DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION
TRANSLATION STUDIES PROGRAM

DOCTORAL THESIS

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

INTRA-MEDIAL TRANSCULTURAL REMAKES IN TURKEY: AN INTERPRETANT-BASED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN TV SERIES DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES AND ITS TURKISH REMAKE UMUTSUZ EV KADINLARI

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İZMİR- 2020

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis titled as "**Intra-medial Transcultural Television Remakes in Turkey: An Interpretant-based Comparative Analysis of the American TV Series Desperate Housewives and its Turkish Remake Umutsuz Ev Kadınları**" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resourses in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

05/08/2020
Mehmet ERGUVAN

ABSTRACT

Doctoral Thesis

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Intra-medial Transcultural Television Remakes in Turkey: An Interpretant-based Comparative Analysis of the American TV Series Desperate Housewives and its Turkish Remake Umutsuz Ev Kadınları

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The growing pre-eminence of audiovisual media has led the field of audiovisual translation (AVT) to grow in significance and visibility since the 1990s. AVT has become a mature subject field in translation studies, considering the exponential increase in audiovisual content in diverse forms (such as subtitling, dubbing, adaptation and remake) and a wide spectrum of research on these varied forms of AVT. However, translation studies researchers have mostly neglected remakes as a form of translation. This research approaches remakes as a sphere of interest in translations studies by problematizing these cultural goods from the perspective of translation studies. Given that one of the primary aims of this study is to call attention to the relevance of remakes to translation studies research, this study initially builds up and presents a corpus of intra-medial transcultural television remakes on Turkish television and, benefiting from Lawrence Venuti's model, it offers a methodological framework for analyzing multiple dimensions and complexities of the remake process. In order to demonstrate the integral role of television remakes on Turkish television, the role of translation in the history of television series in Turkey was first analyzed starting from 1968 until 2020. The period between 2000 and 2020 was then investigated in detail since, during this era, Turkish television became home to a new form of programming, namely television remakes. Considering the

proliferation of television remakes in Turkey since the 2000s, this dissertation questions the position of intra-medial transcultural television remakes within the Turkish television repertoire, with particular attention to whether "interference" (Even-Zohar, 1990) has taken place in the course of remaking and, if any, what (conservative/innovative) role(s) remakes have played in the Turkish "culture repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 2002). Undertaking a case study that seeks to comparatively analyze a Turkish remake [*Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (Kanal D/FOX, Turkey 2011-2014)] and *Desperate Housewives* (ABC, USA 2004-2012), first on macro and then micro levels, this research ultimately aims at investigating how, and in what aspects "interference" has occurred following the introduction of television remakes as "options" (Even-Zohar 2002) within the Turkish television series repertoire.

Keywords: intra-medial transcultural remakes, television series repertoire in Turkey, cross-cultural interference, the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*, interpretants

ÖZET

Doktora Tezi

Türkiye'de Medyaiçi Kültürlerarası Yeniden Çevrim Diziler: Amerikan TV Dizisi Desperate Housewives ile Dizinin Türkçe Yeniden Çevrimi Umutsuz Ev Kadınları'nın Yorumlayıcı Temelli Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

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Görsel-işitsel medyanın giderek yaygınlık kazanması, 1990'lardan bu yana görsel-işitsel çeviri alanının önemini ve görünürlüğünü arttırmaktadır. Görsel-işitsel çeviri, çeviribilimin erginlik kazanan bir araştırma alanına dönüşmekte olup söz konusu dönüşüm süreci (altyazı, dublaj, uyarlama ve yeniden çevrim gibi) görsel-işitsel materyallerin çeşitliliğine ve farklı türden görsel-işitsel çevirilere yönelik yaklaşımlara yansır. Buna karşın, geçmişten bugüne çeviribilim araştırmacıları bir çeviri türü olarak yeniden çevrimleri göz ardı etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu araştırma yeniden çevrimleri çeviribilim açısından sorunsallaştırarak söz konusu kültürel ürünlere çeviribilimin bir ilgi alanı olarak yaklaşır. Öncelikli amaçlarından biri yeniden çevrimlerin çeviribilimle ilgisine dikkat çekmek olan bu çalışma öncelikle Türk televizyonundaki medyaiçi kültürlerarası yeniden çevrimlerin bir bütüncesini oluşturur ve Lawrence Venuti'nin önerdiği yöntemi genişleterek yeniden çevrim sürecinin zengin ve karmaşık yapısını incelemek üzere yöntemsel bir çerçeve önerir. Bu doğrultuda, yeniden çevrimlerin televizyondaki önemini ortaya koymak üzere, ilk olarak 1968 yılından günümüze Türk televizyon dizileri tarihinde çevirinin rolü irdelenmiştir. Bunu takiben, Türk televizyonunun program tedariğini sağlamak adına yeniden çevrim olarak adlandırılan yeni bir program türünü keşfedip yayınladığı 2000 ila 2020 yılları arasındaki dönem detaylı bir şekilde araştırılmıştır. Türkiye'de 2000'li yılların başından bu yana televizyonda

yayınlanan yeniden çevrimlerin hızla yaygınlık kazanmasını göz önünde bulunduran bu tez, bilhassa yeniden çevrim sürecinde "kültürlerarası bir nüfuz"un (Even-Zohar, 1990) gerçekleştiğini ve yeniden çevrimlerin Türk "kültür repertuvarı"nda (Even-Zohar, 2002) bir yandan tutucu, öte yandan ise yenilikçi rol(ler) oynadığını ileri sürer. Bu doğrultuda, tezin diğer bir amacı Türk televizyon repertuvarında medyaiçi kültürlerarası yeniden çevrim dizilerin konumunu sorgulamaktır. *Desperate Housewives* (ABC, ABD, 2004-2012) ile bu dizinin Türkiye'ye yeniden çevriminin (Kanal D/FOX, 2011-2014) makro ve mikro boyutlarda gerçekleştirilen karşılaştırmalı analizini vaka çalışması olarak ele alan bu araştırma, yeniden çevrim dizilerin Türk televizyon dizileri repertuvarına "seçenek" (Even-Zohar, 2002) olarak girmesininin ardından nasıl ve hangi açılardan "kültürlerarası nüfuz"a yol açtığını derinlemesine araştırmayı amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: medyaiçi kültürlerarası yeniden çevrim diziler, Türkiye'de televizyon dizileri repertuvarı, kültürlerarası nüfuz, *Desperate Housewives*'ın Türkçe yeniden çevrimi, yorumlayıcılar

INTRA-MEDIAL TRANSCULTURAL REMAKES IN TURKEY: AN INTERPRETANT-BASED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN TV SERIES DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES AND ITS TURKISH REMAKE UMUTSUZ EV KADINLARI

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ABBREVIATIONS

AVT	Audiovisual Translation
E	Episode
RTUK	Radio and Television Supreme Council
S	Season
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

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INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that communication technologies have been strongly transforming our lives for some time now, so much so that there is almost no one in the world who has not faced the ever-increasing influence of audiovisual texts. Jorge Díaz-Cintas (2013) asserts that the ever-increasing reality of mass communication, mainly through cinema and television, but recently often by means of the Internet, has led to substantial changes in the way we establish communication with each other (273). Hence, "the exchange of ideas, messages and images through media that combine both the visual and the auditory channels is an everyday, routine practice for millions of people around the globe" (ibid.). He adds that "it is the composite, semiotic nature of the material, with all its creative potential" that brings about the relative substitution of audiovisual texts for written communication (ibid.). Recent technological breakthroughs have helped audiovisual translation (AVT) gain the recognition it is worthy of as a shaping force in and as a means of fostering communication.[1] AVT has fundamentally changed from its earliest form, and new forms of AVT have been developed as the need for audiovisual texts has diversified. It can be asserted that AVT has been acknowledged as a recognized form of translation and also as an academic subfield in the last three decades.[2] Particularly in this era in

[1] AVT can refer to screen translation, film translation, (multi)media translation and so on. Its different denominations define a different scope for the field. From the mid-1950s and 1960s, early publications on AVT fell under the heading of film translation, which failed to include television shows and other types of programs other than feature-length films. Screen translation also leaves aside some practices such as surtitling for the stage. "Translation for the media" and "multimedia translation" are other terms used to refer to this research field and to the multitude of media and channels. For Fatios Karamitroglou, the term AVT is preferable because the notion of film is mostly limited to full-length feature films while AVT covers and highlights the multisemiotic dimension of all broadcast programs (2000: 2). Henrik Gottlieb also suggests a wider definition, stating that AVT is "the translation of transient polysemiotic texts presented on screen to mass audiences" (Schjoldager, Gottlieb and Klitgård 2008, 205).

[2] In the book entitled *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Dror Abend-David notes that a substantial number of scholars working on media and translation assert that they are living in the "golden age" of the field of AVT (2014: viii). In his introduction to *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*, Díaz-Cintas further bolsters the claim that AVT has come of age academically (2009: 3). Some of the major sources in the research field of media and translation are: George-Michael Luyken et al., *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television Dubbing and Subtitling*, 1991; Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb, *(Multi) Media Translation: Concepts, Practices, and Research*, 2001; Minako O'Hagan and David Ashworth, *Television-Mediated Communication in a Digital World: Facing the Challenges of Globalization and Localization*, 2002; Aline Remael and Jorge Díaz-Cintas, *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling*, 2007; Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett, *Translation in Global News*, 2009; Jorge Díaz-Cintas, *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*, 2009; Michael Cronin, *Translation goes to the movies*, 2009; Cristina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett, *Political Discourse, Media and Translation*, 2010; Delia Chiaro, *Translation, Humour and Literature*, 2010; Abé Markus Nornes, *Cinema Babel:*

which mass media dominate our daily life and conspicuously monopolize our values and habits, various forms of AVT have been presented to viewers, such as dubbed, subtitled, adapted and remade audiovisual products.

Technological developments involving the distribution of audiovisual texts globally, the advent of new formats such as DVD and Blu-ray and the proliferation of mobile phones and iPods have further facilitated the interdisciplinary nature of AVT (Remael, 2010; Díaz Cintas, 2013). Such massive developments have provided the groundwork for newer forms of AVT such as surtitling for the stage (Mateo, 2007), live subtitling (Eugeni, 2008), subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (Neves, 2009), fansubbing (Nord et al., 2015) and fandubbing (Wang and Zhang, 2016). Yet, Dror Abend-David states that, considering the great variety of perspectives in this heterogeneous and versatile research area, which may benefit from different fields of studies, various qualitative and quantitative methodologies and multiple ideological stances, "it would seem that research in [this field] has barely scratched the surface" (2014: ix). Thus, despite the high number of academic studies on AVT, most publications still seem to concentrate on several conventional forms such as subtitling and dubbing. Additionally, despite the overall claim that interdisciplinarity characterizes AVT research, with the methodological and conceptual tools of some other disciplines, AVT researchers, with few exceptions such as Díaz-Cintas, often concentrate on just a few analytical and theoretical frameworks (Díaz-Cintas, 2012; Gambier, 2013). Díaz-Cintas is one of the few translation scholars who has offered a research design to foster further discussions about audiovisual materials within their broader context. For instance, he suggests analyzing screen translation from a wider cultural perspective, speaking of the film polysystem as an intricacy of systems made up of national products and translations (2004). In another study (2012), he makes use of Lefevere's concept of "patronage" (1985) in film production, which broadly refers to the power holders including persons and institutions that act as a regulatory unit within a given system. It is against this backdrop that this research highlights the need for theoretical insights and analytical frameworks from the perspective of translation studies. In that, having benefited from Lawrence Venuti's methodological concept of

Translating Global Cinema, 2007; and Carol O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film*, 2011. These and many others will be analyzed critically in Chapter One.

"interpretant" (2007), I will propose additional methodological tools for analyzing remakes as forms of AVT (see Chapter Two). The methodological framework proposed by this research is likely to make a major contribution to research on remakes. Alongside this, the other methodological contribution of this research is a proposal of an approach to build a corpus of remakes based on Gideon Toury's (1995) assumed translation and his three translation postulates. The building of the corpus and its analysis provides a valuable source of background information for the investigation of remakes within a broader context and perspective.

In order to complement and further scholarly discussions on remake as a form of audiovisual translation, the aim of the present dissertation is to investigate and problematize the role and position of intra-medial television remakes within the Turkish television repertoire, paying particular attention to whether "interference" (Even-Zohar, 1990) has occurred in the course of remaking and, if any, what (conservative/innovative) role(s) remakes have fulfilled in the culture repertoire. My recognition that intra-medial transcultural television remakes have become the pillars of the television program supply in the Turkish television industry since the early 2000s first aroused my interest in investigating remaking. Ayşe Şirin Okyayuz's first article (2016) on the subject further fueled my interest in and curiosity about the topic. Therefore, I conducted a survey particularly concentrating on the third period of Turkish television broadcasting, the period starting from 2000, and I found that intra-medial transcultural television remakes have been introducing new and alternative options, thus becoming a tool of enrichment in the television repertoire in Turkey.

Numerous researchers from diverse disciplines such as adaptation studies, film studies, media studies and television studies have offered a diverse range of debates and carried out scholarly works on adaptations and remakes. My literature review on these works revealed that the richness of the dialogues within the abovementioned academic fields of inquiry has provided invaluable insights into research on adaptations and remakes, which I have grouped within four categories: (i) recent scholarly works have taken a more flexible and larger stance in investigating adaptations and remakes, and they have focused less on the question of fidelity to the source text and more on the broader dynamics of such cross-cultural exchanges; (ii) the variety of research materials has steadily increased, thus enabling the proliferation

of many new questions to be raised regarding adaptations and remakes; (iii) a broader contextualization of these translation forms with reference to the network of relations that accommodate them have been facilitated; and (iv) many theoretical and methodological proposals have been offered in order to explore the multifarious conditions surrounding the moment of production of these research objects.

Overall, introducing different standpoints, previous scholarly contributions to adaptations and remakes in various disciplines compel one to take a broader stand in the matter of the conceptualization of translation than has often been taken by translation studies researchers to date. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that they have contributed much to this line of research by providing theoretical and methodological proposals as well as designing and implementing the case study research design. Nevertheless, though they usually welcome interdisciplinary contributions to research on these topics, they have rarely referred to translation and translation studies.[3] My conviction is that interdisciplinary cooperation between the disciplines pointed out above and translation studies would greatly contribute to research on adaptations and remakes by reinvigorating previous academic research in the abovementioned disciplines, exceeding particularized interests in translation studies and advancing the prevalent conceptualization of translation.

