

DOI: 10.17064/iüifhd.49497

THE TRANSNATIONAL SPREAD OF TURKISH TELEVISION SOAP OPERAS*

Serpil KARLIDAĞ**
Selda BULUT***

Abstract

Turkish soap operas that are primarily popular in Turkic Republics, Middle East, and the Balkans have in recent years spread to different countries. With the entry into Ukrainian, Pakistani, Russian, and Chinese markets last year, tens of Turkish soap operas now reach their viewers in over 50 countries, and generate export revenues. Short-term return on investment, new communication technologies, Istanbul's 'magnetic nature attracting new talents' and different sociocultural forces and policies play key role in such extensive spread of Turkish TV series. As cultural commodities, TV series, while the images and identities they contain spread, reach at the same time new customers through geographical expansion, and increase the earnings of producers. Yet, the distribution of soap operas is important as much as their production. This requires focusing on the commodities with geo-linguistic and geo-cultural markets rather than companies producing these commodities. Therefore, demand for these non-Western commodities of different geographies points to a contra-flow. In a sense, while new media centers are emerging elsewhere other than the United States of America (USA)-Europe axis, it can be spoken of a regional opposition to the Western hegemony, though there is not an important historical leitmotif or transformation. Thus, in this study, relations between power, cultural commodity, and geography and the spread of Turkish soap operas in different geographies will be discussed with a political economic approach by also drawing attention to the historical commonality.

Keywords: Turkish Soap Operas, Contra-Flow, Political Economy

TÜRK TV DİZİLERİNİN ULUSÖTESİ YAYILIMI

Öz

Öncelikle Türki Cumhuriyetleri, Ortadoğu ve Balkanlarda ilgiyle izlenen Türk dizileri son yıllarda farklı ülkelere de yayılmıştır. Geçen yıl Ukrayna, Pakistan Rusya ve Çin pazarına da girilmesiyle, şu anda onlarca Türk dizisi elliden fazla ülkede izleyicisiyle buluşmakta ve ihracat geliri oluşturmaktadır. Dizilerin bu kadar yaygınlaşmasında, yapılan yatırımın getirisinin kısa zamanda alınabilmesi, yeni iletişim teknolojileri, İstanbul'un yeni yetenekleri 'mıknatıs gibi çekmesi', çeşitli sosyo- kültürel güçlerin ve politikaların etkisi bulunmaktadır. Temelde kültürel meta olan dizi filmler içerdikleri imajları ve kimlikleri yayılırken coğrafi genişleme yoluyla yeni müşterilere ulaşmakta ve üreticilerin kazancını artırmaktadır. Ancak kültürel meta olan dizilerin dağıtımları, en az üretimleri kadar önemli olmaktadır. Bu da metaları üreten kuruluşlardan çok geo-linguistik ve geo-kültürel piyasalara sahip metaların kendisine odaklanmayı gerektirir. Nitekim, Batılı olmayan bu kültürel metalara olan farklı coğrafyaların talebi karşıt bir akışı göstermektedir. Bir anlamda, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD)-Avrupa ekseninde yeni medya merkezleri ortaya çıkarken, önemli bir tarihsel anamotif (leitmotif) ya da dönüşüm olmamakla birlikte Batı hegemonyasına karşı bölgesel bir karşı çıkıştan söz edilebilir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada, güç, kültürel meta ve coğrafya arasındaki ilişkiler Türk dizilerinin farklı coğrafyalardaki yayılımı tarihsel ortaklığa da dikkat çekilerek ekonomi politik yaklaşım ile ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Televizyon Dizileri, Karşıt-Akım, Ekonomi-Politik

* Submitted in 11th World Media Economics & Management Conference, May 12-16, 2014

**Asst. Prof. Dr., Başkent University, Vocational School of Social Sciences, Radio and Television Programme, skarli@baskent.edu.tr

***Assoc. Prof. Dr., Gazi University, Faculty of Communication, Department of Journalism, seldabulut@gmail.com.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, cultural products sector stands out with its importance for employment and economic growth. According to a general definition, sectors such as multimedia, film and video production, music production, printing and broadcasting refer to performance arts, fashion, and industrial design. With the industrialization and commercialization of cultural products as economic commodities, different terms like the culture industry (Frankfurt School), the culture economy, and cultural sectors have been coined to name this movement. This study, with a critical political economy approach, addresses the process as the commodification of culture that has begun with the consideration of culture as a tradable commodity in the market.

Among the main branches of the film industry—one of the sectors of the cultural economy—are cinema, television, advertising films and soap operas. The film industry is one of the most developed sectors among all other creative industries in the Western Europe and North America geographies—the origins of their emergence. The film industry, which lies in the focus of the television and advertisement industries, is in close relationship with the music, video, and internet industries. In Istanbul, all components comprising and supporting the film industry—production companies, casting agencies, actors, sound systems, TV channels, advertising agencies, advertisers—are spatially located, either close or accessible. There are significant common points between the soap opera production processes and the film industry in terms of use of common labor pool, copyrights and institutionalization (Töre, 2010).

The Turkish soap operas that attract viewers especially from Turkic Republics, Middle East, and Balkans have spread to other countries in recent years. With the entry to the Ukrainian, Pakistani, Russian and Chinese markets last year, Turkish soap operas nowadays reach the audience in more than fifty countries, thus generating export revenues. The United States, in the face of the popularity of Turkish operas, enter to the Middle East market with the Turkish version of their series. Short-term return on investment, new communication technologies, Istanbul's 'magnetic nature attracting new talents' and different sociocultural forces and policies are instrumental in such extensive spread of Turkish soap operas. As cultural commodities, TV series, while the images and identities they contain spread, reach at the same time new customers through geographical expansion, and increase the earnings of producers. Yet, the distribution of soap operas is important as much as their production. This requires focusing not only on companies that produce these commodities, but also on the commodities themselves with geo-linguistic and geo-cultural markets. Therefore, different geographies' demand for these non-Western cultural commodities points to a contra-flow. In a sense, while new media centers are emerging elsewhere other than the U.S.-Europe axis, it can be spoken of a regional opposition to the Western hegemony, though there is not an important historical leitmotif or transformation.

Thus, the aim of this study is to demonstrate a kind of resistance to Western –dominated global media system while evaluating the recent spread of Turkish soap operas that

nearly reached sixty countries. As Part I of the study traces the development of soap operas and their distribution in the context of culture, economy, history and geography, Part II looks in detail how Turkish soap operas have become widespread domestically in 1990's and have been increasingly exported since 2008. Their content and impact are also analyzed. Since the flow of soap operas has a complex web of relationships among the world's nations and regions due to history, economics, deregulation, technology, international business besides geo-linguistic and geo-cultural dimensions, political economic communications theory is adopted. As Bettig mentioned (1996: 6) "the political-economic framework offers a map with history and context". Thence the statement of 'contra-flow' is easily understood as a resistance to Hollywood's global dominance of film and television productions. In political economy, both "abstracted empiricism and purely interpretive approaches are criticized, a formal framework is adopted through which the empirical world is examined. In a sense, "the data speak for themselves" (Bettig, 1996: 6). For this study all of the data come from the academic journals, books, web pages, documentaries, printed and electronic journals which have been gathered and evaluated in the context of political economy.

Due to lack of political studies in the field of cinema and television this study is believed to make contribution in the future.

