

T.C.
BAHÇEŞEHİR ÜNİVERSİTESİ

GLOBALIZATION AND LOCALIZATION OF
WESTERN TELEVISION PROGRAM FORMATS IN
THE TURKISH CONTEXT: IDEOLOGY,
NARRATIVE AND REPRESENTATION IN
“SURVIVOR: TÜRKİYE-YUNANİSTAN”

Master Thesis

BİLGEHAN ECE ŞAKRAK

İSTANBUL, 2008

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INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
FILM AND TELEVISION

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ABSTRACT

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Şakrak, Bilgehan Ece

Film and Television

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In this thesis, the main topic is foreign TV programs which are adapted from western TV channels to private Turkish Channels with their appearance in the 1990s. These types of programs, and their formats were established in Turkey along with globalization and this establishment occurred by re-stating the dominant ideological expressions in these programs. The TV show called *Survivor: Turkey-Greece* is given as an example of the framework of ideology and presentation of these programs. In the paper, it is underlined that, globalization works along with localization. To achieve globalization in a local place, it is necessary to fulfill the global forms with local needs. While determining the local needs, it must be considered that the local needs are determined along with the ruling ideas of the ruling class.

Keywords: Globalization and TV, Localization, Narrative, Ideology, Representation

ÖZET

KÜRESELLEŞME VE BATI'DAN ALINAN TELEVİZYON PROGRAMI FORMATLARININ TÜRKİYE'DE YERELLEŞMESİ: “*SURVIVOR: TÜRKİYE- YUNANİSTAN*”DA İDEOLOJİ, ANLATI VE TEMSİL

Şakrak, Bilgehan Ece

Sinema ve Televizyon
Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Z. Tül Akbal Süalp

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Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’de 1990’larda yayına başlayan özel TV’lerle birlikte batıdan alınan yabancı TV programları, türleri ve formatlarının küreselleşme bağlamında Türkiye’de yerelleşmesi ve bu yerelleşmenin hakim ideolojik söylemlerin yeniden üretilmesi ile gerçekleştirildiği, *Survivor: Türkiye- Yunanistan* örneğinin anlatı- ideoloji ve temsil çerçevesinde incelenmesiyle ifade edilmiştir. Çalışmada küreselleşmenin yerelleşmeyle birlikte çalıştığına, küreselleşmenin sağlanması için küresel formların yerel ihtiyaçlarla doldurulmasının gerekliliğine, ve bu yerel ihtiyaçların da aslında hakim sınıfın hakim ideolojileri doğrultusunda belirlendiğine dikkat çekilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme ve TV, Yerelleşme, Anlatı, İdeoloji, Temsil

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cable News Network	: CNN
Central Organization of Police Specialists	: COPS
Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (Southeastern Anatolia Project)	: GAP
Has Bilgi Birikim (Has Information Accumulation)	: HBB
Ideological State Apparatus	: ISA
Music TV	: MTV
Posta Telefon Telgraf (Postal Telephone Telegraph Service)	: PTT
Public Broadcasting Service	: PBS
Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu (Supreme Board of Radio Television)	: RTÜK
Radyo ve Televizyon Yüksek Kurulu (High Commission of Radio and Television)	: RTYK
Repressive State Apparatus	: RSA
Samanyolu TV	: STV
Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democratic People's Party)	: SHP
Türkiye Gazetesi Radyo Televizyonu (Radio Television of <i>Türkiye</i> Newspaper)	: TGRT
Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (Turkish Radio and Television Association)	: TRT
TRT-International	: TRT-INT

1. INTRODUCTION

With the appearance of private TV channels in the nineties, the Turkish broadcasting policy started to change. New kinds of programs, formats, genres, and also adaptations from the West were well received by the Turkish audience. Over the years, the Turkish audience has become familiar to the new types of programming. In the same way, producers have started to address the Turkish audience's own cultural interests in terms of context under the rubric of imported formats, genres, and adaptations. In other words, producers have explored the success of "localized" versions of the global programs to reach the more traditional audience.

This study is concerned with the cultural dimension of globalization, the localization of Western television program formats in the Turkish context, and an examination through the narrative, ideology, and representation issues by using, as an example, a Western television program adapted in Turkey, *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* (*Survivor: Turkey-Greece*). This adaptation is a reality/competition TV show that includes two teams that have political conflicts within the context of the historical rivalry between Turkey and Greece, showcasing their struggle of living in the wilderness of an island, along with their efforts to get the great money prize at the end of the competition in accordance with the rules of the game and elimination system for the program. This program is the second *Survivor* series to be filmed in Turkey; the first being, *Survivor: Büyük Macera* (*Survivor: The Great Adventure*), which is based on the original show's format with a one-to-one adaptation that does not have any nationalistic discourses and conflicts. It concordantly did not show the same success in its ratings and its reactions in the media as *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*.

The study's argument defends the notion that globalization has resulted in a hybridity, and that the free flow of cultural productions in the global world does not result in homogeneity, as is often suggested. The localization of a product is important to build new markets. Robertson argues (in Barker 1997, 205) that the term "glocalization" is a part of globalization. He adopts the concept of "glocalization" as the base of a marketing term to express the global production of the local and the localization of the

global. In this thesis, it is claimed that the localization process is done by the reproduction of common cultural ideas that are created and controlled by the ideologies of the dominant class. In this context, this study will explore the globalization of culture and the role of narrative, ideology, and representation in the localization of global TV formats.

Television, with its technical possibilities and extensive usage all over the world, has a considerable role in the concept of “globalization” with respect to the circulation of information. In cultural studies, representational and narrational issues in terms of reflecting realities or diffusing ideologies of the dominant class are one of the most questionable objectives at issue. In this context, how the West exerts its dominance, especially over the third world and other developing countries, in relation to culture is an important research question for different studies.

Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan is meaningful in examining this concept as a program format that takes its roots from the West, assimilating it from a global format, and filling the context with local values and issues. The format frames the competition by using two countries’ historical and political backgrounds and their conflicts in the context of peace and war. It accesses the audience through its nationalist discourse. On the other hand, nationalism was not used as a part of the competitive material in the original Western format or its first season in Turkey, but it is used as the primary content for *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, in an era where nationalist ideas are prevalent in Turkey, from the television series to cinema films, as well as the world. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the nationalistic discourse between Greece and Turkey is not new, but proceeds from the past to today. Despite its roots in old history, it attracts and bewitches both the Greek and Turkish audiences every week in every episode with the top ratings in today’s market. In this respect, an examination of the narrational elements from the character construction to story telling, from its format as a “reality game show” to representational issues, forms an important part of this study.

The end of the study, aims to find answers to questions such as: “How can the format reach the same success of its original version in the Turkish audience?”, “As a game in

format, how is the program constructed in the narrative?”, “What kind of content explains the popularity of the program in Turkey?”, “How do the producers use local values and issues in the program?”, and “What are the roles of ideology and representation through the localization of a global format?”

In this thesis, a textual analysis of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* will be concluded. As it was emphasized before, the reason for choosing this program is due to the global format of the original show, which has become localized and relates to the thesis of the study at hand; namely, “Globalization results in hybridity”. This study shows how the global format uses local values, needs, and tastes, and, due to the fusion of the global and local, a hybrid culture emerges. In this context, this study defends the notion that the localization of the global in cultural productions, such as television programs, is provided by a reproduction of cultural values in ideology, narrative, and representation, which already exists in society. All episodes will be used to analyze the program. Then, an interview will be done with the winner of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* to examine how he evaluates the program in the context of representation, reality, and ideological concepts, as a competitor in the game.

The study is divided into six theoretical chapters. The first chapter includes the notion of “globalization” in the frame of culture, and different approaches to cultural globalization as it is resulted with cultural imperialism or hybridity. Also, the concept of “global TV” will be examined by the examples of some important studies on textual readings in the frame of “standardization” and hybridity. The second chapter focuses on “Turkish Broadcasting Policy and Reality TV” and gives detailed information about the history of the ever-changing broadcasting policies in Turkey and the emergence of reality TV in Turkey. It progresses onto the evolution of “Reality TV in the World” and demonstrates the genre’s development from its inception until now. The third chapter constitutes a basis for “ideology” by discussing Gramsci and Althusser, who are the two regarded ideologists in cultural studies, and their approaches to ideology in relation to culture and offering an insight into the next chapters. By utilizing the case study as a game in basis, another chapter examines the “game” as a psychological and social phenomenon, and analyzes the issues of “narration and representation” in the frame of

culture. The final chapter includes the case study *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, and its analysis is based on the discussed theoretical frames of the previous chapters. Finally, the evaluation of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* is done through an examination of the episodes and an interview in the concluding section.

2. GLOBALIZATION

The rapid developments in innovation in communications and computer technologies have made their mark during the last quarter of the previous century. The term “globalization” has become a common expression by journalists, business executives, politicians, academics, and others for a new world, economic, political, and cultural order within the emerging changes and continued restructuring of capitalism.

This chapter will examine globalization as it forms the basis for this study in the context of culture. In this chapter, keywords that are related to “globalization” such as *homogeneity*, *hybridity*, *cultural globalization*, and *globalization of TV* will be defined.

2.1 CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

The term “globalization” is related to the transition of relations of an industrial society to the production relations of post-industrial informational societies. The economical dimension of globalization relate to a process of creating a world economy. In this aspect, it is possible to say that globalization is the capital and products’ fast flow and circulation, without the same constraints posed by national borders that existed in the past, in the context of a free market economy. The result is the world’s transformation to one great market. So, according to this notion, globalization, first as a result of increasing transnational commerce in the economical dimension, results in globalization’s encroachment into and transformation of other social dimensions, and thus results in a political and cultural phenomenon.

Today, one of the most notable explanations of “globalization” is mentioned by Robertson (1992 in Barker 1997, 16) as,

Globalization is constituted by a set of processes which are intrinsic to the dynamism of modernity and as a concept refers both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.

“Globalization” generally means the dissolution and absence of geographical borders and emphasizes a consciousness of the world as a whole. Giddens (2004, 69) mentions that globalization is increasing social interactions that connect far places to each other, and Friedman (<http://www.bricklin.com/albums/fpawlf2000/friedman.htm>) describes globalization as the “faster, cheaper and deeper interaction and integration of people and markets than the past by technological developments.”

Developments that prepare the process of globalization in communications and access to technology enable globalization to reach far places easily and cheaply. Thus, communication and interaction gain in simplicity and speed. Therefore, “cultural dealing” between people and the effects are discussed in terms of the “cultural dimension of globalization”. This issue will be explained in the following part and will constitute one of this study’s basic questions.

2.2 CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION

Culture and cultural production is one of the most affected areas of globalization due to new developments in the process that has economical and political dimensions. The developments that effect new media technologies accelerate the information flows in communication systems; from Internet to mobile phones, from digital television systems to computer technologies. In regards to cultural globalization, Harvey (1989 in Kellner 1997, 4) pointed out a time-space compression that is produced by new media and communications technologies and transcends the previous space and time boundaries, creating a global cultural village. Also, Morley and Robins (1995 in *ibid*) emphasize these new technologies that create new industries, such as the computer and information industries, and allow transnational media and information to traverse the globe instantaneously. Thus, distances between places and the purpose of geographical borders to access the flowing information start to dissolve. In this media environment, the West’s retaining of global markets such as film, television, and music industries causes debates about the influence of the West over various other cultures.

Globalization of culture is theorized from different perspectives. The first approach defends the view of an Americanization and homogeneity of the world. The second approach defends the view of hybrid cultures, asserting that it is the result of the unification between local and global cultural values (Featherstone, 1993). In the homogeneity and hybridity debates, some theorists, such as Giddens, defend the approach of homogeneity, and some theorists, such as Appadurai, Robertson and Tomlinson, accept hybridity as a result of globalization. In this respect, it will be meaningful to explain the two approaches of cultural globalization and examine the ideas in the next parts of this study.

2.2.1 Cultural Homogeneity

As mentioned above, Morley and Robins (op.cit.) are proponents of the idea that “globalization results with homogeneity”, and they defend the view that globalization damages local cultures via its affect in the dimension of the information systems, globalization of the media, and multinational institutions. In this connection, Beck (2000 in Beynon& Dunkerley 2000, 22) mentions that,

In the villages of Lower Bavaria, just as in Calcutta, Singapore or the ‘favelas’ of Rio de Janeiro, people watch Dallas on TV, wear blue jeans and smoke Marlboro as a sign of ‘free, untouched nature’.

Beck (ibid) refers to a “single commodity world” that is about the icons of Western-albeit- American popular culture and its ubiquitous nature; for example, McDonald’s, which is seen as one of the most figurative icons of “Americanization”. Indeed, as being an American corporation, there are a great number of McDonald’s restaurants in many countries of the world; from Argentina to Bahrain, from South Africa to China, from Turkey to Malaysia, from Brazil to Italy.¹ This ubiquitous aspect of McDonald’s as

¹ Restaurants of Mc. Donald’s: USA, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Cyprud, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Urguay, Yugoslavia. (<http://mcdonalds.com/>) Despite to have different political, ideological and cultural values, McDonald’s’ taste is well known and liked by all the listed countries above. Therefore, popularity of McDonald’s as an American brand and its wide market share all around the world are one of the main reference points that supports the idea of “Americanization” of the world.

being a world brand that has global consumers is centered on the debates of “Americanization.”.

Along the same line, marketers of American brands, such as Coca Cola, Nike, and Levi’s address the “world consumers” as well. The phrase, Coca- colonization, which Hannerz (1990 in Beynon& Dunkerley 2000, 23) coined, refers to interpretations of Western products marketed to the non-Western world. Non-Western consumers see these Western commodities as a symbol of success and affluence. In this connection, Hamelink (1983 in *ibid*, 22) mentions that cultural diversity is threatened, and homogeneity begins to have an effect everywhere in the world.

Schiller’s (1991 in *ibid*) macro-economic domination theory addresses cultural imperialism. This imperialism is the result of the association of hegemonic cultural, economic and political roles of the US (*ibid*) in which Andrews (1980 in *ibid*) pointed out as domination of “American commodity signs” over the global mass market. This theory results in the “Americanization” of the world as it pertains to erasing local cultures and arising of homogeneous global culture.

On the other hand, Tomlinson (2004, 18) draws an analogy about “homogeneity of cultural globalization,” by using the example, “coming to a city by an airplane and spending all the time amongst cultural brands in duty-free shops without the outside of the airport”. Additionally, there are different cultural and social interactions that commence inside the airport. In this connection, a “hybridist” issue in terms of “cultural globalization” manifests itself.

2.2.2 Cultural Hybridization

In the simplest term, the meaning of “hybridization is ‘mixture’; in other words, coming together, unification, engagement” (*ibid*, 195). Cultural hybridization approaching globalization result of cross-cultural interactions. This interaction is provided by receiving foreign cultural imports and integrating them with the local culture. This association results with the formation of fresh meanings, and these meanings refer to a

new cultural hybridization. In this connection, Howes (1996 in Beynon& Dunkerley 2000, 26) mentions that,

there is no guarantee that the intention of the producer will be recognized, much less respected, by the consumer, from another culture. ... The potential therefore, is for the emergence not of global cultural homogenization, but for a plethora of new local, hybrid forms and identities.

As Beynon and Dunkerley (2000, 18) mention, “cultural globalization lies the two-way dynamic between the global and the local, namely, (1) the global culture’s penetration of local culture; (2) and the local’s penetration of global culture” . In this respect, hybridization is a result of this global-local infiltration. Ramadan menus from McDonald’s as an American firm, the sponsorship of Nike to the Turkish national team in the European Championships, can be given as simple examples of the global with the local. Other explicit examples that impact upon the local markets of global cultural products are: Burger King, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Levi-Strauss, Nike, Reebok, the American entertainment industry in the medium of film, television, and music, and global advertising, such as American Express (ibid, 19).

David Morley (2007)² discusses the association of the “newness” with globalization/modernity issues and points out the importance of this spatial phenomenon as much as the temporal phenomenon in geographical regions and its relation to culture and history. He asserts that in today’s technological era, technological developments are not a result of homogeneity in terms of globalization, as it is claimed by some theories. “If you have not got a special mobile phone, your phone does not work in USA; DVDs do not work in different regions of the World; wall plugs are different in UK and USA” (ibid). Thus, technology does not eliminate “divisions” and standardization; but instead creates these “schisms”.

On the other hand, Morley (ibid) addresses the engaged pattern of temporal phenomenon as the association of the “past” and the “new”, and their simultaneous working by the example of “driving a nail”:

² Conversation with Professor David Morley from Goldsmiths College, University of London. *The Geography of Newness: Globalisation, Modernity and Technology* in İstanbul Bilgi University, 10.12.2007

We sometimes use hammer and sometimes use electric drill to drive a nail. The origin of hammer comes from the Paleolithic age and the electric drill from the modern times. We are in the era which the different technological eras engaged like symbiosis. It is not possible that to divide the modernity and the traditionality. There are global brands in everywhere, but profound cultures are waiting for you in the corner of the street.

In this respect, it is possible to say that a hybrid results from globalization and manifests itself in the meaning of both consumption experiences of the technological era and its relation to time, as to past purchasing experiences (traditional) compared to the new purchasing capabilities (modern). Thus, “globalization” has a respectable complexity more than the theory of standardization.

2.3 GLOBAL TV

In this transnational media environment, maybe one of the most important communications tools that supports the high speed of information flow in today’s world is television, with world-wide flows of discourses, cultural representations and their access to transnational television audiences, as being a global phenomenon. As Barker (1997, 21) mentions,

Television is bound up with capitalist modernity both a set of economic activities and as a cultural force constituted by and constitutive of modernity. The rise of transnational television since the mid-1980s is, thus, an aspect of capitalist globalization whereby this essentially economically driven set of activities is also a set of cultural practices involving the circulation of ideas and images around the world. This expansion of global television is a set of economic and cultural practices has itself been enabled by technological and political developments which are restructuring the world “television order”.

The rise of transnational television in these capitalist activities, commerce of television programs, and, as a result, commerce of technological hardware of television, such as satellites and digitalization systems, reach more and more audiences (consumers) and gains acceleration. In this consumer capitalism, “television is the vehicle *par excellence* for advertising and, thus, the selling of consumer goods” (ibid).

Barker (1999, 58) argues that the globalization institutions in television are paralleled by the world-wide circulation of television narratives and genres that include news,

music television, soap operas, sport and game shows in an advance for “promotional culture”. In the context of the world-wide circulation, in *Transnational Media and National Development*, Herbert Schiller (1979 in Tomlinson 1999, 61-62) follows Immanuel Wallerstein (1974 in *ibid*) and emphasizes US dominance and control over the international communications industry and the detrimental affects on the other side of the world. This approach refers to the theory of “media imperialism,” which targets the third world and developing nations.

