

**QUIZ SHOWS AND TURKISH TELEVISION:
A STUDY OF VISUAL IMPACT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

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FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF FINE ARTS**

By

ÖNDER ÖBÜKAR

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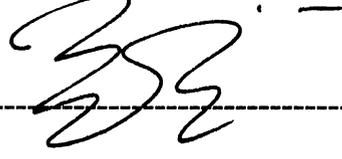
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Doç. Dr. Nezih Erdoğan (Principal Advisor)

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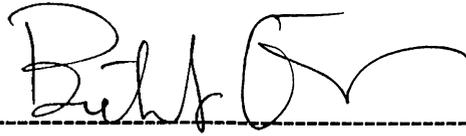
Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahmut Mutman

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Assist. Prof. Dr. Bülent Çaplı

Approved by the Institute of Fine Arts



Prof. Dr. Bülent Özgüç, Director of the Institute of Fine Arts

ABSTRACT

QUIZ SHOWS AND TURKISH TELEVISION: A STUDY OF VISUAL IMPACT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Önder Gürkan

M.F.A. in Graphical arts

Suupervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nezih Erdoğan

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The aim of the study is to define the specific visual and social environment which builds up the popularity of television quiz shows in Turkey. The visual structures of the quiz shows, the symbols within them and the methods of articulation in the quiz shows are analyzed within the context of this thesis. In the study, the television quiz shows are studied after giving a brief summary of the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Turkey in the years that quiz shows emerged and became popular. The quiz shows' visual and ideological structures will be examined in terms of their narrative structures, knowledge types, symbols, visual layouts - such as stage design, quiz master and assistants, presentation of the commodities, and audience. These main concepts are also examined with the help of the visual materials collected from the most popular quiz shows in Turkey.

Keywords; Television, Quiz Shows, Visual Impact.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYEDEKİ TELEVİZYON YARIŞMA PROGRAMLARININ GÖRSEL ETKİ VE SOSYAL YAPILARI ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

Önder Gürkan
Grafik Tasarım Bölümü
Yüksek Lisans
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Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'deki yarışma programlarının popülerliğini sağlayan görsel ve sosyal ortamı tanımlamaktır. Bu tezin kapsamı içerisinde yarışma programlarının görsel yapısı, bunların ardındaki sembolik anlamlar ve değişik söylem biçimleri incelenmiştir. Yarışma programlarının ortaya çıkıp, popüler hale geldiği yıllardaki sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel ortama da ayrıca değinilmiştir. Yarışma programlarının görsel ve ideolojik yapısı incelenirken, onların anlatı yapıları, bilgilere göre sınıflanmaları, sembolleri ve sahne tasarımı, sunucu ve yardımcıları, seyirci ve ödüllerin sergilenişi gibi görsel yapıyı destekleyen öğeler de incelenmiştir. Tüm bu ana kavramlar Türkiye'nin en popüler yarışma programlarından toplanmış görsel malzeme ile desteklenecektir.

Anahtar sözcükler; Televizyon, Yarışma Programları, Görsel Etki.

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1. Introduction

"If your life is unsatisfactory, there is always a new shampoo to try, a new Spielberg movie to see, the next installment of a TV sitcom, the chance of winning a lottery." (Robin Wood ,qtd.in Goodwin, 1990: 88)

Despite the fact that it is a developing country, Turkey is within the reach of today's world-wide mass communication and information network. The Turkish public was able to follow a multitude of world events including the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the Gulf War and the Presidential elections in USA almost on a minute-by-minute basis. The most important mass media in enabling this is, without a doubt, television. Television, while offering us information, which is one of the most significant concepts of our age, is at the same time having socio-cultural effects on all the world cultures. Turkey took its place within this interaction network with its rapidly increasing television channels over the past five years. Television in Turkey has taken a very important role in the promotion, dissemination and realization of economical and social transitions realized and planned since 1980s.

In the 1980s, the efforts of the ANAP (Motherland Party) Government for transition to a liberal economy, liberalization of the foreign exchange transfers, the rapid increase in imported goods and the related demand, opportunities for private enterprise, have all led to visible changes in Turkey. Maybe the most important among these transitions and the one which would most strongly support the newly

established system and enable Turkey to "leap through (or transform to) a new century " in Turgut Özal's terms was the creation of a consumer consciousness. Thus, the valid discourse in Turkey took its strength from a basis where power of consumption had become the symbol of social status as opposed to production based values of the pre '80s years. Television played a very important role in the creation of such a consumer culture. An American modeled concept of television from its advertisements to Presidential speeches, can all be seen as part of the "Little America" model aspired in Turkey during those years.

The favorable conditions of that particular period leading to the establishment of the private television channels, has left us today under an image bombardment with 15 domestic channels, private local televisions in many cities and more than 5 foreign cable channels in major cities. Thus, perhaps a late but certainly overdue television culture was finally created in Turkey. Today, in the year 1994, foreign-origin television terms such as "media, zapping, rating, prime time" etc. and a media-based Turkish, including words such as "trend, in -- out, coke" etc. are easily used within a spectrum spanning from television to the Cosmopolitan magazine. The effects of television did not only change our language but started to shape the consumption patterns and choices, ideologies and even beliefs of different strata of the society. Lotteries became favored investments as they offered an easy way of achieving the social mobility based on increased consumption power that the liberal economy advocated. Lottery addiction strongly intensified by the printed press, and it became indispensable tool for the television channels which were trying to attract audiences.

While television programs have an important role within mass media in U.S., Turkey or the world in general, "quiz shows" present a set of characteristics which distinguish them from other programs in the presentation of the marketed ideology. During the quiz shows while an ideology is represented, at the same time the dream which corresponds to the ideology is no longer an assumption but turns into reality in front of the audience. Quiz shows, represent ideology to people using a very rich text and in very real terms with their "real" big prizes; the chance for equal opportunity before the system, chance for social mobility, the opportunity to win and to become famous, etc. With their realness and their powerful presentations quiz shows enjoy a high level of attention from all social levels, from prime-time to day time. Thus, quiz shows have a significant role in dissemination of the ideology presented to large masses.

Quiz shows reach to a considerable audience in Turkey just like their American models. Despite the fact that their origins are American, from the manners of their hosts to the quality of their questions, they are designed for Turkey and make the "a millionaire for every neighborhood" dream of the Democratic Party discourse of 1950s a reality in the 1990s.

Quiz shows are television programs which present, realize and prove their underlying ideology within a rich and dynamic context. They are in a sense short term simulations of ideological systems. They represent an area worth paying attention to, with their rich textual contents, their corresponding complex values and the attention they receive.

1.1. Definition of the problem

Quiz shows are among the most popular television programs in world and Turkey. The problem taken up in this thesis is to examine what makes these quiz shows so popular among the other popular television programs. The study will also examine the discursive elements of quiz shows such as visual structure, narrative structure, etc., that disseminate the underlying ideology behind the television concept related with social structure.

1.2. The purpose of the study

The study aims at defining the specific visual and social environment which builds up the popularity of television quiz shows. The meanings of the visual structures of the quiz shows, the symbols within them and the underlying articulations related with social structure will also be studied within the context of this thesis and their relation to the popularity of quiz shows will be defined.

1.3. Limitations of the study

The study will be limited to the television quiz shows broadcast after 1990 in Turkey. There are many different categories among the television quiz shows such as; knowledge testing, ability testing, games etc. The ones that test the knowledge with the help of luck and ability factors, are the main category of quiz shows that this study will focus on. The thesis will concentrate mostly on the Mega Turnike, Aşağı Yukarı and Joker quiz shows in Turkey.

1.4. Basic Terms

Quiz Shows; Quiz shows are television programs that test the knowledge of the participants and give prizes for their success within an organized, showy and dynamic context.

Quiz Master; Quiz masters are people who direct the quiz shows, ask the questions and give the prizes.

Ideology; "Ideology" is used for dominant ideology or way of "making sense" of the world, which is produced by the dominant groups and then disseminated to the rest of the population in a society.

Capitalist Ideology; In this study "capitalist ideology" represents and comprises the concepts as; a free-market of goods as an economic structure and choice, free and equal individuals who are working and living for prosperity and for upward social mobility in the system they live in. The "competition" as one of the basic themes of the capitalist ideology means; giving people equal chances for both material success, social mobility and higher status in the society. People's chance to move upward in the hierarchical system of the capitalist societies is bound and determined with their personal abilities, knowledge and luck.

1.5. Procedural Overview

After giving a brief survey of the television history and the socio-economic conditions that prepared the medium for the television quiz shows' popularity in Turkey, the study will focus on the television quiz shows. The quiz shows' visual and ideological structures will be examined in terms of their narrative structures,

knowledge types, symbols, visual layout - such as stage design, quiz master and assistants, presentation of the commodities, and audience. These main concepts will also be examined with the help of the visual materials collected from the most popular quiz shows in Turkey. The underlying articulations within the quiz show text will also be examined.

2. A Brief Survey of Television and Television Quiz Shows in Turkey

2.1. Television before '90s

Television broadcasting in Turkey began very late compared to radio broadcasting. The first test-broadcasting of television was realized in 1952, by İstanbul Technical University. They were broadcasting once a week in the evening. In 1962, Ministry of Foreign Affairs had signed a protocol with the West German Government about a television studio sponsorship in Turkey and the training of Turkish technical personnel in Germany. The Turkish Radio and Television Company (TRT) broadcast the first test broadcasts on January 31st, 1968 in Ankara. After twelve years, in 1980 all of the population was able to watch television - but in black and white. The first colored broadcasting started in 1982 and in 1984 all of the TRT programs were in color. The second channel, TV-II started broadcasting in 1986. General Post Office (PTT) helped TRT to strengthen the broadcasting quality and added new channels to TRT by adding stronger transmitters to its transmitting systems. TV-III and Southeast Anatolia Project Television (GAP-TV) was added to the Turkish television channels in 1989. In 1990 a special channel TV-5 or TRT International (TRT-INT) started broadcasting abroad for the Turkish people living in

other countries. In the same year TV-4 also started broadcasting locally. 90s were TRT's most popular years with 4000 transmitters and with high ratings all over the Turkey: TV-1 %97, TV-II and TV-III % 96, TV-4 % 60.(Larousse, 1993, v.22 p.11386)

2.2. The Emergence of Private Television Channels in '90s

According to Turkish Constitution, the radio and television broadcasting was a state monopoly until 1993, but this law was changed at the end of '93. TRT was the state monopoly company. Around 1990, when there were some reconciliations and studies among the political parties about the necessary changes in the broadcasting laws, a corporation called "Magic Box" started test broadcasting from Germany through satellite transmitters. On 7th of May, 1990, "Star 1" channel of Magic Box had started normal broadcasting five hours a day and in 1991 it was on the air for twenty-four hours. Star-1 was later renamed as InterStar and many new private channels started broadcasting through satellite transmitters. These channels were Show-TV, Tele-On, Kanal 6, HBB TV, Flash TV, TGRT, Satel and some local television channels. In 1993, the related Constitutional and legal changes were made and the state monopoly on the radio and television broadcastings was terminated. (Larousse, 1993, v.22 p.11386)

2.3. The Socio-economic Conditions between 1980s and 1990s

Television is socio-cultural medium that is directly related to the conditions that form its environment. For instance, an advertisement that is created in the 60s can be

absurd in the 90s. In order to make a more beneficial research about the quiz shows in Turkey, one has to be aware of the socio-economic conditions that prepared a suitable medium for the "quiz show boom" of the 90s which started to accelerate in the 80s.

Turkey leaped into a new era with the September 12, 1980 Military Coup. This era was marked first by the military system and then by Turgut Özal and his - Motherland Party (Anavatan Party - ANAP) till the death of Özal in 1993. 1980 was a turning point for Turkey both in economic, political, cultural domains and these changes in almost every aspect of the society have created profound effects in Turkey.

With the 1980 coup d'etat, Turkey entered a period with hundreds of prohibitions such as banned political leaders, prohibitions on parliamentary elections, prohibitions on fundamental human rights and on civil society, etc.

In 1980 Turkey was in an economic depression. The January 24 Decrees of the pre-coup period was totally accepted by the leaders of the military coup. Cemal defines, Özal as being one of the creators of January 24 Decrees was going to be the future leader and architect of a new economic system for Turkey (1989).

After the decision of "transition to parliamentary democracy", Özal's ANAP was the winner in the elections. With Özal's election victory, Turkey entered into a new era, which she has never experienced all throughout her history. Özal marked Turkey

with his leadership, with his individualism, economic preferences, and actually; with his whole way of life.

Özal was a symbol, a role model for Turkey and many of the Turkish people. He was a myth, who came from traditional Anatolian background and managed to reach the top as the President of the Turkish Republic. He created an image with his computers, with his family, with his speeches delivered as a mixture of Turkish and English. He had a different style as a political leader, which Turkey never saw and experienced before. He acted as an ordinary man who appeared in shirts, listened and sang songs, and loved driving fast.

With Özal and his way of life; Turkey became a country with money and capital as her central theme, almost a national dream of making a quick buck and with the logic of "think big-win big". With the help and prohibitions of September 12, individualism was glorified and a depolitized generation again with the dream of material success emerged. Democracy was always pronounced, but in almost all circumstances, it was sacrificed as seen fit for the supposedly better material and economic interests of the country. People who were still remembered the "bad-dark-old-days" were always warned not to act against the system in order not to go back to the so-called bad days. The power to consume became the measure of status. Turkey would become modernized, would catch up with the Western-industrialized societies only if there was unlimited consumption and technological development. This unlimited consumption trend could only be achieved by a transition to free-market economy. Then, Özal as the Prime Minister of Turkey gave the "start" for this transition.. People found themselves confronted with unlimited commodities. Now

they were warned to consume, in order not to go back to "bad-old-dark days", where cigarettes were on the black-market, where there were lengthy queues. Therefore, the threat of being killed or injured in those days, turned into another sort of threat; "if you can't consume, you can't be rich". Hence, Turkish economy started to a full transition towards a free-market economy. It was always claimed and believed that, consuming was a pleasure and the slogan of the times was: "the more you consume, the more you want to consume more". Industrialists wanted people to consume but as time passed and demand increased Turkish industry could not manage to cope with the increasing demand on consumption. As demand exceeded the supply of Turkish goods, foreign goods entered the Turkish economic arena. Thus Özal's projection of an economy with the consumption of export goods materialized in Turkey with the demand coming from the society.

As it was mentioned above, there was intense changes in almost every segment of the society. Culture, politics and economy changed to certain extents. But this transition was very rapid for the Turkish society, and Turkish people found themselves in a position where sometimes they could not cope with this speed.

Free-market economy created new types of rich people images. The concept of social status started to correspond to the term "material success". A group of people who managed to benefit from the transition period became rich, the gaps between the different classes widened, and a huge group of middle-class with decreasing purchasing power emerged.

Therefore we can picture the society as a composition of a newly emerged rich class, a huge middle-class who can only survive by working hard, and a lower class who is the really poor; who can hardly survive. There were different classes, but their common characteristic lied in their understanding of material success and dream to make a "quick-buck". The class at the top, who was the well-off had found their way for material success, but they were very few in number. On the other hand, the country had a huge group of people who wanted to be rich but who could not anymore cope with the economic conditions, with its low wages, its continuously increasing prices. It was a group which could not cope with consumption any more, and which could not even dream of becoming rich by working harder. These people, however, were not pleased with the economic conditions and still had their dreams to be rich by making a quick buck. Gambling is a very easy and joyful method for the ones who seek for "easy money". The newly growing printed media - the newspapers - were also interested in the survival of "newspaper buyers". When the printed media thought legitimizing gambling in the name of "lotteries" and create a chance for people gambling nation-wide, a "lottery-madness" started. These lotteries helped increasing the sales of the newspapers. In 1991, StarOne a private channel, started to use the same method for increasing the number of its viewers. They started to ask simple questions to the people who phoned them and gave the large amounts of money in front of millions of people. This was a new hope for people, so the simple quizzzy lotteries became extremely popular. With the emergence of new channels a new concept became important for the private channels - the audience ratings. The firms who were going to give advertisements to these channels started to pay attention to these ratings. Television channels started to search for new strategies for increasing the ratings. They found out that quiz shows were one of the cheapest

productions that can be very popular. These channels -- which were at the same time the representatives of free-market economy and democratic discourses of these years -- started to conduct quiz shows instead of simple lotteries.