TV Soap Operas as the Cultural Commodity

Seeing cultural products as commodity differs from Raymond Williams-type understanding that views culture separate from material production and economic activities— even sees them opposed to culture. To Garnham, the cultural commodity refers to the commodity, whose symbolic meaning is more valuable than its use-value. The cultural commodity has different features than other commodities. Firstly, public good nature of the cultural commodity is explained by the lack of effective markets and market failure. The cultural commodity, which does not diminish or is destroyed in the process of consumption, does not exclude non-payers either. Therefore, scarcity must be created for the production of these commodities that do not provide financial return to their producers. Moreover, easy reproduction of cultural goods and services, whose first-copy costs are too high, such as newspapers, television broadcasts and movies, and almost zero marginal cost of reproduction, constitute another problem. In the face of all these problems, a number of strategies have had to be developed in order to create scarcity in economic terms, and to maximize audience. Ensuring monopoly or oligopolistic controls over distribution channels in broadcasting linked to the state or the creation of the audience as a commodity for sale to advertisers are most common types of these strategies. The former involves a close relationship between commercial interests and those of state control (Garnham, 1987). Thanks to this strategy, Hollywood studios have maintained their hegemonic control over the world market, and have ensured the release of movies in different countries on different dates. Their purpose is to maximize revenues from each individual territory by deciding the time of geographical windowing of films and series released in the United States (Christophers, 2010: 139). There is a conventional lag between films shown in cinemas and their later availability through other media such

as broadcast television, or DVD or VCD (platform windowing) (Christophers, 2010: 138). Such strategies support David Harvey's concept of "spatial fix". The reason is in order to establish an effective market for the cultural commodity, scarcity is realized to establish an effective market for the cultural commodity at the same time as international television and film distribution networks are relentlessly expanded (Christophers, 2010: 138).

One of the characteristics of the cultural commodity is its need for constant innovation. Although the use-value of the cultural commodity is closely related with innovation and difference, this new product should be produced as mass in the form of a prototype. The more viewers it reaches, the lower cost per output will be. This is ensured by economy of scales and concentration. However, another characteristic of cultural commodities is that demand for them appears to be uncertain (Garnham, 1987). Demand for any film is impossible to predict. While some films yield box office returns drastically above their cost, some others flop. A Hollywood film needs to make at least \$100.000 to be considered successful (Albarran, 2002: 120). The "nobody knows" principle implies that neither consumers, nor producers know what they want, and places emphasis on high risk of investment as well (Caves, 2000). Since along with high fixed costs, factors such as almost zero marginal cost of distribution and higher marketing costs than production costs due to uncertainty are in favor of large-scale businesses, and thus, vertical and horizontal integrations occur in the culture industry. Big businesses prevent other enterprises from entering the market. As can be seen, cultural distribution is essential for maximizing audience and creating artificial scarcity by controlling access, and is the key locus of power and profit (Garnham, 1987). More recently Timothy Heaven also says that sales markets like MIPCOM and NATPE provide the illusion of scarcity to maintain high prices and demand for new products (2006: 6).

Cultural commodities expand geographically in order to reach more audience, and boost investors' earnings by bringing new customers. This necessitates focusing on the circulation of capital. As it is known, Marx identified three successive circuits of capital: money capital, commodity capital, and production. Though these circuits of capital constitute a larger and single production process, each of them might also be individually addressed as subject of study. As for Brett Christophers, he reads these three circuits as power, knowledge and geography in terms of media economics, and approaches each of them within a single window as a whole (2010: 16). Knowledge or information are important in almost every field, and lie at the very heart of the television industry. As Garnham argues, the knowledge/information economy, which has turned into a large economy, points to a new phase since the industrial revolution (2005: 21).

The power is in the hands of those, who control the distribution of cultural commodities. As stated above, big media businesses that ensure international circulation of various strategies, such as windowing and copyright, as well as commodities, are at the same time hegemonic actors of power relations between countries. Geography is a materialistic space, where the production and distribution of cultural commodities take place. Geography is an important element, but it is not isolated from the issues of knowledge/

information and power relations (Christophers, 2010: 20). Thus, satellite and cable television made possible by digital technology have enabled media companies to operate in transnational rather than national arenas, and to create new customers worldwide (Thussu, 2006). In addition to these, the localization of media content and outsourcing of digital media for transnational corporations have laid the foundation for the formation of global hubs for creative industries (Thussu, 2006). While India is a known example, today it is observed that various metropolitan hubs have been formed in film, television, and music production. This, along with wider geographical finance and distribution networks, also stems from employment opportunities. These metropolitan hubs—often with a historical geography—constitute the main source of modern economy, and come up in the agenda how they appeal and protect creative classes. Richard Florida qualifies cities as talent magnets. David Harvey says accepting uniqueness, authenticity, particularity, and speciality as essential elements for capturing monopoly rents, London, Cairo, Barcelona, Istanbul, or similar cities have these features. It is not possible to gain access to whatever it is that is supposedly unique at least in many people’s minds in other places (2012: 478). Besides, the collective symbolic capital attached to names and places like Paris, Athens, New York, Rio de Janeiro, Berlin, and Rome is of great importance, and gives to these places greater economic advantages than to some other cities like Baltimore, Liverpool, Essen, Lille, and Glasgow (Harvey, 2012: 478).

In this context, Istanbul’s claim to uniqueness can be grounded, apart from its serving as the administrative center of the Ottoman Empire, in its being both the intersection point of Eastern and Western civilizations and a historical city having a significant place in the Byzantium. The fact that TV series are shot in Istanbul supports its claim. Harvey says, “if monopoly rent is always an object of capitalist desire, then the means of gaining it through interventions in the field of culture, history, heritage, aesthetics and meanings must necessarily be of great import for capitalists of any sort” (2012: 483). In a sense, capital, within the mentality of capital accumulation, views local differences and local cultural diversities as revenue-generating means, as in the case of Istanbul. When compared to Florida, İstanbul gained the characteristic of being a city long before modernization and industrialization—even before named as Istanbul. “Istanbul has a very interesting background in the sense of its being a melting point of cultures, identities and belief systems from the time of the Genoese and Byzantines due to its central location at the crossroads of migration and trade routes... While Istanbul was voted as the most livable city in the world in a poll carried out by Financial Times, Edwin Heathcote, in his article published again in Financial Times on 27 May, propounded that Istanbul is “the antithesis of the bourgeois monoculture. He also argued that though Istanbul is “cosmopolitan, busy, young” in its population, it is, “with its historical and social structure”, a city that has always built on its status as a bridge between not just continents but civilizations, ideas, religions and peoples”. Istanbul has three important elements that combine in the Silicon Valley: Industry, University, and Venture Capital. Today, Istanbul is an industry city, a tourism city, a university city, a congress city, a media city, a trade center, a logistics center, and a finance center” (as cited in Arıkan, Dünya, 2011). İstanbul, at the same

time, is a city, where most Turkish TV series—the subject of this study—are shot, and which thus continually takes place in the series with its historical and natural beauties.

Therefore, as McChesney points out, to grasp media today and the cultural products it creates, one must understand the global system and its differences at the national and local levels. McChesney (2001) says almost all dominant multinational or transnational media firms are all U.S.-based. This pictures the global oligopoly. Hollywood's dominance of cinema and film industry is at an undebatable point. Nevertheless, a local stimulus is observed in TV series sector, as in the case of Turkey.