Despite the general aspect of Schiller’s study in criticism of media imperialism, there are specific studies that emphasize the imperialist characteristics of American texts. For example, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* (1975), Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart (1975 in Tomlinson 1999, 69) emphasize the cartoons of Walt Disney take refuge behind the senses of childlike innocence as a powerful ideological tool of American imperialism. While the stories and characters are addressing children, they take the sense of childlike innocence as a cover to normalize and legitimize the social relationships of Western capitalism.

In this connection, Dorfman and Mattelart itemize the ideological themes that refer to the West as “heartfelt and compulsive consumerism.” Third world nations, which are the resources of wealth for their “exoticism” and their condition of “waiting to be acquired” by the Western adventurers, are portrayed in a “childish” and banal representation in terms of culture and race in order to represent the capitalist relationships as natural, changeless, and moral. Certainly, the cartoons can be described as anti-communist and counter revolutionist propaganda; for example, they depict woman in banal and weak representations, and they point out the globetrot of the “American dream” by the help of the imported cultural products such as Disney (*ibid*, 71-73).

As Tomlinson (1999, 73-74) mentions, Dorfman and Mattelart (*op.cit.*) are concerned with texts and are not interested in institutions. Therefore, they cannot take Schiller’s theory on cultural imperialism any further, and they propose the idea of imported cultural products, such as Disney and Coca-Cola, to include the values of consumer

culture in American capitalism as they present a glimpse of the “good life”. However, any progression about the theory of cultural imperialism is related to the relationship between the text and the audience.

In this context, the 1980s popular serial *Dallas* and Ien Ang’s book *Watching Dallas* (1985 in *ibid*, 75) about audience research on the series prescribe a different point of view on the debates of the cultural imperialism. Ang’s study is not methodological, she puts an ad in a magazine published in Holland and wants readers of the magazine to write favorable and unfavorable sides of *Dallas*. According to Ang (*ibid*, 77), the audience can interpret the ideological emphasis of imported cultural products from America just as well as the professional critics. The most important element of success of the series is the pleasure in its melodramatic genre. In other words, the audience is not passive, they are active in reading texts, and this prejudices the theory of media imperialism and “standardization.”

Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes’ (1985) study on cross-cultural readings of *Dallas* improves on Ang’s (*op.cit.*) study. Katz and Liebes’ research (1985 in Tomlinson 1999, 79-80) is a wider cross-cultural study that includes 55 groups consisting of three couples as samples who are non-ethnic Americans from Los Angeles and some ethnic groups as Arabs, recent Jewish immigrants from Russia, Moroccan Jews, and Kibbutz members from the Jerusalem area. These groups watched *Dallas* and discussed it for one hour, and then individually answered a questionnaire. Thus, data from the research was gained.

According to the results of the research, Katz and Liebes (*ibid*) found that “different ethnic groups activate their own cultural values while they are interpreting any program”:

Machluf: You see, I’m a Jewish who wears kippa³ and I learn to say “we are glad” to be Jewish by the help of the serial. JR and all the things about the baby, god knows, with four or five fathers, who knows? Of course, his/ her mother is Sue Allan, and Pam’s brother will divorce. May be, the father is he... It is clear that all of them are unfathered. (Katz& Liebes 1985, 193-194 in Tomlinson 1999, 80)

³ Jewish cap.

As seen in the above quotation, different cultures can interpret what they watch and use their local cultural accumulations while interpreting an American program. This situation offers an insight into the probability of hybridization as the dissenting opinion against “media imperialism,” and supports the theory claimed in this thesis as “globalization is resulted as hybridity, not homogeneity.” Because “interpretation” has an important role in the internalization of different cultures, the audience has an active role while decoding messages. In this situation, “Americanization” cannot be accepted by the audience. Therefore, imposed American culture cannot standardize other cultures, and the audience receives the messages according to their own cultural values. Thus, the issue of spontaneous working of American culture with local cultures appears, to refer to “hybrid results of globalization”. Using the soap opera *Dallas* is just one example.

In the debates of globalization and related terms, such as homogenization, localization, and hybridity, much of the research conducted on cultural studies has been on the relationships between the culture and cultural products. In this context, cultural productions, localization of original TV formats has been studied by many researchers. Some researchers from different countries argue that globalization does not result in homogeneity; it results in heterogeneity and produces hybrid cultures.

Huriye Kuruoğlu’s study (2004), *Reflections of Cultural Globalization in TV: Programmes in Kyrgyzstan* is an interesting paper that discusses globalization through TV within a post-Soviet state that has a unified culture and ideology due to years behind the iron curtain, but now has had a cultural shock since the independence of Kyrgyzstan from the Soviet Union. According to this research, globally watched TV channels in Kyrgyzstan have had the most important role in the diffusion of globalization. However, its limited access in the state provides a low possibility of a global crises occurring. In addition, content of standard TV channels that are not cable/satellite TV shows and are incorporated with global programs and reproduced even in a different language, are especially adapted for foreign programs and foreign movies. On the other hand, 70 per cent of the Kyrgyz population lives in poverty, so people who are in the majority, can not obtain cable television. Therefore, access to the global TV flow is limited. The study

concludes that the process integrates the global with the local, rather than conceiving that the global takes the place of the local and destroys it completely (ibid, 1-5). Kuruoğlu (ibid, 6) argues that the globalization process does not destroy local cultures or identities; simply, the new global and local identities are formed simultaneously. She also claims that the local identity can not be defined according to a certain space and community. It can be defined according to a common space perception that is placed on the global picture (ibid).

According to Barker (1999, 58), “television across the globe also develops a postmodern cultural style marked by bricolage, intertextuality and genre blurring”. In this respect, one TV format across the globe in the forementioned style is reality-game shows in today’s world. For example, Michael A. Keane and Albert Moran’s study (2005), titled *(Re) Presenting Local Content: Programme Adaptation in Asia and the Pacific*, studies the increasing incidence of TV format flows in the Asia Pacific. They argue that the format activity is “a result of demand for low cost content and a catalyst for change in local content,” and looks at some international formats in the Asia Pacific region: East Asia (Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, People’s Republic of China); South Asia (India, Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines); and Oceania (Australia, New Zealand). According to this research, in the East Asian region, the Japanese TV industry has an important role and circulating content as “already local,” and adaptations are facilitated according to cultural values. In South Asian formats, local cultural values are reflected heavily, although there is a greater industry awareness of international Western formats than there is in East Asia. Australia and New Zealand have different cultural standards, in that Australia is more open and similar to East Asia. The most high-profile international models are *The Weakest Link* and *Survivor*. For example, in Mainland China, *Survivor* is called *Into Shangrila (zouru Xianggelila)*, (2005), and its key elements promote the “collectivist” values in its localization, such as national propaganda campaigns from the revolutionary past. All of these examples are about the formation of globalization according to local values. In other words, global formats need to incorporate local values in order to reach different cultures. In this aspect, it is similar to *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, which uses the two nations’ historical backgrounds and conflicts. As a result of Keane and Albert’s research, it is

understood that countries, such as Taiwan, India, China, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea, have taken up the challenge of making new forms of local content using global ideas with the emergence of new independent companies (Keane& Moran 2005, 1-10). It might be a new alternative industry for those countries, which address hybrid cultures of localization in the frame of globalization.

Barış Bora Kılıçbay's Ph. D research, titled *Reality TV in Turkey and New Television Culture* (2005), focuses on the history of reality TV, its positioning, and Turkey's first reality-game show *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor (Someone is Peeping Us)* (2001) as a case study. This study is interesting in terms of examining the first example of reality-game show *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor*, which refers and leads to other examples in Turkey; such as, *Akademi Türkiye (Academy Turkey)* (2004) , *Gelinim Olur musun?(Would You Like to be My Bride)* (2004), *Survivor* (2005-2006), etc. In this research, Kılıçbay aims to position the "reality" discourse in the meaning of history, culture, and ideology. In addition, he wants to conceptualize the elements of analysis that are used to examine the "reality-TV phenomenon". The study concludes that reality-TV "reproduces" already existent actual practices and discourses, and it includes hybrid formats and techniques (ibid, 242). A finding of the research is a discourse that states reality-TV is built on the basis of a democratic participation. For example, "advocacy of audience and supports their fan-players with votes; but of democratic participation and its generalizing in the public sphere is not progressive, but also serves to producers' and TV companies' benefits for both short and long terms" (ibid, 245). This evidence also supports the idea of this thesis, in that it considers the consumption of production, even if it is done by local cultural values, nationalistic emotions or something else that serves to the West as being a part of a capitalistic strategy.

Reality TV is an innovation for a globalized TV format that started at the end of 1990s and attracts audiences', intellectuals', TV critics' and producers' attentions. They spread out from Western origins to different countries. Turkey is not an exception to this matter. *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor* (2001), which Kılıçbay studied, is the first example of a reality-game show that is based on the "daily life experiences" in Turkey. Other examples can be augmented as *Bir Prenses Aranıyor (A Princess is Sought)* (2005); *Size*

Anne Diyebilir miyim? (Could I Say Mother to You?) , (2004-2005); *Survivor: Büyük Macera (Survivor: The Great Adventure)* (2005); *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan (Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan)* (2006); and so on.

This study focuses on the last position of the reality-TV and reality shows in Turkey within the context of localization from the Western formats in globalization debates of today's world after some years from the first reality-game shows in the beginning of the 2000s: it aims to show localized formation of Western program formats by ideology-narrative and representation issues, with the example of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* as a case study. Therefore, it will be the first extensive academical analysis with its interesting discourses in Turkey.

3. TURKISH BROADCASTING POLICY AND REALITY SHOWS

Turkish broadcasting has gone through a transformation and new age starting in the 1990s. Before examining the new broadcasting market, it would be beneficial to look at the broadcasting policy prior to the 1990s. The emergence of private TV to Turkish broadcasting life is related with TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Association), which is supported by the state. TRT's program content weigh heavily on the Turkish TV& radio market. In addition, the different points of view in Turkish broadcasting after the 1990s will be examined.

3.1 TURKISH BROADCASTING POLICY BEFORE THE 1990s

Until 1990, TRT broadcasted from its five different channels, which are TV 1, TV 2-GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project) broadcasts from TV 2, TV 3, TV 4 and TRT-INT⁴ (TRT-International). In those times, TRT broadcasted from the forementioned five channels, and there were no other competitor channels or broadcasting institutions in Turkey. So, from the establishment of TRT to the entrance of private channels and commercial broadcasting in 1990s, broadcasting was under the monopoly of TRT, and consequently, the state (Çelenk 2005, 128). During the 1990s, the broadcasting policy of TRT continued according to the Law of Turkish Radio TV No. 359, which was accepted on 01.05.1964. The law determines the function of TRT in terms of public requirements and gives a mission to TRT as being an “educational and cultural” institution (ibid, 130).

⁴ TV 2 started broadcasting on 02.10.1986, and its content was planned as a cultural channel that contains news and cultural programs. On 02.10.1989, the GAP channel started to broadcast from TV 2. TV3 entered broadcasting on 21.10.1989 as an educational and sports channel. A short time later, TV 4 started to broadcast. Finally, TRT-INT began, marking the fifth channel of TRT on 28.02.1990. Its target audience was Turkish people who lived in Europe and North Africa, and aimed to be a transnational satellite channel. TRT-INT's broadcasting area was enlarged to Asian Turkic Republics on 01.07.1992, and was named AVRASYA. As a result, broadcasts of TRT-International were watched from the Atlantic Ocean to Great Wall of China (Aziz 1999; Çaplı& Dündar 1995, 1376- 1386 in Çelenk 2005, 132- 133).

According to Aysel Aziz (1999, 31 in Çelenk 2005, 131), the first executives and producers' backgrounds were in the radio discipline, and therefore believe that the purpose of radio and TV are not for entertainment but for education, news and information. Because of their foundation in radio, they believed the function of TRT, especially in the middle of 1970s, was that “entertainment is not the target, it can be just a tool for watching another genres”.

Broadcasting content of TRT from its inception to the 1990s emphasized modernization, industrialization, improvement, and the idea of “the state’s indivisibility with its country and nation”. In this connection, TRT had a mission on this discourse and this mission can be seen easily in its program choices; such as, opera programs, documentary programs, concert programs, sports programs etc. As a result, all of these programs supported the function of TRT and its institutional approach to becoming a broadcasting tool (Çelenk, 2005, 137). Çelenk (ibid, 128-129) pointed out that this classical point of view within TRT did not change from its first broadcast from 1968 to the 1990s (ibid, 146).

3.2 TURKISH BROADCASTING POLICY AFTER THE 1990s

3.2.1 Regulation of TV Broadcasting in the 1990s

Before examining the changing Turkish broadcasting policy, it will be meaningful to look the history of the first innovative interferences in the Turkish broadcasting area. Official and unofficial interferences of capital groups, such as media holdings, and free enterprises for broadcasting that appeared before the 1990s.

The first attempt made by an enterprise came from Abidin Cevher Özden, who was known as “Banker Kastelli and was the most popular capital representative of the 1990s, and payed high compensations to advertisers for TRT. He attempted to enter the broadcasting area with a different channel; however, the attempts made by Abidin Cevher Özden collapsed, and the promises he made to hundreds of people who believed

in his goal and gave their money to him in the beginning of 1980s was gone. He absconded abroad in 1982. After him, representatives of the broadcasting area continued to interfere in private TV (Adaklı 2006, 229). The owner of the newspaper *Dünya (the World)* requested an allowance from RTYK (High Commission of Radio and Television) in 1985 (*Nokta*, 1987; *ibid*, 230). After that, Erol Simavi and Aydın Doğan in partnership with Eczacıbaşı, Koç and Sabancı corporations requested broadcasting licenses in 1987 (Çaplı 1990, 266 in *op.cit.*, 230). As Adaklı (2006, 230) mentions, in spite of rejection of the two applications, the major capital groups of the media stated they would enter the broadcasting area when the time came.

During 1990s, the occurrence of private TV channels and their broadcastings in an illegal base was the reason for the belated legal arrangements. Therefore, it will be significant to examine the first legal arrangements from the high commission, which was responsible of the arrangements for radio and TV broadcasting.

An important development within private broadcasting was law No. 3517, which takes its roots in 1987 from the Ministry of Communications on. It concerns broadcasters who are disposed of TRT and the alienation of 1,354 employees to PTT (Postal Telephone Telegraph Service) (Yengin 1994, 85-88 in Adaklı 2006, 231). It is important to mention that prior to this time, there was a basic departure from PTT's main function as a telephone service to gaining the new function for the facility of mass communication. Between 1983-1993, the Main Planning for Communication, maintained that entering into digital technology was imperative, and it was seen that some services within mass communication were in this scope (Adaklı 2006, 231).

The transfer of the radio and TV broadcasters from TRT to PTT was debated among the public for a long time, and the SHP (Social Democratic People's Party), being the term's opposition party, carried this subject to the Constitutional Court because law No. 3517 was contradictory to law No. 133 of the Constitution. In spite of the Constitutional Court's decree of annulment on 18.05.1990, the subject dragged on, and the alienation process did not take effect. It therefore resulted in new illegal applications. During this time, PTT continued to broadcast from abroad to Turkish audiences via satellite. Also,

PTT broadcasted cable TV in Çankaya, which is a vicinity of Ankara. On 26.01.1988, it was criticized by SHP because it was not deemed suitable within the legal statutes. All debates, critics, and different points of view did not avert the private broadcasting, and beginning in the 1990s, private broadcasting became a legal element in the Turkish audience's daily life (ibid, 232).

3.2.2 First Private Channel Enters the Turkish TV World

The First private broadcasting started in March 1990 with test broadcastings via Magic Box-MBI Filmcilik ve Reklamcılık A.Ş, which was related to Rumeli Holdings owned by the Uzan Group. It was understood that Ahmet Özal, who was the son of the prime minister of Turkey, interfered with the programming nine months later. Actually, when Star 1 broadcasted, one of the problems about the private broadcasting was due to the group from "Ulusal Televizyon," which was formed by Erol Simavi (*Hürriyet*- national newspaper), Haldun Simavi (the old owner of *Günaydın*- national newspaper) and Türker İnanoğlu (Ulusal *Video*- a company that distributed Turkish movies in video cassette format). This establishment: distributed videos, installed satellite antennas, rented studios and produced programs for TRT. Also, it had the copyrights to many archived Turkish movies. On the other hand, İhlas Holding shot series for TGRT (Radio Television of *Türkiye Newspaper*) and waited for the broadcast, while *Sabah* Newspaper interrupted the technical background and Karacan TV produced programs for TRT (Berkan 19 July 1990 in ibid, 233).

As it mentioned before, private broadcasting was far from legal. In spite of this, private broadcasting continued for years. This position resulted with drawing the attention of foreign investors. Newspapers mentioned the vision of Rupert Murdoch, who was a global media emperor in Turkey. While visiting, the question was posed to the president of the Turkish Republic: "Are you afraid of foreign journalists buying newspapers?" (Tan 20 July 1990 in Adaklı 2006, 233). Turgut Özal's speech (1989 in Adaklı 2006, 233) was a landmark for private broadcasting: "Tomorrow, someone can say 'If TV broadcasting is forbidden in Turkey, I can establish it in abroad via satellite and give the Turkish broadcast to Turkey'". As Adaklı (2006, 233) pointed out three months later,

the son of the Prime Minister Ahmet Özal and the Uzan Group started the first private broadcast from Germany.

“Broadcasts of Magic Box by satellite that can be received with dish antenna are shown to huge masses with transmitters that are provided by SHP municipalities and PTT links” (ibid). On the other hand, Magic Box had a different broadcasting approach from TRT. TRT’s function of, “entertainment is not the aim, it can be just a tool to follow other (elitist) genres” was broken down by the first private broadcastings. As Sağnak (1996 in ibid, 234) mentioned, live broadcastings of football matches, children’s programs from the West, youth and house wives, erotic night shows, competition programs with grand prizes, broadcasts during the Gulf War by connection to CNN (Cable News Network) resulted with an increase of audience for Magic Box. Consequently, the Turkish audience was surrounded by popular culture and started to rise up in the center of popular consumer habits within broadcasting after following the approach of TRT that addressed high and elite culture.

While alluding to “popular, popular culture”, it will be wise to mention “what is ‘popular’”, shortly:

Fiske situates the popular with ‘the people’, that is, the heterogeneous majority who stand in contrast to the various sectors of the élite ‘power bloc’. In this line of reasoning, the popular is that which enhances the pragmatic dimension for the majority (Barret& Newbold 1995, 51).