As for translation studies, it has mostly overlooked adaptations and remakes as a form of translation, rather privileging more conventional forms such as dubbing and subtitling. However, there are several studies that include remakes and adaptations only briefly in their research. For instance, Yves Gambier mentions remakes only in his introductory essays to *The Translator* in 2003 and *Meta* in 2004. Similarly, Carol O'Sullivan (2011) directs attention to remakes only in passing in *Translating Popular Film*. Beyond this, scholarly works on AVT by Eithne O'Connell (2007) and Delia Chiaro (2009) pay no attention to remakes and adaptations at all. Besides these, several translation studies scholars have engaged with the frontiers among similar discursive transfer practices such as translation, adaptation and remake.[4] As a result of their contemplation on the arbitrary boundaries drawn between different transfer practices, translation studies scholars have taken a changing approach to adaptations and

[3] For more information and discussion on the parallels between adaptations/remakes and translation, see Moran, 2009; Evans, 2014; Perkins and Verevis, 2015.
[4] See, for instance, van Gorp, 2004; Bastin, 2008; Vandal Sirois and L. Bastin, 2012.

remakes, viewing them as both translations (Cattrysse, 2016; Vandal Sirois and L. Bastin, 2012; Venuti, 2007) and not translations (van Gorp, 2004). In a similar vein, translation studies dictionaries and encyclopedias provide different definitions of these forms of translation. The *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, for instance, describes adaptation as a "term traditionally used to refer to any [target text] in which a particularly [free] translation strategy has been adopted", therefore describing adaptation as a translation strategy (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997: 3). Likewise, Jean Delisle offers the following explanation: "Creation, interpretation, re-creation, translation and adaptation are more closely related than one might think" (1998: 63).

In general, adaptations and remakes have often been used in translation studies to refer to several transcultural transfer strategies involving considerable changes in wording, style, mode or medium. The use of such transfer strategies has often been taken for granted in political discourse, in children's literature, in advertising or in localization processes, mostly in analyzing popular texts. Yet, the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* defines such processes as adaptations and remakes as "a set of translative operations which results in a text that is not accepted as translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text of about the same length" (Bastin, 2009: 3). Here adaptation is taken as a form of transfer, yet there appears a blurred line between translation and adaptation/remake. Similarly, Mark O'Thomas marks the discrepancy between translation and other similar textual productions, granting a privilege to translation over some other translative operations (2010: 48). The closer one looks at several translative procedures, the blurrier the edges of what constitutes translation, adaptation and remake become. Susan Bassnett states that "[m]uch time and ink has been wasted attempting to differentiate between translations, versions, adaptations […]" (1991: 78-79). She then goes on to point out that "all texts are translations of translations of translations" (ibid.). Many translation studies scholars agree on viewing transcultural transfers as the processes where source texts are textual and cultural resources that provide ideas for future meaning recreation (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1992; Hermans, 1999). Given that images, sounds, objects and corporeal language are all perceived as sign systems like written and oral language, this doctoral research makes room for a wider interpretation of the concept of translation, free from the view of translation in terms of its traditional linguistic and

literary uses, and it highlights a contextualistic semiotic aspect of the concept of translation, which is based on semiotic codes and their relations. This means that, in this research, the concept of translation is proposed to be envisaged in physical as well as figurative terms and it serves as a useful tool for explaining adaptations and remakes in their textual materiality within the context of the sociocultural and economic considerations and practices shaping their circulation and reception.

My preliminary analysis of the selected corpus of academic works on the process of adaptation/remake has uncovered that only a few scholars have conducted research from the perspective of translation studies. For instance, Patrick Cattrysse (1992) suggests that the concept of translation can be extended and so it may contribute much to the examination of film adaptation (53). Offering polysystem theory as a means of developing a critical and descriptive theory of film adaptation, Cattrysse adopts Itamar Even-Zohar's approach and views adaptations as a sub-system within the broader polysystem, where their positions and functions are monitored by their dynamics and relations with other sub-systems. In his later work, Cattrysse (2014) highlights common characteristics between translation and adaptation and he suggests that Gideon Toury's descriptive approach is useful to explore the intricate relationship between adaptations and their socioculturally and temporally defined context. The other seminal scholarly work that points to the fruitful cooperation between translation studies and adaptation studies is provided by Venuti. Expanding the exclusionary view of adaptations held by some translation researchers, Venuti broadens the scope of research on adaptations by foregrounding that the process of adaptation is conditioned by many social agents and by diverse sociocultural, economic and ideological agendas. He accentuates the hermeneutic dynamics between a given source text and its target version, which, as stated by Venuti, enable researchers and critics to investigate and evaluate the adaptations in question from a broader perspective (2007: 25-43).

Furthermore, my survey has revealed that, considering innumerable academic works on other forms of adaptation and remake, comparatively little has been done in the field of television. Considering that adaptations and remakes are widely and constantly encountered phenomena in many fields of media and artistic manifestations, and that they take different forms as regards the shift of medium, language and source material, it is of critical importance to note that my research confines itself to intra-

medial transcultural television remake,[5] which I define, in Gottlieb's terms, as an isosemiotic, interlingual and inspirational form of translation (2007: 7).[6] It is a form of composite translation informed by a number of social agents and conditioned by a new sociocultural, economic and ideological environment. In this translation form, a relationship with a given source text is more free and less predictable as compared to more conventional forms of AVT.

As for methodological suggestions on studying adaptations and remakes, despite the invaluable theoretical, methodological, thematic, historical and critical contributions from various fields, comprehensive methodological frameworks for the critical analysis of the process of intra-medial transcultural television remakes have not been provided thus far. The interrogation of the moment(s) of reception and the social agents involved in the development and production of television remakes appears to have been mostly neglected. My analysis will show that earlier research has seldom explored the role and function of television remakes within a larger sociocultural, ideological and industrial context that feeds into new versions of source television series (see Chapter Two).

[5] As previously mentioned, there is no uniformity in the application of a suitable concept to the product/process of adaptation/remake in the daily vocabulary and in academic works. Furthermore, I recognized that the concept of "adaptation" is most often concerned with turning novels or plays into films; that is, it generally takes place between semiotically non-equivalent texts (Bluestone, 1957; Larssen, 1982; Loock and Verevis, 2012; Nicklas and Lindner, 2012; Smith, 2013; Voigts, and Nicklas, 2013; Boudan and Niemeyer, 2016). Instead, the concept of "remake" is mostly viewed as operating between the same semiotic channels; that is, it is often associated with intra-medial re-workings of texts (Heinze and Krämer, 2015; Boudan and Niemeyer, 2016). Moreover, many scholarly works specifically based on recontextualizing television series in another cultural ambit employ the term "remake" (Lavigne and Marcovitch, 2011; Perkins and Verevis, 2015; Verevis, 2015; Okyayuz, 2016/2017a). Therefore, I will make use of the concept of "remake" which is by nature a rather fuzzy textual form differentiating itself in terms of style, theme, structure and narration. Following Rüdiger Heinze and Lucia Krämer who draw their classification of remakes on the shift of medium and culture, I have adopted the concept of "intra-medial transcultural remaking", which is among the three types of remaking proposed by these researchers in their edited book *Remakes and Remaking: Concepts–Media–Practices*. The other two remaking types proposed by Heinze and Krämer are intra-medial intracultural remaking and inter-medial remaking (2015: 5-6). As is evident in their labeling, intra-medial intracultural remaking denotes the remakes in which the medium and culture remain the same (e.g., the remake of John Frankenheimer's 1962 film *The Manchurian Candidate* by Jonathan Demme with the same name in 2004) whereas inter-medial remaking implies a change of medium, as in the case of the television miniseries version of Charles Dickens's classic *Oliver Twist* by Alan Bleasdale (ITV 1999) (Heinze and Krämer, 2015: 15-16).

[6] This multimodal form of translation produces a translation that communicates through the same semiotic channels as its source material, but in another language. Furthermore, it establishes a "more free and less predictable" relationship with its source text than other forms of AVT such as subtitling and dubbing (Gottlieb, 2007: 5).

In light of all the above-mentioned points, I hope that this study will methodologically contribute to the existing research on television remakes, suggesting a translational perspective. By privileging an unconventional form of AVT, remaking, instead of the popular forms of subtitling and dubbing, the present study points out the use of television remakes as a source for translation studies research. Benefiting from Toury's concept of "assumed translation" (1995), and treating the intra-medial transcultural television remake as a form of AVT,[7] translating the multiple modes in their source materials, I principally seek to foreground remakes as a field of research and to provide a methodological framework from the field of translation studies for investigating them. I would argue that intra-medial transcultural television remakes, for which translation is an abiding concern, merit a more detailed and holistic inquiry that will surpass discrete case studies, and translation studies perspective may add further layers to the already multifaceted nature of remakes.

Rather than taking up transcultural television remakes as discrete and isolated cultural goods from other translated television series within the target culture repertoire (Even-Zohar, 2002a, 2005, 2010), I will contextualize all kinds of television series produced through translation by situating them as cultural goods vis-à-vis the sociocultural and ideological context and the television industry of the time. I have been inspired especially by Okyayuz's research on remakes in the Turkish context. In her first article, Okyayuz (2016) points to the pivotal role of translation in the foundation of Turkish television. In this article, she provides an overview of the emergence of television series remakes, focusing mainly on five remakes for a thematic analysis. The second study by Okyayuz (2017a) searches for the strategies employed in the Turkish television remake of *The Jeffersons* into *Tatlı Hayat*. Drawing on Mark O'Thomas's (2010) taxonomy of adaptive operations in terms of their source materials and source cultures, Okyayuz also suggests that, just like dubbing and subtitling, remakes should be viewed as a form of translation (2017a). In her recent research (2017b), Okyayuz refers to the history of AVT in Turkey by providing a brief

[7] The boundary line drawn between an acceptable level of adaptation/remake, and what is considered unacceptable varies from culture to culture, and from time to time. In this sense, transcultural television remakes pose ambiguous problems blurring the boundaries between translation and remake. In order to problematize this in the Turkish context, this research benefits from Gideon Toury's critical descriptive approach to translation. For more information, see Chapter Two.

history of Turkish television. In this paper, she mainly proposes that "the appropriation of AVT products depends on changes to national laws, social norms, stability vs. turmoil (increase in filters) in the country and population shifts" (2017b: 130). My interest in the subject started after reading Okyayuz's first article on the subject, and I made a historical investigation focusing on the first period of Turkish television broadcasting, the period between 1968 and 1985. My preliminary findings were published in 2017, where I suggested that, during the first era of Turkish television, translated television series offered new models of life to the culture repertoire in Turkey (210-213). Furthermore, I displayed the interplay between the publishing and television broadcasting industries in the Turkish context, by providing an examination of adaptations from novel into film and vice versa.

Yet, the present thesis will further explore the ways translations have functioned in developing and maintaining a repertoire of Turkish television series, starting from 1968 until today. My first research question is as follows: With particular emphasis on transcultural television remakes in Turkey, what is the position and role of translated television series within the Turkish television repertoire? I intend to display how translation may play an indispensable role first in the making and then in the sustaining and enriching of the Turkish television repertoire, and I suggest that translations have had a strong effect on Turkish viewers' local television tastes, preferences and modes of watching. For this purpose, my research will identify and then inspect three different yet interrelated periods of Turkish television: a) the phase of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT)'s public service (1968-1990), b) the commercial broadcasting in the early 1990s and c) the era starting from the 2000s to the present. The secondary literature on the history of TRT has shown the high numbers of translated television series (mostly dubbed) in the first period, when the number of television series produced through translation (426) was almost double the number of homegrown ones (Yücel, 2014: 233-34). I will visualize these trends with figures and examine them to reveal that translation played central and thus formative, productive and enriching roles in the making and maintenance of the repertoire of television series in the first period between 1968 and 1990. As for the second era of Turkish television, my preliminary findings have revealed that, in the 1990s, Turkish television channels produced their own domestic series in much greater

numbers than in the previous phase, which is an indicator of the growing power of the local industry. This era welcomed a dramatic decrease in the number of imported television series and, accordingly, the conspicuous role of translation within the Turkish television series repertoire. Thus, imports no longer occupied a central position, losing the influence that they had had on the maintenance of the Turkish television series repertoire in the first era. The shift from the public service monopoly to private channel proliferation in the 1990s, motored by the socio-economic policies of the time, promoted the consumer- and client-focused direction of the Turkish television industry. The increasing primacy of viewers' tastes and preferences paved the way for the decreasing power of institutional agents in the selection of programs, which were substituted by public sentiments and interests.

My survey has further revealed that the Turkish television industry changed its course in its third era, the 2000s, when the repertoire of domestic television series began to involve a broader range of options and had a larger and more multiform repertoire. The third period has welcomed a new form of translation, transcultural television remakes, transforming foreign scripts in order to cater to the target audience's needs and expectations. My study has indicated that Turkish remakes of foreign origins expeditiously reached a significant volume and became a recognizable additional means of content procurement in Turkey, notably contributing to the television series repertoire. The 2000s inaugurated the emergence and proliferation of television remakes. Besides these, subtitled and dubbed television series still go to air on several television channels such as TRT, Kanal 7, Dizimax Drama, FoxCrime and Foxlife. This means that the Turkish television repertoire has been hosting several forms of translated series simultaneously, serving as a tool of enrichment in this period. Overall, it appears that the repertoire of television series in Turkey was formed and solidified with extensive and multiform products as a result of both imports and domestic products produced over a period of 50 years. I suggest that the continuing procurement of translations and their perpetual existence in diverse forms throughout the years points to the integral role of translation in the history of television series in Turkey.

Taking into account the vast amount of options available on Turkish television at this moment, the rising number of locally-produced television series usually

produced through imitation, indigenization and adoption of foreign scripts and models indicates the high demand for these transcultural television remakes, where the movement between different cultural contexts enables the target culture to bring its own cultural resources to bear upon imported dramas. An analysis of the corpus of transcultural television remakes that I compiled for this thesis revealed that ninety-nine remakes, mostly from the US and South Korea (amounting to 90%), have been aired on Turkish television channels from the 2000s to this day (see Chapter Three). The upward trend of transcultural television remakes in the Turkish television industry after the 2000s has been confirmed in all interviews that I conducted with several television professionals (scriptwriters, TV reporters) within the scope of this research. Additionally, my survey of the list of remakes has disclosed that the source texts for almost half of all remakes were not credited and thus their producers enjoyed relatively more liberty to move away from their source texts than is usually allowed for acknowledged transcultural television remakes, produced after making payments to the copyright holders. As my examination further suggests, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged, these shows' origins are usually masked to the extent that their audience are unlikely to even realize that the show is a remake of a television series that was created in another country.