The Political Economy of Soap Operas

The convergence in the media enabled by communication technologies and the new media with the globalization of capitalism (Herman & McChesney, 1997; Murdock, 2000) has provided significant facilities for the TV series sector. Easy access, downloading or online watching facilities, and the opportunity of recording TV series via recording systems to be watched later have allowed, thanks to satellite technologies, for access to TV series from different geographical spaces. The commodification of cultural products in the process of these developments necessitates understanding the functioning of this process. Above all, the new communication environment enabled by economic and cultural globalization allows for going even beyond national borders.

The history of TV soap operas dates back to radio drama serials. The radio dramas, which were initiated for the purpose of attracting advertisers, drew a huge number of home audiences that required sociologists to address this phenomenon. Many businesses made a financial comeback through radio sponsorship. Especially after the sponsorship of Procter&Gamble's Oxydol laundry powder, drama serials has come to be called as "soap operas" to become widespread. Radio serials that entertained women were transferred to television following its emergence as a new means of communication and created its own format. They at first seemed a failure on television. But when they were expanded from the 15-minute form inherited from radio to a 30-minute form, success followed. Soap operas that function as advertising vehicles sell the attention of audience to product manufacturers for a certain period of time. Soap operas still serve the same economic function today that they first served nearly a half-century; considering their huge number of audience with propensity to consume, no alternative form of programming could match them (An Institutional History of Soap Operas, 2013). Soap operas, which are considered low-culture products due to their addressing women in particular, have become a permanent and secure source of revenue with their relatively low costs and widespread audience (Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 385).

Despite their cultural nature, soap operas are subject to the rules of capital and the requirements of businesses. Soap operas, which attract increasingly more audience, tend to focus their plots and storylines around family life, personal and sexual relationships, emotional and moral conflicts, politics, economy, and many other issues. The characters are beautiful, well-groomed, attractive and rich. Soap operas, along with ads, contain product placement, and sponsors aim to show that those, who use their products, look

and feel like the characters in the series. Nevertheless, though foreign TV series stimulate consumption in most of the countries of the world, the genre of stimulus differs by country (Russel & Stern, 2006). While in the U.S. soaps, realistic consumption scenarios, surrounded by familiar consumer products such as homes, clothing, food, beverages, and cars, stimulate viewers' desire for consumption, product placements within Brazilian 'telenovelas' are perceived as habits and practices specific to high-class urbanites (Russel & Stern, 2006: 134-136). In fact, Latin America telenovelas, along with involving commercial messages and interpersonal relationships, touch on political, cultural, and economic issues as well. These TV series, which are almost only entertainment of rural people, cause different receptions and interpretations on urban reality due to the geographical isolation and the patriarchal culture (Russel & Stern, 2006: 136).

Since serials are comparatively low cost of production they have been used to fill airtime both domestically and internationally. Additionally, serials have good economic value to open new commercial markets around the world, large number of episodes, wide viewers and reliable profits. Those features have made them the most exported television products (Bielby & Harrington, 2008: 91-92, 114). As Brazilian television Globo was the first company to use strategic efforts to establish an expansive world distribution network Latin American companies entered many countries in Asia and Europe and met the high demand of cheap entertainment. Losing some market share in Western Europe due to producing their own soap operas, telenovelas have been distributed to emerging markets in Eastern Europe (Bielby & Harrington, 2008: 92-93). The US daytime soap opera industry also employed some strategic efforts to open new markets. The success of *Dallas* in the early 1980's was followed by *The Bold and the Beautiful* which was the most watched serial in the world. While the US soap opera industry is getting more oriented toward global sales to meet decreasing domestic revenues, they develop new business strategies to sustain their market shares (Bielby & Harrington, 2008: 94, 103). Therefore, In the United States, due to the loss of audience after the 1990s, the Hispanics were taken as target audience, and a popular daytime serial like *Bold and the Beautiful* began simulcasting in both English and Spanish in 2001. Moreover, a new Latino character named Antonio was introduced to the series. The aim was to attract the attention of this large population, and thus, to capture the bourgeois Latino market (Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 388).

Along with these domestic changes, the United States—the undisputed leader in TV products exports—produces its export commodities in view of the diversity of foreign viewers (Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 384). For Russel and Stern, 'one way flow' is reversing, and adopts a different type of serials than the United States uses domestically (2006: 136). As it is known, in the United States, viewers are in general accustomed to open-ended, serial-type narratives. The series can go on indefinitely; they have neither a beginning nor an end. While in the United Kingdom and Australia, daytime soap operas are likewise open-ended, close-ended serials are more common in Latin America, India, Japan, China, South America and other places (Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 385). Serials also differ in terms of theme and structure; some address social and political issues like

Brazilian and Colombian serials, while some are mainly emotional and melodramatic like Mexican, Venezuelan and U.S. serials (Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 385). Therefore, the major problem of the U.S. serials in export markets is their open-ended narrative style. Moreover, export markets demand shorter storylines. In the United States, soap operas are reshaped in line with the demands of global audience and the market. The duration of *The Bold and the Beautiful*, CBS's most popular global series, is shorter than the U.S. serials, and this is not a coincidence (Bielby & Harrington, 2006:393). Thus, according to Sinclair, Jacka and Cunningham (1996), television appeals to local audience rather than global audience, and is mainly based on geo-linguistic regions (as cited in Bielby & Harrington, 2006: 384).

Language and culture are seen as primary market forces for producers and distributors of television programmes and services, who seek to gain access to markets outside their nation of origin (Sinclair, 1999). Big media companies took aim at geo-linguistic markets, where masses much larger than the populations of United Kingdom, Spain, and Portugal, whose mother languages are English, Spanish, and Portuguese, respectively, speak those languages. The technical properties of the new digital compression on the current generation of satellites not only allowed the satellites to transmit many more channels than ever before, whether from the US, Europe, or elsewhere, but also provided many facilities, and originally English programs started to be dubbed in Spanish and Portuguese. Thus, the Latin American companies, which once enjoyed hegemonic advantage of language difference, began to lose their some kind of natural monopoly. Another reason, apart from technology, is that the U.S. global companies gained experience in the United States with the potential audience of over 26 million Spanish-speakers there, and they now want to enter the Latin America market with over 300 million Spanish-speakers. For the U.S. channels aspiring for international service, Latin America that requires channels only in two languages is more appealing than the multiple-language Europe (Sinclair, 1999). In a sense, the United States, while overcoming the language barrier to seize the market in the geo-linguistic region, at the same time competes with resident parent companies. The Latin American soap operas, the telenovelas, which are broadcast in 50 languages and dialects and reaching 100 countries, have been transnationalized through Televisa in Mexico, Venevisión in Venezuela, and Globo TV in Brazil, and have turned into a million dollar industry. Apart from being a commercial success, telenovelas also contribute to the construction of 'Hispanic' identity (Thussu, 2006). Despite the supremacy of English in the large part of the world, there are also zones, where French, Chinese, Arabic, and Turkish are spoken. Accordingly, broadcasters aim at geo-linguistic regions, rather than geographical regions, and establish their own markets (Albizu, 2007: 30).

In fact, apart from language, new communication technologies—especially satellites and Direct-to-Home (DTH) broadcasting—accompanied by increasing population mobility have enabled geo-cultural media activities as well. Thus, while Spanish, Mandarin, Hindi, Arabic, Turkish, and French are becoming increasingly prominent in transnational societies and geo-cultural markets, the media is creating entertainment programs on these languages. While in one sense, these geo-cultural and transnational networks aim

at diasporic population spread all over the world, in another sense they represent flows counter to the main hegemonic flows (Thussu, 2006). Straubhaar, based on the cases of Latin America and particularly Brazil, describes this situation as “asymmetrical interdependence” (1991: 55). Past immigration, colonization and reverse migration might be instrumental in viewers’ demand for more cultural proximity and bond from TV programs (Bicket, 2005). The development of cross-cultural trade in television based on the countries’ geography, language, or culture points to the importance of regionalization as much as globalization (Straubhaar, 2002: 184).