This term can be defined by two approaches; according to structuralism and culturalism:

In structuralism, ‘popular culture’, ‘mass culture’, ‘dominant ideology’ are usually equated through a series of sliding definitions. In culturalism, by contrast, popular culture is being equated with the ‘autochonus’ culture of subordinate classes, is explicitly distinguished from and opposed to dominant ideology in the form of mass culture (Dahlgren 1995, 350).

Private broadcasting gained acceleration with the entering of capital groups into the press sector of the area. Today’s private broadcasting anatomy was shaped mainly by the end of 1993. The second private TV channel to be implemented was Teleon on 27. 01. 1992 also by the Uzan Group. Show TV started to broadcast after it transferred popular names, such as Uğur Dündar, Mehmet Ali Birand, Rüstem Batum, Zeki Alaysa, Metin Akpınar, Hülya Avşar, as being owned by the *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* groups’

shareholders, on 01.03.1992 (Adaklı 2006, 234-235). Has Holding was a co-partner of HBB (Has Information Accumulation), which established the channel on 09.10.1992. Kanal 6, owned by Ahmet Özal after his separation from Uzan Group, began broadcasting on 04.10.1992. Cine 5 could be watched with a secret code, and was joined with private channels in 1993 by Erol Aksoy and TGRT of İhlas Group on 22.04.1993. Kanal D of Doğan and Doğuş Holdings was added to the sector on 20.09.1993. ATV, of which Dinç Bilgin was the majority shareholder, and STV (Samanyolu TV) of *Zaman* Newspaper followed the established channels (Yengin 1994; Adaklı 2001a in *ibid*, 235). Vexatious actions of private TV channels were controlled by law No. 3984, on which RTÜK was founded by Radio and TV Establishment and Broadcasting Law. Thus, it allowed interception of broadcasting and allotment of frequency properties (Adaklı 2006, 236).

According to RTÜK data⁵, the number of channels that broadcast via satellite is 113, and cable is 71. Continental broadcast includes 212 local, 16 regional, and 23 national channels. RTÜK froze a number of private radio and TV establishments because of technical reasons, and announced that new licensing applications would not be accepted. Therefore, capital groups that could not establish new TV channels started to compete to buy the existent TV channels that were broadcasting from original public frequencies and channels that had passed through several hands (*op.cit.*, 237).

3.2.3 Content of Private TV

Rapid economical transformations from the beginning of 1980 reflected itself in the social lives of Turkish people. As Bali (2002, 152-153 in Çelenk 2005, 200) mentioned, the 1970s were the poverty years for Turkey, the hard times in foreign exchange and going abroad. “In those days, it was very difficult to find luxury import nutrition and consumption products such as chocolate, Nescafé, beverages with alcohol and blue jeans” (Çelenk 2005, 200). The downswing times of credit cards and consumerism in the 1970s changed during 1980s and 1990s. Modern life’s facilities from technological developments to their usage in social life, such as shopping malls, import autos, metro

⁵ E. KÜÇÜKSÖNMEZ, employee in RTÜK, verbal conversation on 21 July 2008.

access in big cities, Internet, cell phones, as well as other progressions in communications and computer technologies entered Turkish social life (ibid, 201). On the other hand, as Çelenk (ibid, 203) mentioned, emphasized developments within the Turkish social life did not proceed a new visual arena just because of injustice in distribution of income, unemployment, and high rate of inflation. Actually, in this context, these rapid economical transformations were a result of the welfare of economics; it drew a consumption line for the Turkish people in a chart of impoverishment.

Çelenk pointed out the production of a “common ideology” and the collective consciousness’ reflection of the imagination of identity and future changes during the 1980s and 1990s (ibid, 205). Therefore, this transformation in social life resulted with the approach of a competitive individualist society.

Commercial TV channels with private broadcasting from the early 1990s to today exploited the approach of individualism that is different from the concept TRT had that television is just for the public interest. Thus, the context of TV gains different representations with changes in the flow of broadcasting, different formats and genres, and characters created in programs that nourish popular culture and place the audience as consumer (ibid, 206).

From the appearance of first commercial private channels to the present, a different structuring of TV characterization was formed with the dominance of talk-shows, reality-shows, and its documentary-style celebrity-shows, and local dramas, such as series. It is true to say that it is embraced in the categorization of: information, entertainment, sports, and fiction genres in Turkey, like the European program categories. In this frame, prime-time scheduling can be grouped in 4 categories:

1. *Local TV Dram: Series, comedy series, case comedies*
2. *Show Programs: Talk-shows, music and entertainment programs, competition programs as (competition shows that are named as “Quiz Show” or “Contests” and “games” that are named as “Game Shows”), and magazine programs*
3. *“Forum” Programs: News-debate programs, news-files, sports-critics*
4. *Live Stories: Reality Shows (ibid, 207).*

From the first years of private TV to today, the most diversified and innovative programs are in the genre of entertainment programs: such as: competitive programs with great awards, magazine programs with gossip and scandals, reality shows as live stories, and so forth. These are also the programs in which commercial private TV was introduced and became closer to the Turkish audience. These are popular programs that the audience prefers to enter easily and moves away from TRT and its broadcasting policy, though it is more flexible than it was in its first years through the late 1990s.

As discussed, one of the great program format innovations was that private TV gained its high volume of audience viewers in “reality shows”. As being the subject of localization of Western program formats to Turkish context and the reality show *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* as the case study in this research, this will be the first study to examine reality shows and their evaluation in Turkey.

3.3 REALITY SHOWS IN TURKEY

In 1993 and 1994 the Turkish audience met the genre of reality shows in Turkish broadcasting. The first reality show in Turkey was *Sıcağı Sıcağına (In the Heat of the Moment)* by Show TV on 05.05.1993. *Olay Olay (Event)* (1994), *Söz Fato'da (Voice is In Fato)* (1994), *Böyle Gitmez (It Does not Go On)* (1994) are some other examples in the same category. This new format of commercial private TV is defined as (ibid, 203-204):

Reality Show: Events as crime, robbery, attack and judgments that are types of events 'police-judiciary reporters' follow in print media are reflected in heading of 'Reality Show' to TVs. Reality shows which became famous suddenly in the first years of private TV and carry like these kind of programs with their all brutality to screen are criticized in spite of their high ratings. Producers coerced to intercept of critics a lot of times, because of their insurances to broadcast bloody images and to set to work of being detective and police instead of news programming. (Çaplı & Dündar 1995 in ibid, 211).

At times, exaggerated expressions from reporters with extreme effects in voice and images of the first examples of reality shows blow over, and a new kind of reality show as “live stories” appear, such as *Film Gibi (Like a Film)* (2002) by Sinan Çetin, *Reha*

Muhtar'a İtiraf (*Confession to Reha Muhtar* (2002), etc. In this group, the content included the relationships between family members and the dramatic effects of their consultation with the audience. The audience is positioned as a “public jury” and the public justice is mooted with the frame of personal cases (Çelenk 2005, 212-213).

“The last and newest version of reality shows is the ‘competition’ format, which is shown simultaneously in Turkey and around the world” (ibid, 213). The first reality competition show was *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor* and was broadcasted by Show TV in 2001. According to the rules of the competition, 15 men and women were put in the same home, which included cameras in every room except the bathroom and toilet that shot for 24 hours, and they lived together for 100 days. They get money to live on and travel by taxi. Every weekend, one competitor was eliminated. The most liked competitor by the public (viewing audience) was voted on via SMS and got a large monetary award in the final week.

This is the basic version of the reality competition format. This format reached a massive audience, and, because of its financial success, producers began to create new versions of *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor*, such as *Pop Star*, a singing contest with competitors who live in the same home like *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor*; *Akademi Türkiye*, which is another singing contest with competitors who live in the same house, but it also has an academic element, *Gelinim Olur musun?*, which is a reality marriage competition. In spite of a critical audience and warnings from RTÜK, reality shows that revolve around a house full of people competing for a grand prize are continuing to be broadcasted.⁶

Productions of reality programs have been created from the 1990s to 2000s in different versions: from police-inspector format to court form, from *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor* format to pop-star form, from competitions to find new models to a home filled with past Turkish TV celebrities, with all of these shows claiming to produce reality or real life

⁶ To see examples and versions of reality shows in Turkey, it will important to produce a chart related to the mentioned programs. *Sinevizyon* produces a big portion of reality shows in Turkey, and produced shows from 1990 to 2006 are shown in the Appendix. For more information, see Appendix 1-Table A.1 and Appendix 1-Table A.2.

drama. Without a doubt, one of the most popular reality shows around the world and in Turkey is *Survivor*. From this brief introduction to the emergence of the reality show format to Turkish broadcasting and lives of Turkish audiences, and before analyzing *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* and its localization in the frame of globalization, it will be meaningful to examine the history of reality shows and the first examples around the world as the genre became a global format.

3.4 REALITY SHOWS IN THE WORLD

Susan Murray and Laurie Quelling (2004, 2) define the notion in their book, *Reality TV*, as “it is an unbasedly commercial genre united less by aesthetic rules or certainties than by the fusion of popular entertainment with a self-conscious claim to the discourse of the real”. The combination of these two elements, less aesthetic and discourse on reality make reality TV an important genre for institutional and cultural developments that include real life entertainment, the convenience of new technologies with programs and their promotion, and the acceptance of produced artifice that coexists with claims of truth. They point out the rapid accession of TV programming that provides nonscripted access to real people in ordinary and extraordinary situations. It is presented as dramatic uncertainty, voyeurism, and popular pleasure because reality TV is unlike news, documentaries, and other information formats whose truth claims rely on classic public service tradition. Murray and Quelling (ibid, 2-3) also emphasize the current wave of reality TV as circulating ideologies, myths, templates for living that can be construed as educational in nature. It eschews twin expectations of serious factual formats -unpopular and unprofitable- that differentiate itself from popular entertainment.

After previously introducing reality TV in Turkey above, it will be meaningful to look at the history of reality shows in the world. In the examination of this genre, U.S and some European countries will be taken as the reference points because of their dominance and expertise in the history of reality TV.

Late 1950s quiz formats that placed real people in dramatic situations with unpredictable outcomes are the first examples of reality TV. Other examples of the format: *Candid Camera*, which included staged pranks and celebrations of ordinary people in unusual situations (examples include *Queen for a Day*, *It Could Happen to You*, *That's Incredible*, and *Real People*), and an amateur talent contest, *Star Search* (ibid, 3).

An American Family, the landmark cinema verité series is often emphasized as the first reality program from PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) in 1973. It provides a reference point for low budget and nonprofessionally produced TV, the everyday home video excerpted on *America's Funniest Home Videos* (ibid). In 1974, the UK followed *An American Family* and made *The Family*, which is about the working class Wilking family, and Australia produced *Sylvania Waters*, which chronicles the values and behavior of the Baker-Donaher family from Sydney.

The 1980s and 1990s' favored the reality format that presents everyday real-life drama (op.cit) on daytime talk shows. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (1986) and *The Jerry Springer Show* (1991) are two examples in this category. In the development period of reality TV, *COPS* (Central Organization of Police Specialists) (1980) was introduced as a crime-based reality TV show, and was determined as "info-tainment" (Surette 1998; Hallett& Powell 1995 in Curry 2001, 169), "a part of the police show genre" (Danielson et al. 1996 in Curry 2001, 170), and "docu-cop" show (Andersen 1995 in Curry 2001, 170). *Top Cops* (1990), *Real Stories of the Highway Patrol* (1993), and *LAPD* (Los Angeles Police Department) (1995) are other examples of this sub-genre.

In 1991, MTV (Music TV) broadcasted *The Real World*, which included characteristics of the genre's current form by casting young adults in a house filled with cameras and microphones and using a dramatic narration (Murray& Quellette 2004, 2) In 1997, *Expedition Robinson* was broadcasted in Sweden and was adapted and licenced by US as *Survivor* (2000), which is the case study of this research and includes an island, two competitor teams playing against one another until it evolves into an individual

competition. In the end, an individual is awarded a grand prize for being the finalist who is voted best by the voting system of the competition.

In the evolution period of reality TV from the late 1980s to today, different countries from the US to the UK, Australia, Sweden and other countries relate with the genre. In this process, different variations and hybrid forms of the genre emerged. Murray and Ouellette (ibid, 4) categorize today's most prominent reality TV shows in the meaning of its sub-genres as: gamedoc (*Survivor, Big Brother, Fear Factor*), dating programs (*Joe Millionaire, Mr. Personality, Blind Date*), makeover/ lifestyle program (*A Wedding Story, Extreme Makeover, What Not to Wear*), docusoap (*High School Reunion, The Real World, Sorority Life*), talent contests (*American Idol*), court programs (*Court TV, Judge Judy*), reality sitcoms (*My Life as a Sitcom, The Osbournes*), and celebrity variations (*Celebrity Boxing*).

On the other hand, it is very difficult to categorize certain types of sub-genres because the reality shows have gained different characteristics from day to day in their progression from 1950s to today. They gained complexity from its simple forms, like quiz shows, to hybrid styles as “gamedoc, docusoap, docu-cop, etc.” (Andersen 1995 in Curry 2001, 170; Murray & Quелlette 2004, 4). Despite many hybrid sub-genres in reality shows, such as gamedocs, docusoaps, court programs, lifestyle type, celebrity variations, etc. that were mentioned above, the logic of the shows can be divided within the main groups.

“Game” is based on shows that are one of the main categories for reality TV. There are generally real studio audiences and contestants who come and play the game to win in real time. There is a prize at the end of the game, such as money, a car, a house, etc. *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, *The Weakest Link*, and *Deal or No Deal* are some of the examples in this sub-genre. “Talk shows” are another main type of reality show. This sub-genre includes topics or real life stories discussed by celebrities or real people in front of a studio audience. Sometimes the audience at home connects to these programs via telephone, e-mail, fax, etc. and shares their ideas about the topic being discussed. *Ricki Lake* and *Jerry Springer Show* are examples of talk shows.

“Documentary” style shows can also be categorized as reality TV. They generally formatted around a person or celebrity who shares their personal life with the viewers. There is no prize at the end of the show. *The Osbornes* and *The Real World* are examples of this documentary style. Some shows that can be “docusoaps, gamedoc, docu-cop” are the hybrid styles formed by different sub-genres, such as documentary/soap opera, documentary/game show, etc. Elimination shows, such as *Big Brother*, *Star Search*, *Idol* and *Survivor*, are the other main sub-genre of today’s reality TV. This style includes a competition between a group of people and has an elimination system that is oriented to conclude one contestant as the final winner.

Despite the basic types of the reality genre, the presence of the various styles that facilitate a certain typology in the determination of the reality TV genre is not amazing in today’s proliferate and quick-consumed media environment. This hybrid and cumulative diversification of the reality TV genre is also about being a global format and addressing enlarged audiences. Therefore, this genre will continue to develop in the future.

4. IDEOLOGY, GRAMSCI AND ALTHUSSER

In this chapter, the concept of “ideology” in Gramsci and Althusser terms, whose theories are used on “ideology and culture,” will be applied to *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* as a localized global TV format and its relation to narration and representation issues. In this context, this study defends the correlation between the localization process of global TV formats and the effects of the ruling class’ ideas over this process. It will be useful to examine Gramsci and Althusser’s theories that explain the connections between the ruling class’ ideas and their importance on the cultural dimension of social life.

The term “ideology” usually refers to a social or political belief system that includes political, scientific, philosophic, religious, moral, and aesthetic opinions of people who share similar conditions within their common needs in society, such as: class or a political party, and it also sets the social group’s attitude. Ideological discourse is articulated by a social formation, and ideologies have important roles by informing social groups and directing political debates within a society. Generally, ideological debates are a result of conflicts between different social groups. According to Terry Eagleton (2005, 18) ideology is:

Production period of meanings, signs and values in social life; a group of ideas of a certain social group or class; ancillary opinions that help to legitimize the ruling ideas; wrong ancillary opinions that help to legitimize the ruling idea; systematically distorted communication; something that proposes a position for a subject; ideas that comes from motivations of social benefits; thinking of identity; social imperative illusion, unification of discourse and hegemony, meaning environment of sentient social actors for their worlds; belief groups with activity orientation; mix of linguistic and phenomenal reality; semiotic closure; a sine qua non environment that individuals live in and interact with the same social construction; a natural time period for transformation of social life into reality.

The first usage of the term “ideology” comes from around the French Revolution in 1789. French ideologue Antoine Destutt Tracy, who was disseminating the Enlightenment’s ideas, first coined the term “ideology” in 1797. The term was used as a word to define the “science of ideas”. In his work *Eléments d’Idéologie* (1801-1815), Tracy offers a new science of “ideology” that constitutes a base for all other sciences. According to him, nature and society are coherent, and this coherence will be disclosed

by the rational exploration of “ideas”; in other words “ideology”. Tracy had a positivist and progressivist approach on “ideology” (McLellan 2005, 8).

As McLellan (ibid, 9) mentions, attributes of positive and negative meanings to the concept of “ideology” continues through the history of this concept. In this connection, Germany is another important area for the notion of “ideology”. Romanticists, who were powerful in Germany after the French Revolution felt that people create their own realities against changing conditions by the collective and individualist ways. According to Hegel, ideas that belong to a certain period of time cannot be absolutely valid. If history has a rational meaning, this meaning must be sought for in all periods of time. Hegel’s ideas influenced Marx, and Marxism put the concept of “ideology” in the center of political discourse (ibid). Thus, theories in Marxism are placed on a preponderant area through ideological theories.

The Marxist theory of “ideology” takes its roots from Marx and Engels’ ideas that are rooted in *German Ideology* (original publish in 1845-1846). They pointed out that the ruling ideas of a society are ideas of the ruling class. This means that the ruling class that retains the means and power over material production also controls and regulates the mental production. In *The Ruling Class and the Ruling Ideas*, Marx and Engels (2001, 39) pointed out:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling, intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also mental production is on the whole subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations grasped as ideas; hence of the relations which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance.