By the help of these radical socio-economic changes in the 80s, the beginning of the 90s were the years of the new media - television. Quiz show programs of these television channels, were popular both among the viewers and the producers, so between 1992-93 these channels broadcast around 20 quiz shows.

3. Quiz Shows

3.1. The narrative structure of quiz shows

Quiz shows have an important place among the television programs. As an example; American television broadcast something over 300 different quiz and game shows, the majority in daytime, or, at least, outside prime time. The quiz shows are a major television genre, with their roots in radio, and before that in party and community games. Their grounding in oral culture gives them a vitality and a strongly interactive relationship with the viewers. Fiske explains that there is a narrative structure underlying quiz shows, their basic structure lies in the nonliterary forms of game and rituals.(1990: 265)

If main features of quiz shows in terms of their relation to the rituals, knowledge and luck are studied, then the similarities between the underlying ideology and the concepts that are presented in quiz shows can be identified more easily.

3.1.1. Game and Ritual

Levi- Strauss distinguishes between games and rituals by defining games as cultural forms in which participants start out equal and finish differentiated into winners and losers, whereas rituals take differentiated groups and provide them with equalizing communal meanings or identities (Fiske, 1990: 265). Games move from similarity to difference, rituals from difference to similarity as in the Fig.1.

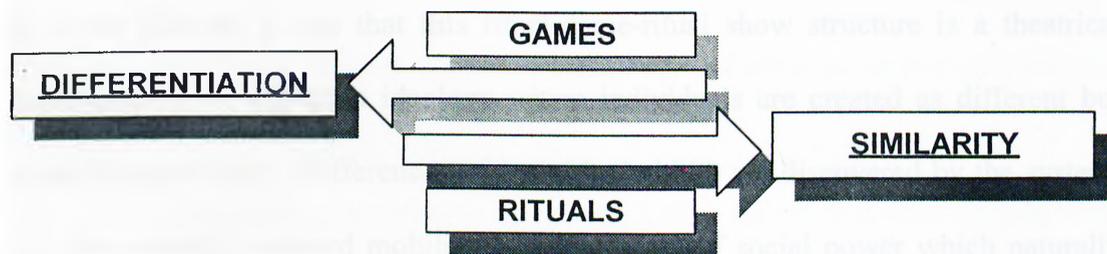


Figure 1 The order of ritual and games

We can identify quiz shows as basically games, where there are important rituals at the beginning and sometimes at the end. As an example the popular quiz show



Figure 2 Tarik Tarcan - the quizmaster of Çarkıfelek - with the competitor who had won the chance for the final part.

Çarkıfelek (Wheel of Fortune)

has that structure of ritual-game-ritual. At the beginning the contestants are introduced, their individual differences -- names, family circumstances, occupations, and sometimes personal details such as likes and

dislikes, hobbies or ambitions -- are given as a ritual narrative that moves them from

differentiated individuals to equal competitors. The common forms in which the details are given, overlook their individual differences. During the game this equality is tested and found to be an equality of opportunity but not of ability. This gradually exposed inequality produces the winner who is then accorded a ritual of equality with the bearer of social power -- the quiz-master -- who takes him or her by the hand into the reserved part of the studio where the prizes are displayed in fetishistic splendor, and made the objects of a ritualistic celebration (see Fig.2). (Fiske, 1990: 265)

It is not difficult to see that this ritual-game-ritual show structure is a theatrical representation of capitalist ideology where individuals are created as different but equal in opportunity. Differences of individual ability are discovered by the system, and the reward is upward mobility into the region of social power which naturally brings with it material and economical profits. Fiske also describes the structure of quiz shows as a reproduction of the education system in western societies: where, all students -- presumably -- start equal: those who come out as the highly qualified few are rewarded with the high-income jobs, and positions with high degrees of social power and influence. This ideology and its ritual-game performances or reproductions cause social or class differences between the elements of societies and thus naturalize the class system by means of "natural" individual abilities (1990: 266).

Fiske, introduces Bourdieu's thoughts about the relations of cultural capital and class differentiation as follows;

Bourdieu, in his theory of cultural capital, has revealed the contradictions masked by such ideological formations. For Bourdieu the social role of culture is to classify people and thus underwrite a stratified society. He introduces the notion of cultural capital which is possessed by those who

have taste and powers of discrimination. Discrimination and taste are both apparently natural abilities of the individual but are actually the products of a specific class and educational system. According to Bourdieu, culture and the knowledge that is integral to it, are replacing economics as means of differentiating classes. In late capitalism when many members of the subordinate classes are comparatively affluent, money loses its ability to mask class difference and culture moves in to fill the gap. (Fiske, 1990: 266)

3.1.2. Luck

In all kinds shows whatever knowledge is tested, there is an element of luck. In every quiz show the element of luck can affect the results -- even in academic quiz shows.

Luck is often related to gambling -- competitors stake points or dollars already won, in the hope of winning more. In the Aşağı Yukarı money won in the luck segments can override that won in the knowledge segments, so overall winner can be the luckiest, not the cleverest.

Luck plays a vital role in the hegemonic structure of societies that are both competitive and democratic. The structure of such societies is necessarily hierarchical and elitist, they are like a pyramid with the mass of people at the bottom and very few at the top. The capitalist ideology insists that everyone has a chance to rise up through the class, economic and power systems. Fiske points this out like;

The social system, reproduces the educational system of equal opportunity for everyone, so that those of natural talent will move up through the structure, and the resulting classifications will be able to present their inequalities as fair because they are based upon the "naturally" unequal distribution of talent amongst otherwise equal individuals. The result of this, of course, is that those who have not risen (by definition the majority) have failed to do so through their own "natural" deficiencies. Luck works to mitigate the harshness of this judgment, for luck provides an ideologically acceptable explanation of success or failure - (s)he was more successful than

me because (s)he was luckier, not just because (s)he was cleverer. In a society that celebrates both the material rewards of wealth and the right of everyone to them, but limits the opportunities to obtain them to the minority, the appeal of gambling, of easy money, is not surprising. (Fiske, 1990: 270)

The function of luck is not just to minimize the personal sense of failure, but more importantly, to demonstrate that the rewards of the system are, in fact, available to all individuals, without distinction of talent, class, gender, race, and so on. As Fiske adds;

In the "rags-to-riches" story which is such a popular myth in capitalist societies and is manifest in the popular bibliographies of most stars of sport and entertainment, and most industrial stars such as Lee Iacocca, hard work and luck are interdependent elements: work and dedication which make the most of "natural" talents rely on the luck of being in the right place at the right time, or of a chance meeting with the right person, to provide the opportunities for the that talent to flourish. (1990: 271)

According to Fiske while "knowledge" may be socially legalized way to power, influence, and material success, the elitism that is caused by the competitiveness which both produces and proves its unequal distribution is given a "democratic excuse" by luck (1990: 271).

3.2. The Hierarchy and Types of Quiz Shows.

Quiz shows use knowledge in the way that Bourdieu argues culture operates, that is, to separate winners from losers and to ground classification of individual or natural differences (Fiske, 1990: 267). The knowledge that they use varies throughout the genre so much that we need to divide it into the categories and refer to the overall

concept as "knowledges." Fiske divides these knowledges into two main groups; factual and human knowledge (1990: 267).

The "academic" factual knowledge is one of the types that is most closely connected with the notion of power and cultural capital. This knowledge has an empirical base whose "facility" masks its origin in, and maintenance of, a system of social power. It is contained in reference books, encyclopedias, and dictionaries. Joker is an example to such quiz shows.

There is another type of "factual" knowledge which tests everyday knowledge more than it does the academic one does. In shows like Kaç Para (Prize is Right) or Süpermarket the everyday knowledge of the prices of domestic and consumer goods in the market are on trial: the winner is the one who best knows the value of a wide range of products. Similarly Çarkıfelek requires a general knowledge of words and popular sayings (it is based on the traditional parlor game of "Hangman"). Knowledge of this type is not gained through school or reading, but rather through common social experience and interaction: it is thus available to a wider range of people, it is democratic rather than elitist in nature.

The other main group of knowledge creates entirely different sorts of shows. This is a knowledge that resides in the human or social rather than in the factual. It has no absolute right and wrong for answers and thus cannot be possessed or guarded by an elite and it is not under the control of scientific knowledge. Instead depends upon the ability to understand or see into the knowledge about people in a range from general to specific individuals.

Süper Aile (Family Feud) is one of the best examples of the quiz shows about understanding people in general. The winner here is the family who can predict the social norms, who knows best what most people are thinking -- the common sense. The questions have the form: "We asked a sample of one hundred people to name a job that requires people to get up early in the morning: what do you think they answered?". The families are scored according to how closely their answers conform to the values established by the general survey. The winner is finally the one who can most accurately predict the social consensus: the winner is paradoxically, the most ordinary. Fiske defines this type of knowledge, according to Mills and Rice, as politically opposed to the elitist one, it is more democratic, less divisive. It depends less upon their cultural capital and more upon our cultural experience, and the skills that gain access to it are not the formally thought skills of intellect and memory, but the human skills developed by social experience, the skills of understanding people.. (1990: 267)

There are also some different quiz shows that test knowledge of a specific person. Shows based on this are ones like Evcilik Oyunu (The Newlywed Game), Saklambaç (The Dating Game). Fiske defines the winners in these quiz shows as usually those who "know" each other best as measured by their ability to guess the other's responses, or the contestants has to guess the word that a panel of celebrities have associated with a given stimulus to a word or a phrase and the winner is the competitor who guesses the word most frequently chosen by the celebrities (1990:267). In some quiz shows such as Saklambaç a competitor has to choose a date from three unseen members from the opposite sex behind a screen by their answers to

his or her question. The winner is the one who gets chosen, and the couple are sent on an all-expenses-paid trip or date.

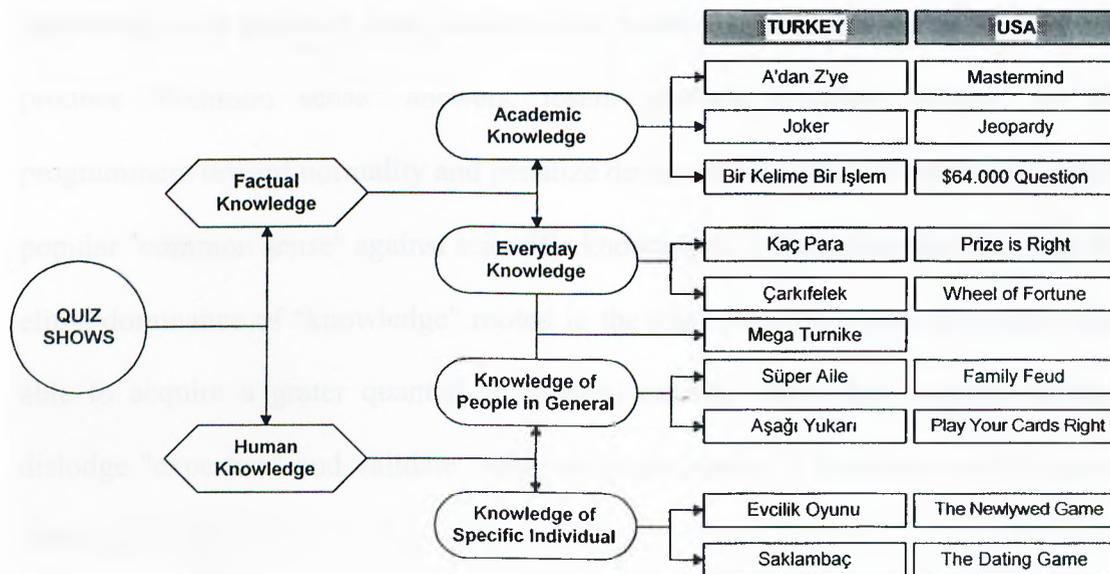


Figure 3 Hierarchy of quiz shows (Fiske: 1990, 269)

We can then categorize quiz shows according to their type of knowledge and relation to social power as shown in the Fig.3. This produces a hierarchy of quiz shows - those at the top require an academic or specialist knowledge which is popularly referred to as "general knowledge." This category reproduces the game form of the school system of students, teachers, examinations, and rewards. According to Fiske and Condry they usually broadcast in prime time and are watched and played by a greater proportion of men (1990: 269 ; 1989: 36). They also point out that further down the list or the hierarchy, the shows start to be screened in day time or late afternoon, and are thus watched by audiences of mainly women or, women and children. As the "knowledge" becomes more democratized down the hierarchical

structure, the popularity of the programs shifts towards those with the less social power (Condry, 1989: 37).

There is a marked shift in ideological basis from knowledge as absolute to knowledge as a point of view, down to the hierarchy. Winners are those who can produce "common sense" answers, losers produce irregular answers, so the programmers reward normality and penalize deviance. But they also serve to validate popular "common sense" against scientific knowledge. In this sense they dislodge the elitist dominance of "knowledge" rooted in the class power of those who have been able to acquire a greater quantity of cultural capital. These new populist quizzes dislodge "expertise" and validate "what everyone knows." (Goodwin and Whannel, 1990: 105)

3.3. The Visual Structure of Quiz Shows

Beside the narrative structure of the quiz shows, their visual organization also serves for the visual communication of the underlying ideologies. The displayed message is strengthened by the visual elements, such as the stage, the display of the commodities and the live elements as the audience and quizmaster with his/her assistants.

3.3.1. Stage

The stage is one of the most important elements of quiz shows. Stage is the place where everything becomes real, where competitors win or lose. It is the arena where

the competitors try to beat others and win the game. It is the victory land of the winners who salute their new status - academic or material.

A stage for a show is a carefully built place, designed to be used by specialists for some particular purpose, such as entertaining the live or television audience, which offers visual and functional features for the success of the show - or for the communication of the message, and which also provides technical support for a television production.

3.1.1.1. Types of stages

Generally speaking, all the productions - from theatrical events to the television shows- tend to take place on two major types of stages - those that provide a close relationship between the events on the stage and the audience, so that the audience is closely engaged in the activity and emotional content of the "play", and those that separate actor and audience being essentially passive, objective, or intellectually rather than emotionally stimulated.

The first type of stages are called "arena" type stages, which have their roots in the ancient Greek and Roman amphitheater forms where the seats partially surround the circular area of stage. When an action is located within this circular (ordinarily semi-circular) area the audience can play

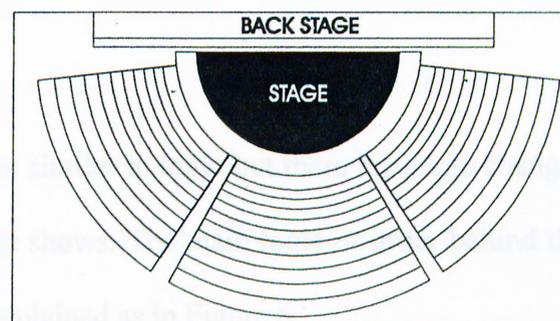


Figure 4 Arena type stages

more active roles because of their proximity to the active stage area. It is usually hard to organize the camera angles and the production crew around the "arena" stage. This type is usually preferred for static talk-shows rather than dynamic quiz shows. In Turkey there is no television stage built in the "arena" type, but sometimes the mobile chairs are organized in this form for talk shows.

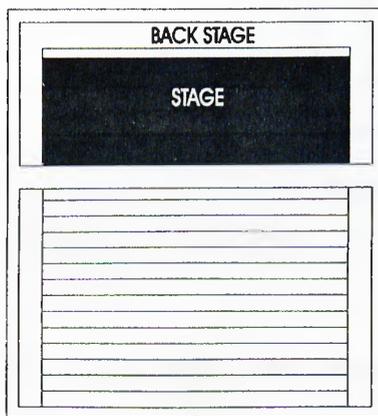


Figure 5 Italian or Proscenium type of stage

The second type of stages are called "Italian" type or "proscenium" stages which have their roots in the Renaissance period. These stages are located in a rectangular form where stage and backstage are built at one side and the seats are located in front of the stage. This type of stage is the most popular in television productions with live audience; it is easier to organize the television equipment and the

staff in the proscenium stages. The trouble is to activate the audience to give dynamism to the show, so usually the quiz master takes in the role of activating the audience thus eliminating the distance between the show and the seats.