In addition to discovering the role and the position of translations within the Turkish television repertoire, the presence of a recognizable number of intra-medial transcultural remakes in Turkey will enable me to formulate the following research question: What are the primary motivations behind transcultural television remake production as an alternative means of generating program content on Turkish television? My research demonstrates that a variety of motives might account for the popularity of remakes in Turkey: (1) It turns out that economic imperatives (such as managing financial risks, reducing uncertainty of success and the promotion of television series abroad) seem to underlie the availability of transcultural television remakes in the Turkish context since they are stimulated by the earlier success of their source television series. There is a basic perception here that the viewers will have a liking for the stories in their new manifestations since the source stories are intriguing and have been market-tested in their source markets. (2) The lack of any legal procedures that entail the purchase of the source shows' property rights emerges as

another reason for the popularity of remaking. (3) The trouble in providing authentic and indigenous stories for new television series, i.e., creative impasse, or creative philistinism, is also among the prime drivers behind this form of content production in Turkey. (4) Above all, the specificities of Turkish television series, involving long episode lengths and high numbers of episodes per television season, appear to compel Turkish producers to keep available a pile of imported scripts from source television series that were already many episodes long. In this sense, my research suggests that the assembly-line production system, which limits the time and effort spent on each television content, is the most significant motivation behind the rising trend of remaking in Turkey. In view of the abovementioned motives, I propose that even though the Turkish television series repertoire is established in many aspects, it experienced a growing need for increased options for television series in the 2000s, since it reached a point where a sort of stagnation and/or recession in the production of television content necessary for feeding off itself occurred. Therefore, the introduction of transnational television remakes seems to have turned into a strategy to offer options in order to overcome this deadlock and generate new outputs in Turkey.

My corpus of television remakes has further introduced the translational agents actively involved in the remaking process, namely scriptwriters, producers and viewers. As will be discussed in Chapter One, the issue of human agency that concerns the remake process thoroughly and does much to illuminate this process within a given context is among the most notable gaps of the previous academic works on remakes. More critically, the interrogation of the moment(s) of reception of viewers, maybe the most crucial yardstick in the remake process, is the other missing point of many earlier studies, to which my research has given due importance. These inquiries about the matter of agency that I will undertake throughout this dissertation will help me to explore the following questions: Who are the social agents that are involved in the process of transcultural television remake in Turkey? Who is most in control in this process? How does the process of transcultural television remake broadly work in the Turkish context? Given that the remaking process is operated by many agents with multifunctional roles, this research will offer further insight about the versatile role of these agents and advance the discussion on the remake process in light of their

invaluable comments. Thus, I have carried out semi-structured and qualitative interviews with translational agents taking part in the creative process of television remakes and, by means of those interviews, I have sought to address a multitude of aspects, phases and conditions with regard to the remake process in the Turkish television industry. Drawing on the interviews, I suggest that the creative process of Turkish remakes proceeds through the cooperation of a range of social agents and, among these agents, television series producers and scriptwriters come very much to the fore particularly in terms of the greater roles they play in the end product. As for my examination of viewers' reactions, it points to a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish viewers highlighted that the Turkish remake suited the Turkish context in many ways while it also provided a range of new and non-indigenous images, representations and models that might be introduced into the Turkish television series repertoire and help it to evolve.

As for the process of remaking, the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012), *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (2011-2014) will be analyzed as the case study, since both the source and target shows stand out as one of the most popular television shows in their own contexts, attracting a respectable viewership, enjoying exponential media coverage and achieving commercial success at home and abroad as a result of the international franchising of the format. The cross-cultural textual analysis of the television remake as a case study will add a further layer to the thesis by allowing for an integrative approach that involves the relationships between production, text and reception, including both social agency and structure in the remake production. These interrogations lead me to pursue the following research questions, constituting the last set of research questions of this investigation: What happens when television series embedded within a specific cultural context are remade in the Turkish context? In what ways and at what levels are foreign television series remade for Turkish television? How can modifications emanating from the remake process be systematically explained within the framework of translation studies? In what manners and with what intensities do Turkish television remakes lend themselves to preserve the sustainability of the already established televisual conventions on Turkish television and/or to bring innovation to the repertoire of Turkish television series? My in-depth comparative textual analyses on macro and micro levels in Chapters Four and Five aim to determine

whether the Turkish remake takes extensive liberties and thereby what kind of creative interpretation has been employed by the remakers. Such a case study entails a scrutiny of the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* through the critical description and evaluation of the resemblances and divergences in the presentation and construction of codes, values and ideologies that closely have to do with such matters as sexuality, family patterns, religion, gender politics and identity-related matters. As a potent source of life images and representations, the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* allows an interrogation of the multilateral effects of these resemblances and divergences, which have a strong bearing on the broader public discourse in Turkey. Beyond that, my case study requires the problematization of how such themes in the source text are recontextualized in the remake as regards the combination of many non-thematic considerations involving genre conventions, televisual norms, and audiences' viewing habits and tastes. At this point, my research proposes that the prevailing perception that the source show is most often disguised so substantially that viewers could hardly or not at all discern that the target show is a remake of a foreign original does not apply in all cases. Instead, I argue that, through the unremitting interplay of consolidating the home repertoire and resisting against it occurring in each constitutive component of remakes to varying degrees and in diverse manners, intra-medial transcultural television remakes lead to interference in the repertoire of Turkish television series in their own terms (Even-Zohar, 1990). Considering all these points, my research on intra-medial transcultural remakes in Turkish television aspires to demonstrate that many images and conventions produced over a period of fifty years by the Turkish television repertoire and those extraneous ones transferred through the acquisition and production of television remakes coexist in the transcultural television remakes in Turkey and enable evolution within the Turkish television series repertoire, and, along with it, the Turkish culture repertoire, by mobilizing a resistance against some components in the home repertoire.

Before I proceed further, let me provide an overview of this dissertation. Chapter One will begin with a detailed account of the evolutionary stages of research within the framework of adaptation studies. It will then showcase some previous theoretical and methodological approaches to adaptations and remakes in media and film studies and television studies in order to display major theories and methodologies

as well as the case studies in this line of research. Thereafter, a critical examination of the leading research on adaptations and remakes in translation studies will be provided to demonstrate in what ways my dissertation contributes to the previous academic works. Drawing principally on secondary sources, I aim to reveal that a translation studies perspective is needed in studying adaptations and remakes, and that translation studies can provide researchers of adaptations and remakes with instrumental methodological tools and theoretical approaches and concepts, which are likely to promote the inter- and trans- disciplinary nature of this line of research.

Chapter Two will outline the theoretical and methodological framework of the present study. The framework seeks to integrate a top-down approach led by a theoretical framework and a bottom-up perspective guided by a comparative textual analysis in order to fill the gap of a comprehensive approach to the analysis of intra-medial transcultural television remakes. This chapter will suggest the combination of Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory with several assumptions provided by Rakefet Sela-Sheffy as the general theoretical framework and Gideon Toury's descriptive critical approach to studying translations, which led me to study transcultural television remakes within their sociocultural contexts. At the end of Chapter Two, I will introduce the methodological framework of the present thesis. I will employ both paratextual analysis (interviews, viewer comments on online platforms such as YouTube) and textual analysis (macro and micro analysis). The paratextual and textual analysis constitutes the basis of the last two chapters and will offer methodological categories to critically analyze intra-medial transcultural television remakes from a translation studies perspective. My methodological suggestion seeks to fill the gap of a methodological framework in order to examine various levels of the remaking process. Drawing on Venuti's concept of "interpretant" (2007) and complementing and expanding it, I offer new categories of interpretants that might enable researchers to carry out in depth comparative analysis between a source show and a target show at macro and micro levels. In addition to this, this chapter will show how building a corpus can serve as a useful tool for problematizing many aspects of intra-medial transcultural television remakes.

Chapter Three will investigate the position and function of translated television series in the history of Turkish television in three time periods between the years of

1968 and 2020: the TRT years (1968-1990), the 1990s and the period of 2000-2020. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the position and role of translations in the history of Turkish television against the backdrop of the social-political and business dynamics of television programming. This part will present the sociocultural context, in which translated TV series have been introduced and have survived for more than fifty years. Additionally, various forms of imported series—dubbed, subtitled, adapted and remade—will be investigated with many examples from the three time periods between 1968 and 2020. The second part of the chapter will focus on my corpus of transcultural television remakes in Turkey from the early 2000s to 2020. In this part, I will problematize the prime drivers behind the remake process in the Turkish television industry. Furthermore, the following parts of Chapter Three will provide data about the genres of Turkish television remakes, the source cultures from which the Turkish television remakes have been remade, the leading production companies of Turkish television remakes, and the social agents active in the process of developing transcultural television remakes. The last section of this chapter will be concerned with the presentation of transcultural television remakes to Turkish viewers in the Turkish media and the discourse produced about them. The aim of this part is to give an analytical sketch of the body of remakes televised between 2000 and 2020, and to analyze the list of remakes and remakers in order to set the contextual basis for my examination of the agents and institutions active in producing the remake topics, themes, models and genres in Turkey.

In Chapter Four and Chapter Five, I will conduct a case study which aims at critically describing and evaluating the resemblances and divergences to be acquired from a comparative textual analysis of a Turkish television remake, first on macro and then micro levels. In identifying the fundamental analytical categories for the intra-medial transcultural remake analysis, the concept of "interpretant" suggested by Venuti and extended by myself will be of great service. Suggesting the interpretant as an essential category for conducting a rigorous and exhaustive remake analysis, I will expand Venuti's two broad categories of interpretants (formal and thematic) (2007: 33) and offer five comprehensive categories: compositional interpretants, media-systemic interpretants, social interpretants, intertextual interpretants, and thematic interpretants. The interrogation of the first four interpretant categories in Chapter Four

will form the macro analysis part of my research. In this chapter, I will explore the similarities and dissimilarities between *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake, *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, in consideration of various components ranging from plot structure, setting, television networks and their audience demographics to scheduling, scriptwriters' decisions, their production sites and even viewers' reception and genre conventions. I aim to illustrate how the interpretants identified in the analysis of the Turkish remake lend themselves to indigenization for the rigidly established conventions within the home repertoire and/or confront them, thereby giving rise to a sense of foreignness and enriching the repertoire of Turkish television series. Not surprisingly, social interpretants, i.e., the matter of social agency and audience reception, and intertextual interpretants, i.e., generic conventions, which closely relate to the remake process, will take up the lion's share of the chapter.

Desperate Housewives comprises 8 seasons (180 episodes of approximately 45 minutes long) and its Turkish remake is made up of 3 seasons (154 episodes, each 90-100 minutes long on average). In my comparison at the macro level, I aim at analyzing the above-mentioned components in all episodes of all seasons from both shows, thus providing an overall critical interpretation. Additionally, I strongly endeavor to show that social interpretants (institutions, producers, scriptwriters) are actively and collaboratively involved in the creative process of the development of Turkish television remakes. This analysis will reveal that the remake process is most often in the hands of Turkish producers as perhaps the most principal agents of this industry, whereas scriptwriters' scope of authority is not as extensive as that of producers since they mostly work under the command of producers and broadcasters who possess the biggest share of profit in this process. My examination will further reveal that the Turkish remake's generic transformation into the melodrama genre, mainly inspired by the repertoire of Turkish television series in which melodrama has occupied an integral position, has led the Turkish remake to adopt narrative attributes and production patterns prevailing in the local repertoire.

In Chapter Five I will carry out a micro analysis on the selected source and target episodes to reveal the dynamics of the remaking process at a textual level. This chapter then will comparatively analyze Season I of *Desperate Housewives*, featuring 23 episodes in total, and its respective 23 episodes in the Turkish remake, *Umutsuz Ev*

Kadınları. This part of my research will concentrate on the analysis of "thematic interpretants" (Venuti, 2007: 31) in both shows. The most prominent three categories of themes and plotlines that characterize the two shows in many aspects are selected as thematic interpretants: "Women and Femininity", "Sexuality" and "Family Dynamics". In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate that, although the two television series revolve around almost exactly the same thematic concerns, their interpretation and contextualization differ significantly with respect to their sociocultural contexts, televisual landscapes, genre preferences and the reception environment.

Chapter Five will examine the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* within two broad categories of remake strategies. The first one, "indigenizing remake strategies", will constitute substitutions, omissions and additions, which are reflective of the tendency of a local production team to suit the target culture's conventions and push the traces of the source culture into the background. The latter one, "confrontational remake strategies", are continuation and repetition by toning down and they serve to incorporate extraneous elements into television remakes by way of blending source and target culture conventions and enabling various confrontational images, ideas and models to occur in the Turkish television repertoire. Taking into account that television grips the audience and commands the type of life images, conceptions and ideas that circulate in a particular culture by insidiously monopolizing the audience's perception, this chapter will explore how indigenizing and confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake have been applied and functioned in their proper contexts by problematizing the underlying reasons and effects of their use, as well as relating them to the wider public discourse about the three selected thematic interpretants in the Turkish context. The thematic analysis to be conducted in Chapter Five will complement the findings to be obtained from Chapter Four, and aims to show that transcultural television remakes indicate a clear case of interference within the Turkish television series repertoire by their simultaneous recourse to indigenizing and confrontational remake strategies, or, in other words, by acting as a site of negotiation and resistance concurrently.

CHAPTER ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will critically examine the selected scholarly works on adaptations and remakes, particularly considering their relevance to translation studies and the present research. This chapter will mainly be focused on four extensive subsections, with the first dealing primarily with the evolutionary phases of research within the framework of adaptation studies. The second and third subsections will attempt to present some previous theoretical and methodological approaches to adaptations and remakes by scholars of media and film studies and television studies, respectively. These subsections will also scrutinize the case studies engaging with adaptations and remakes. The primary aim of these parts is to give a snapshot of leading theories and methodologies as well as the cases that scholars of film and television studies draw on while conducting research on adaptations and remakes. The last subsection will particularly showcase prominent research on adaptations and remakes in translation studies and, by doing so, it will attempt to reveal in what ways my doctoral dissertation completes and/or complements the previous research by fostering the earlier debates and provoking new ones. Overall, the present chapter will demonstrate that translation studies, relatively more so than the other disciplines indicated above, can offer researchers of adaptations and remakes methodological tools and theoretical insights, including a number of instrumental concepts, and thus can reinforce the inter- and trans- disciplinary character of this field of inquiry.