As it is mentioned, material conditions of exploitation and oppression are experienced by the working class but dominated by the ruling class. Marx (1974, 23 in Mardin 2002, 31) mentioned that “social life determines consciousness”. From this proposition, if the consciousness is determined and formed by the social life, an individual from this society cannot perceive different ideologies except that from his/ her own society. For example, in the context of this thesis’ case study, the nationalistic discourse works on the success of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, by the reason of two nations’ differing

points of view with an antagonistic sense that is a result of their historical and political background. Thus, these internalized conflicts which are learned and revived in the social life are a common interest in each of the two nations' societies. Therefore, to see a reality show with both nationals using a neutral eye is not possible. The two sides cannot see the events without the ruling class' ideas from their own societies. It is the same for fascist to communists, Muslims to Christians, etc. They cannot be open to different ideologies without activating their own ideologies. Therefore, reasoning ideology is determined by the ruling class, and by operating and masking facts, it addresses a "false conscious" in terms of Marx (Mardin 2002, 31). Negative use of the term according to Marxist tradition can be seen in Engels' (1893 in Griffin 2006, 87) letter as:

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it would not be an ideological process at all. Hence he imagines false or apparent motives. Because it is a process of thought, he derives both its form and its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors

Another important issue that Marx outlined in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (originally published in 1859) is his base-superstructure model, which is about the relationship between economic and institutional structures of a society. According to the model, "base" concerns forces of economy and production (means, technology, workers' skills) and the relationships between classes. "Superstructure" addresses the political, legal, educational, institutions of a society and the forms of consciousness that result due to these institutions as an expression that can be understood as ethics, ideology and values. In *Critique*, Marx and Engels present culture as it is the expression and servant of economy (Lewis 2002, 81). In this point, economy is a determinant of cultural context.

After Marx, Engels (Marx& Engels 1976 in Lewis 2002, 81) claimed that base and superstructure work together. He means that superstructures do not only reflect the economies. The superstructures (institutions, symbolizations, culture) participate in the form and shape of society and political relationships. Therefore, the base produces the actual character of a particular superstructure such as agrarian, feudal, and industrial, but the relationships between individuals and institutions inside the superstructure produce their own effects. Engels underlines a level of "free will" within the

superstructure, which provides the opportunity for resistance, class welfare, and revolution. The mentioned free will is limited by political economy and history, and only certain elements are possible within the superstructure and the economic base set the limits.

After a brief description on the concept of “ideology” and respectable key points for its progression, it will be meaningful to examine the two theorists Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser who have made a great contribution to cultural studies, to which this study concentrates on the cultural dimension of ideology.

4.1 ANTONIO GRAMSCI

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), who made contributions to Marxist literature with his suggestions on “hegemony,” “relations of base-superstructure,” “civil society,” and “the organic intellectual,” is one of the most important intellectual, political, and Marxist theorists of his time. He asserts claims on “State Theory” that has affected many theorists. One of the theorists who were influenced by Gramsci is Althusser. Gramsci’s ideas led people to re-read Marx’s theories and the progression of ISA (Ideological State Apparatus) and RSA (Repressive State Apparatus). In this connection, Gramsci and the ideological issues that he dwells on are explained here below.

4.1.1 Hegemony

Gramsci considers “hegemony” as one of the key concepts that relates to ideology. As Mclellan (2005, 32) mentioned, Gramsci takes Lukacs’ notion of hegemony, referring to the legitimizing and accepting of the dominant class’ ideas as they are the consensus in the society by the sense of “consent”. In other words, the “world-view of the ruling class is diffused by intellectuals, and it is turned to the common sense of society or ‘structure of feeling’ that the society lives in” (Williams 1977 in *ibid*, 33). In this connection, hegemonic institutions do not use force to provide authority. Instead of applying force, they use a “strategic management”. Social elites provide their hegemony

by universalizing the interests of their own class. Acceptance of these self interests by a vast majority turns the self interests into “common sense”. In this process, Althusser’s notion of ISAs as education, family, and media; provide the distribution of general cultural practices to create the consensus in society (Lewis 2002, 98). As Ransome (1992, 150 in Strinati 2004, 148) mentioned:

Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to describe the various modes of social control available to the dominant social group. He distinguishes between coercive control which is manifest through direct force or the threat of force, and consensual control which arises when individuals ‘willingly’ or ‘voluntarily’ assimilate the world-view or hegemony of the dominant group; an assimilation which allows that group to be hegemonic.

Gramsci argues on the formation of hegemony by institutions and groups within capitalist societies. What he calls a “civil society” is one that produces, reproduces, and changes hegemony, while the state is responsible for the use of coercion. In this process, the state exercises repression and civil society exercises hegemony. For Gramsci, popular culture and the mass media appear where hegemony is produced, reproduced, and transformed, and they are institutions of civil society that include cultural production and consumption. Hegemony operates through the institutions of civil society such as education, the family, mass media, church, popular culture, and characterizes mature liberal-democratic, capitalist societies. Gramsci sees culture and ideology within societies, and uses the concept of hegemony to understand how they work (Strinati 2004, 150-151).

Gramsci associates hegemony with the field of civil society, such as private TV channels, the English Army, nursery school, family; furthermore, all of them are seen as the hegemonic apparatus that subordinate the individuals to dominant ideology by the sense of “consent”. Dominance of the ruling class is also non-pecuniary. The ruling class leads and controls the hegemony; and the dominant ideology that is in close relationship with culture as it penetrates into all parts of daily life. Therefore, a proletariat needs to struggle in the field of culture, along with the political and economical struggles (Eagleton 2005, 165-166).

4.1.2 The Organic Intellectual

Gramsci's (1971, 5 in Lewis 2002, 98) argument on universalizing is not as simple as coercion or imposition. In this way, Gramsci develops Marx's base-superstructure model into a formulation as, "state is the sum of political society and civil society". In this formulation, political society refers to the coercive elements within the social totality and civil society refers to non-coercive elements that produce the conditions of distribution and absorption of values, behaviors and beliefs. Part of this distribution is provided through the "organic intellectual." According to Gramsci (ibid), while everyone has a potential for intellect, only particular groups aspire to be the intellectual leadership. All social classes produce their own organic leaders, and these leaders organize, negotiate, reform, and distribute values and behaviors in their group or class. Thus, the organic intellectual will construct the group's identity by giving it homogeneity and awareness of its own function.

Organic intellectuals are responsible for "negotiating" consensus and distributions of values for their constituency. This negotiation conveys cajolement, persuasion, and threat; on the other hand, it implies resistance, engagement, and incorporation. It includes both levels of compromise and reform, as well as the possibility of violence, coercion, and subjugation. The ruling class's economic interest is always at the center, and their interest may be achieved through a range of strategies that includes the promise of personal or collective gratification in the present and future. Gramsci calls it "compromise equilibrium," and it may allow the possibility of uprising and resistance (Lewis 2002, 98).

4.2 LOUIS ALTHUSSER'S THEORY OF IDEOLOGY

Marxist theory on the concept of "ideology" is concerned with the economy. Therefore, the base-superstructure model was supplemented by increasing interest in the superstructure's operating thoughts as ideology and within the general framework of culture. Louis Althusser was determined to rethink the structure's significant issues and

ideology from within the French Communist Party. His supplementation to cultural studies is noteworthy for his commitment to a scientific re-rendering of Marxist historical materialism through the perspective of a 1960s French philosophy that was turning against existentialism and phenomenology (ibid, 93). In this connection, Althusser's approaches can be explained as follows:

4.2.1 Overdetermination

Lewis (ibid) points out that Althusser reviews Marx and Engels' base-superstructure model by using the notion of "overdetermination" by Freud. As Lewis (ibid) mentions, Marx and Engels think that the economy is a fundamental determinant of the superstructure (social and cultural features of people). However, Althusser sees that superstructure can function independently from the economic base, though it can be in concert with it as well. Althusser (1969, 101 in ibid) refers to Lenin's question of why the socialist revolution occurred in Russia, which was not the most advanced industrial state, in which Marx predicted revolution would occur. In *For Marx*, Althusser answers the question as the revolution was not determined by just the economy, but in conjunction with other significant cultural features not determined by the economy at all; such as, national character, history, traditions, international events, and "accidents" of history. The economy works within different levels and instances of the social formation. Hence, "An ideology of a class cannot be explained by its position in social-economical relations" (Hall 2005). Therefore, overdetermination refers to the complex set of elements, associations, and interactions that include the social formation. Economics are not the only determinants of the complex forms of life, but it works within other elements of social life. According to Althusser, social formation is formed by the economical, political, and ideological practices (Lewis 2002, 93).

As Lewis (ibid, 94) mentions, Althusser contrasts with Hegel in the history and base-superstructure relationship, and rejects the unitary and totalistic notion of history that Hegel claims, and he rejects mechanistic or deterministic views of particular Marxists who imagine history and social change to be a linear and uncomplicated function of will. Thus, Althusser looks for an explanation of complex associations in a society while avoiding a reception of social formation and its homogenizing, unitary or

simplistic conception. According to him, a social formation is an aggregate of people, elements and structures, and a process of hierarchical relationships that can not be the result of a single cause.

4.2.2 Althusser's Ideology

Althusser's concept of ideology refers to a system of practices and representations that people imagine are the conditions of their life. He does not take "practice" just in the meaning of labor and production; he addresses practice as transformations of political life, and ideological practice as a transformation of relationships between a person and general conditions of the social formation:

Ideology might best be understood, then, as "a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence"
(Althusser 197, 152 in *ibid*)

According to Althusser (*ibid*, 94-95), our imaginations are directed through the superstructure, convincing us that our lives are better than they really are. Ideology functions through all steps of the social formation, influencing the practices, imaginations, and belief systems of both classes. Therefore, ideology composes a "closed" system because there is no distance from its influence, no identification of the real. "Imagined realities" are critical because they limit the escape and the possibility of critical distance and knowing. It cannot be interpreted that people's imagination of their real conditions because the connection between the two is also an imagination or representation. Althusser asks why the representation is necessary, and what the nature of these imaginations is. In text analysis, he uses "problematic" issues that a text frames and organizes the ideas according to ideology. He suggests that the problematic must function according to the information that the text includes, as well as the information that it does not include. A Marxist analyst functions in explaining these inclusions and exclusions, and illuminates the ideology by which the text is constructed.

4.2.3 Subject Positions

Lewis (2002, 95) mentions that Althusser interprets Marx's notion of "ideology," while Marx explains ideology as a "false consciousness." Althusser (1971 in *ibid*) describes it as ideology forms a kind of "misrecognition" of the real conditions for one's existence.

In this point, ideology addresses an information or knowledge about the world to the reader or viewer of a representational text. In this way, the reader/viewer is an important element as it is “created” or “positioned” by this information.

Althusser (1971 in Mutlu 2004, 133) argues on the notion “interpellation,” which means a process of ideology calling for individuals and individuals’ formation as subjects by ideology, in his essay *Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses*. To put it another way, individuals are affected and transformed into ideological subjects as a result of the imaginary world and representations. Althusser (2006, 100) gives an example of a police officer is calling “hey you there!” and the turning of an individual to the police. This simple physical action is a result of the officer’s hailing and this hailing transforms the individual into a subject. Thus, individuals accept their roles in the production system without reservation. Therefore, how individuals represent themselves in ideology is not the same in the real world; rather, it is their relationship to the real world. This relationship is imaginary and:

underlies all the imaginary distortion that we can observe ... in all ideology: what is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live (Althusser 197, 155 in Strinati 2004, 136).

Althusser argues that individuals’ imaginations and their subjective nature is multi-forming and fragmentary. Furthermore, human subjects are not unitary; different modes of representation can create different subject positions. Subjects meet various kinds of ideologies and subject positions; such as, through class, race, gender, social position. This class consciousness is mobilized by ideology that is necessary to produce gaps between the imagined and the real conditions of life (Lewis 2002, 96).

4.2.4 Ideological State Apparatuses

In his famous work *Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses*, Althusser proposes three theses which are mentioned in the previous parts as “ideology is representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence,” “ideology has a material existence,” and “ideology interpellates individuals.” On the other hand, he specifically writes on ISAs, which promote and distribute various ideologies through the dominant context of economic capitalism. The process of overdetermination is formed through the apparatuses, which are: the education system,

family, church, and mass media. These apparatuses function spontaneously and they are effective to promote and maintain the dominant order.

According to Marxist theory, SA includes: the Government, the Army, the Police, the Courts, and the Prisons. These SAs, which are a “function by violence,” are called the “Repressive State Apparatus” by Althusser (2006, 63). SAs that are a “function by ideology” are called the Ideological State Apparatuses. Althusser (ibid, 63-64) categorizes ISAs as, “the religious ISA, the educational ISA, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA, and the cultural ISA.”

In this context, “the media and its means” can be given as a good example to explain the relationship between ideology and ISAs in the frame of this study. In the chapter that relates to the “Turkish Broadcasting Policy,” it is mentioned that TRT has a mission as an “educational and cultural institution” and was determined by law to be the function of TRT. In this connection, the determining of a “state” channel by law directly addresses “the ruling ideas of the ruling class”. Because TRT has a modern perspective and its programs emphasize “the ideal” in educational and cultural values when focusing on modernity, and the Turkish audience’s acceptance to follow it is a “consent” and imperious approach in the era where TRT was the only broadcasting channel. Thus, it is a good way to create a “common sense” in a society by using as a tool of ISA, a state channel. On the other hand, despite the private TV channels in Turkey today, it is possible to see the ruling class’ capitalist production relationships in the context of their reproduction in terms of ideology. While TRT is continuing to broadcast its policy on an “ideal” way, every private TV channel allows the viewer to reproduce different ideological discourses from nationalistic to religious, from modern to traditional; but as a result, all of them take a part in the context of “common sense” and “consent” as the acceptance from the audience. In this connection, they reflect the political and socio-cultural discourse of an ISA in terms of Althusser.

On the other hand, Althusser (ibid, 64) mentions that both the RSA and ISA function by violence and ideology; however, the differentiation is in the order of precedence; RSA

gives priority to violence and puts ideology in second, whereas ideology comes first for ISAs. The essential function of ISAs is the reproduction of capitalist exploitation.

Althusser argues:

To put this more scientifically, I shall say that the reproduction of labor power requires not only a reproduction of its skill, but also... a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e. a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class "in words"... the school (but also other State institutions...) teaches "know-how", but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its "practice". All the agents of production, exploitation and repression, not to speak of the ' professionals of "ideology" (Marx), must in one way or another be "steeped" in this ideology in order to perform their tasks "conscientiously" (Althusser 1971, 127-128 in Strinati 2004, 133-134).

According to both Althusser and other Marxists who are interested in the symbolic patterning of ideology, ISAs operate to supplement and usually lead the social controls with threats and physical coercion (Lewis 2002, 96).

The analyses and exposure of ISAs within the ideological process will be important and Althusser's theories are respected by other cultural studies. In the case study of this thesis, ideological approaches that are mentioned above will serve to analyze it by the help of other narrational and representational issues that are examined in the following parts.

5. GAME AND NARRATION

Basically, this thesis' case study, *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, is “game playing” in simple words. Therefore, in this chapter, “game” will be examined in its connection to the narrational and representational issues by reading the text of the case study in its overall relation to a hybridization. In this chapter the meaning of “game” as being a psychological and social phenomenon will be explained in respect to some important theorists. Then, “game” and its relation to narration-spectatorship will be examined in the context of “representation.”

5.1 WHAT IS GAME

Simply and basically, the lexical meanings of “ game” are “*nc* a form of play, sport, esp with rules; *nc* a set of equipment needed for a game; (*pl*) athletic contests; *nc* a single round in some contests; *nc* a scheme, plan, esp a trick; *nu* (the flesh of) animals and birds hunted for sport and food”(Oxford Dictionary).

“Game playing” is a behavior that exists in all cultures, from prehistoric to modern times, for both human beings and the animal kingdom. It is a phenomenon that can not be easily determined, and is a topic of debate among different fields of science such as physics, psychology, sociology, mathematics, and economics.

Therefore, questions such as: “What is game?”, “Who plays a game?”, “Can everybody play a game, or just children?”, “What is the historical background of ‘playing games’?”, “Why is a game played?”, “ What is the meaning in relationship between a game and the real?”, “Is there a relationship between a game and culture, and if so, what kind of effects does it create?” This is persued by the concept relation to different fields, such as psychology, sociology, mathematics, etc. In this context, different theorists, scholars, and researchers study the wide field of “games” from the past to today.

As Georges (2007, 130-131) mentions, the first studies on “games” involved text gathering, ordering, and commenting on traditional entertainment resources, focused on certain kinds of entertainment and games, and the history on the nature of game playing and any improvement in procedural and comparative methods. Other studies included situational and functional comments on chosen entertainment and games.

On the other hand, new approaches about the “game phenomenon” appeared, especially in psychology, sociology and anthropology. However, this study concentrates on the cultural dimensions of globalization and how “game playing”, will be meaningful to focus on the psychological and sociological dimensions of the “game” as a phenomenon. Thus, these two concepts of “game” will be examined in the following parts.

5.1.1 Game and Psychology: Game, Cognitive Development and Social World in Erikson, Piaget and Vygotsky

In psychology, “game” is important in becoming an adult. The relationship between a child and a game, the role of game in a child’s world has been examined by theorists of cognitive development for many years. The theorists who have made the connections between the social world and the importance of games within a child’s cognitive development are Erikson, Piaget, and Vygotsky.

According to Erikson (Schuster 1980 in Arslan 2000, 41), games refresh a child, and it is a tool that he/she uses to prepare himself/herself against possible disappointments and depressions that they will meet. He mentions that a person is in an interactive relationship with his/her environment and matures with this interaction. This interaction is lived via “playing games” during childhood.

Erikson (ibid) developed Freud’s ideas, and they are one of the first studies on the development of identification and importance of infancy and childhood in the developmental process of psychoanalysis. Freud claimed that a child’s first three years is an anal period. In this period, the sense of control develops in a child, and interaction between a child and mother in toilet training shows a contradiction in developments;

such as, dependence-independence, divergence, and individualization for the child. It turns into a “game” for the child, and they gain control in terms of his/her body. The above mentioned contradictions can be solved by a “dramatic game,” which has two phases: the imitation of an adult (real), and a creative game (non-real, imaginary). On the other hand, children learn to develop a healthy sense of behavior for social rules by transferring his/her feelings, anxieties and fears during the replays of his/her “toilet game.”

Piaget is another important theorist who conducted psychological research in the 1970s on cognitive development and wrote *Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood*. As Nicolopoulou (2004) mentions, Piaget’s point of view puts “game” directly in the context of cognitive periods and cognitive development. His approach is closely related to mental development.