Soap operas are important media products for people living outside their region of origin. These series serve almost as a bridge for geographical distances especially for older migrant women, who feel home sick while watching familiar places in the TV series (Georgiou, 2011: 878). Arab women living in London sustain cultural links with the region of origin without giving up the values associated with their life in the diaspora. Turkish soap operas present a valuable example for this case. The reason is that Turkish soap operas are not ‘other’ to Arab audiences; Islam, arranged marriage or patriarchal family ties are part of the shared history of viewers. However, as in *Noor*, soap operas with conflicting values of tradition and modernity, and conservative religious values and secularism present different levels of proximity to viewers (Georgiou, 2011: 879, 881). In Asia, South Korea is a major important exporter of TV programs, influencing East and Southeast Asian countries (Thussu, 2006). Korean TV series have served as an important bridge for South Korean culture, which once was either not much known, or presented a negative image on Asian countries due to Korean War. South Korean dramas, which mostly deal with family issues, love, and ‘filial piety’ in the age of changing technology, reinforce traditional values of Confucianism, and attract the Asian audience more than the Western entertainment products do (Lee, 2011: 86). The ‘Korean Wave’ that has spread to whole world has become the symbol of rising popularity of Korean culture. This development has a major role in its ranking as the fifteenth economic power in the world.

As it is seen, markets and services are not simply or clearly defined by technology, or ambition for profit. The use of culture and identities that are layered over time are also important elements (Straubhaar, 2008: 141). Even though most of cultural forces and identities remain from before most nation-states such as colonial empires, migrations, languages, religions, and racial mixtures (as cited in Abram, 2004 by Straubhaar, 2008: 14), today they are nourished by powers like technology and economics (Straubhaar, 2008: 15). Private media corporations, by providing the creation of geo-linguistic and geo-cultural identities rather than representing a particular country, become more influential in increasing contra-flows in media products (Thussu, 2006). In the United Kingdom, South Asian channels are available on Sky’s digital network, while in the USA, such platforms as Echostar DISH system and DirecTV provide a range of programmes for various diasporic groups. MBC, which aims at the Arab World, contributes to shaping a new kind of Arab identity, which is based on language and culture rather than nationality (Thussu, 2006).

All these developments have pushed the U.S.-dominated Western media to regionalize and nationalize their content to reach global people other than elites. Thus, though the U.S.-based global flows still continue on the one hand, small, but significantly contra-Western flows are increasingly becoming more widespread on the other hand.

Besides these approaches mentioned above, there are complex web of relationships among the world's nations and regions influencing the flow of television programmes (Havens, 2006: 4). In the global marketplace distributors and buyers use many kind of tactics to demonstrate their powers (Havens, 2006: 9). While distributors try to market their television programmes to international buyers through advertisements, promotions, videotapes, e-mail and in-person sales calls, buyers constantly sift through advertisements, trade press reviews, pilot videotapes and attend numerous regional and global sales events to find appropriate programmes for their channels (Havens, 2006: 69). There are four major international market places for buying and selling of television programming such as NATPE, MIPCOM, MIP-TV and the LA Screenings. According to Bielby and Harrington, they show the economic robustness of television production in the latter part of the 20th Century (2008: 9). NATPE Convention is held in the USA every winter, MIPCOM and MIP-TV are located in Cannes and LA Screenings is held only by invitation for two weeks in late May and early June (Bielby & Harrington, 2008: 21). As NATPE Conventions are site of important meetings and serious business for attendees, NATPE also provides 'seminars' for them in many subjects such as business strategies, new markets and programming opportunities, leading –edge issues the industry is confronting. The booths at MIPCOM, MIP-TV are very dense and business atmosphere is more sophisticated reflecting the sensibility of Cannes.

The Soap Opera Sector in Turkey

Turkish soap operas have become widespread with the privatization of TV channels in the 1990s, achieving success in a short time. Thus, in recent years, with its producers, directors, actors, screenwriters, grips and gaffers, it has become a major employment-generating sector in Turkey. The number of sector employees was estimated to have reached 150.000 in the pre-2008 economic crisis period. The representatives of the sector report that the downsizing in the economy that climbed to the 30's % level during the crisis adversely affected employment as well, and at least 50.000 employees lost their job. The survey titled "The TV Series Economy", which was published by Istanbul Chamber of Certified Public Accountants (ISMMMO) in May 2010, contains important data pertaining to wages.

According to the survey, actors' wages comprise 20 to 30 percent of the budgets of TV series in Turkey. Usually one or two leading actors are paid well. Before the crisis, leading actors were paid ₺10.000 to ₺30.000 per episode. The crisis adversely affected actors' wages as well. During the crisis, when TV channels demanded 30-40 percent discount from the production companies, producers demanded a wage cut at the same rate from actors. The actors, not wanting to lose their job, necessarily accepted it. It is reported that in that period, wages paid to leading actors per episode varied from 5.000 Turkish

liras, to 20.000 Turkish liras. Leading actors of TV series are generally professional actors with theater training. The majority of middle-level actors are, likewise, names with theater background (ISMMMO, 2010).

TV series' need for actors is largely provided by casting agencies also called as 'actor factory'. The number of casting agencies that could merely count on the fingers of one hand ten years ago is reported to be over 100, while the number of prospective actors registered with a casting agency is estimated to have reached 50.000. Prospective actors registered with casting agencies consist of people from every profession—teachers, engineers, housewives, students, etc. In Turkey, about fifty people apply to casting agencies everyday. The prospective actors, with the hope of starring either in TV series, or in commercials and movies, pay registration fee varying from 40 Turkish liras, to 200 Turkish liras, to register with the casting agencies. Some casting agencies charge additional fee for photographs and test shots (ISMMMO, 2013).

One of the major pillars of the sector is producers. Turkish producers' revenues from TV series and TV's top ten money marker TV series in 2013 are provided in Table 1 and Table 2.

The Exports of the Turkish-Produced Soap Operas

With the national success of soap operas, producers have turned their eyes to foreign markets. Exports of the Turkish-produced TV series have gained momentum especially from 2008 onwards. This section of the study will give a general picture of the period from the boom of Turkish TV soap opera exports to the present.

Though the global economic crisis of 2008 adversely affected the Turkish TV series sector in general, its impact on the soap opera exports was favorable. Due to the global nature of the crisis, its effects felt worldwide. Many countries that cut down their TV series budgets tended to buy high-quality TV series at lower costs. At this point, demand for Turkish soap operas further increased (ISMMMO, 2010).

