,712*	0,143	0,000	
		2,00	,814*	0,186	0,000	
Self Dev.	1,00	2,00	-0,341	0,161	0,088	
		3,00	-,374*	0,146	0,029	
	2,00	1,00	0,341	0,161	0,088	
		3,00	-0,033	0,189	0,983	
	3,00	1,00	,374*	0,146	0,029	
		2,00	0,033	0,189	0,983	
Religion	1,00	2,00	0,256	0,155	0,226	
		3,00	,410*	0,141	0,011	
	2,00	1,00	-0,256	0,155	0,226	
		3,00	0,153	0,183	0,680	
	3,00	1,00	-,410*	0,141	0,011	
		2,00	-0,153	0,183	0,680	
World Classics	1,00	2,00	-0,136	0,142	0,602	
		3,00	-,366*	0,129	0,013	
	2,00	1,00	0,136	0,142	0,602	
		3,00	-0,230	0,167	0,354	
	3,00	1,00	,366*	0,129	0,013	
		2,00	0,230	0,167	0,354	

4.5.1.7 One-way analysis of variance between kemalist identity and book types.

In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Kemalist (Ataturkcu) identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between the political identity of Kemalism and any other type of book except religious books and philosophy books.

In terms of the frequency of reading religious books, a significant difference was found between those who identify themselves as Kemalists, those who are neutral towards the Kemalist identity definition and those who do not identify themselves as

Kemalists. Those who identify themselves as Kemalists($\bar{x}=2,24$) read religious books less frequently than those who are neutral towards the Kemalist identity definition($\bar{x}=2,46$) and those who do not identify themselves as Kemalists($\bar{x}=2,94$). The details of the ANOVA analysis are presented in Table 53.

Table 53

ANOVA analysis of Kemalist Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Philosophy	Between Groups	12,492	2	6,246	3,786	0,023
Religion	Between Groups	33,169	2	16,585	10,932	0,000
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Philosophy	1,00	2,00	0,466	0,209	0,068	
		3,00	0,007	0,158	0,999	
	2,00	1,00	-0,466	0,209	0,068	
		3,00	-,458*	0,170	0,020	
	3,00	1,00	-0,007	0,158	0,999	
		2,00	,458*	0,170	0,020	
Religion	1,00	2,00	,484*	0,201	0,044	
		3,00	,703*	0,151	0,000	
	2,00	1,00	-,484*	0,201	0,044	
		3,00	0,220	0,164	0,375	
	3,00	1,00	-,703*	0,151	0,000	
		2,00	-0,220	0,164	0,375	

4.5.1.8 One-way analysis of variance between social democracy identity and book types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Social Democrat identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between Social Democrat political identity and any book type except poetry and religious books.

In terms of the frequency of reading religious books, a significant difference was found between those who identify themselves as Social Democrats, those who are neutral towards the Social Democrat identity definition and those who do not identify themselves as Social Democrats. Those who identify themselves as Social Democrats read religious books less($\bar{x}=2,12$) frequently than those who do not identify themselves as Social Democrats($\bar{x}=2,54$).

In terms of the frequency of reading poetry books, a significant difference was found between those who identify themselves as Social Democrats and those who do not identify themselves as Social Democrats. Those who identify themselves as Social Democrats read religious books less($\bar{x}=2,55$) frequently than those who do not identify themselves as Social Democrats($\bar{x}=2,94$).

Table 54

Social Democracy Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
[Din]	Between Groups	15,088	2	7,544	4,927	0,008
[Şiir]	Between Groups	14,044	2	7,022	3,919	0,021

Table 54 (cont.d)

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Din	Games-Howell	1,00	2,00	0,216	0,137	0,256
			3,00	,423*	0,135	0,005
		2,00	1,00	-0,216	0,137	0,256
			3,00	0,207	0,142	0,310
		3,00	1,00	-,423*	0,135	0,005
			2,00	-0,207	0,142	0,310
[Şiir]	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,012	0,152	0,997
			3,00	,387*	0,147	0,024
		2,00	1,00	-0,012	0,152	0,997
			3,00	0,375	0,169	0,068
		3,00	1,00	-,387*	0,147	0,024
			2,00	-0,375	0,169	0,068

4.5.1.9 One-way analysis of variance between nationalist identity and book types.

According to the results of the analysis, no significant difference was found between any book type except the history book type and the level of Nationalism political identity.

A significant difference was found between the frequency of reading history books and the definition of Nationalist identity. People who identify themselves as Nationalists prefer to read history books more frequently($\bar{x}=4,02$) than people who do not identify themselves as Nationalists($\bar{x}=3,50$).

Table 55

ANOVA of Nationalist identity and Book Types

ANOVA					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	23,696	2	11,848	9,335	0,000

Table 55 (cont.d)

Multiple Comparisons					
(I) Milliyetçi3		Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
1,00	2,00	-0,226	0,165	0,359	
	3,00	-,521*	0,125	0,000	
2,00	1,00	0,226	0,165	0,359	
	3,00	-0,295	0,143	0,097	
3,00	1,00	,521*	0,125	0,000	
	2,00	0,295	0,143	0,097	

4.5.1.10 One-way analysis of variance between ülkücü identity and book types. In order to see whether there is a significant difference between the level of Ülkücü identity and the preference of book genres, One-way ANOVA analysis was applied separately on each book genre.

According to the results of the analysis, significant difference was found between Social Democrat political identity and political, philosophy and religious book.