3.1.1.2. Stage Designs

The stage designs of most quiz shows are similar in logic but there are some changes through the hierarchical order of the quiz shows. The main logic or order behind the stage designs of the quiz shows can be explained as in Figure 6.

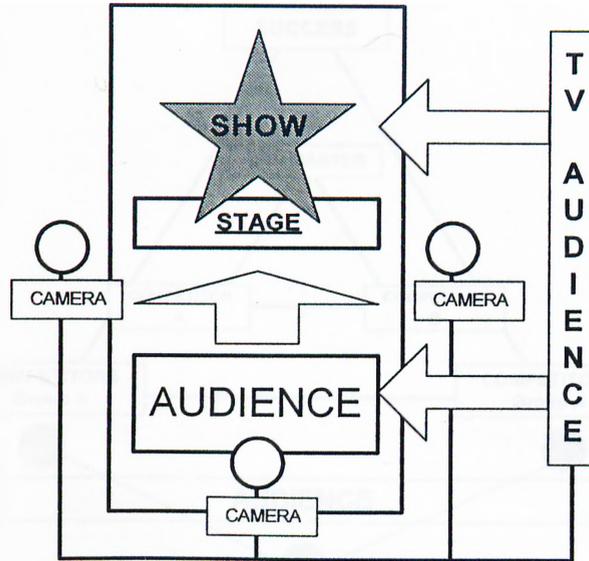


Figure 6 The watching order of quiz shows

The stage design and organization must follow "watching" order. The order of watching starts with the action that takes place on the stage, the audience watches the show, cameras shoot both the show and the audience, and television viewers watch both the action and the audience. Accordingly the stage designs must be carefully organized so that they can support both the shooting and the viewing of the audience.

The stage organizations have a triangular structure both in the academic knowledge quiz shows and human knowledge quiz shows. This triangular organization provides good viewing both for the audience and the cameras -- and of course for the television viewers. The schematic examples below are taken from the most popular quiz shows in Turkey. The first two are human knowledge quiz shows -- Mega Turnike and Aşağı Yukarı -- and the last one is Joker the most popular academic knowledge quiz show in Turkey.

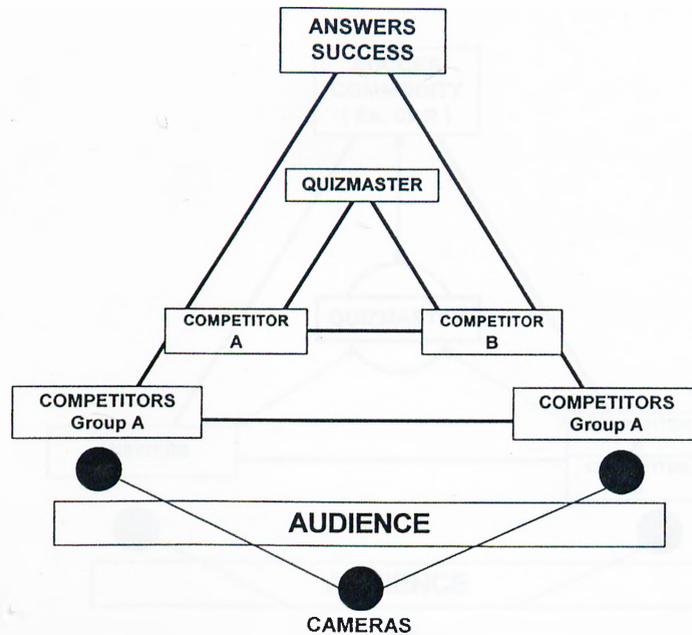


Figure 7 The schematic organization of Mega Turnike (plan)

The main difference between these quiz shows can easily be perceived by these figures when one concentrate on the elements that are organized on stage. The main difference between academic knowledge quiz shows and human knowledge quiz shows lays in the nature of presenting success in the two games. The material success is the main point in human knowledge quiz shows. The academic knowledge quiz shows deals with academic success. In the figure one can easily identify the difference, as there is a lack of commodities in the organization of the quiz show Joker.

The difference in stage organization between these quiz shows directly relate to the focal area for the audience. The creators of the quiz shows try to concentrate the audience to a focal area where the main concept of the show is centralized. In the academic knowledge quiz shows the main theme is the academic success and the competitors try to raise and certify their academic social status.

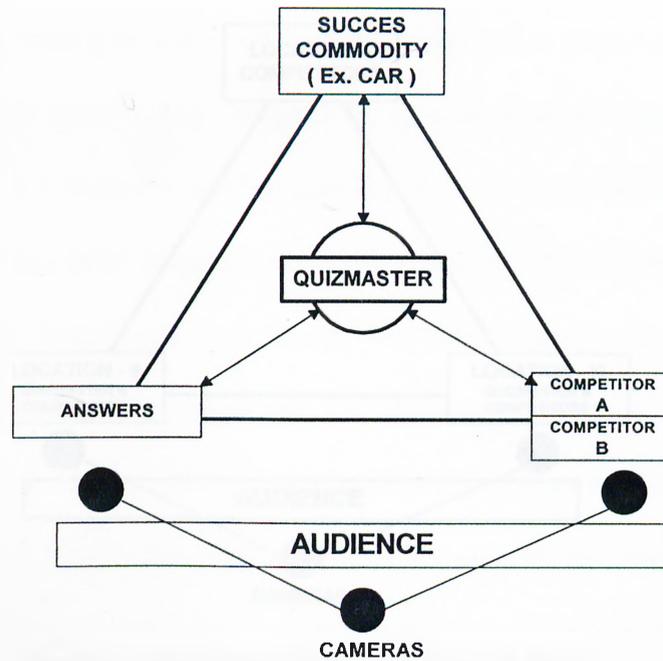


Figure 8 The schematic organization of Aşağı Yukarı

In academic knowledge quiz shows the quiz master is usually the source of the question and the answer, so in most cases there's no digital board, no assistants or some other means for the display of the right answers as in the human knowledge quiz shows . Both the quiz master and the competitors are static. The academic mood of these quiz shows usually simulate the school for the viewers; with quiz master as the teacher, and the competitors as the students and the game as an exam. This academic simulation usually has the effect of a solemn medium, where questions and answers are spoken gently and everybody in the studio is concentrated. The correct answers and the competitors academic status is applauded with silent admiration. The designers for the academic knowledge quiz shows usually prefer the high-tech style for their designs. This style has the greatest potential for simulating the academic medium with its wood and iron elements structured in a functional and long-lasting form.

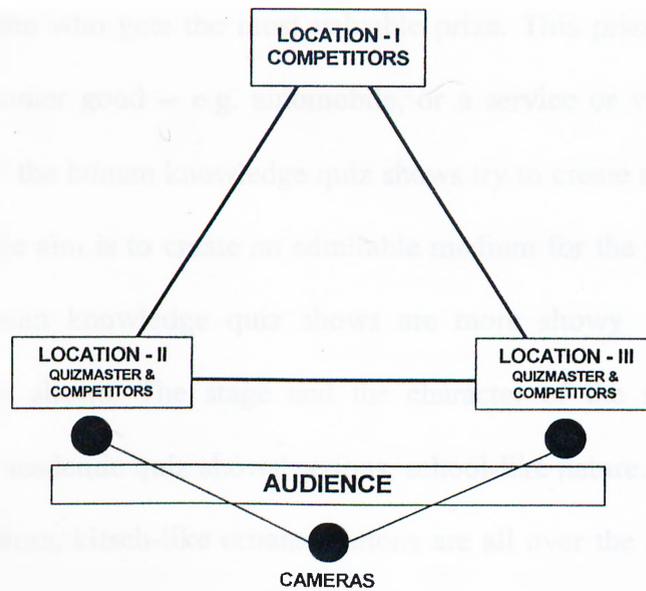


Figure 9 The schematic stage organization of Joker

The stages in the academic knowledge quiz shows are designed to focus the concentration on the academic success not on the commodities. That means when the quiz master asks the questions, we can hear and concentrate on the question, and then we see the competitors answering the questions. There's only the quiz master, competitors and usually the scoreboard behind the competitors. The stage lights are usually dimmed low during the question and answer session. One can hardly see and perceive the audience, the assistants and the whole stage. The only things one can see are the quiz master and the competitors. As the main idea in such quiz shows is the academic success and/or status, the main theme in the stage design is concentrated on this concept. The stage designs let audiences concentrate on the quiz master, the competitors and the desks that are usually designed with the scoreboards that give us the chance of getting all the information in one glance.

The human knowledge quiz shows are totally concentrated on material success. The winner is the one who gets the most valuable prize. This prize can be money, an expensive consumer good -- e.g. automobile, or a service or vacation abroad. The stage designs of the human knowledge quiz shows try to create an image of richness on the stage. The aim is to create an admirable medium for the people watching the show. The human knowledge quiz shows are more showy than the academic knowledge quiz shows. The stage and the character of the show is almost the opposite of the academic quiz shows' serious, school-like nature. The flashing lights, rainbow-like colors, kitsch-like ornamentations are all over the stage presenting the competitors the promised richness -- a jump up to another class. It is hard to identify a design style for the human knowledge quiz shows. They have lots of similarities with Broadway show stages and the Las Vegas Casinos which can be identified as kitsch -design. The organization of the stage invites people to get into a dynamic showy mood where girls dance, winners shout, losers protest, quiz master moves from side to side, lights flash and at the end everybody applauses the winner -- or the material success.



Figure 10 A view from Joker stage

It is hard to concentrate on one focal point in human knowledge quiz shows. There is a multitude of important features that the audience must catch. The main stage lights are always on and powerful, in order to raise people's perceiving capacity to the maximum. The main commodity -- if available -- is in the middle of the stage where everybody can see it perfectly (i.e. the car in Aşağı Yukarı). The audience can easily see the competitors reactions when they win and/or loose. The dancing girls or the beautiful women assistants, symbolize the most admirable sexual desires and satisfaction in our society. They usually present the commodity or show the right answers which means that someone is winning or loosing. The quiz master , symbolizing the high social status - the leader of that small community - , or the power, is interacting with the competitors, telling them that they have the chance of getting into higher status and giving them the chance for it. He/she is always at the main central point of the quiz shows directing the show and organizing the relations for the competitors on their way up.

All of these dynamic features on the stage must be perceived by the live audience. The audience's reactions to the actions on stage is the main proof of the quiz shows' reality for the television watcher who are watching the quiz shows and the audience simultaneously. As a conclusion, the stage designs of the human knowledge quiz shows must have the capacity of organizing these features in equal weights. These features can be listed as; the commodities, the quiz master, the assistants, the competitors, the scoreboard, the dancing and. etc. In some quiz shows additional features are needed such as the place beside the stage in Aşağı Yukarı where the answering group stands or the big score board in Süper Aile where the answers of the questionnaire is written. Even though most of the stage designs of human knowledge

quiz shows answer these requirements, they usually follow hierarchic triangular organization. This organization can be called the 3rd dimension of the triangular organization that is mentioned before.

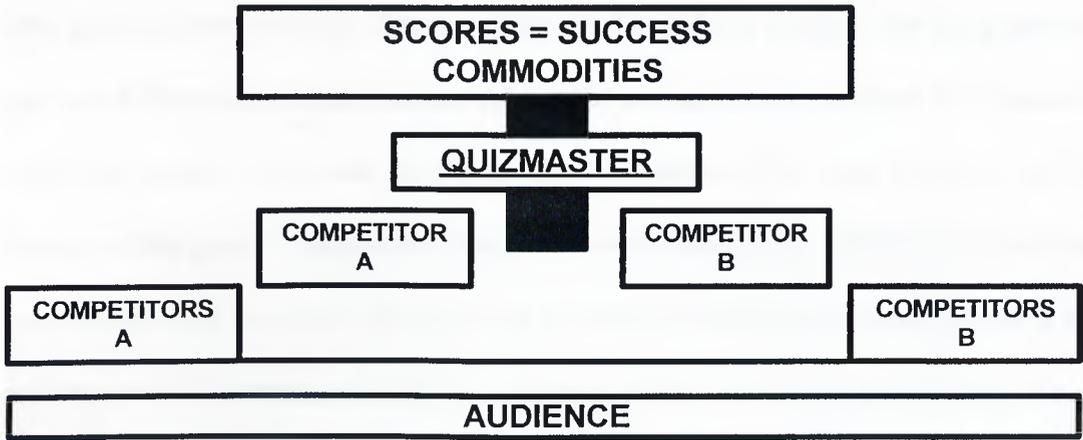


Figure 11 the triangular hierarchic structure of Mega Turnike

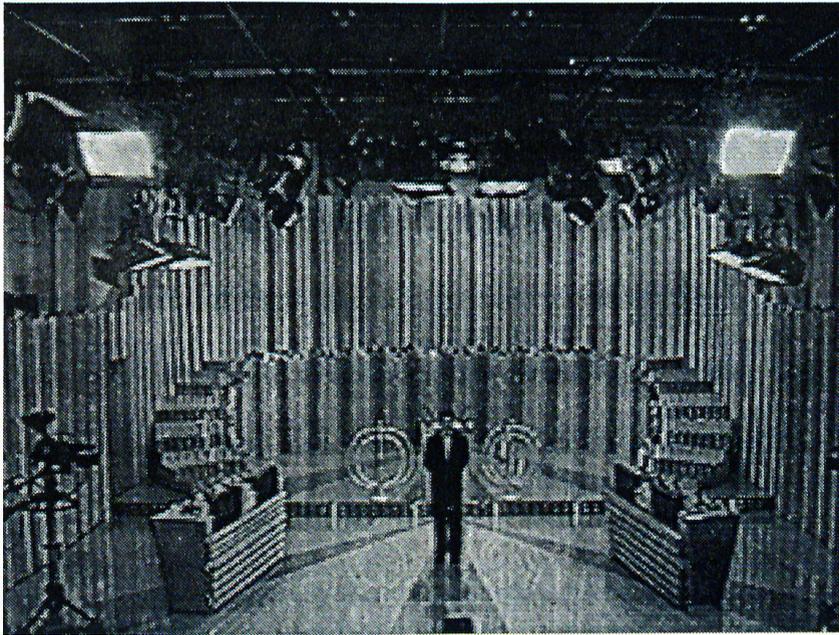


Figure 12 A view from Mega Turnike stage

The other organization schema shows the triangular locations from the top view. When one observes the organization of the main features from the front view, a new hierarchic order can be perceived. In other words, this is the simulation of the social class structure on the stage. The hierarchical elimination of this organization is as hard as it is in the real life. The ones who are "lucky" are selected for the game and they are differentiated from the normal people and audience. They get the chance to jump into another class and they enter the competition. The quiz master -- as the director of the game --, represents social power because of his abilities. He/she is the one who asks the questions, he/she is the one who identifies the winner, he/she is the one who takes the winner to another level at the stage -- and as in real life for sure --, he/she is the one who takes the winner next to the commodities -- the last level. When one analyze the hierarchic structure of Mega Turnike (above), one can easily read the simulated capitalist organization behind that order. There are levels or classes in the community; the ordinary people ; the audience, the first level lucky people; the ones who were at the right place at the right time (they dialed the phone number); the second level lucky people; the ones who stand next to the symbol of social power -- the quiz master; the social power who controls and guards the knowledge, competitors and the progress of the game: quiz master; and above all everybody's dream: the material success ; the meaning of life, the top level : richness. People try to beat each other and win the power of consumption in human knowledge quiz shows. The audience applauds the winner when he/she wins something and is elevated to another social status.