Piaget (ibid, 140-142) developed three systems for a child’s first seven years: practice game, symbolic game, and regular game. A Practice game includes the baby’s first 18 months and involves behaviors that are the result of repetitious motor activities with innocent pleasure. According to Piaget, this kind of game is about the baby’s ability to focus on using objects. A symbolic game starts around two years old with the use of language. First, it includes using symbols, which comes from inborn idiosyncratic lucid symbols. After the third year, symbolic games start to include using common symbols. Piaget claims that, a baby’s indulgence that arises in order to manipulate the reality averts to be a simple pleasure within the development of a symbolic game. The third kind of game defines the transition of a social-person to player activity. This game is generally seen in 7-11 year olds. In brief, Piaget mentions that the development of playing a game comes from an innocent personal process, and special symbols are innate and go to social games and common symbolism.

On the other hand, Vygotsky (ibid, 146-147, 155) emphasized that “playing games” is always a social symbolic activity, and a real game starts at three years old. He claimed that a typical game includes more than just one child; subjects, stories, roles in the game involve the child’s own socio-cultural elements, as well as comprehension and usage by

them. Therefore, if a child plays just by himself/herself, his/her game includes their own socio-cultural elements, and therefore, this game is social. Vygotsky started to point to his thesis is his acceptance that “a child is born with a lot of physiological and psychological trends, but his abilities are generally formed by cultural practices and his own society’s thought systems.” Thus, Vygotsky focused on culture and its transference via social interaction and communications while he defined development and creation of high psychological functions. He pointed out that children grow up in their social frame, not in an isolated environment. These frames are formed by both social institutions such as family, school, economic market and cultural inheritance that are the sum of common conceptual and symbolic values. A child learns cultural inheritance via adults or his/her well-informed peers in their society. In this context, Vygotsky places games on social activities, and it has an important role in the learning and cognitive development.

In this connection, according to the child’s cognitive development in terms of psychological theories that are mentioned above, the “game” phenomenon addresses the close relationship between socio-cultural elements. Therefore, it will be meaningful to examine the social function of “game” as it follows.

5.1.2 Game, Its Social Function and Johan Huizinga

Game and its social function have an important role in examining this thesis’s case study. Therefore, it will be beneficial to substantially use one of the most important studies, *Homo Ludens* (1938), which is about the social function of a game, and its writer Johan Huizinga (1872-1945), who is highly regarded in the field of social theories.

Johan Huizinga (2006, 16) pointed out that the “game” phenomenon is older than culture because culture needs human beings to exist. However, animals took part in the earth before human beings, and they did not wait until humans surfaced to begin playing. Human beings have not added anything to the basic characteristic of “game” in the meaning of its general nature. Animals play games like people. To understand this, Huizinga (ibid, 17) emphasized games that puppies play. They invite another puppy to

play, and they get pleasure out the game while obeying the rules to not hurt another puppy. Of course, it is the most important aboriginal style of game, but it has the same fundamental beginning as human games. It can not be limited by rationality; thus, it is irrational. Games have meaning more than a physiological phenomenon and a psychological reaction; meaning, it is a rich function.

“Game” and its attribution can be understood more clearly if it is examined according to its character as its activity structure, meaning, and social function. Early activities of society are closely related with games, such as language. According to Huizinga (ibid, 21), human beings created language to communicate, learn, and dictate. People divide, define, and realize things via language. The mentality as a creator of language volleys between objects and thinking of things by playing a game. There is a sign in every definition of abstraction and every sign includes a verbal game. Myths and religion are also similar. Prayers of early societies are recognized in the simple form of a game, such as religious ceremonies, consecrations, and so on. As Huizinga (ibid) mentioned, great activities of cultural life come from sources of myths and prayers, as does law and order, commerce and industry, art and craft, poems, scholarships and science.

Playing a game as a phenomenon is a “freewill” activity, and it is arbitrary. It can be adjourned or cancelled; it is not an imposition or an assignment. On the other hand, a game is not daily life or reality. It gives the possibility to enter an activity field which has its own idiocratical conventions (ibid, 25). Games “start” and “stop” at a certain time. It can be repeated such as a backgammon party, children’s games, or competitions. In these repetitions, a creation takes a place or a memory can be transformed; thus, it appears as a cultural structure. Games create order in its own world that is different from the real world with imperfectness. If the order of a game is damaged, the game is essentially broken down. “Tension” is another property included in a game. It addresses the uncertainty and luck and it creates the game’s mystery attraction (ibid, 27). Players of a game tend to show continuity, even though the game has finished. Sharing the same game means sharing common emotions and points of view, and it does not make a sense just during the game, but also afterwards. Therefore, playing games addresses a social phenomenon in the frame of culture (ibid, 30).

According to the mentioned characteristics of a “game,” Huizinga (ibid, 31) defined it in the meaning of its structure as, “an activity which is freedom and fiction, places on external part of real life and has an ability that absorbs to the players.” It is isolated from all kinds of material benefits, recognized in an order and in the real world’s limited time and space. Also, it creates relationships between groups that emphasize their foreignness to the real world with their disguises.

Huizinga (ibid) reduced the faction of game on two main points: game is a struggle for something, or it is the representation of something. The meaning of “representation” is as powerful as the meaning of “to provide or show something.” He gives children’s games as the example of the mentioned representation. A child plays the role of a pirate, prince, police, doctor, father, etc. in his game. He/she represents the roles which are delusive in real life, and while he/she is assuring himself/herself to the role, he/she never loses his/her conscious. Therefore, the child represents fantasies via images, and it is a reproduction or expression. Representations in prayers of ancient civilizations are similar with the example of children’s play, but they are in a game more than the children’s play, as it is a mystical realization. This realization does not finish after the holy prayer. It is a dramatic realization, imagination and reproduction (ibid, 32).

Connection of culture and game is a pick for discussion where the relationship between game and society, a group, or two opposite groups’ activities place with each other. Group games are both for human beings and animals, and it is in the form of a confrontational character. It generally happens between “two sides,” such as a duet in a song, or two parts of a chorus. If there is an award for a show or singing a song’s composition or performance, it can be construed as a competition as well (ibid, 72).

Huizinga pointed out that (ibid) a game always contains “achievement” issues. Results of a competition are not effective in the social life as objective; the important thing is the playing of the game. It means, in a football match, the origin of the match is not the material result of a score, but it is the ideal achievement and to realize the match (ibid, 74-75). “To win” is very close in relationship to the game. It determines the dominance

at the end result of a game. Winning brings honor and altitude, and the group that the winner player is in gets the same benefits as well (ibid, 75).

In ancient civilizations, every liturgical activity transformed into a ceremonial competition; such as, passing in a river, climbing a mountain, wooding, and so forth. These competitions' styles and prayer are always interrelated with each other because it is believed that these competition styles are inescapable for happy seasons, abundant crops, and a rich year (ibid, 81-82).

According to Huizinga (ibid, 90), the main reason for winning children's games in the archaic era's struggles is to reach the god, as human beings feel the need to be noteworthy and appreciated in both the personal and collective maturation. Everybody wants to be regarded for his successful abilities and endeavors. This satisfaction and desire brings the "competition" case and places itself in every level of social life.

5.2 NARRATION AND SPECTATORSHIP

Barthes (1977, 79) mentions that there are many narratives in the world. Narrative is present in fable, myth, legend, epic, history, novella, drama, tragedy, comedy, mime, painting, comics, cinema, news items, conversation. All human groups, from different classes, genders, religions, races, political ideologies have narratives that are formed by their cultural background.

Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, trans-historical, trans-cultural: it is simply there, like life, itself.
(ibid)

With respect to the present study, this part will be meaningful to analyze the correlation between the concepts of "culture, ideology, representation, game" with regard to this study's case study which will be examined in next chapters. Because narrative is an important element to understand how does the mentioned correlation work. There are different kinds of theories of narratives. In this study, I have to limit the theories that I use. This is because, the aim of this thesis is not to describe the meaning of narrative; but, it is about the role of narrative in the context of "culture, ideology, representation

and game”. In this chapter, the workings of the narrative will be explained, and basic elements that it contains described. Then, narrative and its value in the relationship of culture and game which are examined in the previous parts and its relation to spectatorship will be explained.

First, it will be expressive to deal the elements of the formalist-structuralist theory of narrative, in order to understand how it works. The formalist-structuralist theory is one of the most used theories in film studies. Being a “spectacle practice”, TV is similar to cinema. Therefore, both include some common approaches in the meaning of narrative. Hence, formalist-structuralist theory is taken as a reference point for this chapter.

The first tendencies towards a structuralist approach came from Ferdinand de Saussure and include not only literature, but also modern mathematics, psychoanalysis, linguistics, philosophy, cinema, etc. The first important structuralist literature studies were made in the 1960s by Roland Barthes, Gérard Genette, Claude Bremond, Tzvetan Todorov.

Structuralism takes Saussure’s two basic ideas: relationships that form cultural texts and practices; and the formation of meaning as a result of the reciprocal interaction between “choosing” and “unifying” process (Storey 2000, 68). In other words, “langue” is a name of a linguistic system such as Turkish, French and “parole” means concrete use of these systems by their users. In this way, the function of structuralism is to form specific rules that manage the production of meaning (parole), and systems (langue) (ibid). According to Moran (1991, 176 in Tökel 2007, 784),

If there is a determinative abstract and social language system that takes a part behind the parole which is concrete and individual in linguistics; there is a concrete and social literature system behind the abstract and individual works that refers to parole in literature. Saussure did not take an account about history and external reality to examine the language, because the system can be found with a concurrent approach, and as it is seen, correlation between signifier and signified is arbitrary or conventional. In other words, the system is independent from the reality and a whole that works itself.

Structuralists such as Todorov, Barthes, Greimas applied Saussure’s ideas on literature. In literal examinations, they do not refer to history, its writer or anything except the text. According to them, the work is itself and it can explain itself (Tökel 2007, 784).

In literature, Propp who is a reference point in the theory of narratives determines seven “spheres of action” in his examinations of folktales, as “villain”, “donor”, “helper”, “princess/ her father”, “dispatcher”, “hero”, “false hero” (Propp 1968 in Bordwell 1988, 9-10). His theory which takes its basis from the Russian folktales can be applied to different types of many films. These classifications share similarities with basic archetypes of today’s narrations of films, different kinds of TV programs in the fields of both genre and format. One of them is this thesis’ case study *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* which includes most of the “spheres of action” and will be examined in the last part. On the other hand, as Moran (1991, 179 in Tökel 2007, 784) mentions, Gremias modifies the Russian Formalist Vladimir Propp’s classification in a more structuralist way by using opposite binaries as “subject-object”, “sender-receiver”, “promoter-disincentive”. He calls them “actants” because, in a narration, people or objects who take the mentioned roles above are not important because of their psychologies or characters, but are important for their actions. In this context,

These three levels are bound together according to a mode of progressive integration: a function only has meaning insofar as it occupies a place in the general action of an actant, and thus action in turn receives its final meaning from the fact that it is narrated, entrusted to a discourse which possesses its own code. (Barthes 1977, 88)

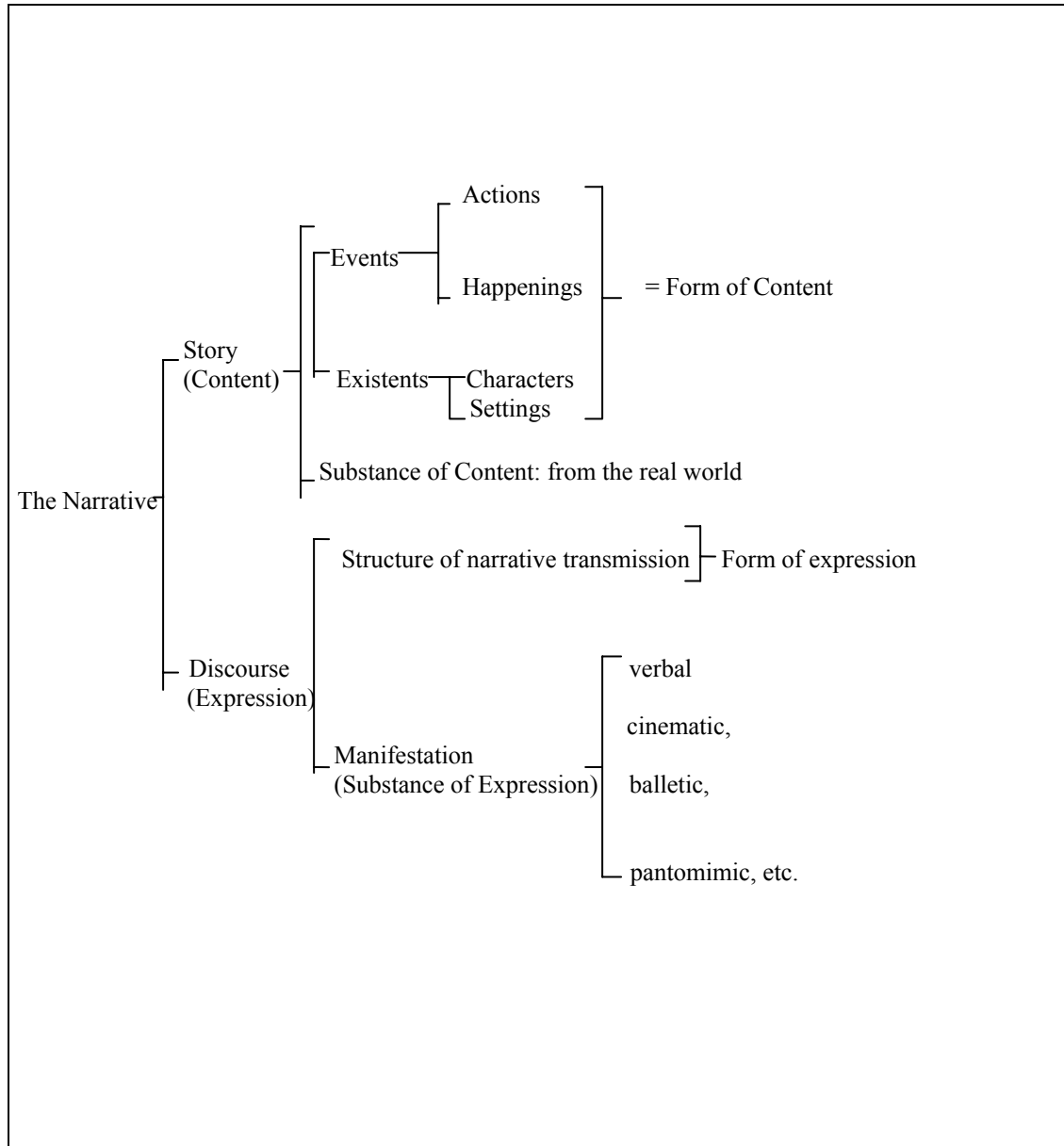
Elements of formalist-structuralist theory are mentioned by Seymour Chatman (1975, 295) and shown schematically in the tables 5.1 and 5.2:

Table 5.1: Narrative components

	Content	Expression
Substance	Total set of objects and actions in real world that can be imitated in a narrative medium	Media, insofar as they can communicate stories (these media are semiotic systems in their own right)
Form	Narrative story components: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Events 2. Existents and their connections 	Narrative discourse (the structure of narrative transmission), consisting of elements shared by narratives in any medium whatsoever.

Source: Chatman, S., 1975. Towards a theory of narrative. *New Literary History*. 6 (2), pp. 300

Table 5.2: Narrative components



Source: Chatman, S., 1975. Towards a theory of narrative. *New Literary History*. 6 (2), pp. 300

As a simple distinction, each narrative has two parts as a “story” that includes events (actions and happenings), existents (character and settings); and a “discourse” which is the expression that the content is communicated, the features of narrative structure. The story is what is depicted, and discourse is how it is done (ibid, 295). For example, in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, the “story” is formed by all occurrences in the competition as being “events”, and all competitors and sea, wilderness, competitors’ tents, etc., as being “existents. “Discourse” is formed by the structure of narrative transmission in any medium, such as a nationalist discourse which occurs in the

competition between two Turkish and Greek teams' dialogues and the repetitive broadcasting of this to the audience. Narrative discourse can be divided into two components: "narrative transmission" that is the way of expression such as flashback, point of view; and the "manifestation" that is the medium of presented narrative such as musical, cinematic, verbal, pantomimic and so on.

A distinction about components of the narrative has been recognized since the *Poetics* by Aristotle; "...the imitation of actions in the real world, *praxis*, was seen as forming an argument, *logos*, from which were selected (and possibly rearranged) the units that formed the plot, *mythos*" (ibid). The Russian formalists made the distinction by using two terms "fable" (*fabula*) which means all of the events related to the narrative and their causal chronological sequence, and the "plot" (*sjuzet/ syuzhet*) that is the story which is formed by the linked events and systematic presentation of the *fabula* events. (Bordwell 1986, 18). For instance, in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, the fable (*fabula*) is the chronological order of the events that are related to the narrative, such as competitors' coming to the island, their competitions and eliminations in each week, and the appearance of the finalist competitor as the winner of the show. In some episodes of the show, events are shown in a different chronological order; such as comments of the Turkish team about some events that relate to the Greek competitors which are shown before the event scenes. Events, which in chronological order occurred before comments, are shown after the comments. Thus, the chronological order is changed, but the audience is aware of the real order. This is a simple example of a plot (*sjuzet*).

Myths and rituals are other important cultural elements that are important to explain narration. According to Theodor H. Gaster (1984, 92), myths can be explained as the representation of reality via the terms of "ideals." On the other hand, the aim of rituals is to represent a condition or constitution, dramatically and formally. As Story mentions (2000, 68-69), Claude Levi-Strauss claims that there is a homogen construction behind the expansive heterogeneity of myths, in his analysis of the "primitivemyths". In this way, myths work like languages. On the other hand, he mentions that myths are constructed via certain polarities; according to him, meanings are produced by dividing

the world into oppositions, such as white/ black, good/ bad, woman/ man, we/ you, etc, and all myths have similar socio-cultural functions in society. Their targets are creating possibilities to explain the world and to solve earth-problems by supernatural narrations. Through this perspective, myths are cultural stories that are told to solve conflicts in society.