Participants who identify themselves as Ülkücü prefer to read political books more ($\bar{x}=3,51$) frequently than participants who are neutral in their definition of Ülkücü identity ($\bar{x}=2,86$). The respondents who embrace the definition of a Ülkücü read philosophy books less ($\bar{x}=3,34$) frequently than the respondents who disagree with the definition of a Ülkücü ($\bar{x}=2,93$) but more than who are neutral ($\bar{x}=2,80$). People who embrace the definition of Ülkücü read religious books more ($\bar{x}=2,70$) often than those who are neutral ($\bar{x}=2,18$) towards the definition of Ülkücü and those who disagree with the definition of Ülkücü ($\bar{x}=2,31$).

Table 56

ANOVA of Ülkücü Identity and Book Types

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Politics	Between Groups	14,921	2	7,460	3,988	0,019
Philosophy	Between Groups	22,193	2	11,097	6,744	0,001
Religion	Between Groups	13,879	2	6,940	4,493	0,012
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Politics	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,371	0,210	0,181
			3,00	-0,286	0,155	0,155
		2,00	1,00	-0,371	0,210	0,181
			3,00	-,657*	0,237	0,016
		3,00	1,00	0,286	0,155	0,155
			2,00	,657*	0,237	0,016
Phisophy	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	,549*	0,197	0,015
			3,00	,413*	0,145	0,013
		2,00	1,00	-,549*	0,197	0,015
			3,00	-0,136	0,223	0,814
		3,00	1,00	-,413*	0,145	0,013
			2,00	0,136	0,223	0,814
Religion	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,128	0,190	0,780
			3,00	-,387*	0,141	0,017
		2,00	1,00	-0,128	0,190	0,780
			3,00	-,515*	0,216	0,045
		3,00	1,00	,387*	0,141	0,017
			2,00	,515*	0,216	0,045

4.5.2 One-way analysis of variance between identities and book reading behaviors. One-Way Analysis of Variance was applied to determine the significant differences between political identity definitions and book reading attitudes. The results were examined question-by-question in detail in order to see the relationship and the directions of the relationship between identity definitions and book reading behaviors more clearly.

4.5.2.1 One-way analysis of variance between conservative identity and reading behaviors. Conservative identity definition and book reading attitudes were compared by ANOVA. According to the results, a significant difference was found between the statement "Reading different types of books affects our perspective on life" which is under the "desire for personal development" factor and the level of conservatism.

Conservative identity definition and book reading attitudes were compared by ANOVA. According to the results, a significant difference was found between the statement "Reading different types of books affects our perspective on life" which is under the "desire for personal development" factor and the level of conservatism. Based on the analysis, those who define themselves as conservative($\bar{x}=4,38$) think that "reading different types of books" affects their perspective on life less than those who do not define themselves as conservative($\bar{x}=4,65$).

Likewise, a significant difference was found between a statement under the "desire for sophistication" sub-factor and conservatism identification. According to the results, it is possible to conclude that non-conservatives($\bar{x}=4,47$) agree with the statement "if people read more books, this country would be in a better state" more than conservatives($\bar{x}=4,17$).

Detailed results of the analysis are given in the table.

Table 57

ANOVA of Conservative identity and Book Reading Behavior

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(Personal development) Reading different kinds of books affects our perspective on life.	Between Groups	5,131	2	2,565	5,961	0,003
	Within Groups	205,709	478	0,430		
	Total	210,840	480			
(sophistication) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	Between Groups	6,282	2	3,141	3,739	0,024
	Within Groups	402,390	479	0,840		
	Total	408,672	481			
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
(Personal development) Reading different kinds of books affects our perspective on life.	Games- Howell	1,00	2,00	0,113	0,074	0,287
			3,00	,274*	0,099	0,018
		2,00	1,00	-0,113	0,074	0,287
			3,00	0,161	0,114	0,337
		3,00	1,00	-,274*	0,099	0,018
			2,00	-0,161	0,114	0,337
(sophistication) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,128	0,107	0,455
			3,00	,302*	0,113	0,021
		2,00	1,00	-0,128	0,107	0,455
			3,00	0,174	0,137	0,413
		3,00	1,00	-,302*	0,113	0,021
			2,00	-0,174	0,137	0,413

4.5.2.2 One-way analysis of variance between religious identity and reading behaviors. When religious identification and book reading behaviors were subjected to one-way variance analysis, it was found that there was a significant difference with 4 different statements under the sub-factors of, "Sophistication", "Ideological Sympathy" and "Ideological Responsibility" .

According to the results of the analysis, those who do not have a religious identity($\bar{x}=3,55$) agree with the statement that "the reason why people remain ignorant is because they read less books" more than those who have a religious identity($\bar{x}=3,14$). Similarly, non-religious respondents($\bar{x}=4,47$) support the idea that "if people read more, this country would be a better place" more than religious($\bar{x}=4,10$) respondents. Religious($\bar{x}=2,57$) people support "publishing houses that they find politically close to themselves" less than non-religious people($\bar{x}=4,97$). Those who state that they are not religious($\bar{x}=3,30$) agree with the statement "if people read enough, they would feel closer to my ideology" more than religious people($\bar{x}=2,89$).