Considering that research on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies is very few and that these unconventional forms of AVT are newly being incorporated into translation studies inquiries, I attempted to cast as wide a search as possible in order to discover almost all the works related to my subject matter during the literature review process of my research. Therefore, rather than delimiting the scope of the literature review by examining the academic research based on either the concept of “adaptation” or the concept of “remake”, I chose to survey the large spectrum of scholarly works on both adaptations and remakes, without losing sight of their relevance to translation studies. Considering these points, wherever the concepts of “adaptation” and “remake” appear in this research concurrently, they should be

taken to refer to a cultural good and/or process of resetting a given source material in terms of the requirements of the target culture in the general sense. That is, I use "adaptation" and "remake" interchangeably, where these concepts show up together, since they are often randomly employed in academic scholarship and in non-academic texts including newspaper reviews, film/television magazines, and internet blogs (Moine, 2007; Moran, 2009a; Heinze and Krämer, 2015). Moreover, wherever either the concept "adaptation" or "remake" is applied, I follow the usage designated by the author of the article cited throughout the research. As far as my choice of concept is concerned, I have benefited from Rüdiger Heinze and Lucia Krämer's (2015) suggestions and in turn designated the concept "remake". Among several types of remakes proposed by Heinze and Krämer, I have specifically drawn on "intra-medial transcultural remaking" (2015).

1.1. RESEARCH ON REMAKES AND ADAPTATION

There have been many scholarly works carried out within the scope of adaptation and remaking. A broad range of scholars from various disciplines, including but not limited to, literary studies, adaptation studies, film studies, media studies and television studies, have conducted critical works devoted to adaptations and remakes, since these processes (and also products) intrinsically offer numerous matters of debate that can be brought to the agenda by diverse disciplines.[8] In translation studies, however, this research area is seldom problematized and appears to be neglected in favor of more conventional forms of AVT such as dubbing and subtitling. For instance, Yves Gambier only briefly refers to remakes in his introductory essays to the special issues of *The Translator* in 2003 and *Meta* in 2004 on AVT. Remakes are completely overlooked in Delia Chiaro's (2009) chapter on audiovisual translation in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, in Eithne O'Connell's (2007) chapter on screen translation in *A Companion to Translation Studies* and in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker and Saldanha, 2008). Even though Carol

[8] Some of the works that investigate adaptations and remakes from the framework of other disciplines are Cartmell and Whelehan, 1999; Larkey, 2009; Boseovski and Marcovitch, 2011; Downes, 2011, Georgi, 2012; Krebs, 2012; Otten, 2012; Tsui, 2012.

O'Sullivan (2011) mentions remakes in *Translating Popular Film*, her focus is mostly on subtitling (4).

Differently from the translation studies scholars mentioned above, Patrick Cattrysse (1992) suggests the extension of the concept of translation and the investigation of film adaptation by means of this extended concept (53). He also proposes polysystem theory to develop "a coherent and systematic theory of film adaptation" (1992: 55). For Cattrysse, from a polysystemic viewpoint, in a similar way to translation, adaptations constitute a sub-system and their position and function within the larger polysystem are conditioned by its dynamics and relations with other sub-systems. In his later work, Cattrysse (2014) refers to the common attributes between translation and adaptation as processes and products and he proposes the application of Gideon Toury's descriptive approach to adaptation in order to shed light on the inextricable relationship between cultural goods and the sociocultural and temporal context that accommodates them.

The other seminal scholarly work that indicates how fruitfully translation studies and adaptation studies can work together belongs to Lawrence Venuti. Critical of the lack of theoretical basis in adaptation studies, Venuti's (2007) approach to film adaptations, similar to that of Cattrysse, calls attention to numerous common characteristics between the two fields of research. Highlighting that the adaptation process is informed by diverse human agents and by sociocultural, economic and ideological forces, Venuti broadens the scope of research on adaptations. His emphasis on what he calls the hermeneutic relation between the source text and its target version calls for researchers and critics to both interpret and delve into the adaptations in question (Venuti, 2007: 25-43). My analysis of the existing literature on adaptation/remake research from the perspective of translation studies has revealed that such scholarly publications as those by Cattrysse and Venuti are few in number and the existing ones require further elaboration for subsequent research.

Given that adaptations and remakes are ubiquitous and perennial phenomena in diverse media and art forms, taking different forms according to the shift of medium, language and source material, the disciplines and scholarly works, that are outside of the focus of this research, have been left out of the scope of this chapter. In this regard, the present chapter will focus on the academic works on adaptations and remakes

within the fields of (i) adaptation studies, (ii) media and film studies, (iii) television studies and (iv) translation studies respectively. Considering that my research will specifically center on intra-medial transcultural television remakes, this chapter will offer a review of the scholarly works on adaptations and remakes in the above-mentioned research fields with particular attention to their relevance to research designs and problematics on the phenomenon of television remake.

My survey of the literature has revealed that even though there are many studies that have provided a cross-cultural investigation of television remakes, none of the scholarly works that have been reviewed here have offered an integrated theoretical framework for the systematic analysis of the position and function of television remakes in a specific context. Moreover, the earlier studies are also lacking in providing a comprehensive methodology to elucidate the process of intra-medial transcultural television remaking. The other point that I observed during this literature review is that previous studies have rarely questioned the conservative/innovative function of television remakes within a larger televisual and cultural context.

The selected corpus of academic works that has been included in this chapter presents multiple perspectives and diverse theoretical, methodological, thematic, historical and critical standpoints. These studies largely comprise the mostly cited scholarly works among a great variety of articles, book chapters and theses that I examined during my research. Their overall examination has enabled me to observe how the research on remakes and adaptations has evolved from past to present, and also to identify gaps in the earlier academic works with regard to the problematization of television remakes from a broader perspective within a given sociocultural and political environment in a certain time period.

1.1.1. Adaptation Studies

This part of my research presents an overview of the fundamental issues that have preoccupied adaptation studies over the years. In this light, it can first be suggested that, adaptation research has developed remarkably over the last two decades and this is evident both in many articles, annual conferences, book-length

studies[9] and some journals[10] as well as in the works of two associations.[11] It also appears that, a considerable number of scholars such as James Naremore, John Bryant, Julie Sanders, Linda Hutcheon, Tom Leitch, Thomas Leitch and Robert Stam have made contributions to the very lively field of adaptation research. As a result of these contributions, this research field has been making discernible progress in due course. In her critical article entitled "Theorizing adaptations/adapting theories", Kamilla Elliott (2013) concisely elucidates the recent approaches to adaptation research as follows:

> *New scholars critiqued adaptation studies for maintaining elitist, modernist, aesthetic, media, disciplinary and cultural hierarchies against postmodern and left-wing democratizing forces; for pursuing one-way translation models rather than dialogic, structuralist and post-structuralist models of intertextuality; for prioritizing aestheticism over political and cultural issues; for setting comparative formalism, structuralism and narratology over deconstruction and situated historicism; and for prioritizing textual analysis over industrial concerns* (20).

It appears that adaptation studies is today a separate field in itself, which deals with (i) the central question of fidelity, (ii) the attempt to cover a greater variety of media relations beyond the usual novel-to-film relationship and (iii) the substitution of a one-way transport from source to result by a two-way dialogic process, which apparently contributes to the tendency of contextualization in adaptation research. The three points indicated here also make it evident that adaptation studies and translation studies have gone through similar routes of development since their establishment as research fields.

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[9] See Brian Macfarlane's *Novel to Film: an Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (1996); Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan's *Adaptation: From Text to Screen, Screen to Text* (1999); Timothy Corrigan's *Film and Literature: An Introduction and Reader* (1999); Mireira Aragay's *Books in Motion: Adaptation, Intertextuality, Autorship* (2005); James M. Welsh and Peter Lev's *The Literature/Film Reader: Issues of Adaptation* (2007); Rachel Carroll's *Adaptation in Contemporary Culture: Textual Infidelities* (2009); Deborah Cartmell's *Companion to Literature, Film and Adaptation* (2012); and *Adaptation Studies: New Challenges, New Directions* (2013) edited by Jorgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen.

[10] *Journal of Adaptation in Film and Performance*, *Adaptation* and *Literature/Film Quarterly.*

[11] The Literature/Film Association and the Association of Adaptation Studies.

1.1.1.1. The Issue of Fidelity

It can be noted first that the academic discipline of adaptation studies has widely engaged with the relationship between a source novel and its film version and has often limited itself to text-based comparative examinations between the source text and its adaptation (Joye, Biltereyst and Adriaens, 2017). Though fidelity has been the focus of much debate ever since the earliest scholarly works on the process of adaptation, the majority of current research has recently begun to view the fidelity discourse as no longer applicable. This shift in perspective occurred in the late 1970s and has brought a new set of approaches to the research field of adaptation studies and its scholarship (Elliott, 2013: 24). Since then, adaptation studies scholars have mostly contradicted the prevalence of the notion of fidelity in their research for various reasons. For instance, Christine Geraghty (2008) has suggested looking beyond fidelity-driven inquiries on the grounds that this approach may lead researchers to overlook adaptations' broader scope of production and consumption. Linda Cahir (2006) rejects fidelity to promote medium specificity and to view adaptations as fully new products.

It is at this point necessary to add that the longstanding debate between fidelity and infidelity is not off the agenda at all (Stam, 2000; Elliott, 2013). It also pervades popular reviews, fan comments, and conventional criticisms alike (Cartmell and Whelehan, 2010; Joye and Van de Walle, 2015). In relation to this point, Jorgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen (2013) refer to the fact that measuring resemblances/differences between a source text and its adaptation is practically indispensable in adaptation research:

> *Adaptation must necessarily incorporate some kind of comparative element – seeing one text in relation to another – and the strategic and almost universal move in the field has been to 'translate' fidelity into the more neutral, and thus useful, measure of similarity and difference on various levels of the compared texts. [For instance], Lars Elleström offers a new approach to the question of fidelity by creating a nomenclature of adaptation, based on his larger systematization of intermediality studies and media theory* (2013: 5).

In line with this evolving perspective regarding the question of fidelity pointed out above, Sanders proposes a nuanced and revised understanding, pointing to "the recognized ability of adaptation to respond back or write back to an informing original

from a new or revised political and cultural position" (2005: 98). In her influential monograph, Hutcheon reiterates a very similar perspective:

> *An adaptation is not vampiric: it does not draw the life blood from its source and leave it dying or dead, nor is it paler than the adapted work. It may, on the contrary, keep that prior work alive, giving it an afterlife, it would have never had otherwise* (2006: 176).

Another nuanced approach to fidelity is proposed by John Bryant. Viewing a text as a dynamic process where it is possible to observe the changing textual identities of the source version, Bryant (2013) applies his concept of "fluid-text" to adaptation research, which makes it evident that he considers adaptations as versions of originating texts, participating in the creative process. In his fluid-text approach, "a *work* is the sum of its versions; *creativity* extends beyond the solitary writer, and *writing* is a cultural event transcending media" (2013: 47). From a fluid-text perspective, the focus is on how to identify the critical distances between a source text and its versions, and on what the meaning of this distancing is. Comparing those who engage with adapting to translators, Bryant notes that "[l]ike translators, [adaptors] transform a text for new and different audiences, and address new conditions and problems in a culture" (2013: 48).

In line with this progressive look at the fidelity issue in adaptation studies, my research has shown that a comparative analysis based on similarities and differences in the two (or more) texts in question seems to be an integral part of the majority of research on adaptations and remakes. This kind of comparative approach (suggestive of the questioning of fidelity between the texts) proposed herein is based on the assumption that the comparison of two (or more) texts can provide researchers with new debates that cannot be obtained from an analysis of a single text (Westbrook, 2010: 43). Thus, it can be suggested that the notion of fidelity can be employed in such a way as to foster further discussions within the broader context rather than being conducted in the form of picking out deviations and making value-driven comments, which result in simplistic analyses.

1.1.1.2. Medium Specificity

The second issue that is an indicator of the evolutionary phase of adaptation studies relates to the widening of the field in terms of research objects (Elliott, 2013). Many researchers have endeavored to extend this field by means of incorporating such non-literary adaptations as television series and videogames into their research. This shift to embrace other materials in adaptation research has taken place as cultural studies has redefined which materials are worthy of consideration for adaptation research. Accordingly, recent research has begun to be based on these possible sources, moving from the conventional canonical products to study adaptations of biographies, songs and computer games, among others.

In *Adaptation Revisited: Television and the classic novel*, Sarah Cardwell (2002) has for instance contributed to the expansion of the repertory of adaptations by including television among the research objects. Likewise, in *Theory of Adaptation*, Linda Hutcheon (2006) has given video games, theme parks and even parodies of *Lord of the Rings* as examples for adaptation practices. *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies* (2017) also deems a great variety of media worthy of study within adaptation studies. In light of these, it appears that medium specificity, which is one of the general principles of adaptation focusing on the fundamental differences between prose fiction and film, has fallen out of favor.[12] The result has been to view adaptation as a far more extended phenomenon that occurs not only when novels are turned into films, but also when films become television series, when comic books become films, when video games become novels or when television series are remade.

In this light, it can be pointed out that the expansion of adaptation studies beyond literature and film, combined with the varied approaches to the issue of fidelity, has provided the basis for taking into account paratextual aspects of adaptation that had been previously neglected, involving the commercial factors defining the media industry, viewers' reception and issues of power that are at play and concern adaptations. Given that the two fundamental and evolutionary phases of adaptation studies suggest a move away from a restricted understanding of the process of

[12] Medium-specific assumptions had already been discredited as early as 1982 by Donald F. Larssen in his influential article "Novel into Film: Some Preliminary Considerations.".

adaptation, the subsequent section will be centered on the third fundamental progress in adaptation research, which is an urge among adaptation scholars to pay more attention to contextual parameters (such as industrial logics, audience profile or commercial drives) that monitor the adaptation process.

1.1.1.3. Tendency towards Contextualization

The recent approaches in a large body of adaptation research assert that the adaptive process is dialectical even though the understanding of adaptation as the transport of form and/or content from a source to a result seems uncomplicated from a certain point of view. The conventional and common-sense understanding of adaptation as a one-directional phenomenon is one of the fundamental issues within the field of adaptation studies. Most probably the strongest drive behind viewing the source/result relationship as a dialectical one is Stam's[13] (2000) application of the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva on intertextuality to novel-to-film adaptations. In parallel with Stam's suggestion, Sanders (2005) has examined the practices of adaptation and appropriation within the framework of the overarching practice of intertextuality. Christine Geraghty (2008) has also taken a similar step in order to explore adaptations' broader intertextual universe of production and consumption. Likewise, Anna Sofia Rossholm (2013) contributes to this dialectical way of problematizing adaptations by adding to her research unpublished notebooks, printed materials, verbal commentaries and canonical films. These scholarly works evidently suggest that the intertextual process of adaptation requires the components of source texts to be tailored and reinterpreted in diverse ways that entangle any textual comparative analysis between sources and their adapted versions.