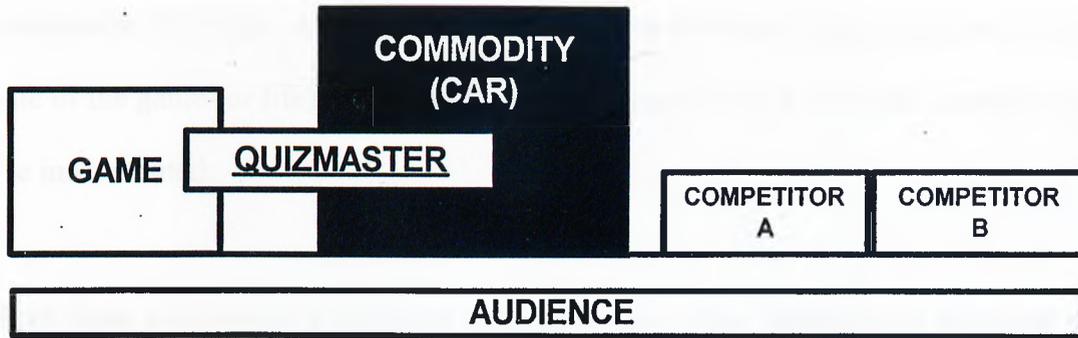


Figure 13 The triangular hierarchic organization of Aşağı Yukarı

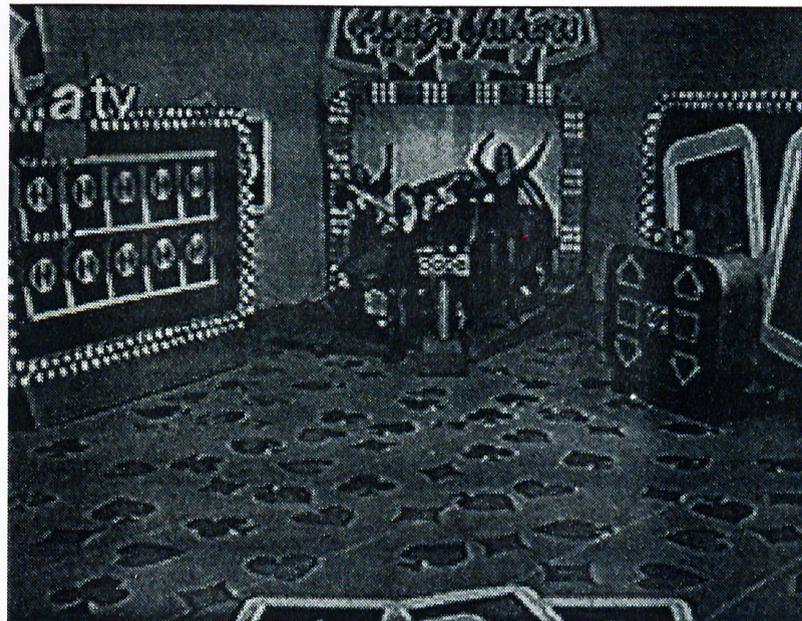


Figure 14 A view from Aşağı Yukarı stage

When one analyses another type of human knowledge quiz show Aşağı Yukarı, one can easily recognize the same order as in the Mega Turnike but with a different organization. Here the commodity -- the last level-- is in the middle of the stage where competitors can easily reach it. The quiz master associated with power stands near the commodity and directs the game from there. The game cards are located just beside the commodity that is always within the angle of view of the competitors or the audience -- as well as the television audience. The winner of the game is directly permitted to come to the level of the quiz master and the commodity for the last part of the game where he/she tries to guess the right answer in order to win the

commodity -- the car. At that point the competitor is almost close to the car, but the rule of the game (or life) is so hard that first you have to have the right in order to get the most wanted.

Both these two human knowledge quiz shows and other similar ones represent the order of the society where people are born equal, have the same chance of rising through the levels of society but where only some can succeed. This is the main structure of the capitalist system. Every night and every day, the human knowledge quiz shows represent this structure within their 30 minute period and reproduce the capitalist ideology even down to their stage organizations.

3.3.1.3. Stage Lighting

Television production lighting is a very difficult and expensive undertaking. In Turkey this function generally cannot be fully performed because of the financial limitations of the television channels. The producers most of the time have to shoot their programs within very short time periods so the lighting designers usually prefer to use simple lighting for the television productions.

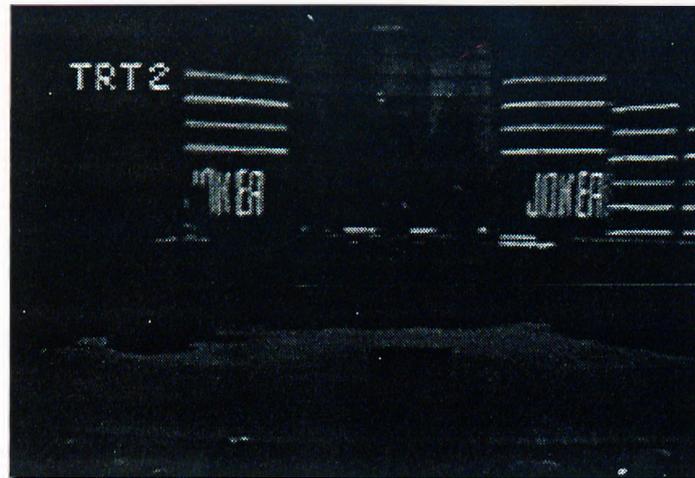


Figure 15 The background lighting in Joker (main lights are dimmed)

Lighting for the quiz shows has some universal standards which are relevant even in Turkey. The academic knowledge quiz shows are lighted with more diffused filters and usually the main lighting is dimmed down in the question-answer period. In the academic knowledge quiz shows the background is usually darker than the foreground. The reason for such lighting is simply related with the concept of academic quiz shows, where the centralization is always on the quiz master and the competitors. While the lighting designers prefer to illuminate the quiz master and the competitors, the directors prefer avoiding extra long shots, in order to keep the illumination enough for a television camera. The lighting for human knowledge quiz shows is very different than the academic ones. The factual quiz shows are shows that have many features that must be illuminated (e.g. commodities, competitors, background decoration, assistant girls, etc.). In the television studios in Turkey the lighting designers prefer to use full power lighting with hot lights (usually white and yellow). That enables the cameras to shoot the audience together with the action on the stage with an extra long shot. Each detail is illuminated in the human knowledge quiz shows which enables the audience, cameras and the television viewer to catch the whole the action and feel themselves in the action.



Figure 16 The special stage lighting in Mega Turnike (main lights are dimmed)

3.3.1.4. Accessories on the Quiz Show Stage

There are some accessories used by the quiz masters, assistants and sometimes by the competitors that help support the visual unity of the quiz shows. Scoreboards, computers, question cards, costumes, game elements, and various kinds of containers for various things are some examples to these accessories.

3.3.1.4.1. Scoreboard

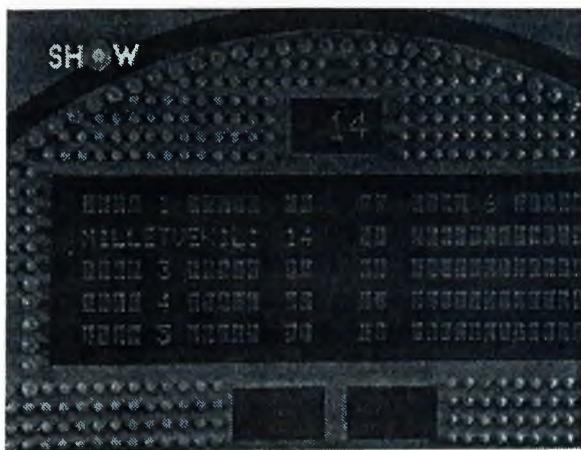


Figure 17 The scoreboard of Süper Aile

Scoreboards support the main dynamic of quiz shows because they are one of the reality elements. The score boards in the quiz shows are used for displaying the score, showing the time, and sometimes for displaying the right answers - such

as in the Süper Aile (Family Feud). It is the proof of reality and the measurer of ability as it shows the passing time. The score confirms the success of the winner and failure of the others. The score boards must be carefully located so that both the audience and the television watchers can see the scores, time and other features easily. The changing camera sequences must catch the scoreboard even when it is a close-up or a wide angle shot for the dynamic continuity of the quiz shows.

3.3.1.4.2. Computers

Computers were one of the key words of modern Turkey during the Motherland Party (ANAP) and Turgut Özal period in the '80s. The word "computer" was and is promoted as a key to the future. It was the answer to all the questions. Computers and the computer users were the new values of '80s. Computers were associated with knowledge, information and truth. They were the most dependable method of proving things for a wide range of people in those years. Computers and their sub-productions rapidly spread all over the country. People started to fill out computer forms for all kinds of examinations, the phone-bills became computer printouts. The answers to the exams were read by the computers, the money we had to pay was calculated by the computers. When one disagreed with computer results , then one had to make an objection against the machine. The results, answers and the future were in computers. The slogan of "What computer says is true" was disseminated nation-wide.(Kozanoğlu, 1992: 16) Computers were also one of the most helpful instruments of the academic world. The academic people could write, calculate or test anything they wanted with computers. It was the most useful instrument for academic activity and it still is.

In the academic quiz show Joker, the quiz master Bülent Özveren is using an Apple Macintosh Powerbook - a portable small computer. The question cards are replaced by the monitor of the computer. He reads the questions from the computer and also checks the answers from the computer. As the academic medium quiz shows reflect the elements of the school, the computer support is also acceptable. The authority of the computer is undoubtedly accepted and no one is suspicious as to the correctness of the answer. When the first part of the quiz show is completed, Bülent Özveren, ritually picks up his computer - announcing " Now I am taking my computer and going to the other side for the next part" - and carefully carries it across the whole stage and again carefully plugs it in and says: " Now I'm ready ".



Figure 18 Quiz master Bülent Özveren (Joker) and his Apple Powerbook computer

When these actions are analyzed one can easily say that the computer is used to support the believability of these hard questions. Bülent Özveren uses and obeys this technical miracle. The truth is inside that small box which is superior to all the people on the stage. It is the symbol of the highest perfect academic status. All the actions on stage are concentrating on proving the slogan " computers know everything right".

Computers have a special level in the hierarchic order of the academic knowledge quiz shows. They are at the top of the hierarchy. Even when it is powerless after Bülent Özveren unplugs its power cord, it still has a certain power while he carries it with incredible attention and kept open. It is the symbol of the highest level of academic status so it needs special treatment.

3.3.1.4.3. Question Cards

Question cards are specially designed. They usually have the logotype of the quiz shows on the back side. As they are designed in a special size so the quiz master can read them easily, they also serve to present the quiz show's name to the audience. They inform the television audience when cameras are shooting the quiz master with close-up and the big logotypes on the stage are out of view. People see the quiz master and the back of the cards which has the logotype of the show at the same time. Sometimes they have some secondary functions. In the famous general knowledge quiz show Turnike, quiz master Güner Ümit uses these cards to close his mouth when he is asking the "yes

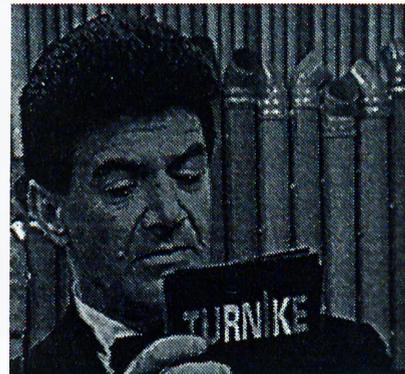


Figure 19 Güner Ümit with the question cards

or no" questions in order to prevent the competitors from lip-reading.

3.3.1.4.4. Costumes

Costumes are one of the most important visual elements. The costumes must be analyzed two groups: the quiz master's costumes and the assistants' costumes.

In most of the quiz shows as Süper Aile, Evcilik Oyunu, Turnike, etc., the costumes of the quiz master and the assistants are supplied by the textile firms. At the end of the show the firms are announced. It is a very easy and cheap way of advertising for the companies. They get the chance of presenting their products and making their advertisement to the thousands of people by television. This system also enables a variety of costume choice for the quiz master and assistants. In each show they can wear different clothes so that they can break the monotony and look well.



Figure 20 Güner Ümit with football uniform

Quiz shows like Mega Turnike or Super Turnike are differentiated from the others in terms of costumes. The quiz master Güner Ümit usually wears classical costumes with a jacket and necktie or bowtie but he sometimes wears such costumes that, they make people talk about the program for days and days. He sometimes dresses like a gypsy, wrestler, football player or sometimes like a woman - just as his assistants.

This strategy works very well so that each night the audience waits for something new. Many people wait for the beginning of the program to see what he is going to wear that night. This attraction is very good for the rating of Mega Turnike which is the most popular quiz show in Turkey.



Figure 21 The assistant girls in Mega Turnike with their costumes

His assistants have special costumes that they wear everynight. There are times when they wear different costumes for special shows. For example, they were dressed like gypsies when Güner Ümit was wearing gypsy costumes or they wore the costumes of a textile firm for the show when fashion-models were participating in the game and held a fashion show for that textile firm.

Their normal costume has sexy features with short skirts and a low neck-line like a costume for a ball. These costumes are associated with the dream behind the beautiful Cinderella story who got the chance of going to the ball and found the prince and became a queen by marrying him. One of their costumes has feather like ornaments on the skirts and has cat heads at the top part. This costume reminds the sexual image of cat-girls - or can be



Figure 22 Detail from the costumes of Mega Turnike's assistants

associated with playboy bunnies. Half of the girls wear black and the others wear white costumes. This difference helps the audience to differentiate the groups from

each other easily at the end of the game. The costumes are very attractive and speak the same language with the stage design's carnival structure with its kitch features.

In Aşağı Yukarı the quiz master Meltem Cumbul, sometimes acts some roles at the beginning of the game so she uses different costumes for that. During these role playing sessions she dresses like Mata Hari, Madame Butterfly, a dancing girl, etc. On regular days she usually wears tight pants that show off her figure. Her assistants are usually wearing simple but sexy clothes with short skirts and low neck-lines.



Figure 23 Meltem Cumbul with her 1930s style costumes

The costumes in Joker are fitting for the serious medium of the show. The quiz master Bülent Özveren always wears classic men's fashion with jackets and a necktie. He sometimes wears warm coloured jackets but he usually prefers dark ones which are more serious. Most of the television stars are using lenses, but Bülent Özveren is always wearing eye-glasses since his first quiz show on television screens. Eye

glasses are one of the best known symbols for the academic image. There is a belief in the society that "people with eye glasses read and know more". Bülent Özveren with his eye glasses and serious outfits is a good symbol for the quiz master in an academic quiz show which is associated with the school master image.

His assistant is also wearing a serious two piece tailor-made costume (*tailleur*) which most of the business women and academic women wear. Her costume is far from being sexy and is fitting to the serious medium of the quiz show. In most of the academic knowledge quiz shows quiz masters and assistants wear serious costumes and the competitors are also dressed in that style.



Figure 24 Bülent Özveren and his assistant with their usual costumes

The competitors in the general knowledge quiz shows usually dress more freely. They can either wear their daily clothes or their special costumes. When the policemen, chefs, a show group and etc., enter the game they usually wear their uniforms. This choice of the competitors strengthen the image of reality in quiz shows.



Figure 25 A competitor from a ladies football team wearing her teams' uniform in Mega Turnike

3.3.1.4.5. Game Elements

There are some elements that build up the unity of the visual structure of the quiz shows. These elements are directly related with the game.