Table 58

ANOVA of Religious Identity and Book Reading Behavior

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(Personal development) Reading books affects our understanding of people and the world.	Between Groups	3,810	2	1,905	3,939	0,020
(Personal development) Reading different kinds of books affects our outlook on life.	Between Groups	3,124	2	1,562	3,590	0,028
(sophisticated) Ignorant people stay ignorant because they don't read books.	Between Groups	16,126	2	8,063	4,674	0,010
(sophisticated) If people read more, this country would be in a better state.	Between Groups	9,238	2	4,619	5,529	0,004
(Ideological Symphaty) For me, the political view of the writer/poet I read is not important.	Between Groups	10,204	2	5,102	3,086	0,047
Ideological Responsibility) If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology	Between Groups	12,434	2	6,217	3,804	0,023

4.5.2.3 One-way analysis of variance between communist identity and reading behaviors. Communist identity definitions and book reading behaviors were subjected to one-way analysis of variance in order to detect a significant difference between them. According to the results of the analysis, a significant difference was found in four statements, two under the sub-factors of "ideological sympathy" and two under the sub-factors of "ideological responsibility". The results of the Post-Hoc Tukey tests can be interpreted as follows:

According to the 5-point Likert scale, those who identify as communists($\bar{x}=3,38$) agree with the reverse-coded statement "The political view of the author/poet I read is not important for me" less than those who do not identify as communists($\bar{x}=2,378$). Those who identify as communists($\bar{x}=3,50$) prefer "publishing houses close to their own ideology" more than non-communists($\bar{x}=2,82$).

Communists($\bar{x}=3,72$) consider reading as an ideological duty at a much higher rate than those who do not identify themselves as communists($\bar{x}=2,77$). Similarly, communists($\bar{x}=3,81$) agree with the statement "if people read enough, they would feel closer to my ideology" more than non-communists($\bar{x}=3,15$).

Table 59

ANOVA of Communist Identity and Book Reading Behavior

ANOVA						
(Ideological sympathy) For me, the political view of the writer/poet I read is not important.	Between Groups	11,170	2	5,585	3,456	0,032
(Ideological Sympathy) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	Between Groups	13,646	2	6,823	3,852	0,022
Ideological Responsibility) Reading books is an ideological duty	Between Groups	26,441	2	13,220	6,020	0,003
Ideological Responsibility) If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology	Between Groups	13,474	2	6,737	4,127	0,017
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	

Table 59 (cont.d)

(Ideological sympathy) For me, the political view of the writer/poet I read is not important.	1	2	-0,166	0,182	0,632
		3	-,595*	0,234	0,030
	2	3	0,166	0,182	0,632
		1	-0,429	0,282	0,282
	3	1	,595*	0,234	0,030
		2	0,429	0,282	0,282
((Ideological Sympathy) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	1	2	-0,055	0,190	0,956
		3	-,680*	0,245	0,016
	2	1	0,055	0,190	0,956
		3	-0,625	0,295	0,087
	3	1	,680*	0,245	0,016
		2	0,625	0,295	0,087
Ideological Responsibility) Reading books is an ideological duty	1	2	-0,214	0,212	0,571
		3	-,941*	0,277	0,002
	2	1	0,214	0,212	0,571
		3	-0,728	0,332	0,073
	3	1	,941*	0,277	0,002
		2	0,728	0,332	0,073
Ideological Responsibility) If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology	1	2	0,041	0,183	0,973
		3	-,665*	0,235	0,013
	2	1	-0,041	0,183	0,973
		3	-,705*	0,283	0,035
	3	1	,665*	0,235	0,013
		2	,705*	0,283	0,035

4.5.2.4 One-way analysis of variance between liberal identity and reading behaviors. According to the one-way analysis of variance applied to the definition of liberal identity and book reading behaviors, a significant difference was found only on one statement under the "ideological sympathy" sub-factor. According to the Post Hoc Tukey test analysis applied after the test, those who identify themselves as liberal($\bar{x}=2,43$) find it less important to "prefer a publishing house that is politically close to them" compared to those who are neutral($\bar{x}=2,64$) to liberalism and those who prefer not to identify themselves as liberal($\bar{x}=3,03$).

Table 60

ANOVA of Liberal identity and Book Reading Behavior

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(Ideological Sympathy) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	Between Groups	25,015	2	12,507	7,224	0,001
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
(Ideological Sympathy) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	1,00	2,00	,389*	0,150	0,027	
		3,00	,600*	0,184	0,004	
	2,00	1,00	-,389*	0,150	0,027	
		3,00	0,211	0,213	0,583	
	3,00	1,00	-,600*	0,184	0,004	
		2,00	-0,211	0,213	0,583	

4.5.2.5 One-way analysis of variance between laic/secular identity and reading behaviors. According to the one-way analysis of variance applied to Laic/Secular identity definition and book reading behaviors, a significant difference was found on one statement under the "sophistication" sub-factor and 2 statements under the "desire for personal development" factor. According to the Post Hoc Games-Howell test analysis applied after the test, those who identify themselves as laic/secular ($\bar{x}=4,68$) agree that "reading books makes it effective to understand our world" more than those who do not identify themselves as secular ($\bar{x}=4,42$). According to secularists, ($\bar{x}=4,49$) reading is a factor that can beautify the country, they agreed with this statement more than non-secularists ($\bar{x}=4,09$). Secularists ($\bar{x}=3,70$) stated that they trust "a politician they know to be a good reader" more than non-secularists ($\bar{x}=3,20$).

Table 61

ANOVA of Laic/Secular Identity and Book Reading Behavior

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(Personal development) Reading books helps us understand people and the world better.	Between Groups	4,728	2	2,364	5,032	0,007
(sophistication) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	Between Groups	12,222	2	6,111	7,341	0,001
(sophisticated) I trust a politician more if I know he/she is a good reader or writer	Between Groups	17,056	2	8,528	5,446	0,005
Multiple Comparisons						
Games-Howell						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
(Personal development) Reading books helps us understand people and the world better..	1,00	2,00	-0,136	0,136	0,581	
		3,00	-,261*	0,103	0,035	
	2,00	1,00	0,136	0,136	0,581	
		3,00	-0,125	0,101	0,435	
	3,00	1,00	,261*	0,103	0,035	
		2,00	0,125	0,101	0,435	
(sophistication) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	1,00	2,00	-0,176	0,167	0,543	
		3,00	-,409*	0,128	0,005	
	2,00	1,00	0,176	0,167	0,543	
		3,00	-0,232	0,126	0,161	
	3,00	1,00	,409*	0,128	0,005	
		2,00	0,232	0,126	0,161	
(sophisticated) I trust a politician more if I know he/she is a good reader or writer	1,00	2,00	-0,297	0,213	0,348	
		3,00	-,501*	0,157	0,005	
	2,00	1,00	0,297	0,213	0,348	
		3,00	-0,204	0,174	0,472	
	3,00	1,00	,501*	0,157	0,005	
		2,00	0,204	0,174	0,472	