It appears that rather than presupposing a superiority of source texts over their adapted or remade versions, a steadily growing number of scholars within the field of

[13] It can be suggested that a view of adaptations and remakes as dialogic is in fact inspired by the theories of Bakhtin. In his influential work entitled *Problems of Dostoyevski's Poetics* (1963), he refers to dialogical relationships among words, texts and other phenomena expressed in some kind of symbolic material. Julia Kristeva and Gérard Genette are also among those who have contributed to theorizing the concept of intertextuality within the framework of adaptation/remaking research (Leitch, 2017: 5). From an intertextual perspective, adaptations and remakes are instances of the intertextuality that is at the heart of every text that emerges from and in turn produces other texts.

adaptation studies have recently drawn their analyses on the poststructuralist concepts of intertextuality and hypertextuality, whereby they have become able to delve into the specificities of the production process (such as studio style in television shows or cast of television series/films) and sociocultural contexts concerning both source texts and their target versions. That is, adaptations as cultural goods have begun to be positioned in complicated cultural, social, historical, and industrial configurations conditioned by dynamic and reciprocal interactions (Schober, 2013: 91). This point suggests that adaptation research has turned out to be inextricably dependent on a larger contextualization of the texts in question through bringing into prominence the defining role of social, cultural, political, and commercial imperatives when adapting a given cultural good.

In view of these considerations, it can be surmised that, in recent years, adaptation studies scholars have become more attentive to the specificity of each case of adaptation. Thereby, they have addressed the myriad contextual factors that guide various forms of adaptation. In order to enrich their findings and consolidate their research results, they have attempted to retrieve more contextual information to add to their research by problematizing why one form of adaptation gains popularity within a specific context, how governmental policies and industrial factors shape the modes of adaptation used and what meanings these adaptations have in their contexts of production and reception. In brief, a series of sociocultural, economic and structural forces, which have come into the picture insofar as the adaptation process is concerned, have become apparent in the research designs of many studies on adaptation.

Even though one can argue that adaptation research has begun to offer theoretical and methodological approaches that pursue both the large-scale circulation of adaptations as cultural goods and the narrower steps of the adaptation process, such proposals have fallen somewhat short of providing an integrated theoretical and methodological framework for the systematic analysis of the adaptation process in such a way as to illuminate and evaluate its multiple dimensions. Kyle Conway confirms this in his scholarly article "Cultural Translation, Global Television Studies, and the Circulation of Telenovelas in the United States" (2011). According to Conway, adaptation studies has long been preoccupied with investigating "the circulation of texts across cultural and linguistic lines" and the field has not given due importance to

a wide range of forces, which are ideological, industrial and historical in essence (2011: 584). Likewise, Robert Stam's "Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation" (2000) echoes Conway's call for examining the multi-level negotiations of the process of adaptation and underlines the necessity of combining narrow-scope analysis with larger-level analysis that unveils the complex structure and dynamics of the adaptation process.

As has been indicated above, my research has revealed that adaptation studies has been opening up new lines of research that enable researchers to problematize a wide array of elements by moving the focus away from the fidelity-driven studies and embarking on a new course by means of embracing diverse social, cultural and particularly industrial forces that noticeably affect the adaptation process. Yet, it can also be suggested that there are discernible gaps in the previous academic works with regard to the problematization of adaptations and remakes from a broader perspective, namely identifying the position and function of a given adaptation and the corpus of adaptations within the whole repertory of adaptations in a certain culture, the effects of adaptation(s) in a wider scope and the role of agents in the actual process of adapting a given cultural good. In light of this, the next subsection aims at digging out a selected corpus of academic works that have been carried out by media and film studies scholars in order to find out what they have offered in order to discover and interpret the role of a group of adaptations/remakes within a larger framework on the one hand, and to systematically examine the interplay among adaptations/remakes, their contexts and the agents involved in these processes on the other.

1.1.2. Media and Film Studies

This part of the research will be split into two subsections. The first of them will offer a critical evaluation of various theoretical and methodological approaches to adaptation and remakes within the fields of media and film studies, whereas the second will attempt to present and discuss case studies conducted by scholars working on adaptation/remake processes and products. These two subsections ultimately intend to uncover what benefits research on adaptations and remakes have reaped from dialogue

with scholars in media and film studies and, thereby to identify the research gap that seems to currently exist in these fields.

1.1.2.1. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Adaptations and Remakes

Having long received almost no critical attention, film remakes have recently been receiving gradual interest in academic publications, partially enabling researchers to arrive at conclusions on theoretical and methodological points of agreement and contributing to the cumulative knowledge regarding research on adaptations and remakes.[14] Andrew Horton and Stuart Y. McDougal's edited collection *Play It Again, Sam: Retakes on Remakes* (1998a), Lucy Mazdon's *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema* (2000), Jennifer Forrest and Leonard R. Koos's edition *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice* (2002); and Constantine Verevis's *Film Remakes* (2005) are among the leading academic contributions in this research area. This growing interest in research on film remakes has more recently been followed by other works[15] that attempt to incorporate diverse forms of cinematic productions.

According to my overall examination of theoretical and methodological approaches to adaptations and remakes in media and film studies, I broadly classify adaptation- and remake-related scholarly works into two groups: one, typological models, and another, relational models based on exclusively text-based comparative analyses. I suggest that typological models are based on categorizing the process of adaptation and remake into stages and naming these stages or strategies of adaptation/remake, which are not necessarily successive and which may be in operation simultaneously. The other prevalent approach to adaptations and remakes, which can be referred to as a relational model, enables the viewing of these processes as dialogic, operating in the domains of communication and culture. In this sense, a

[14] During the last twenty years, substantial critical research has increasingly been produced on film remakes. Before then, the research on remakes was scarce (e.g. Druxman 1975; Manderbach 1988).

[15] Carolyn Jess-Cooke's *Film Sequels: Theory and Practice from Hollywood to Bollywood* (2009), Claire Perkins and Constantine Verevis's edition *Film Triologies: New Critical Approaches* (2012), Jennifer Forrest's edition *The Legend Returns and Dies Harder Another Day: Essays on Film Series* (2008) and Jess-Cooke and Verevis's anthology *Second Takes: Critical Approaches to the Film Sequel* (2010).

concept of dialogue suggests being already a part of other dialogues, which are full of infinite meanings. This second model, compared with the former one, prioritizes the negotiation of a complex, multidimensional context without discernible boundaries and limits where an extensive range of agents as well as different topics and perspectives involved in the process of adaptation/remake are thoroughly problematized. Thus, I propose that a wide array of methodological and theoretical approaches used in the selected corpus of academic works to be presented throughout this subsection seem to lend themselves to understanding either under the typological model or in light of the relational model of research on adaptations and remakes.

Paul S. N. Lee's "The Absorption and Indigenization of Foreign Media Cultures" (1991) provides an example of typological research. In his research, Lee suggests a taxonomic model in order to elaborate the diverse ways in which foreign media cultures are domesticated in Hong Kong's popular culture. He conducts an analysis of three types of popular culture—music, cinema and television—and offers four modes of absorption. These four modes are "Parrot", "Amoeba", "Carol" and "Butterfly". Regarding the degree of absorption, these patterns subsequently range from one that is a "wholesale adoption of foreign cultural forms and contents, just like a parrot imitating the human voice in both form and content" (Lee, 1991: 64) to one that "absorbs and indigenizes foreign cultures to an extent that one can hardly distinguish the foreign from the indigenous" (65).

The other taxonomy belongs to Tom O'Regan, who offers, in *Australian National Cinema* (1996), a taxonomic model constituting five stages that a national cinema would experience while moving from being a receiving culture to a transmitting culture. While in the first stage of this process, "[t]he texts coming in from outside keep their 'strangeness'" (Lotman, 1990: 146), the "imported text and the home culture…restructure each other" in the second stage (146). In this phase, as O'Regan suggests, translations, imitations and adaptations proliferate conspicuously (1996: 218). The third stage is when the home culture's product is re-evaluated "in a situation of assumed international comparison" (220). Following this, in the fourth stage, the imported products are so assimilated that we no longer recognize them, as if they are derivative copies, since they "begin to provide original structural models for their genres" (Smith, 2017: 29). In the last stage, "the receiving culture … changes

into a transmitting culture and issues forth a flood of texts directed to other, peripheral areas of the semiosphere" (O'Regan, 1996: 146). It is noticeable that the models proposed by Lee and O'Regan offer comprehensive frameworks in order to delineate an overall picture of the processes of transnational adaptation on a meta level. Yet, even though these two models provide the researchers with exhaustive ways of identifying processes of cultural transmission and absorption, they appear to be lacking in presenting a method to analyze and interpret certain texts and investigate their complexities (Smith, 2017: 29).

Thomas Leitch also adopts a taxonomic approach in "Twice-Told Tales: Disavowal and the Rhetoric of the Remake" (2002), where he provides four possible stances a remake can adopt: readaptation, updates, homage and true remake (45-49). Among these four types of remaking, readaptation is the one that aims at remaining faithful to a source text. Unlike readaptation, updates intend to transpose a source text to a new setting and a new system of values in order to appeal to the audiences' desires (47). The third type, homage, echoes the concept of readaptation in that both two types of remaking situate themselves as secondary texts. Nevertheless, while readaptation puts its primary emphasis on remaining faithful to its source, homages rather intend to keep alive, for instance, earlier films in danger of being forgotten (ibid.). The fourth type, true remakes, are those which, in comparison to the previous three types, depend more directly on all kinds of sources (such as the other film versions of a remake and, if any, the literary work that these films are based upon) from which the remake emerges (49). Referring to this kind of remaking as a true remake indicates that all of the other types of remake given above signal some sort of deviation from a kind of presumed norm.

David Desser's article "'Crazed Heat': Nakahira Ko and The Transnational Self-Remake" (2017) provides us another taxonomy. As Desser suggests, remakes take place along four axes, two of which are more familiar to us whereas the other types occur relatively rarely (164). Remakes produced within national circumstances constitute the first type. The second is the translational remake, as for instance with Hollywood often remaking foreign films (ibid). Self-remakes (auto-remakes) of directors remaking their own films within the same national context are Desser's third type. The last group comprises self-remakes of directors remaking their own films in

different national contexts, which, as he implies, are "the least familiar, and certainly the least studied (if perhaps because the rarest) instances" (ibid.). Desser underlines in his research that all types of remakes involve changes in both text and context ranging from shifts in genre to a change in casting. Conducting analysis on the self-remake case of Japanese director Nakahira Ko, Desser concludes that although self-remakes are mostly viewed as derivative and less significant than their originals, there appear some opposite cases, such as, for instance, Ko's *Dairy of a Lady Killer* (1969), a self-remake of his little-known 1964 film *Hunter's Diary* (2017: 176). Considering such exceptional cases, Desser finishes his discussion by suggesting that film remakes should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis in order to make more conclusive and objective evaluations (ibid.).

As it has been pointed out earlier, my research has grouped the corpus of scholarly works examining adaptations and remakes in media and film studies into two and it has entitled the second broad category of research on adaptations and remakes as "relational approaches". The first work that will be addressed in this subsection as an example for this category of research concerns asymmetrical power relations between minor and major cultures. Drawing on the corpus of Brazilian parodies of American cinema, Joao Luiz Vieira and Robert Stam (1990) explore in their research the implications of transnational adaptation within the film industry. This research argues that if the choice of parody for the transnational adaptations of films such as *Jaws* and *King Kong* from the USA to Brazil is evaluated within the context of asymmetrical arrangements of power, it turns out that these parodies seem to intend to turn their American sources into elements of comedy in order to confront the hegemonic power of dominant cinema:

> *By appropriating an existing discourse but introducing into it an orientation oblique, or even diametrically opposed to that of the original, parody is especially well suited to the needs of the oppressed and the powerless, precisely because it assumes the force of the dominant discourse, only to deploy that force, through a kind of artistic jujitsu, against domination.* (Vieira and Stam, 1990: 84)

The other scholarly work that can be classified in the second group of research was conducted by Frank Kelleter. In his article "Toto, I think we're in Oz again (and again and again): Remakes and Popular Seriality" (2012), Kelleter proposes that the search for cultural transformations is most probably the most established method of researching remakes (28). His approach widely reflects the prevalence of comparative

analysis as a methodological tool in adaptation studies, which presupposes that the process of adaptation and remake is by nature open to numerous changes, be they on a narrative level or a contextual level (see 1.1.1.). Kelleter suggests that research on remakes most often provides information about historical change by highlighting the temporality of a given culture much more clearly than a single text can do. According to him, one can conduct research on changing conceptions of gender in the Western world from 1962 onwards by means of research on the remakes of *James Bond* movies. Likewise, he proposes that one can observe the evolution of 20th century American culture through the analysis of L. Frank Baum's Oz narratives (29). Besides these, as he argues, it is possible to examine the Russian version in order to discover different conceptions of community, solidarity, and social morality in the USA and the Soviet Union (30). Kelleter focuses in his research on the concept of popular seriality and carries out an analysis on the sequelizations and transmedia adaptations (such as musicals), translations and revisions, as well as the movie production of Baum's novel *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. He argues that Baum's original novel is already a remake since it makes use of standard devices and features of children's literature. He then attributes the high number of reproductions based on the Oz narrative to the commercial organization of American popular culture, which fosters industrial reproduction (32-35). This research is notable in that it proposes two ways of examining the textual sprawl of the Oz narratives, which enlarge the scope of research on adaptations and remakes: one is to read these texts comparatively in order to uncover historical change; another is to examine the dynamics and the agency behind these remakes (28).

Conducting comparative research on the corpus of *Wuthering Heights* adaptations, Amy Martin, in her article "A Battle on Two Fronts: *Wuthering Heights* and Adapting the Adaptation" (2012), explores the process in which the film adaptation of *Wuthering Heights* has turned into a canonical text. Martin traces back how William Wyler's 1939 adaptation has retained its dominant cultural currency and become classic in popular culture though *Wuthering Heights* was adapted as a film for a third time. As Martin's examination of these three film adaptations of the novel and other related popular cultural products reveals, the subsequent adaptations of *Wuthering Heights* produced by Robert Fuest in 1970 and by Peter Kosminsky in 1992

have contributed to the lasting effects of Wyler's 1939 film (84). This research also reveals that other cultural goods such as parody and television shows based on *Wuthering Heights* have benefited from the popular images of that version and thus served its permanence.

Kathryn Schweishelm's "Remaking *The Stepford Wives*, Remodeling Feminism" (2012) concentrates on the 2004 film version of *The Stepford Wives* in light of the previous 1975 version and the 1972 novel written by Ira Levin. Viewing such adaptive practices as a reappearance of a given text in another discursive field, Schweishelm interrogates how the feminist perspective in the earlier texts was remade in 2004, when much wider changes in discourse regarding the cultural status of the women's movement had occurred. Following a close comparison of the film versions of *The Stepford Wives*, Schweishelm finds a significant change in emphasis from the social level of the first film, to the individual level of the second (2012: 120). She argues that, significantly differing from the 1975 version, the 2004 remake "depicts the women as no longer affected by any societal power imbalances whatsoever; in fact, more than anything else they seem to be victims of their own self-directed ambition and extreme success" (115). This research concludes that the 2004 remake under the influence of postfeminism seems to overlook and discard the critique of power relations, instead foregrounding the influence of post-feminism in its highlighting individualism with respect to the prevailing values and viewpoints of the time (118).