Will Wright uses Saussure's and Levi-Strauss' studies in examination of the Hollywood Western as a myth. His aim is to show how myths transmit conceptual order to the members of society via their structure. In this manner, his study shows how the Western presents American social beliefs by simple but deep conceptualization of it (ibid, 69). According to Wright (ibid), the Western has three phases, and it addresses oppositions of basic constructions such as, inside of society/ outside of society, good/ bad, strong/ weak, civilization/ wildness. He claims that narration construction in the development of events and solving of conflicts must be examined to analyze a myth; because, it is not enough to analyze a myth's dual part structure which is formed through oppositions. Hence, Wright (ibid, 70) emphasizes sixteen story functions of the classical Westerns:

1. *Protagonist enters a social group.*
2. *Protagonist is an unknown stranger for the society.*
3. *A special ability of the protagonist is brought into the open.*
4. *Society sees the difference between them and the protagonist, and gives him/ her a special status.*
5. *Society does not accept the protagonist exactly.*
6. *There are conflicts between the society and villain characters.*
7. *Villain characters are powerful, and the society is weak.*
8. *There is close friendship and estimation between the protagonist and villain characters.*
9. *Villain characters threaten the society.*
10. *Protagonist avoids fighting.*
11. *The life of a friend of the protagonist is threatened by the villain characters.*
12. *Protagonist struggles with the villain characters.*
13. *Protagonist beats the villain characters.*
14. *Once more, society is in safe.*
15. *Society totally accepts the protagonist.*
16. *Protagonist loses his/ her special status in the society, or abandons it.*

In David Bordwell's (1988, 5) criticism of the Proppian approach, it is mentioned that there are some set of functions which every folktale utilises in other narrative genres and media, especially in Hollywood films. This is shown when, Kozloff ([n.d], 49 in ibid, 6) point out,

A Proppian study shows that (a) "American TV is remarkably like Russian fairy tales" and that (b) "Stories are governed by a set of unwritten rules acquired by all storytellers and receivers, much the way we all acquire the basic rules of grammar".

Indeed, classical Hollywood narration shows the explicit characteristics which, like the basic rules of grammar, are the unwritten rules that are acquired by both storytellers and receivers. In this respect, characteristics of a classical narrative roughly include a linear continuity, and events are bounded one to another by causality; every object, action, that takes place in the frame has a meaning in the narration. The character construction in the narrative demonstrates a typical settlement as affluence of a protagonist who generally has a different characteristic in his/ her motivation with an exciting personality among other characters and has a central role in the narrative, an antagonist who the protagonist struggles with him/ her, existence of the protagonist's friends, etc. The final part of the narrative concludes every causal occurrence in the narrative and establishes order again. In *Classical Hollywood Cinema: Narrational Principles and Procedures*, David Bordwell (1986, 19) states,

The classical Hollywood film presents psychologically defined individuals who struggle to solve a clear-cut problem or to attain specific goals. In the course of this struggle, the characters enter into conflict with others or with external circumstances. The story ends with a decisive victory or defeat, a resolution of the problem and a clear achievement or non-achievement of the goals. (Bordwe 1985, 18) Usually the classical syuzhet presents a double causal structure, two plot lines: one involving heterosexual romance (boy/ girl, husband/ wife), the other line involving another sphere- work, war, a mission or quest, other personal relationships. Each line will possess a goal, obstacles, and a climax.

Besides the basic structural elements of a classical narrative, "spectator" and its relation to "narrative" is another important issue. Addressing this, Barthes (1977, 109) emphasizes that narrative is communication:

Just as there is within narrative a major function of exchange (set out between a donor and a beneficiary), so, homologically, narrative as object is the point of a communication: there is a donor of the narrative and a receiver of the narrative... there can be no narrative without a narrator and a listener (or reader).

Therefore, the sender of the narrative addresses the writer or auteur, who tells the story, and the receiver of the narrative addresses the reader or audience, who decodes the story.

Throughout history, many philosophers, writers and theorists have considered the relationship between “narrative” and “spectator”. Their theories on the “viewing” experience of fiction and “losing of consciousness” as taken from a psychoanalytic approach, examine the perception of viewer to the fiction of the texts, and its connection to the viewer’s real world. During history, from Diderot to Coleridge in the rising age of novel and philosophical romanticism for example, the notion of “illusion” a term which emphasizes the “fiction of reality”, is the dominant metaphor for “mimesis”, while Coleridge uses the term “dream” to characterize this illusion. The term becomes the master metaphor to emphasize “loss of awareness” of the perceiver of the fiction. “The dream” also becomes one of the most efficient metaphors for cinema in theoretical discussion, such as in Jean-Louis Baudry, Christian Metz, Laura Mulvey (Smith 1995, 114). This study takes this cinematic theory as a reference in spite of being in the television context, because of “viewing” similarities and experiences between cinema and TV. In the *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, Laura Mulvey (1986, 208) point outs that,

There are three different looks associated with cinema: that of the camera as it records the pro- filmic event, that of the audience as it watches the final product, and that of the characters at each other within the screen illusion.

As a basic definition, cinematic exhibitionalism is welcomed by the audience as voyeurism and in this process, the viewer identifies with the projection, and also with the characters in the narrative, sub-consciously. In *The Imaginary Signifier*, Christian Metz (1986, 250) point outs “... film is like the mirror”. This definition refers to Lacan’s “mirror phase” theory. This theory is about the first recognition of an 8-16 months-baby’s image the mirror and his/her identification with the image. At this moment, the baby sees his/her image as more complete than he/she experiences his/her own body. Thus, ambivalence occurs and the baby hates his/her incomplete experience of his/her body, while he/she loves the more complete and perfect image on the mirror. Metz (ibid 253) describes this situation as “primary identification”, and he mentions that,

The child identifies with itself as an object. In the cinema, the objects remains: fiction or not, there is always something on the screen. But the reflection of the own body has disappeared. The cinema spectator is not a child... the spectator has already known the experience of the mirror (of the true mirror), and is thus able to constitute a world of objects without having first to recognize himself within it.... The cinema is already on the side of the symbolic... Like every other broadly

“secondary” activity, the practice of the cinema presupposes that the primitive indiffereration of the ego and the non-ego has been overcome... As an arrangement... cinema is more involved on the flank of the symbolic, and hence of secondariness, than is the mirror of the childhood.

This “secondary identification” as a cinematic progress refers to the screen as a mirror, the spectator as the baby, and the projection and stars on the screen as the perfect, more complete image of the spectator, as they identify with it. On this topic, Metz (ibid, 255) emphasizes that,

In the cinema, as elsewhere, the constitution of the symbolic is only achieved through and above the play of the imaginary: projection-introjection, presence-absence, fantasies accompanying perception, etc.

Similarly, the perceptual experience of the audience and its relation to narrative have an important role in classical narration. According to David Bordwell (1985, 28-30), in the meaning of construction, the combination of elements of the Hollywood fabula include series of particular schemata, hypotheses and inferences, and the spectator is well prepared to see and perceive a classical film. The classical narration manages the spectator’s film viewing and controls it by asking the spectator as if he/she understands the syuzhet and stylistic system as constructed in a denotative, univocal and integral fabula. He (ibid, 29) point outs that,

... the viewer projects hypotheses. Hypotheses tend to be probable (validated at several points), sharply exclusive rendered as either/ or alternatives), and aimed at suspense (positing a future outcome).

In this context, suspense and hypotheses constitutes expectations and it eventuates the interest of the spectator with the question, “What is the next?”.

On the other hand, Bordwell (ibid 32) emphasizes that the dominant filmmaking forms in other countries were affected by story-telling models that were presented by American studios. This argument includes Turkey also. Classical principles of Hollywood cinema as the goal-oriented hero, principles of realism, temporal and spatial coherence, process of production and reception can be easily found in the form and meaning construction of Yeşilçam. Nezi̇h Erdođan (2001, 227) mentions that,

... to discuss the notion of national spectator is a very difficult duty... We can not disclaim the high determination of Hollywood dominance. Anymore, we can exactly see that the spectator’s consumption of a film is determined by according to Hollywood’s pleasure and expectations.

In this context, if the consumption habits of the spectator can be oriented, “representation” becomes an important issue of a narrational discourse. As Çelenk. (2005, 81) mentions, TV is a representational tool and a representational system. Stuart Hall (1997, 5 in *ibid*) describes “representation” as a process that constructs and transmits meaning. Representation is not just a coding and reflecting process of the real world’s elements via verbal, written or iconic signs; it is a fact that produces meanings and gives possibilities to transformations of the meanings in the process of encoding and reflecting the real world. Hall (1997, 15 in *ibid*) determines the notion of “representation” as the use of language to say meaningful things about the world or to present the world in an allusive way; and he also emphasizes that representation associates language and meaning with culture. For example, a football match between two countries gives a sense of “belonging” and “identification” with his/her own community, to the members of each team. This symbolic practice can be evaluated as the language, because it is a part of the national identity and the discourse of belonging (Hall 1997, 5 in Çelenk 2005, 82).

On the other hand, TV works with the interaction of culture, like language. It uses iconic signs and it has a complex interaction within its relation to language and culture. Çelenk (2005, 83) mentions that,

TV is not a place that reflects culture; it is a place where “common senses”, named as culture, or “common practices” that distinguish one social layer to another, are constructed, recycled, re-produced in TV representational system.

In this way, intensive iconic signs exist in TV and their encoding-decoding process is in a close relationship with culture. In Stuart Hall’s well known article *Encoding/Decoding*, Hall (2001, 171) outlines two meaning levels of coded signs: denotative and connotative. These are the analytic distinctions which appear in the intersection between ideologies and discourses. They can co-exist in a representation. Coded signs are formed by culture and have ideological dimensions. He mentions that,

*These codes are the means by which power and ideology are made to signify in particular discourses. They refer signs to the “maps of meaning” into which any culture is classified; and those “maps of social reality” have the whole range of social meanings, practices and usages, power and interest “written into them” (*ibid*, 172).*

He (*ibid*) also emphasizes notions of “dominant cultural order” and “dominant or preferred meanings” in the context of complex codes in representation of TV signs.

According to him, dominant cultural order is formed by tendencies of a society or culture to impose its social and cultural classifications and political point of view. Preferred meanings in social order are a set of meanings, practices and beliefs that are manifested in everyday knowledge of social structures, and structures of legitimizations, limits and sanctions in society.

In the context of television, Çelenk (2005, 85-86) accentuates imported TV program formats and their consumptions according to cultural attributions. Some of these kinds of imported programs produce their local versions which include different cultural characteristics but are still based on their original formats. On the other hand, these imported programs are open to local textual interactions and different cultural significations in their broadcast stream. Different formats of representation such as competition programs, show programs, music-entertainment programs, even news programs give a large place to average life standards and cultural-intellectual frames of citizens' everyday practices, living experiences, and stories. The formula of different TV program formats are filled up by the different life styles, living experiences and stories in the meaning of context. This is an important fact, that differentiates representation of TV from other dimensions of cultural productions and representation systems of other communication tools as inclusive of its own consumer to its narrative for representing their own living experiences to themselves, further more via a representation process which is perceived that as it is a direct case. However, in the representation of a living experience or story that belongs to a common man/ woman for example, presentation tool is not purely of concern to him/ her; presentation is not purely expressed by its owner, but also by the help of different channels and their manipulations such as the roles of reporters, editors, cameras, director, interviewer. In spite of this mediated and indirect representation process, physical existence, conversations, and ideas of the owner of the story create an opportunity for the owner to represent himself/herself.

As Çelenk (ibid, 86) mentions, television texts have a polysemic structure and they can include different discourses all together. Television texts are the represented texts which can be expressed according to power relations of dominant and ruling order. "What

must be represented” is in a close relationship with the culture and benefits of the industry in the frame of expectations of spectator and the market. On the other hand, all dimensions that are related to narrative, such as from its structural elements to its relation with spectators; from its representational to its presentational medium; and of course its discussion of issues in reality and fiction, culture and ideology, evoke components of “game” phenomenon that was examined in the previous chapters.

As such, we can say that adult games are different from children’s games with respect to representational transformation. Though children’s games are good and pure and artless, adults’ games are akin to narrative in the meaning of manufacturing formation. For example, a child does not consider ideological discourses in playing house, but an adult evaluates an ideological representation of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*.

“Game” and “narrative” significantly intersect in the context of culture. In *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga (1995, 21) describes “game” in the context of cultural phenomenon with the example of “language” which is mentioned as one of the greatest primitive activities in society. Human beings express objects in their mind via language as a “game process” between “the item” and “its sign”. Every description of “abstract” includes a “sign” and every “sign” contains a “verbal game”. On the other hand, myths that are a representation of “ideal” reality in the form of a specific narrative are a “transformation of reality” or its “imagination”. Also devotions, sacrifice ceremonies, consecrations which symbolize dramatic representations as being rituals occur in the simple form of game. For example, Aborigines tell stories via dances in their ceremonies, Mevlevi dervishes represent the Islamic mysticism of Sufism and its creeds via their shows of whirling dances, Christmas celebrations portray Jesus’ birthday every year via gifts, midnight mass, and carols. Their common intersection point is that which Huizinga defines as their dramatic representations and its relation to games. All of the examples symbolize meanings (from beliefs to daily life experiences) via “playing games” with the accompaniment of telling stories.

As can be seen, from literal meanings to everyday experiences, “game” and “narrative” work with one another as a part of socio-cultural context. Game is the form, and

narrative is the way to express, to say something in the game; in other words, the game depicts something with the help of narrative. In the arena of television narrative, all components from story to characters, from its fictional issues such as editing and lighting, to reality issues as reflections of the real world, from spectator to encoding-decoding process evoke a “game”, to create a continuum. “What is the next?” as a basic question is the most delicate point of continuity in the television narrative and corresponds to what Madran (2002, 58) calls “momentary rules, logic, and arrangement” as a basic continuum element of a game. In this context,

Game is a serious work; momentary rules, logic and arrangement in differentiation, “pretending” or “espousing” is necessary for continuity of the game (ibid)

Being a popular medium, TV includes all reflections of cultural elements of its society. “Games” which are older than culture and also are formed by the help of society, are in a close and mutual relationship with culture and cultural elements of society. Therefore, narrative as a common way of sharing cultural information is in a close relationship with “game” too. Both game and narrative have a clear overlap in cultural experience.

6. CASE STUDY: *SURVIVOR: TÜRKİYE-YUNANİSTAN* IN THE FRAME OF GAME, NARRATIVE, IDEOLOGY AND REPRESENTATION

Survivor is a reality television game show that has been adapted by different countries around the world. In the show, there are two competing teams which live on an island and compete for a grand prize as well as other awards. The program is based on the successful Swedish show *Expedition: Robinson*, which broadcasted for the first time in 1997. The concept creator of the show was Charlie Parsons. In 2000, Mark Burnett licensed the format and released the show as a U.S. show renamed, *Survivor*. From then on, the program spanned its broadcast to other countries.

In *Survivor: The Ultimate Game* (Burnett & Dugard 2000, 78-45 in Haralovich & Trosset 2004, 88-89) and *Survivor II: The Ultimate Guide* (Burnett 2001, 74-85-120-130 in *ibid*) written by the executive producer Mark Burnett and adventure writer Martin Dugard, the success of *Survivor* is examined. Burnett points out that the “dramality” mission of *Survivor* is about the characters; the producers select competitors who seem to promise good drama. In this field of drama, it is important what the competitors do when they are on *Survivor* and how they enter into dramatic relationships with the other competitors. In this connection, Burnett mentions that, each character type has positive and negative attributes and each strategy of the program is generated by a type of character as the: entertainer, leader, professor, determined victim, mom, zealot, wild and crazy guy (or girl), quiet one, everybody’s friend, redneck, feral child, introvert, slacker or snake. (*ibid*)

In the article “*Expected the Unexpected*” *Narrative Pleasure and Uncertainty due to Chance in Survivor*, Haralovich and Trosset draw attention to the importance of “chance” and “uncertainty” in the narrative pleasure of *Survivor*. They mention that,

...uncertainty is akin to the narrative concept of the gap between cause and effect. Narrative pleasure stems from the desire to know what will happen next, to have that gap opened and closed, again and again, until the resolution of the story. In scripted narrative, desire has particular and limited directions drawn from the story’s characters and its conflict. In *Survivor*, unpredictability whets the desire to know what happens next, but how that gap will be closed is grounded in uncertainty due to chance. It isn’t a scriptwriter who has already decided how the action will

end but the players themselves and unscripted chance (Haralovich& Trosset 2004, 83).

On the other hand, although Haralovich and Trosset emphasize the “limited script”, and as a result an “unscripted chance”, there are still “representation” and “narration” issues given by the selected messages to the audience. Maybe the unscripted chance affects the narrative of *Survivor* on some points, but it is not enough for the success of the program or to reflect “real realities” wholly. In this context, the following parts will explore the greater importance of the “representation” and “narration” issues, in their relation to culture, and localization of a global format than the “unscripted chance” in the narrative of the program by the example of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*⁷.

6.1 PLAYING A GAME

The Turkish audience was introduced to *Survivor* in 2005 with *Survivor: Büyük Macera* (*Survivor: Big Adventure*). First, I will give a brief description about this first season of *Survivor* to provide a basis for the examination of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*.

In *Survivor: Büyük Macera*, there are two teams formed by eight women and eight men and which are divided as North and South teams. They compete in a desolate area on the Caribbean Islands. The program’s host is Ahmet Utlu and the show lasts for 13 weeks. All the competitors need to work around the camps as well as compete in games set by the production and at the end of each show, one competitor from the unsuccessful team is eliminated by votes from his/her teammates. At the end of the 13 weeks, the winner receives 150.000 YTL. Despite *Survivor: Büyük Macera* being the first season of *Survivor* in Turkey, it is not nearly as successful as *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* in ratings or impact on the media.

⁷ In this thesis, despite some episodes of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* are given as references, all 15 episodes are examined for the analysis of the case study.

In *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* (2006), two teams are formed from two nations': Turkey and Greece. The tension created by the political and historical conflicts between the two countries is the most powerful reason for the debates, ratings, and comments about the show. The two teams are formed out of five women and five men. Members of the Turkish team are: Fulya, Çiğdem, Ayтуğ, Arzu, İpek, Derya, Metin, Onur, Selim, and Teymuralp. Members of the Greek team are: Vasilis, Melita, Nadia, Amfikratis, Yanis, Stella, Platonas, Yoanna, Maria and Pantelis. Their ages range from 18 to 45 and they are from different economic and social backgrounds, such as student, architect, and manager. Every team has a host, with Acun for the Turkish team and Konstantin for the Greek team. The grand prize for the winner is 250.000 euro. In the first episode, the islands for each of the teams are chosen via a coin toss. Bayoneta is the chosen island for Turkey, and Mogo Mogo is chosen for the Greek team. The island Chapera, which is near Bayoneta and Mogo Mogo, is for competition games and the council for elimination of a member of the unsuccessful team.

In the seventh week, the two teams start to live on the same island and the successful team joins the unsuccessful team with their "one common vote" which will be used in the elimination of a member. Before the two teams go to their islands, they go to a village to buy goods with \$80 which was given by the production crew to the teams. This shopping is crucial for the competitors, because the production as a rule does not provide things that are necessary for daily life such as food, knives, buckets and fire. So, the competitors purchase things for the 52 days of the show. Difficult living conditions on the islands may cause health problems for the competitors. Therefore, a medical team is ready to come to the islands if the competitors have any health issues during the competition.