4.5.2.6 One-way analysis of variance between socialist identity and reading behaviors. According to the one-way analysis of variance applied to socialist identification and book reading behaviors, a significant difference was found only under the "ideological responsibility" sub-factor. According to the Post Hoc Tukey test analysis, those who identify themselves as socialists ($\bar{x}=3,45$) agree with the statement "People would feel closer to my ideology if they read enough" more than non-socialists($\bar{x}=3,11$).

Table 62

ANOVA of Socialist Identity and Reading Behaviors

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Ideological Responsibility) If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology	Between Groups	10,409	2	5,205	3,183	0,042
Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable				Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Ideological Responsibility) If people read enough, they might feel closer to my ideology	Tukey HSD	1,00	2,00	0,049	0,161	0,950
			3,00	-,342*	0,145	0,049
		2,00	1,00	-0,049	0,161	0,950
			3,00	-0,391	0,189	0,097
		3,00	1,00	,342*	0,145	0,049
			2,00	0,391	0,189	0,097

4.5.2.7 One-way analysis of variance between kemalist identity and reading behaviors. According to the one-way analysis of variance applied to Kemalist identification and book reading behaviors, a strong significant difference was found under the "sophistication" sub-factor. At the same time, a significant difference was found on one statement under the "Ideological affinity" factor. According to the Post Hoc Tukey test analysis applied after the test, those who identify themselves as Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,63$) establish a relationship between the cause of ignorance and not reading books more than those who do not identify themselves as Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,22$).

Kemalists($\bar{x}=4,54$) are more likely than non-Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,98$) to believe that reading more books will transform this country into a better place. Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,70$) are more likely than non-Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,28$) to trust politicians they know to be "good readers". Kemalists($\bar{x}=3,92$) care more about the political opinion of the person they read than those who declare that they are not Kemalists($\bar{x}=2,49$).

Table 63

ANOVA of Kemalist Identity and Reading Behaviors

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(sophisticated) The reason why ignorant people remain ignorant is because they don't read books.	Between Groups	12,373	2	6,187	3,587	0,028
(sophisticated) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	Between Groups	24,005	2	12,002	14,929	0,000
(sophisticated) I trust a politician more if I know he/she is a good reader or writer	Between Groups	13,845	2	6,923	4,425	0,012
(Ideological Symphaty) For me, the political view of the writer/poet I read is not important.	Between Groups	12,342	2	6,171	3,765	0,024
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
(sophisticated) The reason why ignorant people remain ignorant is because they don't read books.	1,00	2,00	-0,203	0,214	0,608	
		3,00	-,415*	0,161	0,028	
	2,00	1,00	0,203	0,214	0,608	
		3,00	-0,211	0,174	0,445	
	3,00	1,00	,415*	0,161	0,028	
		2,00	0,211	0,174	0,445	

Table 63 (cont.d)

(sophisticated) If people read more, this country would be in a better state	1,00	2,00	-0,227	0,146	0,267	
		3,00	-,563*	0,110	0,000	
	2,00	1,00	0,227	0,146	0,267	
		3,00	-,336*	0,119	0,013	
	3,00	1,00	,563*	0,110	0,000	
		2,00	,336*	0,119	0,013	
sophisticated) I trust a politician more if I know he/she is a good reader or writer	1,00	2,00	-0,158	0,204	0,719	
		3,00	-,424*	0,154	0,017	
	2,00	1,00	0,158	0,204	0,719	
		3,00	-0,266	0,166	0,243	
	3,00	1,00	,424*	0,154	0,017	
		2,00	0,266	0,166	0,243	
(Ideological Symphaty) For me, the political view of the writer/poet I read is not important.	1,00	2,00	-0,405	0,209	0,129	
		3,00	-,427*	0,157	0,019	
	2,00	1,00	0,405	0,209	0,129	
		3,00	-0,023	0,169	0,990	
	3,00	1,00	,427*	0,157	0,019	
		2,00	0,023	0,169	0,990	

4.5.2.8 One-way analysis of variance between social democrat identity and reading behaviors. As a result of the one-way analysis of variance between social democrat political identity and book reading behaviors, no significant difference was found.

4.5.2.9 One-way analysis of variance between nationalist identity and reading behaviors. As a result of the one-way analysis of variance between the identity definition of nationalism and book reading behaviors, a significant difference was found in four different statements. As a result of the Post Hoc Tukey tests conducted after the analysis, the following results were reached:

Nationalists($\bar{x}=3,96$) are more likely to complain that people who share their ideology do not read enough compared to those who declare that they are not

nationalists($\bar{x}=3,48$). Nationalists($\bar{x}=3,64$) think that "the reason for ignorance is not reading books" more than non-nationalists($\bar{x}=3,20$). Nationalists($\bar{x}=4,33$) are more selective about books than those who are neutral towards nationalism($\bar{x}=3,97$). Nationalists($\bar{x}=3,0$) prefer publishing houses that are close to their political ideology more than those who are neutral to nationalism($\bar{x}=2,45$).