In *The Hollywood Meme: Transnational Adaptations in World Cinema* (2017), Ian Robert Smith proposes Marwan Kraidy's notion of "critical transculturalism" as a theoretical model in order to problematize how cultures receive and transform imported cultural products. According to Smith, this notion pinpoints a hybridizing nature of cultural exchange "while still retaining the broader concerns of critical political economy around unequal power distribution" (2017: 13). As Smith argues, Kraidy's notion enables us to take a more integrative approach that encapsulates the relationships between production, text and reception, including both agency and structure in cultural reproduction. In fact, Smith suggests a comparative model of transnational adaptation, which pays regard to the social, industrial and historical background of cultural products in which they are produced and reworked transnationally and most particularly facilitates the interrogation of how the characters,

plots and textual forms of American popular culture are transformed and re-used in films in other cultures (14).

Smith's research also accords particular importance to the notion of "meme" which is a unit of culture that spreads and transforms itself to suit whatever new habitat it finds itself in. As Stam (2004) and Hutcheon (2006) also argue, this notion is instrumental in interrogating adaptation across cultures since various stories make journeys around the world and are reframed in their new environments "through processes of mutation in ways analogous to gene, with some dying out and others flourishing" (Smith, 2017: 31). As Smith further notes, the "meme" concept helps researchers in this subject field move away from the fidelity discourse still dominating much scholarship on adaptations, and rather offers us a different model examining how and why various cultural products are adapted and reused in different contexts (ibid.). However, Smith does not overlook the shortcomings of this concept. The concept of "meme", as Smith puts forward, throws aside the component of human agency, which is probably the most leading drive behind the spread of media. It can be suggested that even though Smith's proposition helps evaluate the process of adaptation/remake from a multifaceted perspective of social, historical and industrial forces by means of the concepts, it does not provide researchers with definitive principles and a comprehensive structure that can support a theory of research studies on adaptation and remakes. Also, it falls short of offering distinctive adaptation/remake strategies that help conduct micro level analysis.

The theoretical and methodological overview that has been provided in this subsection has shown that media and film studies scholars have carried out much research on adaptations and remakes. Their studies have mostly extended such previous paradigms as fidelity and they have been contextualized to involve different levels of analysis on both macro and micro levels. Many of the selected scholarly works elaborated throughout this subsection appears to address the complex and dynamic nature of adaptations and remakes in multi-faceted ways. However, what all these academic works on adaptations and remakes conducted by media and film studies scholars have in common is the fact that they partially fall short of offering sophisticated theoretical and methodological models that would provide rigorous exploration in order to reveal the complexities inherent in the process of adaptation

and remake. This means that, they seem to be lacking in elaborate and extensive principles, concepts and tools in order to map out the actions taken during the research.

1.1.2.2. Case Studies on Adaptations and Remakes

It appears from an overall examination of the selected corpus of academic contributions on adaptations and remakes in media and film studies that they have often been supported by case studies, largely based on a comparative analysis between source texts and their target versions, be they within the same culture or a target culture. These case studies engage with various topics that provide illuminating illustrations on social, cultural and ideological levels. They often draw attention to (dis)similarities in specific cases, which are guided by social, historical, creative and industrial agendas and they pinpoint the effects of these agendas on the end product, with particular reference to what these similarities and dissimilarities tell us about diverse kinds of dynamics within the same culture (Butter, 2015; Lindner, 2015) or in a given target culture (Krämer, 2015; Lüthe, 2015; Cuelenaere, Willems and Joye, 2019). Despite the wealth of topics studied in much research, a series of case studies that occupy a significant position in the corpus of research on adaptations and remakes can be criticized for their temptation to generalize on the basis of a single case and/or their lack of the potential of generalizing their applicability to other instances. They also do not problematize the phenomenon of adaptation/remake and/or the corpus of adaptations/remakes within the broader context of adaptation/remake production in a specific culture.

The first case study to be examined in this subsection belongs to Iain Robert Smith. In his critical article "'Beam Me up, Ömer': Transnational Media Flow and the Cultural Politics of the Turkish *Star Trek* Remake" (2008), Smith takes *Turist Ömer Uzay Yolunda* (*Tourist Ömer in Star Trek*) as a case study and mainly concentrates on how this Turkish film is referred to among Western fan culture as "Turkish *Star Trek*" recontextualizing the world of the television series *Star Trek*, which was shown in the 1970s on the government-controlled Turkish channel TRT. In his research, Smith opposes the source/copy and original/derivative binaries; rather, he attempts to present broader discussions on the transnational traffic of media (2008: 4). He also provides

several examples from Turkish remakes[16] of American films, which confirm Nezih Erdoğan's argument that the Yeşilçam era can be identified by its plagiarism of Hollywood cinema, or, in his words, "mimicry beyond innocent inspiration" (2003: 166). Then Smith further adds:

> *[T]hese films self-consciously appropriated elements from U.S. popular culture, often taking characters, plots, and music and recontextualizing them within films produced in the local industry. These ranged from unlicensed remakes in which stories were translated for local audiences, such as in Şeytan (Satan 1974), which follows the basic premise of The Exorcist (1973), albeit with the Catholic iconography replaced with that of Islam, to films such as Dünyayı Kurtaran Adam (The Man Who Saves the World, 1982), in which footage from Star Wars (1977) was appropriated and used as special effects sequences in a wholly unrelated narrative* (2008: 3).

According to Smith, in the process of remaking, cultures borrow from and interact with each other (3). This implies that he does not evaluate the procedures of borrowing some ideas from other cultures and translating them within the poles of the original and the copy; instead, he considers these procedures as initial steps of creativity (Smith, 2008: 6). His approach offers the hybrid nature of transnational cultural exchange. The cases that he examines suggest that, despite the unequal cultural exchange mostly resulting from American economic power and influence, the process of remaking is after all a dialogue, be it asymmetrical or not.

In a chapter entitled "Hollywood and the Popular Cinema of Turkey", Smith (2017) draws on the cases of four Turkish film remakes with American originals, namely *Spider-Man*, *Star Trek*, *The Exorcist* and *Star Wars*, and he conducts an analysis in light of the socio-historical context in which these four remakes were produced. Smith's study introduces the term "Turkification", developed by Savaş Arslan, in order to describe the operations of translating and transforming Western films into Turkish (2017: 43). Drawing on the taxonomy of four types of superhero revisionism proposed in Terrence R. Wandtke's *The Amazing Transforming Superhero!* (2007), Smith first examines *3 Dev Adam* (1973) remade from *Spider Man* and he observes that, instead of making a huge effort in recreating the superhero characters in the Turkish context, this film seemed to utilize the popularity of *Spider-*

[16] In his research "Translating Modernity: Remakes in Turkish Cinema" (2006), Ahmet Gürata has found that approximately 90% of the films during the golden age of Turkish cinema were remakes, adaptations or spin-offs (242). The sources of the films remade in the period of Yeşilcam do not only belong to American culture, but also to Indian and Egyptian culture.

Man within the Turkish context of the 1970s, which spread throughout the country in different forms such as comic books, photo novels and serials (2017: 50). Smith also takes *Şeytan* (*The Exorcist*'s remake) as a case study and offers a close textual analysis of it in consideration of the contextual elements resulting in numerous changes between two products. Concentrating on the religious politics of *Şeytan* (1974), Smith concludes that this transformation in fact refers to a form of political commentary but a subtle one since such religious notions used in the Turkish remake could be censored by the authorities in those times (Smith, 2017: 74). Highlighting that *Şeytan* was produced "at a time when the Kemalist embrace of Western conceptions of modernization and rationalism was being questioned and Islam was again coming to the fore in Turkish political life" (2017: 67), Smith points to an implicit commentary in the Turkish remake suggesting the need for a renewed Islam. In his final case study, Smith examines the use of footage from *Star Wars* in *Dünyayı Kurtaran Adam* (1982) and points out that the special-effects sequences in *Star Wars* were appropriated less for any sociocultural reasons and much more for budgetary limitations (2017: 74). It becomes self-evident that the cases that Smith has dealt with can provide an outlook on the social, creative and economic dimensions at work during the process of adaptation/remake, yet they neglect significant efforts that diverse agents have shown at different stages of the process.

One of the comprehensive works is *Dead Ringers: The Remake in Theory and Practice* (2002) edited by Jennifer Forrest and Leonard R. Koos, a critical scholarly publication that provides an in-depth historical look at this process and responds thoroughly to the historical contextualization of American remakes, mostly those of French films, between the years of the late 1980s and the 1990s. For instance, Michael Harney's chapter entitled "Economy and Aesthetics in American Remakes of French Films" is exclusively based on the American versions of French films. In his research, Harney unveils an abundance of negative comments characterizing a remake as a trashy piece of goods or as a second-rate product (2002: 63). Referring to the fact that remaking is an old form of cultural production going back to the earliest decades of the film industry and it is surrounded by myriad circumstances to be dealt with, Harney concentrates on economic aspects and highlights that "[e]ven the cheapest movie costs a lot of money, compared with such other media as literature's word processor and

paper or painting's canvas and paint" (2002: 73). The point stressed by Harney here makes us recognize the undeniable role of economy in producing a remake and reveals perhaps the most fundamental reason behind various kinds of changes in the sets, costumes or production design. Another chapter written by Jennifer Forrest, "Sadie Thompson Redux: Postwar Reintegration of the Wartime Wayward Woman" (2002), draws on case studies of four remakes[17] where the sexual transgressions of female leads are a common topic. Forrest explores the reflections of post-war circumstances in the remaking process of the original films, which had been produced before World War II. In the original films, as Forrest suggests, women were held responsible for the disorder in society either because they did not fulfill their duties as mothers or because they had left their homes in order to take a job, or because they were unfaithful wives (Forrest, 2002: 185). That is, the heroines in these films who denied or moved away from their innate femininity are condemned to social isolation or punishment. Yet, Forrest finds out that the women's (so-called) mistakes are described in the remakes not as permanent, but as recoverable (ibid.). Though the remakes echo the original films in that women's return to the traditional family unit is essential for saving Western civilization, the way they address the moral imperatives turns out to be different. For Forrest, it appears that the source texts view the moral imperatives as taken for granted in order to maintain social stability, whereas their remakes intend to confirm moral truths by means of the authority of secular guides in order to fit in with the context of their audiences (186). Forrest summarizes the changing gender-related attitudes of remakes as follows:

> *With the end of the war, the opposing images of the self-sacrificing wife/fiancée and the self-absorbed, self-gratifying woman collapse in some films, creating in their place a new, more understanding approach to and redefinition of the previously shunned wartime wayward woman. […] The postwar wayward woman […] exists in a world of shades of gray. [Accordingly, these women are] portrayed more sympathetically as […] "good" [characters] who made a terrible, but not utterly unpardonable mistake.* (Forrest, 2002: 192)

It is revealed then that, the remakes foreground the understanding of the psychological motivations and social circumstances behind the heroine's act by emphasizing that "there are other factors besides free will that account for choices one

[17] *The Unfaithful* by Sherman in 1947; *Miss Sadie Thompson* by Bernhardt in 1953; *Mogambo* by Ford in 1953 and *Gaby* by Bernhardt in 1953.

makes in life, [such as] bad judgement, grief, emotional and/or financial stress" (193). All these points indicate some sort of transformation in fashions and perspectives guided by historical events, and their effects on changing morals and manners undeniably entail the rewriting of the source texts in the process of remaking.

In a similar vein with Forrest, Carolyn A. Durham (2002) engages in an analysis of *Trois Hommes et un couffin* and its two versions from a gender-conscious perspective. Durham criticizes the previous works on *Trois Hommes et un couffin* in that they develop a narrow understanding of gender, considering it independently of culture, other interpersonal relationships and diverse dynamics (2002: 245). In this light, she aims to show how the feminine French realism has been transformed into a masculine American realism, a process in which the concept of gender plays a prominent role. Durham's analysis makes it evident that a textual transformation between the texts relates to the feminist perspective in American culture, which repeatedly accentuates equality instead of difference, gender over sex, and societal change rather than biological destiny (252). According to Durham, in the source text, the involvement of men in childcare results in the feminization of the male narrative most probably because this film is based on the premise that taking care of babies is inherent in women and necessitates a maternal presence (253). She also speculates that, in the American remake, this female narrative of childcare is masculinized, functioning as a successful attempt for attracting women (255). This research also reveals that the source film shows the general misogyny of male characters as a reason why they get involved in childcare, whereas the same situation in the remake "depends rather on women's own denial of any inherent female ability to mother and their subsequent refusal to continue to substitute for fathers" (Durham, 2002: 253). All in all, Durham concludes that the different treatment of the same subject matter provides an explanation for the divergent and multiple ways in which culture and gender interact and it also demonstrates that narratives are rebuilt in terms of diverging construction of gender. This research offers a cross-cultural comparison of narratives of gender as a method and context for investigating transcultural film remakes (257).

Significantly different from most of the articles reviewed in this subsection, Lucy Mazdon's "Distrupting the Remake: *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*" (2017) looks at David Fincher's 2011 US remake of the original Swedish film version of *The*

Girl with the Dragon Tattoo (2009) with particular attention to the sense of novelty that the remake incited in the target culture. In her research, Mazdon reveals that Fincher's remake possesses the European character of its Nordic noir sources and it carries in many aspects the characteristics of its Scandinavian original (2017: 28). Mazdon's analysis ostensibly stands against a long-running cliché that remakes do not introduce otherness, promote diversity and challenge cultural hegemony. Her case study points to a much more complicated and dynamic remake process where foreignizing translation (Venuti, 1995), which is not the translation strategy most often applied, has helped the remake unveil its origins and disrupt the dominance of Anglophone production by embracing the "other" (33). As Mazdon finally remarks, an intricate identity of remaking and other similar operations makes us reconsider "the impossibility of defining clear points of origin, as all texts are part of a network of exchange and influence" on the one hand, and, on the other, it reminds us that "the remake has enormous capacity for revealing the potential for diversity and plurality" (33-34).