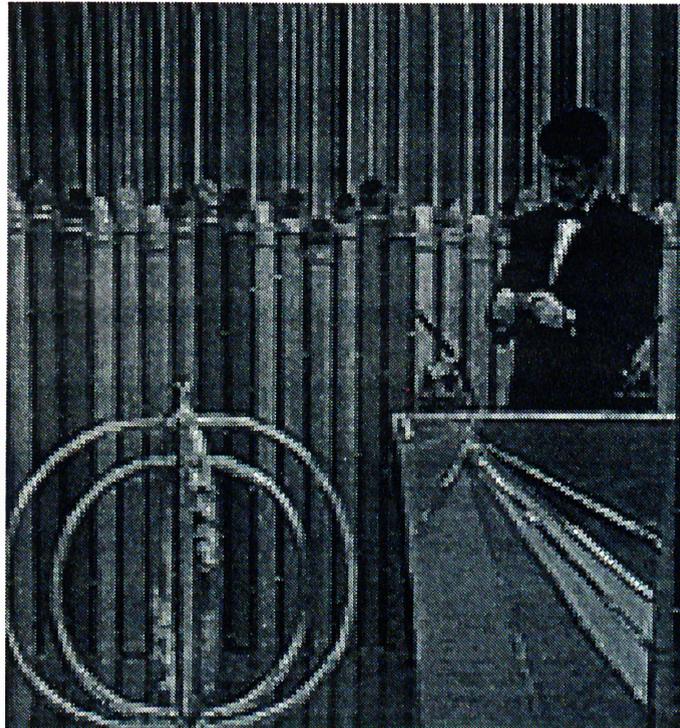


Figure 26 Güner Ümit with his turnpike

In Mega Turnike these elements are the turnpikes, headphones and the containers that the assistants carry. Turnpikes are placed at the two sides of Güner Ümit's desk. The turnpike is the symbol and the name of the game. A turnpike (or a turnstile) is a mechanical apparatus used at entrances to admit people one at a time. People usually pay a coin to operate these gadgets. The turnpike symbol in the quiz show Mega Turnike has a similar meaning. They are barriers between the competitors and the prizes and competitors have to do something into pass through this turnpike . The turnpikes used in the game are not of a mechanical type but have a symbolic

functions. Güner Ümit turns them when he gives a chance to the competitors and invite them to his desk so they pass the turnpikes and become closer to the quiz master - the way to the success. These symbolic turnpikes are always in the focal point of the game and they symbolize its logic. They have simple structures but are silver colored and shining so they are in harmony with the stage design.

The headphones that the competitors use and the containers that the assistants use are designed and produced specially. They all have small mirror squares ornamented on



Figure 28
Headphones
from Mega
Turnike

their surfaces and they shine with the reflections of the flashing lights on the stage. Their mirrored surfaces are like the mirror spheres in the discotheques. Flashing, shining materials are one of the methods of creating a rich medium as the shining materials are associated with the valuable shining materials as gold, silver, diamonds, etc. Some of the

containers are heart shaped. Heart figure can be defined as a symbol

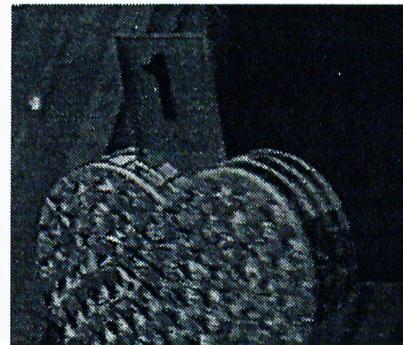


Figure 27 The heart shaped boxes
of Mega Turnike

for something promising, a symbol of sexual, satisfactory and exciting relations. It is also associated with the game cards and gambling - the

easy money. In Mega Turnike these shining hearts between the hands of the beautiful girls are directly used as a symbol for the sexual satisfaction and desire and it is an invitation for the competitors to the things that they can reach for when they get the high prize. The decorations with the flashing lights are also associated with the shining valuable metals or stones.

In Aşağı Yukarı the desks and the big playing cards are the elements of the game. The desks and the decoration are designed with the big playing card symbols that directly relates to the name of the game, gambling and the chance of the easy money. You can see these elements in every camera shot and you can never loose your concentration and passion on the game - even on the floor.

In Joker the container that is used to carry the numbers is transparent. This transparency is directly related to the trustworthiness of this game show. The desks are divided with big light bands that helps the audience to follow the game easily at the first and second parts.

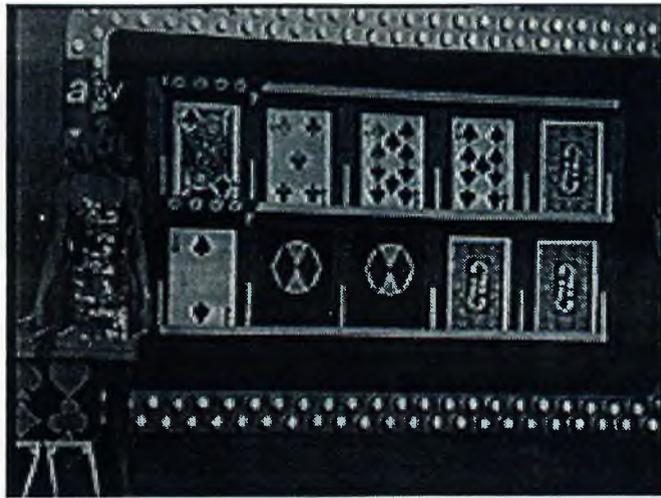


Figure 29 The big playing cards of Aşağı Yukarı

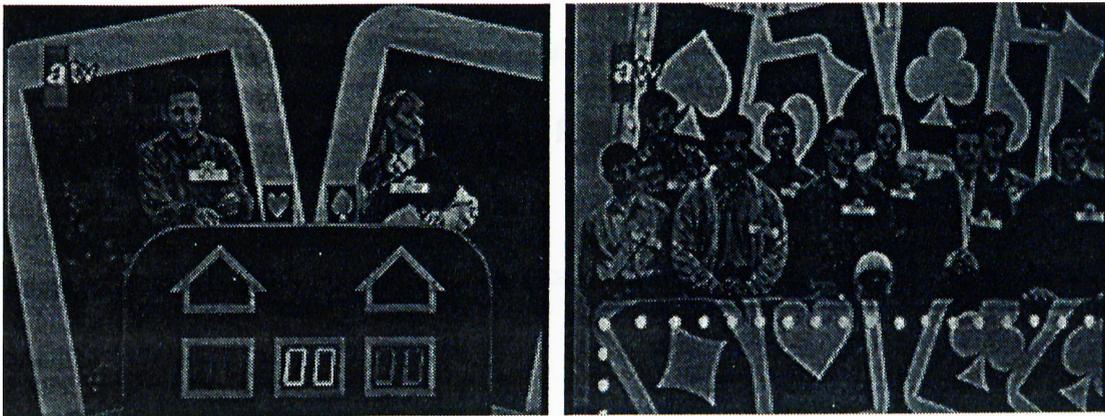


Figure 30 The competitor's and guest's desks in Aşağı Yukarı

3.3.2. Camera Shots and Actions

In quiz shows the cameras are located in a simple triangular stage order (See the schematic presentations of camera locations in Mega Turnike, Aşağı Yukarı and Joker quiz shows in the figures 7-8-9).

The camera shot types and actions can be simply analyzed as follows;

3.3.2.1. Extra Long Shots (ELS);

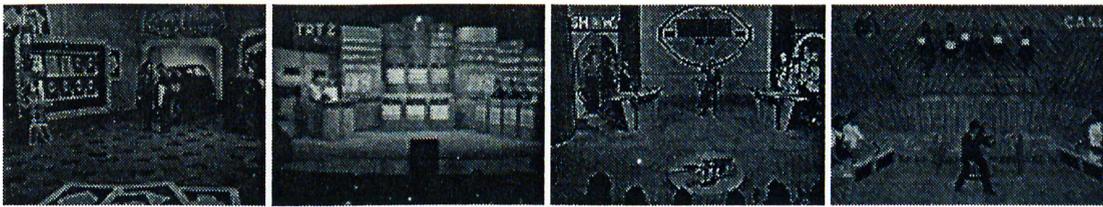


Figure 31 Examples of extra long shots from Aşağı Yukarı, Joker, Süper Aile, Mega Turnike

These shots are always used in the opening sequence of all quiz shows. They are also preferred by the directors who want to shoot the whole "fun" at the end of the final part of shows. The quiz shows with big stages - like Mega Turnike - usually are shot by the ELS in order to capture the whole action on the stage. These actions are ranging from the normal play part of the game - where the director has to shoot the girls on the platform, the competitors at their desks and the quiz master - to the special shows such as fashion shows, etc. Usually the central back camera which is behind the audience is used for ELS.

3.3.2.2. Long Shots (LS);

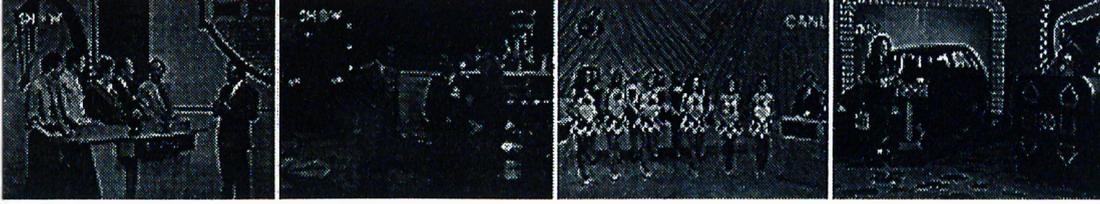


Figure 32 Examples of long shots from Süper Aile, Çarkıfelek, Mega Turnike, Aşağı Yukarı

Long shots are usually used by the side cameras. They are used to shoot the crowded game actions, dance shows, the famous singers' concerts and etc., from the same stage level.

3.3.2.3. Medium Shots (MS);

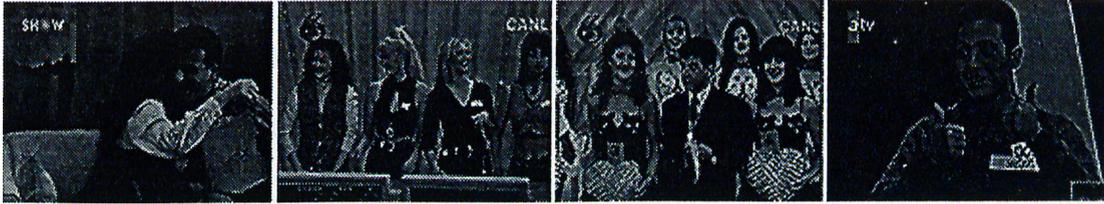


Figure 33 Examples of medium shots from Evcilik Oyunu, Mega Turnike and Aşağı Yukarı

Most of the actions in the quiz shows are shot by medium shots. These actions can range from the competitors at their desks, to quiz master with her assistants which can be defined as the main game actions of these shows.

3.3.2.4. Close-up (CU)

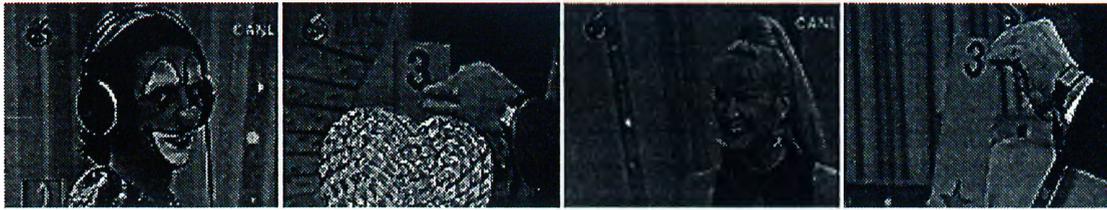


Figure 34 Examples of Close-ups from Mega Turnike and Süper Turnike

Close-up shots are used for certain details where the facial expressions are important or the concentration and the focal point is important - for instance, the "star guessing" part of Mega Turnike is an example for such an action.

3.3.2.5 Camera Movements

Besides these four main types of camera shooting, the directors use some other techniques for special parts of the quiz shows. They usually use "cut"s for transitions in the normal game part of the shows, but in the commodity presentations they use more effective and artistic transitions as dissolving, or mixing, wipe etc. (see fig 39) or they add some computer-aided graphic expressions to the shots. They use different camera angles for special results. In Mega Turnike the directors use a fast panning camera from ground level for shooting the audience which results in an illusion of a crowded, dynamic audience where the viewer cannot perceive the real facial expressions of the stage audience because of the fast panning camera's motion blur.



Figure 35 Examples of different camera shots from Joker, Çarkıfelek, and Mega Turnike

They sometimes use the camera without a dolly in Mega Turnike , so the camera and the viewers can feel the motions of the cameraman among the dancing, singing people and thus the carnival-like medium can be perceived by the viewer.

3.3.3. Presentation of the commodities

The prizes in quiz shows are typically consumer goods or services. "Sometimes the money is the reward, and sometimes public respect and glory (Mastermind - an American academic knowledge quiz show, for example has no prizes or rewards for winners of the heats, and a discreet antique or a work of art for the winner of the final)"(Fiske, 1990: 271). The commercial interests behind quiz shows, as

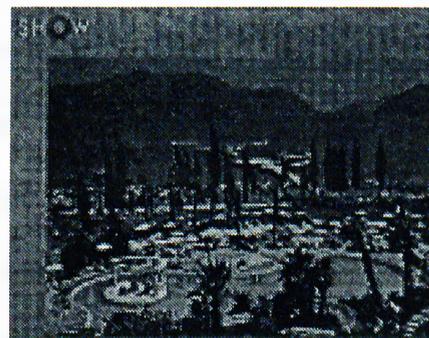


Figure 36 The video presentation of the travel tour in Evcilik Oyunu

behind so much of television, press to have their goods displayed to an audience of millions. For them quiz shows are the cheapest television commercial possible. Presenting themselves as "sponsors" not as "advertisers" in quiz shows is preferable for all the advertisers. Quiz shows often position the viewer as a consumer and invite them to consume. One can easily see the so-called invitations in the attraction of the

prizes and in the extremely happy excitement of the winners and the studio audience's reactions.

One thing the quiz shows have in common is the concept that the skill or knowledge can be traded in for prizes. "In Tulloch's terms, what you know can be directly translated into "things" or commodities." (Goodwin and Whannel, 1990: 105) In presenting the commodities, the commodities identity is changed from being a simple consumer good to that star of the show. The presentation of the commodities show some differences among different quiz shows.

In quiz shows like Çarkıfelek, Kaç Para or Seç Bakalım the commodities are placed at a specifically defined area on the stage. This area is organized as a reserved ritual

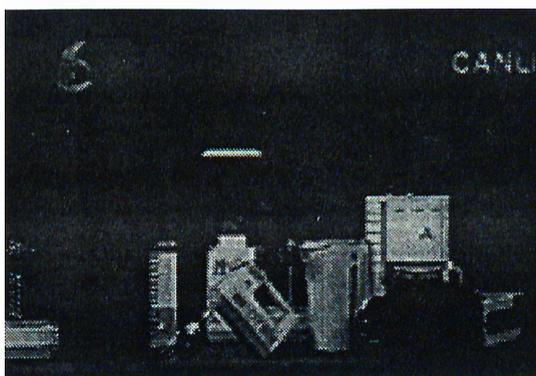


Figure 37 The presentation of the household item prizes in Mega Turnike

area where the commodities are displayed with a fetishistic splendor. No one can enter this region without the permission of the quiz master. One has to win the right to enter this area. All the commodities displayed here are announced with their brand names.

In quiz shows like Mega Turnike, Evcilik Oyunu, -Saklambaç there is no special region on the stage reserved for presenting the commodities. In these quiz shows the prizes are services such as travel, dates, etc., or a large amount of money. These services are presented by video images - as it is impossible to display them live on the stage. When the time for the presentation of the commodities come, all of the

competitors and the quiz master look at the monitor on the stage and then the television audience see what they see on the monitor (see.Fig 41). After showing the prizes that the competitors can win at the end of the game, everybody on stage applaud the commodities - the material success.