Table 64

ANOVA of Nationalist Identity And Reading Behaviors

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(sophisticated) I complain that people of my worldview read too little	Between Groups	28,011	2	14,005	8,710	0,000
(sophistication) Ignorant people remain ignorant because they do not read books.	Between Groups	16,331	2	8,166	4,774	0,009
(Selectivity) I do not read books randomly, I am selective about books.	Between Groups	8,910	2	4,455	4,713	0,009
(Ideological sympathies) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	Between Groups	19,410	2	9,705	5,548	0,004
Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
(sophisticated) I complain that people of my worldview read too little	1,00	2,00	0,039	0,186	0,976	
		3,00	-,474*	0,141	0,002	
	2,00	1,00	-0,039	0,186	0,976	
		3,00	-,513*	0,161	0,004	
	3,00	1,00	,474*	0,141	0,002	
		2,00	,513*	0,161	0,004	
(sophistication) Ignorant people remain ignorant because they do not read books.	1,00	2,00	-0,285	0,192	0,301	
		3,00	-,447*	0,145	0,006	
	2,00	1,00	0,285	0,192	0,301	
		3,00	-0,162	0,166	0,590	
	3,00	1,00	,447*	0,145	0,006	
		2,00	0,162	0,166	0,590	

Table 64 (cont.d)

(Selectivity) I do not read books randomly, I am selective about books.	1,00	2,00	0,159	0,143	0,505	
		3,00	-0,193	0,108	0,176	
	2,00	1,00	-0,159	0,143	0,505	
		3,00	-,352*	0,123	0,012	
	3,00	1,00	0,193	0,108	0,176	
		2,00	,352*	0,123	0,012	
(Ideological sympathies) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	1,00	2,00	0,346	0,195	0,180	
		3,00	-0,205	0,147	0,343	
	2,00	1,00	-0,346	0,195	0,180	
		3,00	-,551*	0,169	0,003	
	3,00	1,00	0,205	0,147	0,343	
		2,00	,551*	0,169	0,003	

4.5.2.10 One-way analysis of variance between ülkücü identity and reading behaviors. As a result of the one-way analysis of variance between the identity definition of Ülkücü and book reading behaviors, a significant difference was found in two different expressions. As a result of the Post Hoc Games-Howell tests conducted after the analysis, the following results were reached:

The people who identify themselves as Ülkücü, ($\bar{x}=4,19$) are more likely to complain that people who share their ideology do not read enough compared to those who declare that they are not Ülkücü($\bar{x}=3,59$). The people who identify themselves as Ülkücü, ($\bar{x}=3,13$) prefer publishing houses that are close to their political ideology more than those who declare that they are not Ülkücü($\bar{x}=2,77$).

Table 65

ANOVA of Ülkücü Identity and Reading Behaviors

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
(sophisticated) I complain that people of my worldview read too little	Between Groups	30,842	2	15,421	9,663	0,000

Table 65 (cont.d)

(Ideological sympathies) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	Between Groups	11,168	2	5,584	3,176	0,043
Multiple Comparisons						
Games-Howell						
Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
(sophisticated) I complain that people of my worldview read too little	1,00	2,00	-0,353	0,183	0,140	
		3,00	-,608*	0,134	0,000	
	2,00	1,00	0,353	0,183	0,140	
		3,00	-0,255	0,203	0,422	
	3,00	1,00	,608*	0,134	0,000	
		2,00	0,255	0,203	0,422	
(Ideological sympathies) I prefer publishing houses that I find politically close to me.	1,00	2,00	-0,251	0,208	0,453	
		3,00	-,361*	0,151	0,048	
	2,00	1,00	0,251	0,208	0,453	
		3,00	-0,110	0,235	0,887	
	3,00	1,00	,361*	0,151	0,048	
		2,00	0,110	0,235	0,887	

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In 1998, in the preface to her book *Ex Libris*, Anne Fadiman wrote:

"This model of readers as consumers-one I have abetted in many a book review myself-neatly omits what I consider the heart of reading: not whether we wish to purchase a new book but how we maintain our connections with our old books, the ones we have lived with for years, the ones whose textures and colors and smells have become as familiar to us as our children's skins."

Although the way of production, distribution and consumption has changed over hundreds of years, the book as a material continues to retain its basic form. As a symbol of light, enlightenment and knowledge, it has continued to contribute to humanity for over a thousand years. Although it is quite difficult to consider the book as a product and to examine it from the perspectives of marketing and consumer habits, it is important to examine the publishing sector in the light of these sciences in order for hundreds of thousands of book laborers to work under better conditions and to produce more knowledge and enlightenment.

Political ideologies are phenomena related to all disciplines of social sciences. The factors that shape ideologies are also strongly related to the factors that affect the people who follow these ideologies.

The conditions surrounding people, the spirit of the time in which they live, the current political climate in which they live, their upbringing, life expectations, wishes and desires determine their political ideologies and are also the reasons why they adopt political identities.

In the literature review part of the study, it was tried to detail how political ideologies, political aspirations and political motivations were a major factor in the emergence and progress of the concept of broadcasting. While explaining the development of ideologies with a historicist approach, it has been determined that books and texts are directly related to the enlightenment movements that gave birth to ideologies.

In the emergence of the book industry, the concern to record political principles and to transmit these principles from person to person through texts draws attention. When the history of the book in Turkey is examined, the fact that a publishing revolution took place with the birth of the Young Turks, a movement of enlightenment and modernization, draws attention as one of the historical facts showing the strong relationship between ideological motivations and publishing.

The connection between political motivations and the reforms carried out with the proclamation of the Republic, especially the practices of encouraging people to read and write, the libraries established, the state printing houses, the publishing standards introduced, and the cultural revolution is also a remarkable phenomenon.