There was a different game in every episode. Some games were on different days but they are broadcasted in one episode. At the end of a "reward game", the winning team gains a reward. This reward could be vitally important, for example, a tent for shelter, or a pizza for the winning team's members. A major deprivation during the show that the contestants faced was hunger. So the teams competed very ambitiously for the prizes. The result of the games in every episode determined the winning team of the week. The

winning team gained the immunity symbol that is an idol which was formed from the skeleton head of a stake. The winning team goes back to their island and the unsuccessful team stays on Chapera Island for the elimination of one of their members during council. Members of the unsuccessful team come to the area prepared for the council with their own torch. After they put their torches into place, they take their seats. Every member uses his/her vote when he/she is alone, writing the name of a member who must go and they put their paper into a bowl. After that, he/she says the reason for his/her vote to a camera and then goes back to his/her place again. The host of the team takes the bowl and reads all the votes. Then, the eliminated member is determined. This member takes his/her torch which the host of the team extinguishes, and the member says good bye to the island.

Episodes of the program contain: games, the results, competitors' daily life, their activities, their ideas about the show and other competitors in an interview format that is given to the audience in an edited format. The program is not live, however semi-final nights are live due to the public votes which will be mentioned again. The semi-final parts are shot in two episodes, the Turkish semi-final and the Greek semi-final. The Turkish semi-final is broadcasted in Turkey and the Greek semi-final is broadcasted in Greece. A week after the Turkish semi-final is broadcasted live; the Greek semi-final is broadcasted in Turkey, but not live. The final episode of the program is broadcasted in the 15th week, which is not live like the semi-finals.

As mentioned before, from the 7th week to semi-finals, the two teams live on the same island which is changed to Chapera as "unification island" and the winning team joins the elimination council. In the 12th week, the hosts of the program announced that finalists of the show will be chosen by their audience; the Turkish public votes for the Turkish finalist, and the Greek public for the Greek finalist via SMS'. The 13th week are the semi-finals of the program. In this week, the finalists from the two countries are elected. According to the results from elimination, Derya competes for Turkey, and Amfrikritis competes for Greece. In the 14th week, the final competition took place and according to the results, Turkey wins the show and gains the grand prize of 250.000 euro.

6.2 WHAT IS YOUR NATION? WE ARE TURKS AND YOU ARE GREEK

In *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, the most attractive case that sutures the audience is the nationalist discourse and the use of two countries' contentious political background as a competition platform for the game. Actually, from the first episode, all essential engrossing situations for a "reality show" were ready by using this discourse such as: competition, desire, team spirit, voyeuristic curiosity, anger, achievement, and fear. This key point puts the program on top in ratings for weeks, from its first to last episode. In addition, the program was a co-production between Turkish and Greek producers and study examines the version broadcasted in Turkey.

Each episode includes shooting competitors' daily activities and its presentation to the audience via voice-over, interviews with the competitors about other contestants, competitions, and elimination. In this connection, the important thing to examine in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* is the representational situations that refer to Althusser and Gramsci's theories on reproducing the ruling ideas of the ruling class by the help of "media" as a part of ISAs. Because the program is not live, it includes a televisual fiction. Therefore, as a "reality show", does it reflect reality or is it a fictional narration pre-determined by the producers? It will be meaningful to begin from the first episode to see how it is promoted as a new program.

At the beginning of the first episode, the Turkish host, Acun Ilıcalı, makes a wish that, "Our ten competitors who will compete against the Greek competitors, we trust all of them and God willing, one of our competitors will win the 250.000 euro." This starting sentence already sets the tone of the program. It creates a tendency on the audience as being a team, being a part of one side, struggling against the Greeks and to demonstrate "our" (Turkish) power. It creates a division between the two sides and "interpellates individuals as subjects" in terms of Althusser. This interpellation is done according to "Turkish" or "Greek" identity as it is a mission; "We are Turks, and you are Greek!" Also, this division is reproduced many times in the episodes by using "competition" and "partiality" issues of "game" as a phenomenon.

On the other hand, the voice-over sections mention the Turkish team coming over to the Greek's island and searching for food. But a Greek member's first sentence about the Greek team is, "After coming to their island, as one of the members of the Greek team, Yannis' first business was to comment about the Turkish team." In this point, the voice over's remarkable words pertain to the approach to the Turkish team, and to the provocative and "gossip" style of the Greek team.

The first eliminated member of the program is Maria from the Greek team. She said, "Work for whatever you can do, for a Greek winning". And the first episode ends with the Turkish team's song: "Bir Başkadır Benim Memleketim (*My Country is Quite Different*)". The basic theme that continues in the following episodes is constructed from these tensions created between the two teams. This is in part due to the effect of the producers' directions, such as using a provocative voice-over, provocative quotations from the members of the Greek team, and the Turkish song which has a message about love of the land during the editing process.

Opposition between the two teams against each other continues by nationalist discourse as well. For example in the 6th episode, the Turkish team wins the reward game and Derya, a Turkish member, says, "It is not necessary to this kind of Byzantium games; there are many examples like this in the history". Then, the Turkish team starts to sing *Onuncu Yıl Marşı (The Tenth Year March)*, which is a Turkish march and expresses the building of the Turkish Republic. Thus, the issue of media as a part of ISA reproduces the messages of nationalist polarization and transmits them to the audience.

The issue about "reality" or "fictional representation" of the media shows itself in the "tabloid magazine-style" of the program. The program continues with inserts as "coming soon" and "a little later" through the episode as a part of the narration element. It can be seen clearly in the 7th episode. In the 7th episode, the narration continues with daily lives of the competitors, and the games, but on the other hand, the narration is stopped by insert shots (such as "coming soon") of the two teams' discussion about the name of Istanbul: is it Istanbul or Constantinople? This is an extremely provocative situation to attract attention and create a high tension that makes the audience think the

two teams will fight. When it is taken into real context, a Greek member says “Constantinople” and a Turkish member corrects him by saying “It is not Constantinople, it is Istanbul”, and everything goes on smoothly without a debate or struggle. Therefore, the importance of the representational issue, and questionable situation of the program to reflect “real realities” or “fictional realities” by the media manifest itself again.

In this point, Gramsci’s idea of the association of hegemony with the field of civil society such as army, family, and so forth, are the hegemonic apparatus that subordinate individuals to dominant ideology by the sense of “consent”, but not “repression”. He claims that this is “legitimated violence” and is monopolized by the state (Eagleton 2005, 165). Likewise, the representation issues of some ideological discourse such as nationalism and its reproduction in different ways from the competitors’ dialogue, to the concept of production given to the audience via TV as a tool of the media, as well as how the media takes part in the field of civil society is an important part of ISAs that concede to the ideas of a ruling class’ reproduction arena. If it is the media that is governed and controlled by the state, the audience’s reception and acceptance of the given messages in the game *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* is done by “consent” which is emphasized as “legitimated violence” by Gramsci. Thus, individuals as members of society accept the state’s ideological tendency by “consent” via the media.

In the relation of game and representation, Huizinga claims that a game is a struggle for something or it is the representation for something. The meaning of “representation” is as powerful as the meaning of “providing or showing something”. The representation provides the show being viewed as “reality” and is transferred to a different dimension by representation. Huizinga gives children’s roles in their games as an example of the mentioned representation. A child can be a pirate, prince, police, doctor, or a father in his/her game. He/she represents the roles which are delusive in real. (Huizinga 2006, 32) But in adult games like *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* for example, the representation issue differs from the children’s games. “To provide or show something” is done according to ideology. In this point, the narrative works with its relation to ideology, and representation is formed by them. Thus, the representation issue for adult

games is more than game playing, because adult games include representations of ideological tendencies which are enforced by the sense of “consent” within the ruling order outlined by Gramsci.

6.3 CHARACTER CONSTRUCTION

First, it will be beneficial to examine the character construction of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*. This is due to the narrative works of the characters on a large scale. The Turkish team consists of: Fulya, Çiğdem, Aytuğ, Arzu, İpek, Derya, Metin, Onur, Selim, Teymuralp. The Greek team consists of: Vasilis, Melita, Nadia, Amfikratis, Yanis, Stella, Platonas, Yoanna, Maria and Pantelis.

At first sight, it is seen as the producers’ choose different characters, from their ages to their jobs, to construct the teams. The character construction shows that choosing of the characters is not at random. There are main characters that have certain functions in the narrative part of the program. Propp’s folktale examination looks at the “seven spheres of action”: “villain”, “donor”, “helper”, “Princess/ her father”, “dispatcher”, “hero”, “false hero” (Propp 1968 in Bordwell 1988, 9-10). This study takes the Turkish version of the program as a reference; the interpretations are from the Turkish side. Hence, there are shifting functions of the characters in the narrative program.

For example, Derya on the Turkish team can be seen as a “father” figure because of his age and style in some episodes. However, he is also the “hero” of the show as the winner of the program. Therefore, there is no definitive “father” character in the show. On the other hand Selim, who competes with Derya in some episodes, can be seen as a hero because of his handsomeness and his romantic relationship with Nadia from the Greek team. Although Aytuğ, Selim, and Derya are the last three competitors, it is easy to suspect that the winner from Turkish team will be Selim or Derya, in part because Selim is stronger than Aytuğ. Aytuğ can be seen as the “helper” character. Aytuğ supports Selim and the two are against Derya. Therefore, if it is thought that Selim is the “hero”, the role of the “helper” pairs with the “hero” as a good friend, which would

be Aytuğ. Also, Nadia functions in the role of “princess”. She is strong, beautiful, attractive, sympathetic, and she falls in love with Selim. Metin’s function can be accepted as of “donor”. He represents humility, charity, and loyalty with his attitudes in the competition. For example, his shoulder was dislocated during the show and this injury repeated itself many times in the competition. Although it was a serious problem, he does not quit, he overexerts himself to help his fellow team members. In one episode, his shoulder slips again and while he is crying, he puts the blame on himself. His feelings and helpful behavior coincides with the function of “donor”, determined by Propp.

As being one of the main characters, İpek is viewed as the “mother” of the Turkish team. As being a mother, she can be also accepted as another “donor” character. She has a mission to deal with the cooking which is vitally important to the teams on the island. Thus, she bakes bread, and makes food for all her team. On the other hand, her maternal instinct is kept in mind during different situations and on different episodes. For example, sometimes the Turkish host Acun calls İpek “Mother!” In the 7th episode, the competitors get letters from their families, and it is seen that İpek cries for her children much more than for her husband. Althusser’s theories on ideological representations by ISAs in the context of communications (the media), family (its importance), and culture (the formation of conventions) can be seen clearly in the example of İpek’s maternal instinct. Representation of her matronly feelings as an ideological value in the context of the “Turkish family pattern” is reproduced in the narrative of *Survivor*, and the audience accepts the message with the sense of “consent” in the program. Her situation refers to the “Turkish family pattern” as an institution which has an important role in an individual’s conventional formation in Turkish society. Emphasis on the “Turkish family pattern” in Turkish society can be easily seen in all parts of daily life; from school books to civil law, from religious approaches to Yeşilçam melodramas, news programs, TV series, etc. Likewise, the representation of the ideal “Turkishness” is reminded via the mentioned example that is related to İpek’s maternal instinct in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*.

Pantelis from the Greek team is viewed as the “villain” character within the Turkish audience. From the beginning until the “unification” on the Chapera Island, the Turkish team, and also the Turkish audience, feel antipathy against Pantelis because of his extreme chauvinistic attitude. He draws attention from his nationalist discourse. For example, in the 4th week, the Turkish team wins pizza as a reward. Members of the Greek team talk about whether or not the Turkish team will share the pizza, and Pantelis says: “I will not eat the Turks’ pizza.” In the end, the Turkish competitors do not share their pizza with the Greek team. Also, Greek dictionaries are given to the Turkish team, and Turkish dictionaries are given to the Greek team in order to prepare for “unification island”. While every other Greek competitor looks in his/her dictionary and tries to learn a little Turkish, Pantelis does not. These situations reflect the tension between the two teams and creates an expectation as to “What will happen?”, “Will the two team fight?”, and if so, “When?”.

On the other hand, while the audience is awaiting the tension that may appear on the “unification island”, the 7th episode displays some interesting situations. In the 7th episode, it includes the first meeting for the two teams that will live on the same island. The Turkish team’s comments about Pantelis are meaningful to examine. For example, İpek says: “As far as I know, Pantelis is not a cold person. Whenever necessary, everyone in the two teams works together” Then, the collaboration and friendly dialogue between the two teams are shown with the voice-over which justifies İpek’s comment.

At this point, the media, or TV as a tool of the media, facilitates the power in the “representation” issue. Television narrative is provided and formed by the “cutting-editing” system, and the order of cuts in consecutive parts to create meaning is important. Because, the whole meaning is created by the edited sections and the audience perceives the created meaning according to the order of the shots. If the shot after İpek’s comment would be about Pantelis’ chauvinistic attitude again, the meaning that “Pantelis is not a cold person” changes. So, “what is shown” in “which order” is important. Television narrative as a tool of the media is a flexible opportunity to create and direct the interpretation. So, the issue of the television narrative and representation

as “what is shown” to create “which meanings” for “which reasons” and “why” appears as an important matter in question. If the ideologies are promoted and distributed via the ISAs by the state, the media works with its “flexible opportunities” to provide and distribute the dominant ideologies as an ISA, like the example of İpek and Pantelis. At this point, there is a close relationship between the representation issue in the given example above and the power of the media as it is one of the ISAs theorized by Althusser. Due to this, the first instance about Pantelis’ chauvinistic attitude and the scenes about his character, the audience’s point of view is formalized in “Pantelis is against Turks, he is a villain”. In the second situation that mentions İpek’s comments about Pantelis’ conservative mode, the audience’s point of view is re-directed as “Pantelis is not an enemy, he is civilized person, and there is no reason to hate him.” From this, Pantelis takes the role of the “false hero”, from his first representation as a “villain” which is then shifted to the “false hero” by the second representation which is, “he is a civilized person, not an antipathetic person as seen”. This conflict between the two situations created by the representation of the media in the meaning of narrative is an important question.

6.4 LOVE STORY: TURKISH BOY FALLS IN LOVE WITH A GREEK GIRL

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Bordwell emphasizes that the classical syuzhet presents two plot lines in a double causal structure: one of them includes a heterosexual romance (wife/ husband, boy/ girl), and other line includes another sphere such as a war, work, or mission (Bordwell 1985, 19). Besides the classical narration of Hollywood films that Bordwell mentions, literal narrations are also similar. In literature, for example, in fairy tales such as *Snow White* or *Cinderella*, the hero (generally the prince) falls in love with the princess. However, the secondary plot line works beside another such as, Snow White’s uphill battle against her stepmother who is a witch or the abusive treatment Cinderella receives from her stepmother and step-sisters’ This working of two plotlines is also seen in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*.

From the beginning days on the “unification island” to the final episode, a romantic relationship developed as a secondary storyline between Selim and Nadia. Selim is Turkish and Nadia is Greek, so they are already from separate teams. This situation is interesting, firstly because there are no other romantic relationships between the other 18 competitors, and secondly as the two sides of the love affair compete against each other in the name of nationality. It resembles an impossible love story between the rich girl-poor boy in Yeşilçam movies.

On the other hand, this romantic relationship introduces a new issue in the narrative and gains a dimension for the tabloid-magazine genre. For example, in the 8th episode, there are comments made by other competitors who are negative about the match. Derya talks about Selim and Nadia sleeping next to one another from the first day. Teymuralp emphasizes that this situation damages the concentration of the competition, and also says “Did we come here to play *Benimle Evlenir misin?* (*Would You Like to Marry Me?* a reality-competition show that creates couples and marriages), or *Survivor?*” Of course, these debates come to the forefront not only among the competitors, but also among the audience. In part because this relationship has a social reference in real life between the two nations in addition to the two people it involves. Indeed, the historical and political background of the two nations form a disincentive theme in terms of social relationships such as marriages, flirtations, or even friendships and can have a negative impact. These kinds of situations take a dim view of other people in the society, and because of them, people are at times evaluated critically.

Also the concept of polemical love between a Turkish boy and a Greek girl is the subject of *Yabancı Damat* (*Foreign Bridegroom*, 2004-2006) in which a Turkish series was broadcast in Turkey and Greece. In this series, a Greek boy and a Turkish girl marry and the relationship was welcomed by both Turkish and Greek audiences. In the series, conflicts between the bride and the bridegroom’s families from the two nations are shown, but they are presented within “comic situations” for the characters as part of a comedic element of the narrative. Thus, all the conflicts in the story are given smoothly by its representation. Therefore, the two situations in the programs depicting the same concept as “welcoming” or “rejecting” of Turkish-Greek love shows the

manipulative power of the media. If the media wants to represent the love positively, it can do so and the audience responds positively; if not, the audience may reject it easily.

On the other hand, the love story gains different highs and lows in itself. For example in the third episode, Onur from the Turkish team and Nadia go to dinner as the result of a reward game. The dinner scene is seen very romantic. While the romantic relationship is continuing between Nadia and Selim, Nadia's love comes into focus between Onur and Selim. Onur and Selim's friendship is negatively impacted from this and they argue about Nadia's real love. During this interaction, Nadia and Selim's love is represented conspicuously via the effects of comments, debates, tensions, and romantic scenes created by the production and placed in an important part of the narrative for both the nationalistic discourse and the real-life drama.

6.5 FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL: PIZZA AND HAMBURGER VS. PATLICAN MUSAKKA(EGGPLANT-RAGOUT), PILAV(PILAFF), ŞİŞ KEBAP (SHISH KEBAB)

Around the 7th week is when the “unification” occurs on the island. In this episode, Acun announces a party to celebrate the first night of living all together on the same island. Hence, the party includes surprises. Acun says: “This night, we will eat food which you have not eaten for a long time. They (production team) wanted me to say the names of the food. When I say (in Turkish), the Greek team will understand them too, because the names are the same in the two language.” Then, Acun gives the names of the foods as Patlıcan musakka (aubergines with minced meat), pilav (rice dish), şiş kebab (grilled meat on skewers), dolma (stuffed vegetables), peynirli börek (savory pastry filled with cheese), cacık (diced cucumber garlic and mint in yoghurt) and all the members of the two team clap and cheer. During the night, they have dinner in a cheerful and friendly ambience.