In Mega Turnike there is an important difference of presenting the commodities. In the show the normal commodities like the household items, cars, etc. are presented by video images but the highest prize-money is never presented. The reality of the money and its associations are always there so that everyone holds their breath when one competitor is pulling the star boards through the containers. If the competitors win the money prize everyone applaud and celebrate the power of money even when no one sees it but feels its power. The only visual presentation of money prize in Mega

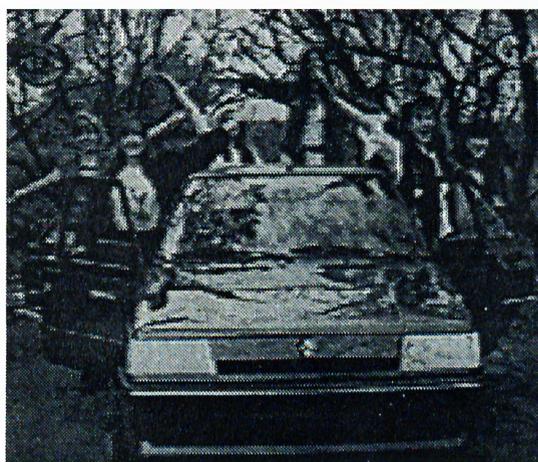


Figure 38 The presentation of the car prize with assistant girls in Mega Turnike

Turnike was added to the show later - the computer-animated introduction title. In the animation the silver coloured hearts explode and the pieces are transformed into money. The bills grow bigger and bigger and come out of the screen - for the viewer. This inviting title then turns into the program logo, so the viewers understand where the money can come from. (Fig. 43)

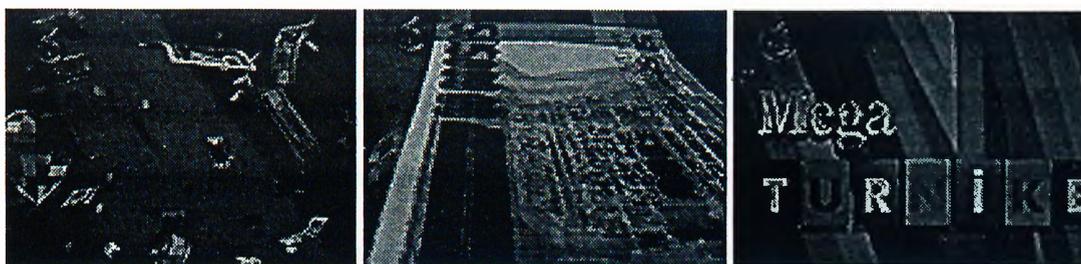


Figure 39 The computer animation introduction title of Mega Turnike

In Çarkıfelek and Aşağı Yukarı the highest prize is a car which is placed in the middle of the stage. Everyone and every camera can see the car. It is almost possible to get the car out of screen. It is quite inviting "just standing there" and the competitors are quite close to the car so that one can easily touch it. The cars are usually surrounded by flashing lights and their lamps are usually also flashing to strengthen the "come and get me " feeling. In Çarkıfelek the platform that the car is standing on is also painted like the wheel of fortune so the viewers can perceive the only way to win the car.



Figure 40 The presentation of commodities in Çarkıfelek

The producers of quiz shows are always paying great deal of attention to the display these commodities. The better they are displayed, greater the audience attracted. They sometimes spend more time and effort to record the presentation scenes than

shooting the show itself. As an example, the detailed analysis of the opening sequence of the Australian Sale of the Century Davies reveals how the representation of the start prize of a car may work subliminally on the viewer.

The car revolves on a podium, surrounded by flashing lights, and the camera zooms in, not steadily, but in a series of jump cuts, until it finishes in a close-up the radiator grille. The sequence is accompanied by a drumroll and frenzied applause and its effectivity is enhanced according to Davies by a form of subliminal perception. Each of the eleven jump cuts in the 3.6 second sequence is one-third of a second or eight frames. The editing rate of the three shots per second falls within the frequency of stroboscopic effects which operate physiologically upon the brain. (Fiske, 1990: 272)

The same elaborated approach can also be seen in the pre-recorded video presentations of Mega Turnike, Aşağı Yukarı, Çarkıfelek, etc. (see Fig 37,38,40). These presentations are not necessarily recorded by the producers of the show. In Evcilik Oyunu the travel agencies' advertisement videos are used.

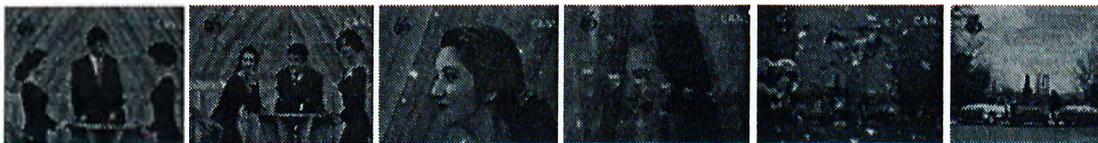


Figure 41 The transition to the video presentation of the commodity in Mega Turnike

A second method used for an attractive and inviting presentation of commodities is the effect of glamorous assistants. They display the commodities one by one with seductive movements which is directly associated with the sexual desires that will be discussed in the quiz masters and assistants part of this thesis.

3.3.4. The Audience

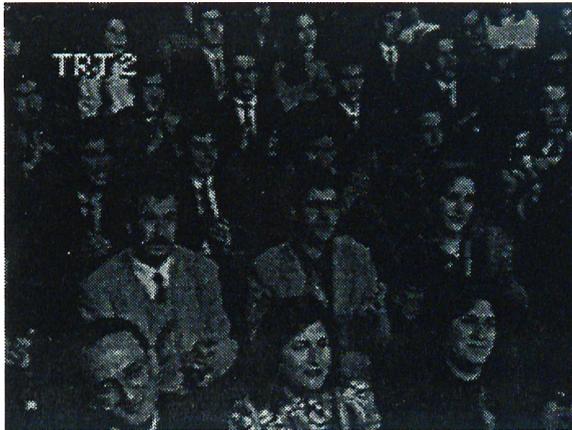


Figure 42 The audience in Joker

The audience is the most important realization factor of quiz shows. It is the proof of the live events on stage for the television viewers. The audience at the studio also serves to reflect the common sense of the events during the quiz shows on the stage.

Audiences can participate in quiz shows in two ways. They provide reaction and reflection to the winners, losers, jokes, presentation of the commodities, etc., or they can directly participate in the competition. When a competitor wins, some commodity is shown, or the quiz master gets on to the stage, the audience applauds. This means that they celebrate a situation which is associated with success, goal or authority. The audience at the studio simulates and represents the society in front of the television cameras. Their reflections usually match the shared thoughts of the society. They celebrate the material success by applauding the winner, they celebrate the societies' goals and legitimize the consumer society by applauding the commodities, they applaud and obey the quiz master who is associated with the norms of social power and the gateway to the upper classes. As the audience is the representative of the society, the competitors are the representatives of the audience and the society as well. They get happy when the competitors win and sad when they lose. They respect the power of the quiz master as he symbolizes the social power

who can let them move higher through the levels of society. They accept and obey the quiz master's authority when he/she tells them to shout, be silent, applause, etc.



Figure 43 The audience from Mega Turnike

During the question and answer sessions the audience also supports its representatives - the competitors. They also answer the questions along side the competitors. The amount of participation in the show is related to the type of the quiz show. In an academic knowledge quiz show the audience tries to find out the right answers quietly. It is like a high level chess game were everyone whispers to the others ears. When the right answers are given they applaud the whole situation with a silent admiration for the level of knowledge. In the general knowledge quiz shows, the limits of audience interference is increased. The audience enters the competition particularly in the sessions where luck has a greater importance than knowledge.

In Mega Turnike, the audience shouts out the number of the box which they think contains the star. In Aşağı Yukarı they shout "Down" or "Up" for the next card. In the Kaç Para they shout for the price of the asked commodity. In Kaç Para they also reflect the common sense information about the prices of commodities.

The audience likes to participate in such situations. The competitors usually listen to the audience and choose the most wanted answer. If the answer is right, the audience goes mad and starts to applaud and shout as if they won the same prize with the competitors. If their choice is wrong, the disappointed murmurs are heard. The competitors' usual approach is to obey the common choice - the choice of the majority.

During the whole show the directors usually prefer to shoot the audience by a panning camera action that helps to display maximum information about the group. This panning action also serves to give the effect or illusion of a more crowded and dynamic feeling to the viewers which strengthens the realistic features.

Quiz shows are usually produced pre-recorded. The producers generally have a hard time in dispensing the pre-recorded feeling. It is not quite realistic to watch a prerecorded quiz show. They record the show with a live audience but it is usually recorded 5-6 times. In the post-production process they try to create a show which seems alive with real life action. The meaning of the "real" is associated with the term "now" for most of the audience so both the producers and the sponsor firms prefer the real live broadcasting.

In Turkey, only the general knowledge quiz show Mega Turnike is live broadcasting and it is the most popular television quiz show in Turkey.

3.3.5. Quiz Master and the Assistants

3.3.5.1 Quiz Masters

Quiz master is the most important element of the quiz shows. Quiz shows are the mediums where excitement and pleasure of the carnival is joined with the knowledge and discipline of the school atmosphere. Quiz masters combine all of these contradictory features in themselves. Quiz master is both the general master of the ceremonies and the stern (but fair) school-master - examiner. The master of the ceremonies role is directed more to the studio and home audiences. The school-master role is directed towards the competitors. Fiske defines the role of the quiz master as the public guardian of the knowledge who controls access to it and who uses his possession of it as a means of controlling the competitors and the progress of the game. It gives him the power of the high priest in the ritual.(1990, 267)

Quiz master is the one who decides whether a competitor can make a social transition or not. He/she is the one who permits this access. The success of the quiz master is one of the most important factors that effects the ratings of the quiz shows.

In Turkey we have two types of quiz masters. The first type is the static-serious type, and the other the dynamic-showy type.

Bülent Özveren in Joker is a very good example for the first type. He is one of the oldest, and most experienced quiz masters in Turkey. He has been directing academic knowledge quiz shows since the black and white days of the Turkish television. With his serious facial expressions and controlled



Figure 44 Bülent Özveren - Quiz Master of Joker

manners he is a very suitable quiz master for the academic knowledge quiz shows. One can easily match him with any well-disciplined school master. Füsun Önal and Erol Evgin are also examples for the static-serious type. Though Bülent Özveren is well known among the academic knowledge quiz show audiences, the other two are also well known nation-wide, because they are both famous pop singers of '70s and '80s in Turkey.



Figure 45 Füsun Önal - Quiz Master of Evcilik Oyunu

Füsun Önal is one of the woman quiz masters in Turkey. She replaced Müjdat Gezen - a very well-known and popular comedian stage artist, in the Evcilik Oyunu. She is famous for her rock'n roll songs and unlimited energy. She has an easy talking manner and a friendly image and she can easily calm down the

competitors with her (sometimes risky) jokes. These features are quite fitting to the character of the game, because the game itself is based on the funny, young, easy

talking couples who are there to talk a little bit dirty and expressive - even sharing their bedroom secrets. The show is based on the changed new moral values in the society. Füsün Önal with her short skirt, loud and sharp talk and her little dirty jokes is successfully directing the program.

Erol Evgin used tossing the romantic songs of the Turkish pop music. He is liked by everyone in Turkey because of his soft voice and decent life-style. His name was never linked with scandals. He is an architect who has a family with two children. His wife is also an architect and they joined practice and they belong to the middle class. He never sang in night

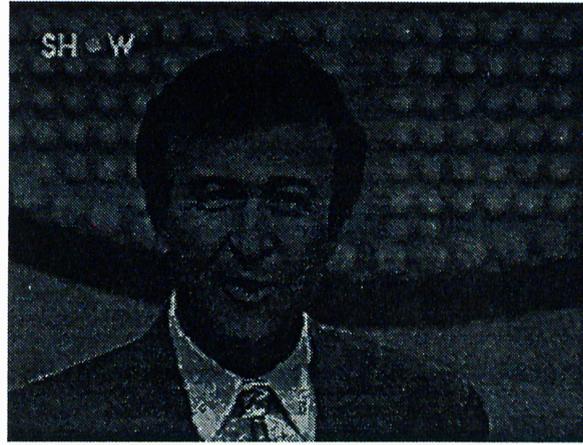


Figure 46 Erol Evgin - Quiz Master of Süper Aile

clubs, has no bad habits like drinking, smoking etc.. With all these, he became the "idol of the families" in Turkey. He is now the quiz master of the Süper Aile quiz show where middle class families join the game and the winner is the family which can best predict the social norms and/or which knows best what people are thinking. He has a warm approach towards the competitors and the medium of the show is very calm and sufficiently attractive for other families.

The second type of quiz masters in Turkey are those who are directing the most popular quiz shows in the country. Güner Ümit from Mega Turnike, and Meltem Cumbul from Aşağı Yukarı are examples of this dynamic-showy type. This type of quiz masters directly affect the rating ratios of these quiz shows. These quiz shows

give very high prizes so the ratings of these shows must be high enough to attract sponsors to support such prizes.

Meltem Cumbul is one of the most popular quiz masters in Turkey. It is interesting that a woman is chosen to direct a quiz show in a Muslim country as opposed to same



Figure 47 Meltem Cumbul - Quiz Master of Aşağı Yukarı

shows in Western or Christian countries.

She is a young and attractive lady who has had a theater education. She has a dynamic hard-to-follow image where she dances, changes her clothes, plays different roles etc., to get and hold attention of the audience. As it is quite difficult to perform

so dynamically in a prerecorded show, she is a very successful quiz master. She is very

gentle towards the competitors and she knows how to be kind to the guests on the stage who are bored while waiting their turn.



Figure 48 Meltem Cumbul making the introduction show of Aşağı Yukarı with her assistants

Güner Ümit is the most popular quiz master in Turkey. He is also one of the oldest and experienced announcer since TRT's black and white programs. He had created the Turnike game show on the Sunday afternoon show program of TRT-I. The game became so popular that some additions were made and it became more like a quiz



Figure 49 Güner Ümit - the quiz master, creator and the producer of Mega Turnike

show with question and answer sessions. Inter Star private channel transferred him from TRT-I with a high priced contract. The name Turnike changed into Süper Turnike because TRT-I kept on producing the same show with the help of famous TRT announcer Mustafa Yolaşan. However the same popularity could not be maintained and TRT stopped its broadcast. Süper Turnike started to broadcast in primetime. It has new decorations and stage organizations.

When the quiz show was at TRT in the beginning of '90s, Güner Ümit was only the quiz master of a small quiz show which was a part of a big program - Pazar Show. In Süper Turnike the show became a separate, individual program and Güner Ümit became a real quiz master who is announced at the beginning and who is directing the whole show. In a very short time Süper Turnike became the most popular quiz show. Everything was different in this show. Other shows had to follow the images of their American origins because of the copyright laws, but "Turnike" was a mixture of different games - some from American-origin worldwide known games - and the original idea belonged to Güner Ümit. So the show was free to try new things without asking for the permission from the worldwide production firms. The differentiations was ranging from the kitch-like colorful, big, showy, splendoured stage decorations to the sexy-costumed girls - it has the most crowded chorus girl assistants among the whole quiz shows. The competitors started to behave more freely and they also started to have more fun than before. The reason for all of these changes was, without doubt Güner Ümit. He had changed his own attitude when he transferred to a private channel where there was no official and rigid control rules. He started to speak with an informal "street" jargon. He was the representative of the oral popular culture with all of his jokes, anecdotes, football critiques, etc. He was a gentleman to the ladies, a sportsman to the sport teams, a porter with the porters, and even a lady with his assistants. He had become a popular name in the society and everybody started to talk about him. When his success was supported with the high amount of prizes, the quiz show Süper Turnike climbed to the upper levels of the television program ratings. Every night he was giving a chance to people who either joined the game on the stage or participated through the telephone to become rich. He was the one who gave access to the competitors for entering the world of millionaires. In the first months of

the program Güner Ümit helped people to guess the numbers of the hidden stars and let them become millionaires. People liked to watch other people getting rich and secure their future, so it directly affected the ratings. But this, distribution of money had another result. People started to think that if they plead and persuade him that they need money to survive, Güner Ümit would give it to them. In rural Turkish culture, the village chiefs (aghas or landowners) and the sheiks (the head of a tribe - usually in the Southeast Anatolia region) help people who convince them that they need help (a similar socio-cultural role as the Mafia "Don"s in USA and Italy). So Güner Ümit became a symbolic agha or sheik for the people who wanted to be rich. The level of pleading had gone so far that, people started to tell about their troubles, family affairs, their poorness and why they need that money before choosing a number. Güner Ümit had a hard time trying to stop their pleading on the phone and get an answer for the show, so the producers put a time limit for the competitors to guess the numbers.