Exports of Turkish soap operas are mostly done through the marketing companies. But a production company might market its products as well. For instance, big Hollywood studios like Universal Pictures, Warner Bros., Disney, Fox, MGM and Sony are thought to be merely production companies. However, these companies actually do not produce the productions themselves. *Matrix's* producer is Joel Silver; but Warner Bros. sold it to the world (Calinos, 2011). In Turkey, a large portion of soap opera exports (about 80%) is carried out by companies such as Calinos Entertainment and Global Agency. Calinos Entertainment is the first Turkish company to market and sell TV programming such as movies, television series, documentaries, and soap operas to local and international markets. Calinos Entertainment which started its activities in 1997 in Los Angeles moved its headquarters to Istanbul due to proximity to countries in the region with fast growth achieved by maintaining its office at United States. In year 2001, the first Turkish series *Delilyürek* was sold abroad (Kazakhstan) by Calinos Entertainment. Until now, the company exported 58 Turkish TV series. Among the countries, to which Calinos Entertainment exported

TV series, are the United Arab Emirates (Dubai), Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Georgia, Iran, North Iraq, Bulgaria, Albania, Germany and Malaysia. Calinos Entertainment Calinos Entertainment's exports, which amounted to 3.670 hours in 2009 despite the crisis year, increased by 30% compared to the previous year. Exports worth of TV series varies from \$250 to \$10.000 per episode. The company authorities report that exports worth of Turkish TV series is around \$6.000-\$7.000 per episode. As in Turkey, TV channels enjoy full ownership of TV series, producers, directors, screenwriters and musicians cannot claim any right on the series, and get royalty from them (İSMMMO, 2013).

Global Agency, which was founded by İzzet Pinto in 2006, sold TV copyrights of format, series, films, and screenplays to more than 40 countries.

Headquartered in Miami, SOMOS Distribution has obtained the representation of a group of these productions (*Kaçak*, *Ezel*, *20 Minutes*, *Karadayı* and *Kurt Seyit and Şura* among others). Turkish TV series have become important species for programmers in international markets. Luis Villanueva, President and CEO of SOMOS Distribution, expressed that during the 2014 NATPE "the company will grow as a global player in the television industry by including Turkish soap operas in their catalog". (Somos, 2014).

In recent years, Turkish soap operas are sold mainly to the Middle East countries, Turcic Republics and Balkan countries: Afghanistan, Germany, Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Algeria, Czech Republic, China, Indonesia, Estonia, Morocco, Georgia, Croatia, Iraq, Iran, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan, Montenegro, Qatar, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Kosovo, Kuwait, Latvia, Libya, Lithuania, Lebanon, Hungary, Macedonia, Malaysia, Egypt, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Syria, Thailand, Taiwan, Thailand, Tunisia, Ukraine, Oman, Jordan, Vietnam, Yemen, Greece.

According to Exhibitor Directory Listing in NATPE webpage, there are Global Agency, ITV-INTERMEDYA, Kanal D (DTV Haber ve Görsel Yayıncılık World Wide Entertainment A.Ş.) from Turkey. They are all categorized under the type of distributor/syndicator/right holder. In MIPCOM page, there are Turkish Radio and Televisions (TRT), Calinos Entertainment, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, TV-InterMedia, Kanal D, Global Agency, ATV Turkuvaz Aktif –Television A.Ş. among the exhibiting companies. On MIPCOM page, it is written that "In just a few short years, Global Agency has become one of the fastest-growing distributors in the industry, thanks to our strong line-up of content and our experienced..." (My-mip, 2013).

In the geography of the Middle East, where Turkish soap operas are most popular, foreign expansion has begun with the use of satellite technologies with globalization. For example, the first Arab satellite system, Arabsat-1, was launched in 1985. Almost a quarter of a century later, on August 30, 2008, 85 million Arab viewers were glued to their TV sets for the finale of the Syrian-dubbed Turkish soap opera, *Gümüş* (*Noor* in Arabic), a Kanal D production. At first, Turkish soap operas received little attention in Middle East, since they were dubbed in Egyptian Arabic dialect. Then, a big media group in the Middle East had dubbed *Gümüş* and *Ihlamurlar Altında* in Syrian dialect, and these series

achieved success due to their being perceived as Arab series. This has laid the ground for many TV series to find place in the market (Calinos, 2011). The data for Turkey's soap opera exports to these countries are given below.

According to the data released by Directorate General of Copyrights/Ministry of Culture and Tourism—the government agency dealing with cultural products exports in Turkey, soap opera exports reached 10.500 hours in 2011. Export revenues from TV series amounted to \$65 million by end-2010. In 2012, average revenues earned per episode varied from \$60.000 to \$200.000. *Gümüş (Silver)* and *Kaybolan Yıllar (The Lost Years)*—primarily *Gümüş*—reached 85 million viewers in the Middle East, where they were broadcast before Ramadan. *Kaybolan Yıllar*, too, is currently watched by 65 million viewers. At present, *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* has nearly 150 million viewers in the Middle East, Balkans, and Turkic Republics (“Başbakan'ın eleştirdiği dizi...”, 2012).

According to the data from Turkish Exporters Assembly and Association of Television Broadcasters, between 2005 and 2011, Turkey exported 35.675 hours of TV series and programs to 76 countries. In 2012, Turkey's soap opera exports to 75 countries exceeded 11.000 hours, totaling \$150 million. The turnover volume of TV series sector that has gained momentum in Turkey recent years exceeded \$300 million. In Turkey, soap opera exports make up a market exceeding \$100 million. Turkey has become the production center of TV series that are watched in over 60 countries (“75 ülkeye 150 milyon...”, 2013).

The worldwide volume of the production market, including royalties from copyrights, has reached \$9 billion. Turkish soap operas are sold for \$500-\$20.000 per episode. The volume of the sector became \$50 million in 2010, about 70 million in 2011, and \$150 million in 2013. These figures, though seem small, have a big impact. According to the data of the Ministry of Customs and Trade, while exports of audio-visual products grew by 4.54 percent, this rate is 25.98 percent for Turkey. Turkish soap operas have become a primetime hit in a vast geography extending from Balkans to Middle East and Central Asia (Bloomberg HT, 2013).

The ISMMMO' survey, “TV Series Economy”, reveals an economy amounting to about \$1 billion comprising of revenues from TV series, whose costs per episode vary between 100.000 and 300.000 Turkish liras, as well as ads and sponsorship (ISMMMO, 2008).

The Contribution of Turkish Soap Operas to Other Sectors

There is a relationship, albeit indirect, between Turkey's geopolitical ties and cultural proximity stretching from the Balkans to the Middle East and Southern Asia and the exportation of 70 Turkish soap operas since 2001. The upsurge of Turkish soap opera exports from merely \$1million in 2007 to \$150 million in 2012 points to a significant leap in exports. The boom in soap opera exports has contributed to the other sectors as well (Pressturk, 2013). In a sense, Turkey enjoys co-optive soft power, the conception coined by Nye (2002), which involves political, economic, and historical ties, in the regional and international field. It re-discovers its past historical and geographical identities, and is

becoming the main center of a geo-cultural basin (Rapis, 2012: 5). It appears that today Turkey, rather than relying on its military capabilities, i.e. its coercive hard power, in regional tensions as in the past, becomes influential by its soap operas. Undoubtedly, Turkey's economic situation is also instrumental in such widespread of Turkish soap operas. Goldman Sachs estimates that Turkey, which currently ranks 17th among the countries with the largest Gross Domestic Product, could be in 14 largest economies by 2050.