In the Turkish context, there are a few master's theses on adaptations and remakes produced in the realms of media and films studies. One of these belongs to Çağla Çavuşoğlu (2014), who comparatively analyzes *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake, with a particular view of the representation of gender roles in the glocalization process. Given that the process of transcultural television remake necessarily entails a number of shifts, the primary aim of that thesis, which is to reveal culture-related divergences between the two television series, can be criticized for not being driven by a critical theoretical hypothesis. Çavuşoğlu does not employ a systematic methodological apparatus, which makes itself evident in the components of analysis that she seems to select randomly and without justification. In the fourth part of the thesis, which reveals the findings and evaluation, Çavuşoğlu examines a number of primary themes, which seem unsystematically selected, such as the presentation of the Turkish remake through opening credits, gender inequality, emulating the West, sexuality, cultural differences, atmosphere and the perception of science (2014: 85-124). It appears that this research was rather intended to conduct a kind of compare-and-contrast examination of the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* and attempted to prove its hypothesis without critical analysis and evaluation of the

examples that are taken as representative. Overall, it was concluded that, the choice of *Desperate Housewives* as an American show for remaking in the Turkish context is an indicator of the globalization process whereas the contextualization of themes, namely womanhood and gender roles, with regard to the perception of women in Turkish culture demonstrates a kind of localization. Yet, Çavuşoğlu's argument that the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* illustrates an example of glocalization seems lacking in that it does not elaborate a range of forces such as media policies, viewers' reception and various agents, among others.

Like Çavuşoğlu's research, Melika Karagülle's thesis (2016) on the Turkish adaptation of *Dawson's Creek* also conducts a cross-cultural textual analysis. In her research, Karagülle carries out a comparative thematic analysis of *Dawson's Creek* and its Turkish adaptation in light of Joseph D. Straubhaar's (2007) concept of cultural proximity.[18] She also resorts to Geert Hofstede's (1980a) cultural dimensions theory[19] in order to explain cultural differences between American and Turkish culture. As a result of the textual analysis, combined with data from interviews with the director of the Turkish adaptation (Kerem Çakıroğlu) and one of its leading actors (İbrahim Kendirci), Karagülle concludes that the Turkish adaptation was largely produced in conformity with local parameters in the Turkish context, which is suggestive of the fact that the Turkish production team paid regard to the concept of cultural proximity when adapting *Dawson's Creek* for Turkish viewers (2016: 105). Accordingly, the Turkish adaptation also added new stories in order to maintain the Turkish remake's credibility and fill its extended length on Turkish television (ibid.). It also appeared in Karagülle's research that the shifts between the source text and the adaptation reflect the differences between the U.S. and Turkey identified in Hofstede's cultural

[18] Straubhaar's cultural proximity is a multifaceted concept, mostly used to elucidate media preferences across national boundaries. It primarily refers to the fact that viewers prefer cultural products that are akin to their own cultures in terms of cultural content and style. As Straubhaar suggests, audiences most often prefer television programs that are as close to them in as many ways (such as humor, historical reference and language) as possible (2007: 26).

[19] This is a framework for cross-cultural communication, developed by Geert Hofstede. Hofstede's original model was based on factor analysis conducted on a global survey of the value system of employees at IBM between the years of 1967 and 1973 and it constituted four dimensions, namely power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism vs. collectivism and masculinity vs. femininity. He then added two new dimensions to his theory: long-term vs. short-term orientation and indulgence vs. self-restraint. These dimensions describe the effect of the culture ingrained in society on the values of the members of that society. They also portray the interplay between these values and behaviors. With respect to his scoring system using a scale from 1 to 120, Hofstede offers a systematic framework for evaluating the differences between nations and cultures.

dimensions (ibid.). The other significant conclusion that Karagülle draws is that the Turkish remake established a kind of balance between American views of life and local cultural values and viewing tastes of Turkish viewers (ibid.). However, considering that television viewers can produce different meanings from the one intended and generated by the production team of television series and that viewers' responses can be viewed as the most crucial yardstick for the fate of a given television series, the fact that Karagülle's arguments have not been backed up by viewers' responses constitutes a significant limitation of the research.

Adopting a more holistic perspective in comparison to the previous studies, Seza Esin Erdoğan's thesis (2015) seeks to compare *Grey's Anatomy* and *The O.C.* with their Turkish remakes in light of the dynamics of the Turkish and American television markets. As Erdoğan suggests, *Doktorlar* turns out to be a copy of *Grey's Anatomy*, lack of its complicated narrative as it rarely touches on the diverse sociological, occupational and personal dilemmas and conflicts that concern its characters (2015: 98). According to her, the Turkish remake of *The O.C.* constitutes a different case and it, unlike the former case study, sometimes incites a sense of novelty, particularly in terms of providing a Westernized portrayal of characters, events and themes mostly absent from domestic television series in Turkish television (99). In this regard, Erdoğan asserts that *The O.C.*'s Turkish remake contributes to "the strong presence of production company Ay Yapım as an innovative […] force in the industry" (ibid.). As different from Çavuşoğlu and Karagülle's research, Erdoğan goes beyond a textual analysis by canalizing her attention towards market-oriented and industrial concerns in relation to the adaptation processes in question. The other significant point to make about Erdoğan's work is that it provides background information about the traffic of the television remake between the American and Turkish television markets, albeit briefly. Nevertheless, this research apparently lacks both in providing a comprehensive analysis based on a multifaceted methodological framework and also in enriching its textual analysis with further data to be obtained from other indispensable components of the adaptation process, namely the agents involved in the process and the audience's reception.

Ayşegül Kesirli Unur's scholarly work "Discussing Transnational Format Adaptation in Turkey: A Study on *Kuzey Güney*" (2015) is among a small number of

case studies that have been based on systematic analysis. Kesirli Unur attempts to explore how the process of transnational format adaptation occurs in Turkish television by examining the celebrated Turkish television series *Kuzey Güney* (the unacknowledged Turkish version of the American television miniseries *Rich Man, Poor Man*[20]) as a case study in terms of the stylistic, intertextual and cultural dynamics that appeared in its creation (2015: 139). Making use of Albert Moran's tripartite scheme (constituting linguistic codes, intertextual codes and cultural codes) as a methodology and Smith's theoretical proposal of positioning adaptations within broader debates on the transnational traffic of media, Kesirli Unur has analyzed the prominent effects of the industrial routines and the cultural and intertextual codes on the Turkish remake of *Rich Man, Poor Man*. She has concluded that, through the use of national utterances and taking into account cultural proximities, the Turkish adaptation has turned out "a familiar, domestic product just like Kuzey as a television character becomes 'one of us'" (2015: 148). Yet, she mentions only in passing the effect of other factors and agents involved in the process, such as the popularity of the production company and actors. In addition to this, as she herself remarks, her research could be enriched by means of audience research, which "might be stimulating to understand how these codes and utterances are decoded by the audiences" (2015: 149). Such limitations notwithstanding, the fact that Kesirli Unur contextualizes her research by pinpointing prominent moments in Turkish television history is notable.

Taken together, it has been revealed that the case studies examined in this subsection are no longer drawn on the binary opposition of original and copy that specifically dominated the accounts of adaptation for quite a long time. These case studies shine light on many subject matters and themes that come to the forefront in specific remakes, and they touch on many facets of the practices of remaking, mostly emphasizing the specific historical, social, institutional, and cultural contexts that they are embedded in. Furthermore, it seems obvious that, in these case studies, a critical engagement with remakes/adaptations and remaking/adapting is inevitably comparative along with many different considerations.

[20] As Kesirli Unur points out, even though the rumor that *Kuzey Güney* was adapted from *Rich Man, Poor Man* had appeared on Internet forums and in everyday conversations, there was no official account that confirmed it. However, as observed by Kesirli Unur, there are numerous obvious similarities between the two television series (2015: 143).

My survey has shown that even though many case studies take into account diverse intra-medial, inter-medial and contextual aspects (such as social, cultural, political, technological, and industrial conditions of adaptations and remakes), they have rarely probed the process of reception and the agents involved in the creating and marketing processes of adaptation/remake. Other than these, perhaps the most significant point to make here with respect to my research is the fact that greater understanding of the position and role of remakes within the whole cultural production within a specific context (such as a culture and television industry) has been neglected by researchers to date. The other gap that the case studies have not been able to fill thus far is the investigation and in-depth evaluation of the tendency of remake/adaptation strategies towards either consolidating the established collection of products within a given context or challenging it by means of new alternatives. Overall, though there are a series of case studies on remakes within the fields of media and film studies, they often remain at a local level, hampering the emergence of larger theoretical frameworks on the one hand, and models/methods of analyzing adaptations and remakes on the other.

Following the survey of scholarly publications on adaptations and remakes in media and film studies, the next subsection of this chapter will dwell on a corpus of research on adaptation and remakes produced exclusively in the area of television. Given that the focus of this research is on transnational television remakes, the following part will unearth more clearly the neglected areas of research regarding the interplay between adaptations/remakes and television.

1.1.3. Television Studies

My survey has demonstrated that, considering the innumerable scholarly publications about film remakes, comparatively little has been produced in the field of television.[21] Thus, there is a scarcity of research offering theoretical and methodological frameworks concentrating specifically on transnational television

[21] Such as Moran, 1998; Smith, 2008; Lavigne and Marcovitch, 2011; McCabe and Akass, 2012; Gemzøe, 2013; Hilmes, 2013. Alongside these, there are scholarly works that have engaged with the task of adapting television shows other than dramas, including television formats (quiz show formats, reality show formats) and news into a new territory (Lee, 1991; Clausen, 2004; Frau-Meigs, 2006; Hetsroni, 2005; Ranganathan and Lobo, 2008).

remakes. The number of works based on case studies, when compared to the number of works suggesting theoretical and methodological approaches, is much higher. To this end, the next subsection will examine academic studies involving theoretical and methodological considerations on television remakes whereas the subsequent subsection will analyze case studies.

1.1.3.1. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Adaptations and Remakes

One of the scarce sources that provide researchers with a framework that helps conduct cross-cultural research of transnational television remakes belongs to Albert Moran. In his critical work, "When TV Formats are Translated" (2009b), Moran benefits from the general components of the process of literary translation to frame his discussion and suggests that in the same way that a translator is supposed to pay respect to a given source text while trying to appeal to the reader of the translation, those engaged with the process of television adaptation must balance the need to adhere to a source program with that of transforming it to suit a given target culture (42). For Moran, the process of adaptation can be dissected into and examined in light of three broad levels of textual coding (ibid.). These levels are "linguistic-codes", "intertextual-codes" and "cultural-codes", ranging from more basic to more complicated levels of text (46). Moran's first category, "linguistic codes", broadly concerns the matters of shooting, editing and sound (46), whereas the second category of "intertextual codes" can be viewed as referring to a relatively broader level including, for instance, generic components (49). The most complex level, Moran's third level, has to do with matters of history, ideology, religion and culture (50). This tripartite scheme, as Moran points out, is very tentative and in need of being developed by more empirical levels of analysis (53). Another limitation of Moran's proposal lies in its exclusion of the matter of human agency very closely concerning the process of adaptation and viewers' reception which is perhaps the most fundamental yardstick in the process of adaptation.[22] All the same, this framework is noteworthy in that it is one of the very

[22] In his recent article "Americanization, Hollywoodization, or English-Language Market Variation? Comparing British and American Versions of *Cracker*" (2011), Moran, comparing the British and

few models that permit a systematic methodology and understanding of the adaptation process.

In parallel to Moran's provisional suggestion of methodology, Edward Larkey's "Transcultural Localization Strategies of Global TV Formats: *The Office* and *Stromberg*" (2009) brings forward a suggestive set of ideas that can enable one to frame the discussion of the cultural adaptation process, although he does not designate and definitively declare the methodological tools he drew on as a framework. Broadly based on a comparative analysis of the US version and the German version of *The Office* (the British format), Larkey addresses and explores a set of attributes that are prominent in a given case by classifying them and applying this classification as a sort of methodology. The parameters that he identifies and analyzes in his research are: setting, characters, plot development, language use and several thematic concerns such as power distance and depictions of masculinity and femininity (2009: 189-197). At this point, it should be noted that Larkey's methodological approach, similar to that of Moran, overlooks social agents of the process of television remake, namely producers and scriptwriters (who are the primary decision makers in the creative process) on the one hand and, on the other, viewers' taste and interests.

In methodological terms, Lothar Mikos and Marta Perrotta's research, "Traveling Style: Aesthetic differences and similarities in national adaptations of *Yo soy Betty, la fea*" (2011), echoes the methodological framework of Larkey's analysis discussed above. Mikos and Perrotta's case study constitutes the first episode of each of the four adaptations[23] of the Colombian telenovela *Yo soy Betty, la fea* (2011: 86). Adopting a comparative analysis, Mikos and Perrotta refer to the attributes that they have examined within the scope of their research under two titles: dramaturgical and aesthetic comparison (such as the use of point-of-view shots and editing style) and narrative comparison (such as the construction of the main character and generic conventions) (Mikos and Perrotta, 2011: 86-90). Unlike many academic works on television remakes, this research investigates and evaluates dramaturgical attributes of the adaptations/remakes in question, including camera style, visual effects and the

American versions of *Cracker* in terms of their formal and aesthetic components, pays regard to viewers' reception by incorporating the responses of Internet users in his research.

[23] Mikos and Perrotta compare the American (*Ugly Betty*), German (*Verliebt in Berlin*), Spanish (*Yo soy Bea*), and Russian (*Ne Rodis' Krasivoy*) remakes of *Yo soy Betty, la fea* (2011: 86).

visual presentation of dialogue (2011: 92). It also differs from most research on television adaptations/remakes with its involvement in the corpus of *Yo soy Betty, la fea*'s adaptations/remakes rather than one-on-one comparison between *Yo soy Betty, la fea* and one of its adaptations/remakes. Nevertheless, the most notable shortcoming of this research may be its indifference to problematizing what happens in the process of adaptation/remake on the part of human agents (namely, scriptwriters and producers) and viewers who determine the success or failure of television adaptations/remakes.

The most notable shortcoming of Mikos and Perrotta's article, the failure to question the role of agents in the adaptation process and audience reception, is remedied by Anthony Fung and Xiaoxiao Zhang's research "The Chinese *Ugly Betty*: TV cloning and local modernity" (2011). Fung and Zhang, concentrating on comparing the Chinese remake *Ugly Wudi* with that of its American version *Ugly Betty* (2011: 265), enrich their thematic analysis of the Chinese remake with interviews that they conducted with producers of *Ugly Wudi* and analyses of audience focus group (ibid.). As the researchers indicate in their article, their research has benefited from a combination of qualitative methods that include textual analysis, focus groups and in-depth interviews (2011: 266). They point out that, in order to further back up the text-based data, they have examined the comments of eight focus groups with 78 viewers of *Ugly Wudi* and interviewed the remake's chief producer, marketing director and chief scriptwriter (ibid.). Despite its explicit description of tools of analysis, this research, much like other scholarly works on television remakes examined within this subsection, does not suggest a methodological framework in which numerous industrial, cultural, social, thematic and intertextual attributes affecting the remake process are definitively identified and formulated in categories.