The findings obtained from the survey conducted for the research also provided interesting data in terms of revealing the relationship between book reading behaviors and political ideologies.

According to the findings, there is a strong link between people's political identification and their book reading behavior. It has been observed that certain orientations of people with the same political identity are similar. It was also found that people with the same political identity definitions showed similar tendencies in their book genre preferences. Significant differences were found in the book reading behaviors and book preferences of politically active individuals compared to politically inactive individuals.

This research, which can be considered as the first study in this field, has provided data for future studies in areas such as political ideology, political motivation, political activism, political identity definitions, book reading behaviors, book reading preferences and book genre preferences.

In the study, it was also observed that book reading behaviors were in a relationship with demographic variables such as gender, education and marital status. It has been observed that the reading attitudes of political groups have different relationships with factors such as "personal development", "ideological responsibility", "ideological

sympathy", "desire for sophistication". It is possible to mention that factors such as "favor of books" and "selectivity" are common attitudes of the reader as a consumer.



REFERENCES

BOOKS

- Arsal, S. M. (1979). *Milliyetçilik duygusunun sosyolojik esasları* [Sociological foundations of nationalism]. Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat.
- Ataç, K. K. (1994). *Siyaset teorisinde milliyetçilik: Batı'da milliyetçilik olgusu* [Nationalism in political theory: The phenomenon of nationalism in the West].
- Beneton, P. (1991). *Le conservatisme* (A. Cüneyt, Trans.). İstanbul, Türkiye: İletişim Yayınları. (1988)
- Brie, M., & Spehr, C. (2009). *Sosyalizm nedir?* [What is Socialism?]. (M. Çakır, Trans.). İstanbul: Rosa Luxemburg Vakfı
- Burke, E. (1968). *Reflections on the revolution in France*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Çağbayır, Y. (2007). *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük* (Cilt 3). İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları.
- Dahl, S. (1958). *History of the book*. New York: The Scarecrow Press.
- Ersoy, O. (1966). *Kütüphaneciliğimizin sorunları*. Ankara: Anadolu Matbaası.
- Ersoy, O. (1998). *Kütüphaneciliğimizde 40 yıl*. Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği.
- Erünsal, İ. E. (2018). *Orta çağ İslam dünyasında kitap ve kütüphane*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.
- Odabaşı, Y., & Barış, G. (2003). *Tüketici Davranışı*. İstanbul: MediaCat Akademi.
- Gökalp, Z. (1940). *Türkçülüğün esasları*. İstanbul: Kitap Severler Kurumu İlmi Türkçülük Yay.
- Harrison, K., & Boyd, T. (2018). *Understanding political ideas and movements*. Manchester, İngiltere: Manchester University Press. Retrieved May 28, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526137951>
- Hobsbawm, E. (1993). *Milletler ve milliyetçilik: "Program, Mit, Gerçeklik"*. (O. Akınay, Çev.). İstanbul, :Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Hobsbawm, E. (2011). *How to change the world: reflections on marx and marxism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jones, B. (2000). *Manuscripts, books, and maps: the printing press and a changing world*. Retrieved from <http://communication.ucsd.edu/bjones/Books/booktext.html>

- Kabacalı, A. (2000). *Başlangıcından günümüze Türkiye'de matbaa basın ve yayın*. İstanbul: Literatür.
- Labarre, A. (1994). *Kitabın tarihi*. (G. Üstün, Trans.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Mandel, E. (1994). *The place of marxism in history*. New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Mannheim, K. (1936). *Ideology and Utopia*. London: Kegan Paul & Co.
- Mardin, Ş. (1992a). *İdeoloji*. İstanbul, Türkiye: İletişim Yayınları.
- Malešević, S. (2006). *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan London. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230625648>
- McLellan, D. (2005). *Ideology* (B. Yıldırım, Trans.). İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Bilgi Yayınları. (Orijinal eser 1995 yılında yayımlanmıştır)
- Newman, M. (2005). *Socialism: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Noel, H. (2009). *Consumer behaviour*. Lausanne: AVA Publishing SA.
- Ortaylı, İ. (1983). *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*. İstanbul: Hil Yayınları.
- Sabev, O. (2006). *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ilk Osmanlı matbaa serüveni*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi.
- Safa, P. (1943). *Millet ve insan*. İstanbul: Akbaba yayınları.
- Smith, A. D. (2013). *Milliyetçilik* [Nationalism]. (Ü. H. Yolsal, Trans.). Ankara: Atıf Yayınları.
- Soysal, Ö. (2007). *Türk kütüphaneciliği/Bilginin yazgısı*. Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği.
- Thompson, E. P. (1966). *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage.
- Yayla, H. M. (2022). *Tüketici davranışları ve davranışsal niyetler*. İstanbul: Eğitim Yayınevi.
- Yıldız, N. (2000). *Eskiçağda yazı malzemeleri ve kitabın oluşumu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