The popularity of Turkish soap operas in the Middle East, Balkans, and Turkish-speaking Asian countries rests on a series of cultural proximities, including historical ties, common traditions, and shared cross-cultural aspirations and identifications (Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2368). For example, 200 million viewers in 43 countries wonder where *Magnificent Century* is shot. The Wall Street Journal says, "Turkish soaps have since 2008 become a staple in living rooms across the Middle East, North Africa, and the Balkans; enjoying wild popularity in ostensibly traditional societies for their portrayal of modern life styles and relationships". According to the WSJ, "the popularity of the shows—from the Ottoman-inspired *Magnificent Century* to the slick *Aşk-ı Memnu* starring heartthrob Kivanc Tatlitug—has spawned a sizeable secondary stimulus for Turkey, boosting the country's tourism and fashion trades as soap-addicts flock to Turkey to tour the sites of their favorite shows". This reflects on Turkey's tourism revenues, and thus, Turkish soap operas positively affect the country's economy. People buy dresses, food, accessories that they saw on the Turkish soap operas. The number of tourists has increased hugely since the exportation of soap operas. Huge popularity of Turkish soap operas abroad ensures increase in tourists visiting Turkey and the promotion of Turkey as a brand. The boom in the number of tourists from the Middle East confirms this impact. Official figures from the Culture and Tourism Ministry showed that in the January-November 2010 period, visitors from Syrian rose 91.4% to reach almost 750 thousand. In the same period, the number of visitors from Lebanon increased by 81%, from United Arab Emirates 45% and from Iran 43% compared to the same period previous year. Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade saw the potential, and defined soap opera exports as the 25th export item. According to the figures of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, in March 2012, the number of tourists increased by 26.06% on annual basis: in 2012 visitors from Saudi Arabia rose by 88.74%, from Yemen 106%, from Qatar 102% and from Israel 184% (Candemir, 2013).

The data from Ministry of Customs and Trade point to the popularity of Turkish soap operas in a vast geography from the Balkans to the Middle East and Central Asia. Even special trips are arranged to tour the sites of favorite soap operas. People buy clothes and accessories worn in Turkish soap operas. The growth in exports of design products such as architecture, fashion, interior design, jewellery, and toys is 9.67% in the world and 8.62% in Turkey. Exports of 'new media components', such as digital games and recorded media, rose by 16.12% in the World and 26.51% in Turkey. Exports of printed products rose by 4% and 18.11% in the world and Turkey, respectively ("Yazıcı, İstanbul...", 2012).

Ratings

A survey conducted by the Turkish Economic and Social Studies (TESEV) in 16 Middle

East countries revealed that 74% of people living in these countries watched at least one Turkish soap opera, and knew at least one Turkish actor. A variety of economic, political and cultural reasons lie behind the foreign popularity of Turkish soap operas. The first of the two studies, which was conducted in seven Arab countries (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iraq) between July 24th and 29th 2009 to investigate Turkey's perception in the Middle East found that Turkey's impact on the region is not limited to just the economic and political spheres; Turkey is beginning to be a player in the cultural domain as well. The findings from the survey conducted in the context of the study indicated that 78% of respondents watched a Turkish television series. The comparison of regional averages obtained from the surveys conducted in seven countries in the last three years indicate that the percentage of those with a positive view of Turkey rose from 75% to 80%. Researches indicate that Turkish soap opera viewers in the Balkans tend to see events and characters in these series close to their culture, and they watch them as they feel the same feelings, traditions, and customs ("Gizli silah...", 2012). The Balkan people, who had remained under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, inevitably share many cultural elements, primarily religion, language, and architectural remains, with Turks. Despite turbulent relationship with Greece and the reciprocal nationalist rhetoric that celebrates the differences of the two countries, there is a great deal of historical and geographical relevance for their people. Greece and Turkey differ in terms of religion and language. But they have many things in common, such as customs and traditions such as food culture, music and dances, markets/bazaars, textile goods; and similar ways of living, including expressions and gestures, close family bonds, common words (especially in cuisine and navigation), and even surnames. Therefore, "they enjoyed listening to the Turkish language and picking out Turkish words used in Greek and vice-versa". They commented on certain intimate gestures that "we" also do or remembered that "we also once did" (Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2371). The huge success of *Yabancı Damat* (Synora Agapis), the first Turkish series, which was broadcast in 2005, paved the way for other Turkish soap operas: *Binbir Gece* (Χίλιες και μία νύχτες), *Dudaktan Kalbe* (Kismet), *Gümüüş* (Ασημένια Φεγγάρια), *Acı Hayat* (Το αγιάζι του έρωτα), *Menekşe ile Halil* (Μενεξέ), *Aşk-ı Memnu* (Πειρασμός), *Ezel*, *Asi*, *Aşk ve Ceza* (Έρωτας και τιμωρία), *Unutulmaz* (Μοιραίος έρωτας), *Sıla*, *Yer Gök Aşk* (Ρώτα την αγάπη), *Lale Devri* (Λαλέ, έρωτας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη) (Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2365). Three out of 10 Greek national channels broadcast Turkish soap operas. "Turkish series have destroyed many taboos in Greece regarding Turkey and Turks" (as cited in Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2365). In addition, Istanbul, not merely as a significant space of cross-national identities, but more significantly, as an emergent global city with significant potential of cultural influence, particularly in the Balkans and the Middle East, "is also considered as a dimension of the cultural proximities argument" (Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2365-2369).

According to the TESEV's survey (Akgün & Senyücel Gündoğar, January, 2012: 6, 15) one of the factors that contribute to the visibility of Turkey in the Middle East is the broadcast of Arabic-dubbed Turkish television series on TV channels of the region. In 2010, the volume of these exports to the region was around \$50 million per annum. The significant

proportion of respondents, who could name Turkish TV series and celebrities, is the most basic indicator of awareness in the cultural field. The rate of respondents watching was found to be 78%. According to TESEV's survey, which is conducted every year (Ak-gün & Senyücel Gündoğar, December, 2012: 22), Turkish series (65%) rank second after Egyptian soap operas among the most popular TV series. Turkish TV series are most popular among Iraqi respondents (97%) and least popular among Saudi respondents (52%). In 2013, 69% of respondents report that they watch Turkish and Egyptian series. Turkish TV series are most popular in Iraq (82%) and Iran (77%), while the least popular in Syria (55%).

Muhteşem Yüzyıl, which is recently the most popular Turkish TV series in the Middle East, Balkans, and Turkic Republics, has reached over 210 million viewers in 45 countries. *Muhteşem Yüzyıl*, which is forecasted to broadcast in 60 different countries in 2013, is internationally. The contract signed between CCTV (China state television) with Tim Productions in June 2013 for the broadcast of *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* has further expanded the geography of Turkish exports ("*Muhteşem Yüzyıl*", 2013).

The Content and Impact of Turkish TV Series

It is observed that dramas and love or family-oriented TV series are more marketable in foreign markets, whereas comedy and action TV series are not much popular. Some TV series like *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* has occupied an important place in the sector. The series, written in the mathematics of *The Tudors*, which was produced earlier, is presented to the audience with a different mentality of costumes, settings and shooting through the story of a woman lived in an important period in history ("*Türk dizileri...*", 2013). Sibel Akın (Atay, 2012), in her thesis titled "The Impacts of Turkish TV Series on Arab Women", explains the motive behind the popularity of Turkish soap operas as follows: the main reason for the popularity of Turkish TV series is the image of life they offer: religion and modernity, i.e., 'Secular Islam'! A respondent's statement during the face-to-face interviews summarizes this conclusion: "In these series, we see values similar to ours. There is Islam too, but not much. Women are able to kiss men openly. Arab women enjoy watching these. But nothing is exaggerated as in the Western series. They do not contain sex scenes or nude people...lewd but not too lewd". Akın says (Atay, 2012),

At the same time the discussion of issues, which are considered taboo, or even not mentioned at all in their society: men-women equality; more balanced and romantic relationships between women and men; the expression of hypocrisies for the sake of reputation/honor within the family; and [I think the most remarkable point is] the characterization of men as weak, while portraying of women as strong, independent/free characters.