As mentioned previously, this study is concerned with the theory of “globalization resulting in hybridity”. In this relation, the aim of this study is to show how the global

format uses localization, and hybridity results from globalization's effect on local values, needs, and tastes. The food example may be the finest detail to reflect the localization issue.

In this discussion, it will be possible to say that, being in a global format, the context of *Survivor* is filled up by the common senses of the two nations, their needs, their tastes, and familiarities which are formed by their own cultures. Moreover, the chosen local tastes address both the Turkish and Greek cultures; not Chinese, Arabic, European, or American. Thus, the "localization" issue is captured by appealing to the taste buds of the Greek/Turkish cultures within this example. This "local taste" example in a global format evokes special menus of multinational fast-food restaurants such as: Ramadan menus of McDonald's, or Burger King. Special menus of this kind in fast-food restaurants address a specific consumer such as Muslim. While they are serving Ramadan bannock as a local taste, they couple it with Coca-cola and French fries, for example. This is using local values for globalization in relation to using local menus such as patlican musakka, cacik, and pilav as a cultural context in the global format of *Survivor*.

As it is of a global format, *Survivor* does not prefer to use only common foods such as hamburgers, pizza, or cola which are known all over the world. Instead, it uses local and traditional items for the common interests of the two nations. In this way, achieving originality to be successful can be more triumphant than just focusing on the "original" form. If the original format is applied blow by blow without using any of the local values, the success of the *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* could be negatively affected. Likewise, the first version of *Survivor* in Turkey, *Survivor: Büyük Macera* did not reach the same popularity as *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*. This was in part because the first version lacks the "adaptation" from the original format licensed by Mark Burnett as a U.S. show. But in *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, the importance of using local values in the frame of a global format is reflected in its successful results and high ratings.

Localization issues in the program are not just about one particular instance, but also relate to using the two nations' political and historical background as the basis for

competition material. The use of common cultural experiences creates conflicts and tension between the Turkish and Greek teams and localizes the global format of *Survivor*. This localization provides benefits for the “global format”, in addressing large masses and the audience’s acceptance of this “global format”. The rules of the competition program as a global format work within the boundaries of local values. Thus, the situation refers to the theory of “globalization does not result in homogeneity; it results in hybridity”.

6.6 THE WINNER, THE HERO OF *SURVIVOR*: TÜRKİYE-YUNANİSTAN IS DERYA

In the 15th episode, Derya and Amfikratis are the only two contestants left competing for the championship. Both hosts make a wish for their own competitor to win. Thus, the adherence to one side as a rule of a game in the frame of nationalist approach is repeated. Also the audience takes an important part in this “national match” in supporting their nation wholeheartedly.

The winner of the competition ensues as the result of three games in the final episode. In the first game of the last episode, Derya and Amfikratis play a balance game. This game entails concentration and strength. Although Derya’s voice is hoarse while he is praying at a very low volume, it is given an understandable tone with the help of the production team. This situation corresponds to the ideal representation of a Turkish hero in terms of his culture, as a religious Muslim, who is a strong and trustworthy Turkish man. The ideal identity, which has been portrayed throughout the 15 episodes, tallies with the “ideal Turkishness” that is represented by the help of ideological discourse within the narrative of the program.

The second game consists of penalty kicks, and the nationalist ideology between *Türkiye-Yunanistan*, with the approach of “belonging to one side” is repeated.

The last game is the competitors’ cutting of their tightropes above the sea. The competitor who cuts all the ropes in the shortest amount of time is the winner of

Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan. At the beginning of the last game, the dialogue between Acun and Derya express Derya's mission and the nationalist emphasis, once again:

Derya: People who believe in this flag (he shows Turkish flag) do not lose, and I will not lose.

Acun: Your friends are behind you, this is the scene that we want to see. They support you and they are happy with you. What will you say about your friends?

Derya: At this moment, there is not a thing as " my friends"; there is a thing as the "Turkish team"... Usually we struggle in ourselves, enemies from inside can not beat us... Everybody must know that, now, I'm not thinking of myself, my son; ...I'm thinking Turkish society...

Acun: We all believe in Derya...

In this cliffhanger of the final episode of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, the victor was Turkey. The incontestable hero for the Turkish glory in this competition was Derya. He shows the Turkish flag and manifests the Turkish victory with his friends' cheers. While the Turkish team is shouting "la la la la la la, ooooo Türkiyeee", the Greek team is shown in their plaintive defeat.

6.7 AFTER THE PROGRAM: *SURVIVOR: TÜRKİYE YUNANİSTAN* FROM THE HERO'S POINT OF VIEW

In this section, the interview⁸ with Derya Durmuşlar, winner of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, will be used to examine the realization of events behind the scenes from one of the competitor's point of view.

First, Derya criticizes the relationships between the Turkish team in terms of friendship, fellowship, correctness, and negativity, and he mentions that the members of the Greek team had a very close friendship with each other. He says that,

Greek team's adaptation to the competition in the meaning of their accordance to each other and their unity and solidarity is better than the Turkish team. Turkish team forgets " to be a team" and starts to act individually. There are many examples of this situation in history; our enemies can not beat us, already we demolish ourselves.

⁸ D. DURMUŞLAR, winner of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*, interview on 09.01.2008

Derya continues to make connections between the competition and Turkish history. For example, he criticizes Selim and Nadia's love and refers to Czarina Catherine and the Russian defeat. Then, he repeats the individualistic approach of the Turkish competitors instead of being a team. He feels saturninity because of the very strong Turkish competitors who were voted off before the weak members, such as the mother İpek. In this regard, there is an important conflict between the team spirit, which divided the sides as "Turkish-Greek" and individual ambitions to be the winner of the grand prize. Thus, the issue of "representation and narrative" versus "the real realities" comes to light again. Derya says he is a nationalist but comments on the political and historical conflicts between Turkish and Greek societies as it must be ignored in today's world. On the other hand he says,

If there is a chauvinist Pantelis who says "If the winner will be a Turk, he/she is the second Kemal Atatürk", I expose my nationalist spirit as a Turk and I look at this competition as a Turkish-Greek war.

In this way, it can be seen clearly that there is an irrepressible tendency towards the nationalist values which direct the ideological sanctions. This fact is the basis of logic for *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* and is an excellent achievement.

Derya also mentions that Greek episodes which are broadcast in Greece, include Pantelis, Stella and Yohanna's chauvinist discourse against Turks. At this point, it is understood that the representation and narrative issues that are examined for the Turkish episodes are also present on the Greek side. Also, he points out that "winning the competition" is a matter of honor between the audiences of the two sides. Derya talks about his travels to Cyprus and the Cypriot Turks' thank him for being the winner of the competition.

7. CONCLUSION

It was mentioned at the beginning of this thesis that by changing the Turkish broadcasting policy after the 1990s, and with the appearance of private TV channels, the Turkish audience started to become familiar with new types of programs, genres, and formats which were imported from the West. These global programs are accepted well by the Turkish audience. In this context, the global formats are questioned by their success. To examine their success, this study examines the global format and its “localization” in terms of ideology, narrative, and representation.

Throughout this study, some theoretical approaches are explained by providing a basis for examining the case study, *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan*. First, the concept of “globalization” in terms of its cultural dimension and the two main approaches, “globalization is resulted with homogeneity” and “it creates hybridity” are defined. Then the rise of trans-national television in world wide circulation and criticism of the “media imperialism and standardization” and its opposite ideas are discussed, using examples of some textual readings. Second, the theoretical chapter examined the changing Turkish broadcasting policy, and the rise of reality shows both in Turkey and in the world. In this chapter, the Turkish broadcasting policy before the 1990s, the entrance of private TV channels to Turkish audiences’, and new types of television formats imported from the West are explained. In this context, the history of “reality TV” in Turkey and in the world is examined. Ideology is explained in terms of Gramsci and Althusser who are respected theorists in cultural studies. In the final theoretical chapter, the “game” phenomenon is examined, using psychological and social approaches. The definition and importance in both psychological developments and cultural significance for human beings are emphasized. On the other hand, its relationship to narration and spectatorship is also given.

In the case study of this thesis, the textual analysis of *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* is done for all 15 episodes of the program. Additionally, an interview with Derya Durmuşlar, the winner of the game, is also done. All the data that includes both the textual analysis and interview are examined with the help of the theoretical chapters.

Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan and its ideological, narrational and representational issues are analysed to show how the global format is localized.

First, the character construction of the program is examined. At first sight, the character construction seems random, however it is understood that the characters are not different from the usual style which are defined as “seven spheres of action”; “donor”, “helper”, “Princess /her father”, “dispatcher”, “hero”, “villain”, “false hero” by Propp’s folktale examination. On the other hand, these characters have shifting positions according to the Turkish and Greek sides. The villain character for Turks is the hero for Greeks. On the other hand, the hero for his/her fans is the villain for the other assertive competitors’ fans in the same team, such as Derya and Selim. This dual function of character construction in the logic of the game as being a competition reality show emphasize to address a wider audience.

The audience witnesses a “love story” similar to the main element of a classical narration such as Hollywood movies. The love of Nadia from the Greek team and Selim from the Turkish team form one of the main characteristics of classical narration. The audience is interested in the “love story”. On the other hand, the representation of the “love story” as being a Turkish-Greek love emphasizes the created nationalist discourse that is depicted.

Another important element that is examined in the study is the use of local cultural values to fill up the global format and its success to reach a wider audience. As mentioned before, the first season of the program *Survivor: Büyük Macera* had the characteristics of an adaptation. However, it did not use the local cultural elements of the society as historical, political and social backgrounds. It also did not have the great success that *Survivor: Türkiye-Yunanistan* has had. In this context, it is not wrong to say Turkish cultural values that the Turkish society live with from birth to death is repeated, reproduced, and evoked within the Turkish audience in all episodes of the program, and this issue forms the raw material of the program. Given examples in the analysis of the show such as İpek’s maternal model in the reference to the “Turkish family pattern”. The Turkish teams’ singing of national marches against the Greek team in a game show divides “Turks” and “Greeks” and creates a platform of struggle, and discussion among

the audience as well. Also, these discussions and debates between the two nations are not new, it comes from their history to today which is illustrated in a television program.

On the other hand, some discourses such as representation of antagonistic points of view to each team or to each other, also to the audience, is created by the televisual narration with the help of the cutting-editing system, and the use of a provocative “voice over”. In some episodes, friendly scenes of the two teams in the “unification island” and their good comments to each other are shown to the audience, and it creates a good feeling for the audience. In this point, the power of the media to create and direct the meaning in terms of Althusser is examined. In this context, it is understood that the nationalist discourse and their reproduction are directed in a dual perspective as “antagonistic” and “friendly”, spontaneously as an ideology by the television program as an ISA. Thus, the ruling class’ “already existed” ideas from the past to today in the society and their reproduction to localize a global format is pointed out. Therefore, narrational and representational issues work together and they are important to gain the interest of the audience in the localization process.

One of useful methods in the localization process of the global format is to address the two teams’ and their audiences’ common interests. In this context, the party on the “unification island” and common foods that address the two cultures are examined. At this point, the program is a media tool that maintains the levels of antagonism and friendliness , as well as provokes the audience by showing antagonistic scenes, and creates sympathetic feelings while addressing the common tastes of the two nations.

In the interview with the winner Derya Durmuşlar, he evaluates the concept of the program in general and the relationships between members of both teams. He emphasizes the strong motivation of the Greek team in the competition, in comparison to the antagonistic tension between some competitors on the Turkish team. It is interesting that, while Derya is addressing the mentioned divisions among the Turkish team, he repeats the “indivisible unity” of the Turks and their power. While he is defining the competition as a “game”, he also emphasizes the prestige of winning, as a

“victory” for the Turks. In this way, the dominant ideas and their “consent” and “unquestioned” acceptance by the individuals of a society shows itself again. It is the same in the show as it is in real life. On the other hand, despite the show carrying a mob mentality in the sense of “Turkish spirit” and “all-for-one”, the grand prize is still an individual earning “250.000 euro to the one winner”. This fact is also in question of the representation issue.

Through the examinations of this research as being a global format, it is seen that the best way to access more audience is to address their local values. In this regard, the use of nationalistic discourse that already exists in society is great raw material as local value to fill up the global format. This process also works with the help of narrational and representational elements. In this, the media as a means for the ideas of the ruling class reproduces common ideas and individuals accept them by the sense of “consent” in their social life. Thus, the localization of global forms serves the capitalist system while it is reproducing its own existent ideas through its own circulation. In this respect, the discourse of cultural globalization and its diversity from the “popular culture” emerges as a subject for a different study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1- Table A.1 Reality Shows 2000-2006

2000 – 2006			TYPOLOGY
NAME OF PROGRAM	YEAR	CHANNEL	MUSIC-ENTERTAINMENT
AŞK OLSUN	2006	SHOW TV	REALITY
ÇARKIFELEK	2006	SHOW TV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
GÜN AYDIN	2006	SHOW TV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SABAHLARIN SULTANI	2006	KANAL D	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SERDAR ORTAÇ'LA HEP BERABER	2006	STAR TV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SABAH SABAH SEDA SAYAN	2005- 2006	KANAL D	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
YA ŞUNDADIR YA BUNDA	2005- 2006	ATV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SABAH YILDIZLARI	2005- 2006	ATV	COMPETITION
DANSA VAR MISIN?	2005- 2006	ATV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
PEMBE BİR OYUN	2006	SHOW TV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
AKŞAM YILDIZLARI	2005	TGRT	REALITY
ŞİMDİ ZAYIFLAMAK İSTİYORUM	2005	ATV	REALITY
SURVIVOR	2005	KANAL D	REALITY
ANADOLU RÜZGAR	2005	TGRT	REALITY
BİR PRENS ARANIYOR	2005	SHOW TV	REALITY
HAYALLER GERCEK OLUYOR	2005	KANAL D	REALITY
GÖNÜLLERDE İKİNCİ BAHAR	2005	KANAL D	REALITY
SİZE ANNE DİYEBİLİR MİYİM?	2004- 2005	KANAL D	REALITY
GELİNİM OLUR MUSUN?	2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
KALPLERDE İKİNCİ BAHAR	2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
SEVDA MASALI	2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
BİZ EVLENİYORUZ	2003- 2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
BEN EVLENİYORUM	2003	SHOW TV	REALITY
AH KALBİM	2004- 2005	SHOW TV	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SABAH YILDIZLARI	2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
HAYAT YENİDEN BAŞLIYOR	2004	KANAL D	REALITY
SUPERMODELS	2004	SHOW TV	REALITY
AKADEMİ TÜRKİYE	2004	ATV	DOCUMENTARY
İSTİKBAL GÖKLERDEDİR	2003- 2004	TRT 1	MUSIC- ENTERTAINMENT
SABAH SEKERLERİ	2003	SHOW TV	REALITY
TRİLYON AVI	2003	ATV	REALITY
AFFET BENİ	2003	STAR TV	REALITY
ŞARKINI SÖYLE	2002	STAR TV	REALITY
SON BİR ŞANS VER	2002	STAR TV	REALITY
OTEL	2002	STAR TV	REALITY
DOKUN BANA	2001	SHOW TV	
ORADA NELER OLUYOR			REALITY
	2003	STAR TV	REALITY
	2002	STAR TV	REALITY
	2002	SHOW TV	REALITY
	2001	SHOW TV	REALITY
BİRİ BİZİ GÖZETLİYOR 5	2003	STAR TV	REALITY
BİRİ BİZİ GÖZETLİYOR 4	2002- 2003	STAR TV	REALITY
BİRİ BİZİ GÖZETLİYOR 3	2002	STAR TV	REALITY
BİRİ BİZİ GÖZETLİYOR 2	2001	SHOW TV	REALITY
BİRİ BİZİ GÖZETLİYOR 1	2001	SHOW TV	REALITY

APPENDIX 1- Table A.2 Reality Shows 1990-2000

1990 - 2000	1990 - 2000	1990 - 2000	TYPOLOGY
NAME OF PROGRAM	YEAR	CHANNEL	REALITY
SICAĞI SICAĞINA	1993-1998	SHOW TV	MAGAZINE
ÇOK ÖZEL	1993-1995 1995-1998	SHOW TV KANAL D	SPOR- NEWSREEL
OFSAYT	1993	SHOW TV	SPOR- NEWSREEL
FRİKİK	1993	SHOW TV	NEWS- RESEARCH
BÖYLE GİTMEZ	1994- 1997	KANAL D	REALITY
SOZ FATO'DA	1994	SHOW TV	REALITY
OLAY OLAY	1994	SHOW TV	
SINIR ÖTESİ	1994	SHOW TV	REALITY
ALO POLİS	1994	SHOW TV	REALITY
MAHKEME KAPISI	1994	SHOW TV	REALITY
KULVAR	1994	SHOW TV	REALITY
ÜÇÜNCÜ GÖZ	1994	KANAL D	POLITIC-MAGAZINE
A POLİTİK	1994	KANAL 6	
PAZAR DOSYASI	1994	SHOW TV	NEWS- RESEARCH
TEMİZ ELLER	1994- 1997	KANAL D	NEWS- RESEARCH
PRİZMA	1994-1995 1996- 1997	SHOW TV KANAL D	REALITY
ACIL SERVİS	1995	STAR TV	REALITY
YANGIN VAR	1995- 1996	SHOW TV	JOKE
ŞAKAMATİK	1995- 1998	SHOW TV	JOKE
ŞAKALAMACA	1998	KANAL D	MAGAZINE
HEY CANLI	1996	KANAL D	NEWS- RESEARCH
HABER HATTI	1996	SHOW TV	MAGAZINE
MAGAZİNNAME	1996	SHOW TV	MAGAZINE
RENKLİ DÜNYALAR	1996	KANAL D	MAGAZINE
CANLI VE ÖZEL	1996	KANAL D	REALITY
TAKSİ	1996 1997	SHOW TV KANAL D	REALITY
COÇUKTAN AL HABERİ	1996-1999 1999- 2000	SHOW TV KANAL D	MAGAZINE
TEMPO	1998	SHOW TV	

CV

Name Surname : Bilgehan Ece Şakrak

Address : Rasimpaşa M. Nuhbey Sok. Tavukçuoğlu Apt. 1/ 5 Kadıköy-İSTANBUL

Birth Place and Year : Ankara, 1982

Foreign Language : English

Primary School : Teğmen Kalmaz Primary School, 1993

Secondary and High School : Nuh Mehmet Baldöktü Anatolian High School, 2000

Graduation : Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, 2004

Master : Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, 2008

Name of Institute : Institute of Social Sciences

Name of Program : Film and Television

Work Experience: Ünite İletişim, May 2007-October 2007
Plato Film, October 2004-September 2005