BOOK SECTIONS

- Akbulut, M. (2002). *İbrahim Müteferrika ve ilk Türk matbaası*. In C.14 (Ed.), *Türkler içinde* (pp. 919-926). Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları.
- Breiner, P. (2013). *Karl Mannheim and political ideology*. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (pp. 1-20). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Erdem, T. (2020). *Milliyetçilik*. In T. Erdem (Ed.), Nationalism (pp. 28-53). İstanbul: Otorite Yayınları.
- Faustino, P. (2012). *Book industry business, concentration, internet and social media of management and marketing*. Handbook of Social Media Management, 87–123. doi:10.1007/978-3-642-28897-5_7
- Hayek, F. A. (1982 [1978]). *New studies in philosophy, politics, economics and the history of ideas* (pp. 119-151). London and Henley: Routledge & Keagan Paul.
- Hüsnü, Ş. (2008). *Birkaç söz*. In Komünist Manifesto Şefik Hüsnü ve Mustafa Suphi Çevirileri (pp. sayfa numaraları). İstanbul: Sosyal İnsan Yayınları.
- Oğuzlu, T. (2014). *Liberalizm*. In Ş. Kardaş & A. Balcı (Eds.), Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş Tarih, Teori, Kavram ve Konular (pp. 97-109). İstanbul: Küre Yayınları.
- Saygılı, R. (2020). *Millet*. In T. Erdem (Ed.), Nationalism (pp. 13-28). İstanbul: Otorite Yayınları.
- Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Muhafazakârlık üzerine*. In A. Çiğdem (Ed.), Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce Muhafazakârlık (Cilt 5) (s. 40). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

PERIODICALS

- Akalın, K. H. (2018). Avrupa ekonomileri ve max weber tezi. *Marmara Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, (14), 0-0. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/marusad/issue/69135/1094914>
- Akturan, U. (2015). Modern tüketimin tarihçesi: püritenlikten dijital çağa tüketimin ideolojisi. *Finans Politik ve Ekonomik Yorumlar*, (610), 35-45. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/fpeyd/issue/48037/607501>
- Alexander, J. (2015). The major ideologies of liberalism, socialism and conservatism. *Political Studies*, 63, 980-994.
- Baygöl, S. (2020). İskoç aydınlanmasının temel değerleri ve İskoç düşünürler hakkında genel bir değerlendirme. *Sosyolojik Düşün*, 5(1), 35-48. DOI: 10.37991/sosdus.710472

- Bulut, Y. (2011). ideolojinin tarihçesi. *İstanbul University Journal of Sociology*, 3(23), 183-206. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iusosyoloji/issue/513/4695>
- ÇELİK, F. (2004). Çicero'nun muhafazakârlığı üzerine bir deneme. *Muhafazakar Düşünce Dergisi*, 1(2), 207-225.
- Çetin, H. (2001). Liberalizmin temel ilkeleri. *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 217-235.
- Davulcu, F., & Kıpçak, H. (2016). Başlangıcından harf devrimi'ne kadar Türkiye'de basım ve yayının kısa bir tarihçesi. *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 30(2), 251-260. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tk/issue/48654/618799>
- Duman, F. (2017). Muhafazakâr düşüncede 'otorite' anlayışı. *Milel ve Nihal*, 14, 135-159.
- Duman, F. (2017). Muhafazakâr ideolojide farklı düşünce gelenekleri bağlamında 'muhafazakârlığın doğası'. *Hitit Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 10(1), 15-46. DOI: 10.17218/hititsosbil.306495
- Duman, M. Z. (2020). Liberalizm ve sosyalizmde birey(ciliğ)in ontolojik çıkmazı. *Toplum ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (6), 1-19. DOI: 10.48131/jscs.811282
- DUMAN, M. Z. (2020). Muhafazakâr düşünce geleneğinde gelenek. *The Journal of Academic Social Science*.
- Ercan, İ., & Kan, İ. (2004). Ölçeklerde güvenirlik ve geçerlik. *Uludağ Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Dergisi*, 30(3), 211-216.
- Erdoğan, M. (2006). Muhafazakârlık: ana temalar. *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, (34), 5-9. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/liberal/issue/48200/610043>
- Erdoğan, M. (2009). "Liberalizme yeniden bakış: tarihi ve felsefi temelleri". *Liberal Düşünce*, (56), 7-31.
- Eroğlu, E. (2012). Tüketici davranışı kavramı ve özellikleri. in y. odabaşı (ed.), *Tüketici Davranışları*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Ertan, T. F. (2018). Milliyetçiliğin müphemliği: milliyetçilik nedir? *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 16.

- Foxall, G. R. (2015). Consumer behavior analysis and the marketing firm: bilateral contingency in the context of environmental concern. *Journal of Organizational Behavior Management*, 35(1-2), 44-69. doi:10.1080/01608061.2015.103142
- Genç, E., & Çoşkun, T. (2015). Muhafazakarlık ve türkiye muhafazakarlıklarının bazı halleri. *Niğde Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8(2), 27-40. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/niguiibfd/issue/19758/211551>
- Gönen, T. G. (2021). Milliyetçilik. *İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 8(1), 216-218. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/igusbd/issue/58196/833681>
- Gözler, K. (2001). Devletin bir unsuru olarak 'millet' kavramı. *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Sayı 64, Kış 2001, 108-123.
- Hayek, F. A. von, & Çetin, Ü. (2009). Liberalizm. *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, (55), 197-224. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/liberal/issue/48192/609898>
- Huntington, S. (1957). Conservatism as an ideology. *American Political Science Review*, 51(2), 454-473. doi:10.2307/1952202
- İnsel, A. (1996). Hangi özgürlük ve dayanışma. *Birikim*, 82. Retrieved from <https://birikimdergisi.com/dergiler/birikim/1/sayi-82-subat-1996/2280/hangi-ozgurluk-ve-dayanisma/5013>
- Kartal, M., & Yaman, H. (2022). Muhafazakâr ideolojinin özgürlük ve eşitlik anlayışında toplumsal ve siyasi otoriteler. *Akademik Hassasiyetler*, 9(19), 229-250. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/akademik-hassasiyetler/issue/72383/1118673>
- Kassarjian, H., & Goodstein, R. C. (2021). Tüketici araştırmasının ortaya çıkışı (U. Öncül, Çev.). *Pazarlama İçgörüsü Üzerine Çalışmalar*, 5(1), 38-49. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/somi/issue/64252/929071>
- KIRK, R. (2005). Muhafazakârlık fikri (B. Güngörmez, Çev.). *Liberal Düşünce*, Yıl: Sayı: 37, 89, Kış.
- Kıvılcımlı, H. (1968). Şefik Hüsnü ve Reşat Fuat üzerine. *Türk Solu Dergisi*, 20 Ağustos 1968, Sayı 40.