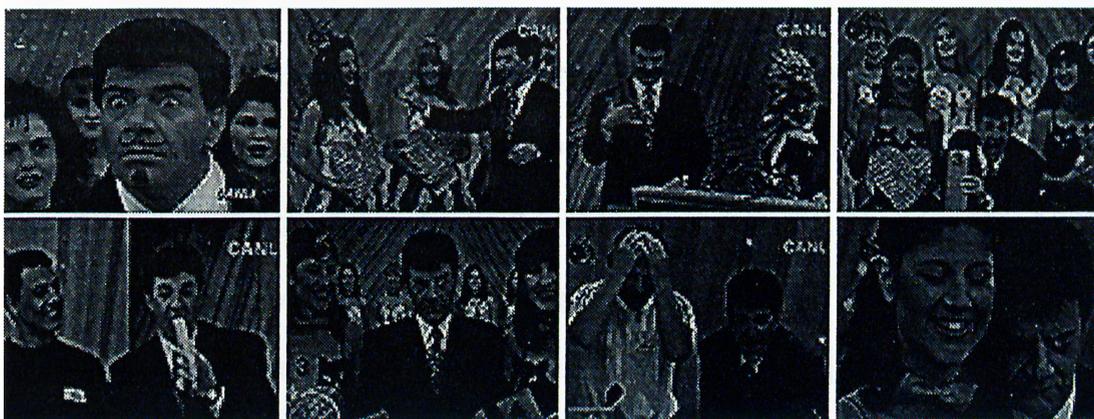


Figure 50 Scenes from Güner Ümit's shows.

He transferred to Kanal 6 in 1993, another private channel while he had top ratings, with astronomic transfer fee taking his girl assistants with him. In Kanal 6, Güner

Ümit started to produce his own show besides his quiz mastering and the show is renamed as Mega Turnike. Inter Star tried to compensate this transfer because the ratings of their channel had decreased, so they started to broadcast the old versions of Süper Turnike until they found another quiz master Yıldo -- a famous animator (people who organizes the games and shows in the holiday villages, hotels, etc.). The producers started to broadcast Süper Turnike again with Yıldo and new assistants so for a while there were two "Turnike" quiz shows, Süper Turnike and Mega Turnike on television at the prime time. This situation led to a new definition of these shows as "quiz master shows" because since the main themes are same in both quiz shows, quiz masters became the only factor that can affect the watching ratios. During this "quiz master show" period, both quiz masters tried to find out different tricks to attract attention to their shows. For instance, Güner Ümit had dressed like a woman, a football player, a wrestler, a gypsy, etc., and Yıldo also tried such shows but the real difference between these two quiz masters were their jargon. Yıldo was speaking with a "night club show" jargon which associates directly with dirty, sexy jokes. Güner Ümit was also speaking informally but he was more successful in reaching the cultures of different levels of the society without being rude. After sometime, Güner Ümit's Mega Turnike -- supported with higher prizes than that of InterStar's Süper Turnike -- won the war and InterStar stopped broadcasting the show because of the low ratings. After stopping the broadcasting of Süper Turnike the producers of InterStar, once more started to broadcast the old versions of Süper Turnike with Güner Ümit in the daytime

Today Güner Ümit is both producing and quiz mastering his own show - Mega Turnike which is in the top ten of television programs according to the ratings of AGB - a prime time rating organization which put out the ratings daily in newspapers. His success lies in his being the first and his steadiness. He is the one who did the first comic shows in a quiz program. His approach to the competitors is very soothing and gentle. He can easily interact with all competitors from



Figure 51 Güner Ümit is making someone rich

any age group, job or profession and he provides them the opportunities to have fun, fulfillment and pleasure at the show even when they are at the other end of the telephone. He is the symbol of "hard-working successful man" with his success story developing from being an announcer in İzmir TRT television to becoming the producer and the quiz master of the most popular quiz show in Turkey.



Figure 52 One of the shows of Güner Ümit

3.3.5.2 Assistants

The assistants in the quiz shows can be defined as the construction elements. They have a multitude duties that makes the show work properly. They sometimes become as important elements as the quiz masters. The assistants help the quiz masters, they present the commodities and they give dynamism to the show by dancing, acting, etc.



Figure 53 An assistant from Mega Turnike

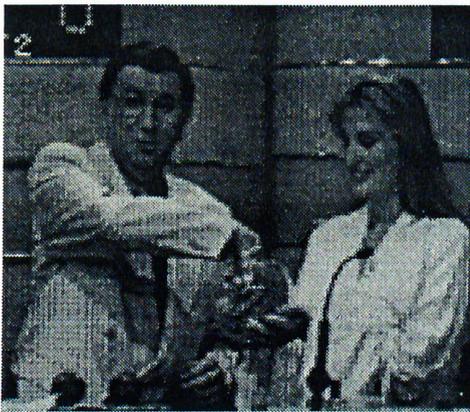


Figure 54 Bülent Özveren and his assistant in Joker

behaving seriously. She is more like a laboratory assistant who helps the teacher, a role which fulfills the academic medium of these academic knowledge quiz shows.

Bülent Özveren's assistant in Joker, is in the role of a co-quiz master. She helps the quiz master with the question and answer sessions and does nothing else which give her a secondary academic status besides Bülent Özveren. She has hidden her sexual features by dressing like an academic woman and by

While the assistants present the commodities they become a part of the cultural strategy that - like advertising - is itself a part of commodity capitalism. (Fiske, 1990: 272) These beautiful girls are used to display the prizes and doing so they also associate the commodities with sexuality. In Seç Bakalım the British models are showing the commodities in a very sexy and seductive manner. The reason for the

producers' decision to use these tall, blonde, sexy and foreign models is to increase the level of attraction. The girls lie on the bed while presenting a bedroom furniture set, they caress the blender with their fingers, they look directly into the cameras - inviting. So while presenting these commodities the girls associate these items with new identifications which is something inviting, exciting and sexual. In Aşağı Yukarı quiz show, the girls sit on the car and adopt the classical pin-up pose (one leg up, the other tense, one arm at the back the other at the top and waving, the body and the head slightly bend back) with their short skirts and low necklines. In Mega Turnike the presentation of the commodities is done by a pre-recorded video. The assistants in the video presentation wear sport outfits. They present the cars with the same pin-up poses but in this case its meaning is different because of the reduced sexual image due to the effect of the costumes. The meaning in this presentation is also inviting but this is an invitation for a normal date without sexual overtones which can end up in marriage which is quite acceptable, as far as the moral values of the society are concerned.

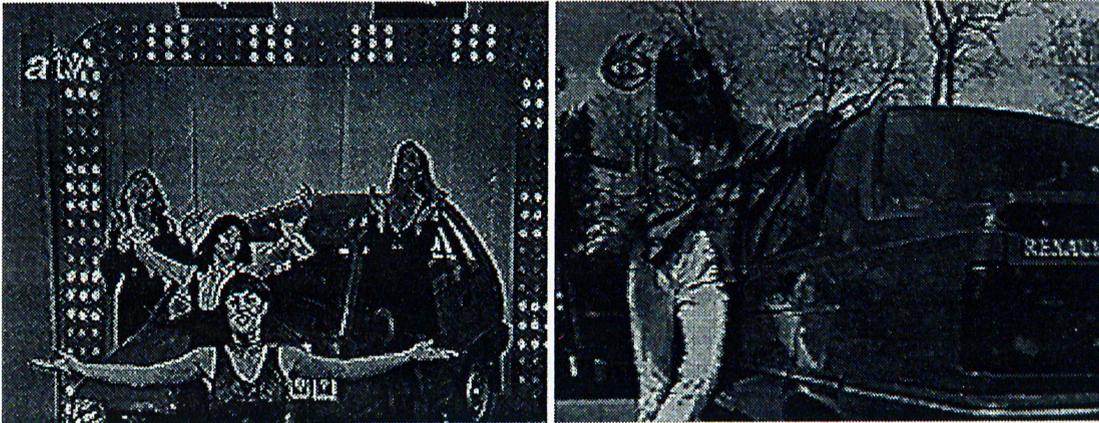


Figure 55 The assistants presenting the cars in Aşağı Yukarı and Mega Turnike

In all of these quiz shows, the assistant girls link the act of buying to sexual desire and satisfaction. "Linking the domain of sexuality with that of economics is usual in our society. Soap operas like *Young and Restless* or *Bold and Beautiful* are no different from the commercials typically inserted into them, in their equation of economic power with sexual power." (Fiske, 1990: 272)

Fiske determines that sexual competition, with its Darwinian explanation of the "natural" survival of the fittest, is easily mobilized to naturalize economic competition and adds;

...the "natural" survival of the fittest, is easily mobilized to naturalize economic competition. The "natural" desirability of a beautiful woman, or man, is a metaphor for the capitalist desirability of the commodity with which she or he, is associated. The person who is the object of sexual desire becomes objectified into the commodity so that both are purchased or won simultaneously.(1990: 272)



The assistants also strengthen the carnival image of the quiz shows. The girls dance and announce quiz master Güner Ümit by shouting his name and wave their pom-poms to him before he enters the stage, like cheerleaders. They also make jokes to Güner Ümit when taking the question card

Figure 56 Assistant girls are dancing in *Aşağı Yukarı* to him so the atmosphere is joyful. They also change costumes and play roles if Güner Ümit also acting. In *Aşağı Yukarı* the assistant girls dance with their quiz master Meltem Cumbul and join her shows. The viewers like to watch assistant girls dance, laugh, and act joyful so these actions affects the ratings of the shows.

The assistant girls usually behave like the viewers and they show their reactions to the situations on stage. They feel happy when the competitors win and feel sad when they lose. They are one of the "realization elements" which provides the feeling of the show is really "real" because they behave quite normally and reflect the social consensus about the situation in the television frame that belongs to the stage elements. Otherwise the television viewers can only refer to the stage audience and this is not enough to satisfy



Figure 57 An assistant from Süper Turnike

their needs to believe the situations because the frames including audiences are not as much as the ones that include the stage elements.

The assistants are also symbolizing one of the capitalist dreams - the Cinderella dream. The Cinderella dream is the " girl meets rich, handsome boy and marries him and is happy" story. This is a world-wide dream which also includes Turkey, which has its roots in the famous American "rags-to-riches" myth. This myth is manifest in the most of the sports, entertainment and industrial stars' biographies.

The story is also true for many of these assistant girls. Most of them are not well educated and they belong to the lower levels of the socio-economic classes. They look for a chance that can give them a fortune for their future. This fortune can be wealth, fame or social status.

Fiske gives an example for the Cinderella dream about Vanna White, the hostess of the American version of Çarkıfelek (Wheel of Fortune) who is an embodiment of this myth. In 1986 she shot the o celebrity status, a meteoric rise that culminated in her photograph on the cover of the Newsweek. This and other secondary texts, provided viewers with biographical information that made her the living validation of the role of luck in our ideology. Her father, so the stories went, was a drunken, spouse-abusing Puerto Rican whom her mother divorced when Vanna was still an infant. From such a sociologically disadvantaged start. She progressed to a number of undistinguished modeling jobs. Then she tried her luck in Hollywood, additioned for Wheel of Fortune role, and from cultural invisibility, became almost overnight celebrity. (1990, 270-271)

Her story is the "true" exactment of the "fortune" that her show symbolically offers. Vanna White is the proof that this fortune is available to everyone (with a little bit of luck).



Figure 58 Yasemin Koşal with quizmaster of Çarkıfelek, Tarık Tarcan

Similar stories are also valid in Turkey for some of the assistants and hostesses. Yasemin Koşal - a fashion model - had been chosen for the Turkish version of Wheel of Fortune - Çarkıfelek (Fig.58). She was assisting quiz master Tarık Tarcan who is also a fashion model and movie star. Çarkıfelek was one of the most popular quiz shows in Turkey during its first year. By the help of this popularity, she became a very popular and most wanted model for the fashion shows.

In Mega Turnike there are similar success stories. One of the assistants was chosen for bank advertisement where she told people how to spend their money. After this Güner Ümit gave a chance and she made an announcement in the show. In the following programs Güner Ümit give chance to the other girls and everynight one of the girls started to make announcements for the phone numbers and prizes (Fig.59). This was a good opportunity for these girls because most of them wanted to be an announcer in the future. This situation is an example of proof for the system, which accepts "working and being



Figure 59 An announcing girl from Mega Turnike

lucky" as a key to the future. These girls, belonging to the different levels of the society are realizing their Cinderella dreams everynight. Viewers watch a lucky member of themselves talking on television in one of the most popular programs. They get the "chance" for an access to the ball but the only thing missing is the

"prince". The "prince" is sometimes an advertising agency, sometimes a movie director, sometimes a model agency (see fig.60) or sometimes a television producer.



Figure 60 Famous model agency president and Miss Turkey Neşe Erberk is on a fashion show with the assistants of Mega Turnike

One of the girls from Mega Turnike entered the "Miss Turkey Beauty Contest" and tried her luck in a different area. Being the most beautiful girl is also a dream for most of the girls because of the opportunities that are offered to the winners. They can be a model, movie star, announcer, etc. The feeling of being the most beautiful is also an important factor that cannot be underestimated, for entering these contests. The quiz shows are a useful step for this kind of social mobility.

So the people in quiz shows are also symbols of the popular myths in the capitalist society. Everynight people watch the realization of somebody's dreams with the help of some people whose dreams are already realized - the quiz master and the assistants.

4. Articulating Quiz Shows and Social Structure

Fiske explains the quiz shows' text with Hall's theory of articulation;" Hall uses two meanings of the word articulation. To articulate is in one sense to "speak" and "speaking" and it involves response. It is a two way process. "(1990: 273)

Quiz shows are realizing this two way process. They articulate or speak consumerism as they carry the voice of their producers and they also articulate responses to that "consumerism". They tell people to consume and how good consumerism is and they also show the responses of the audience to these consumer goods or prizes.

"The first meaning of articulation directs our attention to the text, its production and reception, the second requires us to look at the way the text (or the game of which it is an example) is linked to other cultural domains"(Fiske, 1990:274). Fiske defines MTV as an example for explaining this double-articulation;

Thus, when MTV is articulated with the record and music industry, its meanings are commercial and economic, but when it is articulated with the domain of youth possibly with a drug-subculture, its glossy, rapid, consumerist images may articulate (speak) meanings of opposition or evasion. (1990, 274)

Hall's theory reminds us that the same speech articulated to different domains, can mean quite different things and can serve quite different social and political interests.

The "multiple articulation" of quiz shows is a function both of their textual openness and of the way they can be read in terms of their relationship with a number of cultural domains, particularly those of school, family, shopping, leisure and social relationships..(Fiske, 1990, 274)

The first articulation - production and reception - is investigated during the study. The whole structure of the quiz shows are designed and organized to express the ideology behind it. When the main elements of these shows are analyzed, one can see a hierarchic order, democratic elements and the chance factor. They also give prizes for the luck or/and to the able ones who know the answers. The generic characteristics of quiz shows are clearly effective bearers of capitalist and patriarchal ideologies. The main characteristics of these ideologies are represented during the quiz shows.

When one analyses the multiple-articulation of quiz shows different texts can be read that are related with school, family, shopping, leisure, social relationships and etc.

Quiz shows articulate with school in a number of ways. First of all it visually creates an academic medium on the stage. There are competitors in place of students, and there is quiz master who presents the social power and controls and examines the competitors' knowledge (especially in academic knowledge quiz shows).

People watch and analyze knowledge based quiz shows. Mc. Quail, Blumler and Brown have found that viewers from higher, socio economic groups (who are likely to be better educated) use quiz shows to check and test their "academic" knowledge and add;

Viewers from lower socio-economic groups, however (likely to have a shorter formal education), use the shows to "prove" to themselves that they are as clever as the competitors. Some use these shows as a basis for self-rating. They have responses like "I imagined that I was on the program and doing well" or "I can compare myself with the experts". These self-ratings often produce the sort of self-esteem that the education system has denied them. "I find I know more than I thought" or "I feel I have improved myself". This is a symbolic success for the ones who fail at school. Quiz

shows are more attractive because their final reward for success is "instant" and clear -people know how much money or what prize they can get. In the school system you spend years for success, and there is only a "promised" future - nothing is exactly defined. There is only a "chance" of having a good job and a good future. Quiz shows are rapid and definite; "If you win you get the prize".(Fiske, 1990: 274)

Quiz shows are also important for children. Seeing their adults competing in quiz shows, trying to find out answers, obeying the quiz master, making mistakes, etc., children can compare themselves with their adults. "This situation provides a source of self-esteem for them which their school experience frequently fails to give. (Fiske,1990: 275)". Quiz shows also give children opportunities to play adult roles. There are a lot of examples as Fiske defines, where the children play the quiz show games and sometimes the teachers let the children play the role of quiz master in the classroom version of television quiz shows. Children who are observing the quiz shows and playing these roles, get familiar with the social system and the hierarchic social order.