There are also findings indicating the impacts of Turkish TV series not only on women, but also on the flow of everyday life in Arab societies. Akın, at a TV program, conveyed the following words of a young woman sitting with her male friends at a café in West Bank: "If there were not Turkish TV series, I would not be able to be here with my male friends. My family has accepted it after watching these series." Yet, 'the connoisseur of

bigotry' did not delay in taking action, and the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia Abdul Aziz al-Sheikh issued a fatwa banning the broadcast of Turkish soap operas. Some countries immediately implemented the ban. In summary, the Muslim, but secular country image presented by exported Turkish soap operas has had a dramatic social impact. Women have now demand more freedom, without losing their Eastern values and religious identities.

Eylem Yanardağoğlu, in her study conducted over Turkish TV series viewers in Palestine and Egypt in 2011, asked women in both countries why they were watching Turkish series, and received common answers. The respondents drew attention to the increasing quality of Turkish series. Turkish film companies give importance to renovating film techniques. Also, Turkey's culture and religion is close to these countries. Another reason is the decrease in prejudices against Turkey with its changing foreign policy. This has caused Turkish series to become more popular. They also realize the effects of modernization in the country. They find some of Turkey's qualities too Western. Man-woman relationships are interesting to them ("Türk dizileri...", 2013).

CONCLUSION

Privatization, deregulation, and developments in new communication technologies, chiefly in satellite technologies, have offered significant opportunities for Turkish TV series sector as well. High production value, a dynamic narration, professional casting, and a good soundtrack are technical and physical features that make Turkish soap operas appealing. However, the impact of images and identities, which they contain, also play role in their domestic popularity, along with their increasing exports. As storylines in soap operas center on different issues from romance to mafia relations, the modernity-traditionality conflict occur among individuals and families. While the role of the United States as the cultural pioneer of modernity is declining in many countries, in the Far East, Japan has assumed this role in a more familiar regional form. Likewise, in the Middle East, Turkey has replaced the United States as the cultural pioneer of a more proximate and achievable form of modernity (Yörük & Vatikiotis, 2013: 2370).

However, these developments do not imply the end of U.S. global hegemony in media, entertainment, and culture industry, particularly in film and television programming. Its economic and political power ensures worldwide spread of its media. That is to say, while one-way flow from the West (with the U.S. at its core) to the rest of the world continues, contra-flows at the same time appear to increasingly grow in geo-cultural and geo-linguistic markets.

REFERENCES

- 75 ülkeye 150 milyon dolarlık dizi ihracatı yapıldı. (2013, June 21). *Dünya Gazetesi*. Retrieved from <http://www.dunya.com/75-ulkeye-150-milyon-dolarlik-dizi-ihracati-yapildi-195832h.htm>
- Akgün, M. & Senyücel Gündoğar, S. (January, 2012). Ortadoğu'da Türkiye Algısı 2011. Retrieved from http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/OD_Turkiye_Algisi_2011.pdf
- Akgün, M. & Senyücel Gündoğar, S. (December, 2012). Ortadoğu'da Türkiye Algısı 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/21102013103806.pdf>
- Akgün, M. & Senyücel Gündoğar, S. (November, 2013). Ortadoğu'da Türkiye Algısı 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/21102013103806.pdf>
- Albarran, A. B. (2002). *Media Economics*. ABD: Iowa State Press.
- Albizu, J. A. (2007). Geolinguistic Regions and Diasporas in the Age of Satellite Television. *The International Communication Gazette*, 69(3), 239–261.
- An Institutional History of Soap Operas. (n.d.). Retrieved October 26, 2013 from <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~DRBR2/soaps.pdf>
- Atay, T. (2012, December 28). Arap kadınının 'Nur'da bulduğu 'nur': Laik İslâm. *Radikal*. Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/tayfun_atay/arap_kadininin_nurda_buldugu_nur_laik_islam-1114289
- Başbakan'ın eleştirdiği dizi ile ilgili bakanlıktan açıklama. (2012, November 26). *Milliyet*. Retrieved from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-in-elestirdigi-dizi-ile-ilgili-bakanliktan-aciklama/siyaset/siyasetdetay/26.11.2012/1633089/default.htm>
- Bettig, R. (1996). *Copyrighting Culture*. USA: Westview Press.
- Bicket, D. (2005). Reconsidering Geocultural Contraflow: Intercultural Information Flows Through Trends in Global Audiovisual Trade. *Global Media Journal*, 4(6). Retrieved from <http://lass.purduecal.edu/cca/gmj/sp05/gmj-sp05-bicket.htm>
- Bielby, D. D. & Harrington C. L. (2005). Opening America? The Telenovela-ization of U.S. Soap Operas. *Television & New Media*, 6(4), 383-399.
- Bielby, D. D. & Harrington C. L. (2008). *Global TV:Exporting Television and Culture in the World Market*. New York: NYU Press.
- Bloomberg HT (2013, February 28). Doğan: Dizi sektörünün hacmi 100 milyon doları aştı [Video file]. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberght.com/multimedia/video/45937/12/1>
- Calinos. (2011, April 4). "Yerli dizilerin Ortadoğu ve Balkanlar'da yüksek izlenme oranına sahip olması..." Retrieved from <http://www.calinos.com/haberler-detay-page06.html#Ugy0B9leBil>
- Candemir, Y. (2013, April 29). Turkish Soap Operas: The Unstoppable Boom. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.wsj.com/middleeast/2013/04/29/turkish-soap-operas-the-unstoppable-boom/>
- Caves, R. (2000). *Creative Innovation: Contact Between Art and Commerce*. USA: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Christophers, B. (2010). *Envisioning Media Power: On Capital and Geographies of Television*. USA: Lexington Books.

- Farivar, C. (2012). Germany: YouTube must Improve Monitoring of Copyrighted Content. Retrieved from arstechnica.com/business/2012/04/german-court-youtube-must-prevent-upload-of-copyrighted-content/
- Garnham, N. (1987). Concepts of Culture: Public Policy and the Cultural Industries. *Cultural Studies*, 1, 23-37.
- Garnham, N. (2005). From Cultural to Creative Industries: An analysis of the implications of the "creative industries" approach to arts and media policy making in the UK. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11, 15-30.
- Georgiou, M. (2011). Watching Soap Opera in the Diaspora: Cultural Proximity or Critical Proximity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(5), 868-887.
- Gizli silah: Diziler. (2012, December 16). Retrieved from O Haber: <http://ohaber.com/gizli-silah-diziler-h-222773.html>
- Global Agency. (2013, November 15). Retrieved from <http://www.basimbulteni.com/kurum/global-agency/hakkimizda>
- Great Films, Latin American and Turkish Soap Operas, Scripts, Varieties and Formats (2014). Retrieved from SOMOS: <http://www.somosdistribution.net/en/detalle-prensa.php?id=34>
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Sermayenin Mekanları* (B. Kıcırcı et al., Trans.). İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Haven, T. (2006). *Global Television Marketplace*. London: British Film Institute Press.
- Herman, E. & McChesney, R. (1997). *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. London: Cassell.
- İSMMMÖ. (2008, November 4). İstanbul Serbest Muhasebeci Mali Müşavirler Odası'nın 04/10/2008 2008/18 BASIN BÜLTENİ.
- İSMMMÖ. (2010, July 11). Dizi Sektörü Yüzde 30 Küçüldü. Retrieved from http://archive.ismmmo.org.tr/docs/basin/2010/bulten/11072010_Dizekonomisi.pdf
- İSMMMÖ. (2013, November 9). İstanbul Serbest Muhasebeci Mali Müşavirler Odası. Retrieved from <http://archive.ismmmo.org.tr>
- İşte en çok kazanan dizi yapımcıları. (2013, November 5). Retrieved from Patronlar Dünyası: <http://www.patronlardunyasi.com/yhaber.asp?haberid=146381>
- Lee, S.J. (2011). The Korean Wave: The Seoul of Asia. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate research in Communications*, 2(1), 85-93.
- McChesney, R. W. (2001). Global Media, Neoliberalism, and Imperialism. *Monthly Review*, 52(10).
- Muhteşem Yüzyıl. (n.d.). Retrieved July 20, 2013 from Vikipedi: Özgür Ansiklopedi: http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhteşem_Yüzyıl
- Murdock, G. (2000). Digital Futures: European Television in the Age of Convergence. In Wieten, J., Murdock, G., Dahlgren (Eds.), *Television Across Europe: A Comparative Introduction*, (35-57). Sage Publications.
- My-mip. (2013, November). Retrieved from http://www.my-mip.com/online-database/mipcom/companies/?kw=buyet&d=100189%7C152_122243&rpp=12&so=3#
- NATPE. (2013, November). Retrieved from <https://www.natpe.com/welcome>