- Meriç, C. (1967). İdeoloji. *İstanbul University Journal of Sociology*, 2(21-22), 119-142. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/iusosyoloji/issue/559/5503>
- Nalcıoğlu, B. U. (2005). Tanzimat dönemi Türk gazeteciliği ve Türk basınının ilkleri. *Manas Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 7(14), 253-267. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/manassosyal/issue/49973/640680>
- Özbey, K. (2019). Kimlik, milliyetçilik ve yurttaşlık ekseninde sınırlar: Muratlı örneği. *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 21(4), 1197-1223. DOI: 10.16953/deusosbil.538843
- Öztürk, A., & Mollaer, F. (2006). Muhafazakar ideoloji ve rasyonalite. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 0(35), 49-72. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iusiyasal/issue/601/6053>
- Özüşen, B., & Yıldız, Z. (2012). Buzul çağı'ndan ilk çağ'a tüketimin tarihi. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi*, 4(7), 1-16. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/vizyoner/issue/23012/246103>
- Renan, E. (1882). Qu'est-ce qu'une nation. In G. Jellinek (Ed.), *L'Etat moderne et son droit* (Traduction française par Georges Fardis) (Vol. I, p. 208). Paris: M. Giard & E. Brière.
- Şahin, K. (2017). Muhafazakâr düşünce ekseninde insan ve toplum. *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 19(3), 892-906. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/gaziuiibfd/issue/36599/416564>
- Schiffman, L. G., Kanuk, L. L., & Hansen, H. (2012). *Pearson Financial Times/Prentice Hall*.
- Selçuk, S. S. (2011). Milliyetçilik üzerine: bir literatür taraması. *Journal of Yasar University*, 23(6), 3855-3865.
- Şeyhanlıoğlu, H. (2014). Siyasal muhafazakârlığın temel ilkeleri. *Muhafazakar Düşünce Dergisi*, 10(40), 79-106. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/muhafazakar/issue/52821/697864>
- Torun, A. T. (2015). "Matbuat hürriyetimiz var mı yok mu?" 1908 sonrası basın özgürlüğü ve matbuat kanunu tartışmaları. *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 0(40), 93-118.

- Uslu, A. (2015). Sosyalist düşüncenin kaynakları: Büyük Britanya ve Fransa'da işçi hareketlerinin başlangıcı ve ütopya düşüncesi (1800-1830). *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 70(1), 35-63. DOI: 10.16987/ausbf.47816
- Voegelin, E., Algozin, M., & Algozin, K. (1974). Liberalism and its history. *The Review of Politics*, 36(4), 504-520.
- Yağcı, A. H. (2022). Türkiye’de bireylerin sol-sağ ayrımına göre konumlanması: dünya değerler araştırması 1990-2018 verilerinin incelenmesi. *Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi*, 10(1), 21-50. DOI: 10.14782/marmarasbd.1019042
- Zorlu, K., & Kırmızıoğlu, H. (2018). Adam Smith’in devlet anlayışı üzerine kuramsal bir inceleme. *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 11(22), 77-99. DOI: 10.19060/gav.437768

UNPUBLISHED THESIS

- Ademi, Z. (2021). Muhafazakârlık ve sosyal değişme (Muhafazakâr Düşünce dergisi örneği). Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi. Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Ayaydın, G.Ö. (2009). 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı toplumu ve basılı Türkçe edebiyatı: Etkileşimler, değişimler, çeşitlilik. (Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi). Bilkent Üniversitesi Türk Edebiyatı Bölümü, Ankara.
- Boyras, C. (2006). In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in the Media and Cultural Studies. TEZ.
- Elma, F. (1996). Liberal Düşüncenin Gelişim Süreci ve Türkiye’ye Yansıması. Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi. İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul.
- Pınarcı, E. (2013). John Stuart Mill'in liberalizm anlayışı. Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi. Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Sönmez, İ. (Yıl). Ulusların kendi kaderini tayin hakkı. Doktora tezi. İcaret Üniversitesi Dış Ticaret Enstitüsü Uluslararası Ticaret ve AB Hukuku Ana Bilim Dalı Uluslararası Ticaret ve AB Hukuku Doktora Programı.

Ürkek, R. (Yıl). Jean Baudrillard ve tüketim toplumu. Yüksek lisans tezi. Sivas Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Sosyoloji Ana Bilim Dalı.

ANSYCYCLOPEDIES

Gevgilili, A. (1983). Türkiye Basını. In Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi (Vol. I, s. 203). İstanbul.

Kahraman, A. (2011). Taş Basmacı. In TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (40. cilt, ss. 144-146). İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tas-basmaci> (30.05.2023).

Meydan Larousse Büyük Lugat ve Ansiklopedi. (1971). İdeoloji (Cilt.6). İstanbul, Meydan Yayınevi.

Özdamar K. Paket Programlarla İstatistiksel Veri Analizi-1. 4. Baskı. Eskişehir: Kaan Kitabevi, 2002.

INTERNET RESOURCES

Nişanyan, S. (n.d.). Ulus. In Nişanyan Sözlük. Retrieved from <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/ulus>

Friedrich Naumann Foundation. (2017, September 15). What are the core liberal values? Retrieved from <https://www.freiheit.org/yanon/what-are-core-liberal-values>

Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. (2023, March 9). Self-determination. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/self-determination>