Quiz shows are also important for women. It translates the feminine skills and knowledge out of the private sphere in to the public, gives them a status normally reserved for the masculine, and sets them loose from the domains in which they are devalued. The exaggerated public acclaim given by the studio audience to the winner is quite foreign to everyday housewife experience. The competitors and the housewife audience feel good with this inviting, carnivalesque, exciting action. The audience compare its ability and knowledge with the woman on television. The woman at the quiz show is rewarded by her housewife knowledge. She feels that she is out of her private sphere and free but she is rewarded for her level of knowledge. So, the more housewife-knowledge she has the better she is rewarded, and this

situation pushes her back to her old sphere only to be better, as a prize-winning housewife.

Most of the quiz shows test the "ordinariness". The ranging of this ordinariness can start from the market prices to the actual general culture themes. When it comes to questioning the prices, the competitors has to possess the knowledge which the system has defined. The competitors are rewarded for knowing their - the producers - system. The quiz shows are validating the knowledge of the people of "us" - the ordinary - as opposed to "them". (Fiske,1990: 278)

The concept of ordinary is of course, never defined by such shows, but is left open and available for a wide range of identifications. It is an open construct of "us" opposed to an equally generalized "them". Sometimes "they" are embodied in authority figures surrounded by the encyclopedias, sometimes they are "a hundred people's" comment.

Many of these shows, invite and mix stars or special people with the ordinary competitors, and what is displayed here is the famous people not in their glamour but in their ordinariness. When the competitors approach to "star" Harun Kolçak is analyzed in Fig.61 the ordinariness can easily be perceived. It also affects the popularity of the program since the audience likes to watch famous people sharing the same knowledge testing with ordinary people and learns more about them to comment "I thought they were different, but they are like us".

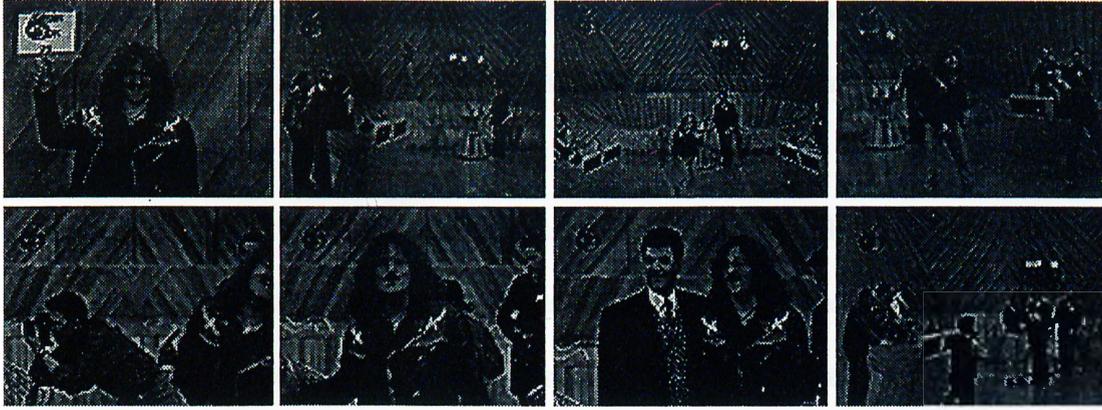


Figure 61 Famous singer Harun Kolçak in Mega Turnike

The "ordinariness" and the "ordinary knowledge" can be associated with the oral popular culture (Fiske, 1990: 278) . Süper Aile, for instance, is an expression of an oral popular culture, not a literate controlling one. The knowledge that Süper Aile quiz show tests is one best gained by ordinary interaction with ordinary people - an oral knowledge derived from social experience rather than a literate knowledge taught by social institutions.

One ordinary cultural domain to which the shows often refer is that of family. This "speaking" can take a number of forms. The shows have derived not only from the institutional literal experience of education but also from the informal "oral tradition" of family games. These games have their roots in games like hangman, scrabble, etc. Mc. Quail, Blumler and Brown (Fiske, 1990: 279) found that the more educated viewers played the games with their families in front of the television set and family members would compete with each other and with the television competitors to answer the question first. Fiske defines television as it became part of the oral culture of the family in a way that parallels the function of gossip in taking soap opera into the oral culture of women. The answers are not always reflecting an individual oral

culture, because in Süper Aile some of the questions are answered not individually, but by the family as a consensus voiced after a period of conferring.

Even though most of the quiz shows articulate with the family, they sometimes do not support the classical family concepts like moral values, division of labor, etc. During the quiz show Süper Aile - where the families compete with each other - a representative is chosen and he/she decides on some of the answers and these answers can be different than the family consensus. This status can be given to any member of the family who seems to be more suitable for that role without regarding the socially defined division of labor in the family where the representative role - the head of the family - is normally given to father, husband or/and the elder male member of the family. In Süpermarket or Kaç Para the competitors usually free

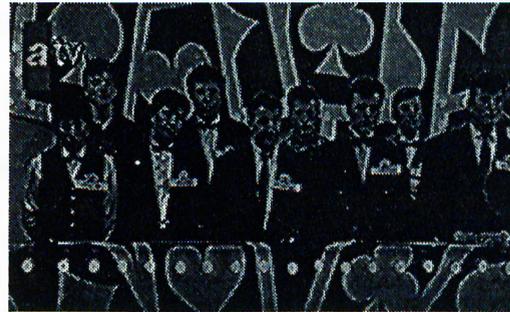


Figure 62 The family of "cooks" in Süper Aile

themselves from the family demands and they shop and consume for their fulfillment and pleasure. In Saklambaç or Evcilik Oyunu games the competitors liberate sexuality from family morality and place it confidentially and shamelessly in the realm of pleasure. This is acceptable in quiz shows because the joyful medium of these shows usually legitimize these actions. In Saklambaç the romantic narrative

"which underlines the show" (Fiske, 1990: 277) - "boy meets girl" or "girl meets boy", or "boy wins girl" or vice versa after a period of testing, and they are joined happily together - ends not in a marriage, responsibility and the acceptance of an adult social role - but in a weekend pleasure. In Evcilik Oyunu the couples can reveal their little bedroom secrets which will normally be never talked about in front of millions of people.

Quiz shows also articulate the voice of different classes in the society. In Aşağı Yukarı the sample group from any level of society is given the chance of speaking about their beliefs, wishes, etc. For instance, the producers invite a group to the stage and asks the competitors "We asked this group how many of you can perform your job better than your boss. How many of them said yes". This is a chance for the people to speak about their thoughts which



they normally would not. Same chance is given to a group of university students who had been asked if they believed that love is more important than money, or to an amateur show group who were able to perform in front of millions of people.

Figure 63 A group of waiter as a guest group representing waiters in Aşağı Yukarı



Figure 64 An amateur group is making their show in Mega Turnike

Besides enabling an articulation of their less known thoughts, the quiz shows also provide an opportunity for people who have a message to give. These popular mediums are frequently used for this kind of communication. In the "Police Week" the students from Police Academy, join the game and invite people to their school and to be the protectors of law and order. In "Week for the Elderly" old people come to the show and give their messages about being forgotten and invite people to care for old people. In "World Environment Day" people from environmental protection groups and organizations join the show and give "save the earth" messages. Sometimes famous people enter the game and donate the prize to a "poor patient" who needs an urgent, expensive surgery while they announce the bank account number to millions of people and request help for the poor. Quiz shows serve social functions. These social functions can range from the victories of Galatasaray - a Turkish football team - in European leagues to the responses against the attacks to Atatürk - founder of Turkish Republic.



Figure 65 Güner Ümit with an Atatürk portrait

Besides trying to be rich in half an hour - referring to the slogan of 50s " a millionaire in every neighborhood"; there is also another fact; becoming "famous". To be on television is a must for the self-esteem of the society referring to another slogan - "a fame from every neighborhood". In other words, all quiz shows give "ordinary people" the role of "special people" - those on television.

Quiz shows have a carnival-like "carnavalesque" medium. Bakhtin defines carnival as a time when the constraints of the everyday are evaded and its power relations temporarily reversed and adds;

Masters or mistresses become servants, and vice versa, the pleasures of the body, eating, drinking, and sexuality, are indulged to excess without guilt and those who are normally subjected to a complex of power systems (economic, political, moral) are momentarily freed from their subjection. (Fiske, 1990: 277)



Figure 66 The carnivalesque medium of the Mega Turnike

This sense of carnival-like medium articulates quiz shows with fun and entertainment where everyone laughs, smiles, applauds and is happy - even when they lose the game. The academic knowledge quiz shows also have some features that differ from the academic mediums of the schools with applauding audiences, assistants etc. All the texts and the associates of the quiz shows are presented through the trappings of showbiz - flashing lights, glitter, a stage and an audience, music, applause, and so on as Fiske defines (1990:277). That makes people avoid the daily and/or social effects on them and comfortably concentrate on what is happening on stage - at least for half an hour - a time out both for the competitors and the viewers.



Figure 67 The "success" in Mega Turnike; selection, risk, victory, happiness, celebration

Quiz shows' open text and the inviting visual structure is not only for the competitors. The viewers at the stage and behind the screens also perceive the articulating of the shows. At this point, the significance of the viewer has to be pointed out. As Lewis defines this concept by the equation { message + viewer = meaning }, one can easily claim that whatever the message on television is, or however it is presented, it has no meaning without the "viewer" and its responses (1991:18). So the television programs and the television itself need viewers to survive. Quiz shows may have multiple articulations that can be associated both with the competitors and the viewers but one can analyze the situation from the point of view that asks the question " Why are the audiences watch television so that such articulations can occur ?"

According to Batra, the argument is simple; since audiences have needs to gratify and since television serves this function very well, television would reveal its audiences' changing tastes, values, and modes of behavior affecting the society (1987:18). This statement explains that there is a two-way process for television watching. Both Arthur Asa Berger and Denis McQuail have given a comprehensive summary of the uses and gratifications which television provides to the audiences. They pointed out the four broad categories for which audiences use television and simply listed them as; information, personal identity, social integration and entertainment. (Batra, 1987:18)

Information can be summarized in terms of monitoring environmental and social changes and conditions in the world, finding tips on personal and practical affairs, self-improvement and gaining knowledge to bolster one's self-confidence. Personal

identity is related to strengthening personal values, finding role models, identifying with superiors and valued others and self-knowledge. Social integration - in their terms - is understanding others, a sense of togetherness and belonging through identification, a source of conversation and social exchange. It is also related with learning social roles and integration with family and friends which includes imaginary companionship. Entertainment is simply recreation, relaxation, and passing time, enjoying beauty and culture, catharsis or emotional release and sexual arousal. (Batra,1987:18)

When one compares these simple terms with the previous multiple articulation examples of quiz shows, it is surprising that almost all of the usages of television for the audiences can be found in the rich and open text of quiz shows both for the people who enter and for ones who watch the shows. The openness of the television quiz shows narrative also supplies the people's needs to perceive their own custom articulation behind the variety and carnival structure of these shows. Quiz shows narrative - both visual and ideological - supplies the whole demands of the audiences from television. The quiz shows, in other words, simulates the whole television system by itself.

5. Conclusion - What Lies Behind the Popularity of Quiz Shows

The purpose of this study was to define and analyze the specific visual and ideological environment which built up the popularity of television quiz shows in Turkey.

Before analyzing the visual and ideological meanings of these shows the socio-economic conditions of Turkey was studied briefly to find out the conditions under which these quiz shows emerged and developed. The main narrative and visual structures, the hierarchic order, types and the underlying texts of quiz shows were the main field of interest.

In the previous chapter the multiple articulation and the openness of the quiz show text was examined. It is seen that besides representing the capitalist ideologies on television, the quiz shows also have other sociological associations and serve some social functions. When these functions are compared with the Arthur Asa Berger and Denis McQuail' s definitions for the audience's uses of television - listed in the previous chapter - , it becomes clear that the quiz shows by themselves can supply the whole range of demands that the audience expects from the television.

As De Long has defined, no other type of program on the air has attracted and embraced such a diversity of professional talent, ranging from comedians and bandleaders to newscasters and academicians. (1991:1). This is also valid for the Turkish audiences. The reasons for this popularity can be listed as follows;

1. The television quiz shows embrace everything that the television has to offer and hence they are attractive for all types of television audience who looks for information, personal identity, social integration and entertainment.

2. They are the only of television programs which are based on the facts of the capitalist ideology, represents the capitalist system, acts "as the system", proves the system and starts all over again for new opportunities for new individuals.

People like to watch the legitimization and proving of the system that they live in because they realize that the system offers them the same "chance" as the next person.

3. The simulation of the system is done in a "carnavalesque" medium where people laugh, dance, applause, sing, where the lights are flashing, the costumes are exciting and where the promised prizes are "real". The visual representation and/or realization of the system is done in a perfect showbiz sense that everyone feels that " they never had it so good before " - even as they lose the game because the system offers them new chances.

These were the main reasons which made the quiz shows popular. There are also some other reasons that one cannot specifically define for each quiz show but are directly associated with the popularity of these shows.

Batra refers to Keats' remarks about "truth". which claims that truth is not truth unless we feel it on our pulses and truth for television also does not exist unless it can be demonstrated and dramatized (Batra,27:1987). Fiske and Hartley also add the more "realistic" program is thought to be, the more trusted, enjoyable -- and therefore the more popular -- it becomes. (1978: 160)

The sense of being "real" or in television terms "live" is one of the most important facts that affect the popularity of quiz shows worldwide. In Turkey the most popular quiz show is Mega Turnike and it has been broadcasted "live" since Güner Ümit was at TRT-1 directing the Turnike. The ones which were pre-recorded are trying to simulate "liveness".

Goodwin remarks that as television must connect with people's actual experiences, both in terms of their real and fantasy lives; unless we can recognize ourselves, our desires, and our dreams on television it will mean nothing to us. (Goodwin,1990:94) This remark is also valid for quiz shows and is also related with the actual socio-cultural events. The effect of being "real" on the popularity of quiz shows were mentioned and this "realness" also associates with being up-to-date. The quiz shows which can get information and adopt to the actual socio-cultural conditions are thought to be more popular because of the enhanced feeling of being trustworthy by the help of "real" elements in the show. In the most popular quiz show Mega Turnike, almost all of the current socio-cultural events are mentioned - for example on Mother's day, mothers compete.

Besides its "live" broadcasting and up-to-date socio-cultural approaches to life, Mega Turnike quiz show has something more which makes it the most popular in Turkey. Mega Turnike is a "made in Turkey" quiz show which is the collage of different games that is directed by a very successful quiz master Güner Ümit - the creator of Mega Turnike. Mega Turnike has the chance of adapting to the changes in life and cultural adaptation. The show can be mutated so new features can be added or taken off if necessary. This feature is the most important difference between Mega Turnike

and its likes, because others are of American origins. Mega Turnike has used this chance of mutation and made some changes in the show that affected the popularity of the show such as the announcing assistants, singing guest stars, etc. Güner Ümit also adopted himself to the socio-cultural conditions and kept his popularity growing. He tried to amuse all classes of Turkish society with his shows and also with high prizes, who are in hunger of laughter, and succeeded. The show itself can culturally adapt to the social structure and values. For instance in "Ramazan" or "Ramadan" month - the ninth month of the Moslem year where Moslem people are daily fasting sunrise to sunset - the sexy costumes of the assistant girls are changed to more cosed ones in order to prevent acting against the moral values of an Islamic society so the show adapts itself to the social values. Mega Turnike is a good example for the need of cultural adaptation of quiz shows to the societies that they belong.

As a result, quiz shows are one of the most popular television shows all around the world which present certain characteristics which distinguish them from other programs in the presentation of the marketed ideology. With their realness and their powerful presentations quiz shows enjoy a high level of attention from all social levels from prime-time to day time. They are the television programs which represent, realize and prove their underlying ideology - capitalist ideology - within a rich and dynamic context. Their popularity lies in their carnivalesque, rapid and real representations of the system for the people who seek to experience something which "they never had it so good.

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