- Nye, J. (2002). Hard and soft power in a global information age. In Leonard, M. (Ed.), *Re-ordering the world*, (2-10). London, UK: Foreign Policy Center (FPC). Retrieved from <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/DigitalLibrary/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=21702>
- Rapis, A. (2012). *Turkish Pillars of Soft Power in Southeastern Europe*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), University of Macedonia, Greece.
- Russel, C.A. & Stern, B. (2006). Consumption in Soap Operas from Brazil, New Zealand, and the U.S.: Production, Products and Process. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 33, 134-136.
- Sinclair, J. (1999). Geolinguistic Region As Global Space. Retrieved from <http://www2.fiu.edu/~ereserve/010018623-1.pdf>
- Straubhaar, J. D. (2002). (Re)asserting National Media and National Identity Against the Global, Regional and Local Levels of World Television. In J. M. Chan & B. T. McIntyre (Eds.), *In search of boundaries: Communication, nation-states, and cultural identities*. Westport, Conn.: Ablex Publishing.
- Straubhaar, J. D. (2008). Global, Hybrid or Multiple Cultural Identities in the Age of Satellite TV and the Internet. *Nordicom Review*, 29(2), 11-29.
- Straubhaar, J.D. (1991). Beyond Media Imperialism: Assymmetrical Interdependence and Cultural Proximity. *Critical studies in Mass Communication*, 8, 39-59.
- Şehirler, yaratıcı sınıfları kendine çeken bir mıknatıs. (2011, June 27). *Dünya Gazetesi*. Retrieved from <http://www.dunya.com/ozel-dosyalar/sehirler-yaratıcı-siniflari-kendine-çeken-bir-mıknatıs-125858h.htm>
- Thussu, D.K. (2006). Contra-Flow in Global Media: An Asian Perspective. Retrieved from http://www.amic.org.sg/Resources/Research_Materials/Broadcasting/Contra%20Flow%20in%20Global%20Media%20An%20Asian%20Perspective.pdf
- Töre, E. Ö. (2010). İstanbul'da Kültür Ekonomisini Döndüren Çarklardan Biri: Film Endüstrisi Temel Yapısal Özellikler, Fırsat ve Tehditler, Politika Önerileri Sektörel Araştırma Raporu. Retrieved from http://www.istanbulkulturenvanteri.gov.tr/files/yayinlar/ISTANBULDA_FILM_ENDUSTRISI.pdf
- Türk Dizileri İsveç'te Tartışıldı. (2013, October 26). *Dünya Gazetesi*. Retrieved from <http://www.dunya.com/mobi/turk-dizileri-isvechte-tartisildi-206058h.htm>
- Türkiye'de 16 bin 800 şirket batacak! (2013, December 13). Retrieved from Press Türk Gazetesi: <http://www.presturk.com/ekonomi/haber/140006/turkiyede-16-bin-800-sirket-batacak.html>
- Türkiye'den 180 milyon dolarlık dizi ihracatı. Retrieved December 13, 2013 from <http://www.ensonhaber.com/turkiyeden-180-milyon-dolarlik-dizi-ihracati-2013-12-08.html>
- Yazıcı, İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi'nde Yapılan Konferansa Katıldı. (2012, November 8). Retrieved from T.C. Gümrük ve Ticaret Bakanlığı: <http://www.gtb.gov.tr/haberler/yazici-istanbul-ticaret-universitesinde-yapilan-konferansa-katildi>
- Yörük, Z. & Vatikiotis, P. (2013). Soft Power or Illusion of Hegemony: The Case of the Turkish Soap Opera Colonialism. *International Journal of Communication*, 7, 2361-2385.

TABLES**Table 1: Tv Series and Total Revenue**

RANK-ING	TV SERIES	PRODUCTION COMPANY	PRODUCER	CHAN-NEL	TOTAL
1	Magnificent Century	Tim's Production	Timur Savcı	STAR TV	37.816.200
2	Valley of the Wolves: Ambush	Pana Production	Raci Şaşmaz	ATV	35.906.300
3	Karadayı	Ay Production	Kerem Çatay	ATV	28.024.400
4	North South	Ay Production	Kerem Çatay	KANAL D	24.996.900
5	Desperate House-wives	Med Production	Fatih Aksoy	FOX TV	18.700.000
6	As Time Goes By	D Production	Doğan Holding	KANAL D	19.735.200
7	Serenity Street	Set Film	Cem Özay	ATV	16.781.100
8	Dila Hanım	Gold Film	Faruk Turgut	STAR TV	16.777.400
9	20 Minutes	Ay Production	Kerem Çatay	STAR TV	16.250.000
10	Forgive Me	Focus Film	Nilgün Sağyaşar	STAR TV	15.850.000

Source: <http://www.patronlardunyasi.com/yhaber.asp?haberid=14638>

Table 2: Tv Series and Turnover

RANK-ING	TV SERIES	PRODUCTION COMPANY	PRODUCER	CHAN-NEL	TURNOVER
1	Valley of the Wolves	Pana Film	Raci Şaşmaz	ATV	27.664.000
2	As Time Goes By	D Production	Doğan Holding	Kanal D	22.458.000
3	Ezel	Ay Production	Kerem Çatay	ATV	19.324.000
4	Magnificent Century	TİMS Production	Timur Savcı	Show TV	19.079.000
5	What is Fatmagul's Fault?	Ay Production	Kerem Çatay	Kanal D	19.063.000
6	Don't Let the Children Hear	Mint Production	Biröl Güven	ATV	17.617.000
7	Mean Streets	Erlər Film	Türker İnanoğlu	Kanal D	16.539.000
8	Sakarya Fırat	Sinegraph	Osman Sınay	TRT 1	16.400.000
9	Lady's Farm	Gold Film	Faruk Turgut	Kanal D	15.869.000
10	Love and Punishment	TMC Production	Erol Avcı	ATV	15.265.000

Source: <http://www.patronlardunyasi.com/haber/52-Milyon-TL-ile-en-cok-kazanan-yapimci/107126>