The other critical approach to adaptations/remakes in television has appeared in the journal *Continuum*, which reserved an issue for the topic of transnational television remakes. In their introductory essay to this special issue, Claire Perkins and Constantine Verevis (2015) point to the fact that almost all of the included articles adopt the understanding of "critical transculturalism" as the theoretical framework (677) in order to probe into the transnational traffic of television remakes. On the basis

of this framework, the collection of articles in this issue sought to respond to the scope of questions listed as follows:

> *What happens when a series is remade from one national television system to another? How is cultural translation handled across series and seasons of differing length and scope? What are the narrative and dramaturgical proximities and differences between local and other versions?* (Perkins and Verevis, 2015: 677).

Another point that Perkins and Verevis have reveal is that the articles have used as their case studies four types of transnational productions as developed by Michele Hilmes (2013). These are imported series, adapted series, format fiction and reality formats.[24] Among these four categories, imported series refer to the products that are sold internationally and remade[25] in a new context by means of dubbing and subtitling, whereas reality formats constitute such genres of television as quiz shows, game shows and lifestyle programs like *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* and *Big Brother* (Perkins and Verevis, 2015: 678-679). Hilmes suggests that imported series and reality formats can subsequently be considered extremes of sameness and difference. Between these take place the other categories, adapted series and format fiction, which are "legally and pragmatically, adhere to the conventions of the traditional text […]" (2013: 37). However, as Perkins and Verevis underline, when television products are sold to be adapted, their distinctive properties are sometimes unexpectedly transformed (2015: 679). [26] In parallel to Moran's approach, drawing on the general outlook of the translation process, this approach also has affinities with the process of literary translation of cultural texts in which a translator typically oscillates between adhering tightly to a source text and tailoring it to fit in with target situations. As for Hilmes, the fourth type of transnational production, format fiction, is located somewhere between adapted series and reality format, and it refers to the process in which a given product "lend[s] discrete parts of its textual universe to creative reworkings in an astonishing variety of settings, while still maintaining celebrated attachment to the parent series" (2013: 40).

[24] According to Hilmes, one television product can fit several categories (2015: 35).
[25] Here, the concept of remaking refers to dispersion and transformation of a television product.
[26] Accordingly, Hilmes further divides adapted series into two categories: creative and controlled types of this adapting operation. These two types, as Perkins and Verevis argue (2015), refer to free and faithful adaptations respectively and show the varying degree of transformation from one case to another.

Perhaps the most significant point that Perkins and Verevis have drawn attention to regarding the corpus of research published in this special issue is the fact that the studies are based on a broad common methodology, which manifests itself in the title of Jennifer Forrest and Sergio Martinez's (2015) piece of work: the remapping of sociocultural specificity. As for Perkins and Verevis, this shared attention implicitly demonstrates that "the imperative to reshape the social and cultural profile of a television series is – for producers – more pressing in the case of television than of film" (2015: 680), which is reiterated in Forrest and Martinez's research:

> *In contrast with film remakes, what relative narrative parity between original and remake can be sustained for two hours becomes difficult to sustain for … a television series, even more so when the social, cultural and historical character of the transposed landscape is rich and complex* (Forrest and Martinez, 2015, as cited in Perkins and Verevis, 2015: 680).

In parallel to the academic works referred to above, the collection of articles in *American Remakes of British Television: Transformations and Mistranslations* (2011), all focusing on American remakes of British television programs, attempt to respond to almost the same set of questions listed by Perkins and Verevis in the journal *Continuum* (2015). Though the critical essays in this collection (Barlaam, 2011: Lavigne, 2011: Moran, 2011) have taken as a topic of discussion both what Lavigne and Marcovitch have named as "the formal elements"of remakes – such as style, visual aesthetics, characters – and also "the cultural contexts" -such as cultural issues including sexuality and competition- (2011, xiii), they have not proposed theoretical and methodological models furnished with elaborate and clear principles, concepts and tools. My examination of the articles in this book has revealed that most of the research,[27] based on a comparative analysis, has given due importance to and carried out comprehensive analysis of the components in the case studies that they involve. Yet, they have failed to offer the categorizations of the components and techniques that they have used to evaluate them as the methodological tools to be employed in any future inquiry. Even so, they have provided very illuminating insights into the dynamics inherent in television remakes and the configurations that might be deemed important at a broader level.

[27] See Booth and Brian, 2011; Boseovski and Marcovitch, 2011.

Offering a notably holistic approach to the process of adaptation/remake in methodological terms, Fien Adriaens and Daniel Biltereyst's article "Glocalized Telenovelas and National Identities: A 'Textual Cum Production' Analysis of the 'Telenovelle' *Sara*, The Flemish Adaptation of *Yo soy Betty, la fea*" (2012) explores the globalization of the telenovela genre with regard to issues of adaptation, proximities, and national identities (551). Taking the adaptation of one of the most popular Latin American telenovelas, *Yo soy Betty, la fea*, into the Flemish context as the case study and presenting a comparative analysis, Adriaens and Biltereyst embark on a methodology that combines thematic textual analysis with interviews that provide greater understanding of the production process of *Sara* (2012: 552). Concerning its textual analysis, this research appears to employ Moran's tripartite scheme, which makes a distinction between linguistic codes, intertextual codes and cultural codes prevalent in texts (2012: 558). Complementary to Moran, Adriaens and Biltereyst include expert interviews regarding the adaptation process of *Sara*, yet they do not discuss their findings obtained from the interviews within a separate category. It can also be suggested that although the scope of research performed by Adriaens and Biltereyst seems to go beyond the methodological framework proposed by Moran, the researchers do not attempt to add more categories alongside the ones developed by Moran and/or subcategories that enable more in-depth analyses. Still, it can be considered inspiring in that it extends the scope of methodological approaches to television remakes. This point is also pointed out by Adriaens and Biltereyst as follows:

> *This approach is fruitful, not only in better understanding the practicalities of the adaptation process, including many choices involved in translating television series into different cultural environments. This approach has also underlined the importance of politicoeconomic interests (e.g., those of networks) as well as how adaptation requires complex intertextual negotiation between the [source text and its adaptation(s)]* (2012: 563).

Another study of the adaptation of *Yo soy Betty, la fea* belongs to Juan Piñón. Taking a critical look at the adaptation of *Yo soy Betty, la fea* for the U.S. television market, Piñón's article "*Ugly Betty* and the Emergence of the Latina/o Producers as Cultural Translators" (2011) reveals that, in order to suit assumed mainstream viewers' tastes and also to appeal to U.S. Hispanic viewers, a team of agents, particularly constituting creative personnel and executives participating in the adaptation process,

was gathered, and the inclusion of Latina/os as cultural translators in this project played an indispensable role (392). As Piñón suggests, this critical role of Latina/o producers' involvement in this process cannot be attributed only to these agents' contributions to achieving cultural authenticity in the adaptation process, yet their hybrid subjectivities assume a huge role in this process, taking into account the commercial value of their assumed prestige and symbolic capital (2011: 406-407). For instance, Salma Hayek's involvement in this project, as Piñón argues, "allowed a better positioning of the *Betty* project among the network executives' community, advertisers, and sponsors, as well as with the targeted audiences", since she is highly visible in the media thanks to her celebrity status and she has economic and ethnocultural capital (2011: 402). Overall, it can be suggested that, though Piñón's research is lacking in giving due importance to the narratological elements of *Yo soy Betty, la fea*'s US adaptation *Ugly Betty*, the fact that its main interest lies in highlighting the role of human agents involved in the process of adaptation and, more significantly, the importance of their status and visibility in the media, is noteworthy.

My survey of scholarly works on television adaptations/remakes has made it evident that, much like the research in adaptation studies and media/film studies examined in previous sections, researchers of television remakes have carried out diverse levels of analysis on both macro and micro levels, dealing with multiple attributes of television remakes. Distinct from these, however, they have introduced slightly more definitive theoretical and methodological frameworks that warrant extended engagement with television remakes in particular. For instance, the collection of articles[28] in the special issue of *Continuum* (2015) has explored and responded to a large set of questions that help them explain, predict and evaluate the research problems under study. Nevertheless, none of them has offered and/or been based on a comprehensive theoretical framework that enables researchers to make generalizations about their data. As far as methodological approaches to television remakes are concerned, it is revealed that, though there has been no research offering an encompassing model with a great range of tools and detailed categories that enable more systematic research, several methodological approaches, such as that suggested

[28] Akass, 2015; Forrest and Martinez, 2015; Mikos, 2015; Moran, 2015; Perkins, 2015; Turnbull, 2015; Verevis, 2015; Zanger, 2015.

by Moran (2009b), are suggestive for further attempts of structuring a methodological framework on television remakes.

1.1.3.2. Case Studies on Adaptations and Remakes

As the previous subsection has shown, academic works on television remakes have most commonly used case study as a methodology. That is, among only a limited amount of research with reference to television remakes, one can find an abundance of case studies. Yet, as my survey on the selected corpus of case studies has indicated, these case studies, with some exceptions (Larkey, 2009; Buonanno, 2009), do not often invite generalization on television remakes and they mostly fail to provide insight about the function of remakes in broader contextual frameworks. They still open up a number of under-explored questions about television remakes, such as a series of economic and industrial factors (Conway, 2011; Akass, 2015), and various themes, including ethnic invisibility (Fung and Zhang, 2011) and therapy culture (Perkins, 2015) that remakes revolve around. Perhaps the most common point that much research has referred to is the fact that, in the case of television remakes, source texts are disguised so well that viewers are unlikely to recognize that the program in question is a remake of a foreign text that was produced in another culture (Larkey, 2009; Adriaens and Biltereyst, 2012). Moreover, almost all case studies acknowledge the defining role of macro level factors such as socio-political, cultural and industrial circumstances, alongside numerous middle-range level factors (such as audience's expectations, viewing habits and generic concerns), when remaking a television series in a different territory.

In the special issue of *Continuum* (2015) on transnational television remakes, as Perkins and Verevis point out, the essays primarily concentrate on three fundamental points of reference, which are overlapping in some cases. The first point concerns the political implications of sociocultural remapping. This means that analyses have often been conducted to draw attention to what the adaptation process reveals about socio-political issues and cultural values (2015: 680).[29] The second

[29] See Forrest and Martínez, 2015 and Zanger, 2015. Examining the US remake (*The Bridge*) of the Danish/Swedish *Broen/Bron*, Jennifer Forrest and Sergio Martínez point out that, in order to relate more closely to the US socio-political context, the US remake has promoted such vital social concerns as drug

focalization relates to how sociocultural remapping in television remakes produces generic effects.[30] The third and last point of focalization that has shown up from this collection is the issue of cultural value[31] and it broadly brings into question how differently a television show can be received and evaluated in its new context and reception space (Perkins and Verevis, 2015: 682).

As is evident from a substantial number of case studies on television remakes, the understanding of sociocultural remapping is a prevalent concern in this field of research. One such work is Silvia Barlaam's "'There's nowt as *Queer as Folk'*: British and American Televisual Approaches to the Politics of Homosexuality" (2011). In this research, Barlaam examines the similarities/discrepancies between the British and American versions of *Queer as Folk* by looking at their opening title sequences, pivotal narrative divergences, themes, and endings. This research interrogates whether the politics of homosexuality in the source text is translated into the American remake by examining the elements carried into, omitted from or ignored in the remade version. Barlaam finds out that while the choice of images in the opening title sequence of the source text points to the drama in which "characters are like anyone else, whose sexual choices are tangential to whom they are, and whose problems are just like anyone else's", its remake provides "an image of stereotypical gay spectacle, a volatile mix of sound and movement exploding on the small screen" (Barlaam, 2011: 124). Likewise, this study points out that the use of first person in the source text pinpoints individuality, contributing to the emphasis of its stories being the same as anyone

trafficking, the smuggling of migrants and police corruption, which constitute the social realities of the US-Mexico border (2015, 718). As for Zanger's research which compares *Homeland* with the Israeli series *Prisoners of War* that it was based on, it demonstrates that, in contrast to its source text, the US remake *Homeland* revolves around a different kind of trauma centering on September 11 in the USA, and this act of rewriting in the process of remaking is intimately related to different historical contexts of production and different reception spaces (2015: 740).

[30] Perkins and Verein's research pays attention to the generic transformation of British social realist mockumentary *The Office* into a classical sitcom in Germany (2015: 681).

[31] Constantine Verevis's "'Whose side are you on? *The Slap* (2011/2015)'" (2015), written on the eve of the premiere of the US remake of the eight-part Australian television mini-series *The Slap*, investigates audience expectations and anticipations regarding the US remake. Exploring how the construction and reception of a television show as a quality product in a source culture can shape viewer expectations in a target culture, this research largely argues that, a television show, viewed as having high quality in its own cultural context, can create such negative expectation that its remake version would be mediocre. As Verevis's case study shows, the Australian series *The Slap*, based on a critically acclaimed novel by Christos Tsiolkas, caused "some assumptions around the world that *The Slap*'s US remake, which is expected to fit the conventions and requirements of US network television, would inevitably be inferior" (2015: 778).

else's, whereas the use of third person in the US remake, which refers to universality, represents the homosexual content "with a universal blanket statement ('It's all about sex')" (Barlaam, 2011: 127). The US remake appears to bring to the forefront such issues as marriage, bisexuality, female characters, political activism, and equal rights and it often relates them to the wider social and cultural issues in society (Barlaam, 2011: 137-138). Based on her analysis, Barlaam concludes that the US remake "demonstrates how the process of 'remaking' is never a simple re-filming in other locations, with different actors, but instead a complex process filtered through national sensibilities and contextual political issues…" (2011: 138).

In the same vein as Barlaam, James W. Martens, in "Come on Over! The African Americanization of *Steptoe and Son*" (2011), invites us to rethink how a range of major cultural filters driven by numerous factors in a target culture result in remakes that look like indigenous productions of a home culture (217). Basing his research on the case of the US remake of the British television series *Steptoe and Son* which mainly deals with issues such as class and economic hardships of the 1960s in the UK, Martens questions how the source series was successfully translated into the American comedy *Sanford and Son* by introducing an African American family to white American viewers particularly during times of racial unrest. As a result of comparative analysis of the cultural contexts of time and place, Martens firmly argues that *Sanford and Son* is much more than a copy of the source series, which is a commonplace accusation directed towards remakes (2011: 220). Rather, as he suggests, the U.S. remake is a well-conceived look at the daily life of a working-class black American family, developing its storyline around the issues of American culture of its day (2011: 217).

The other line of research interrogates the potential reasons why a given adaptation/remake may fail or succeed in attracting attention. In her chapter "Memories of Mars: *Life on Mars* and the Discursive Practices of Memory" (2011), Heather Marcovitch approaches television located in the past as an iteration of a culture's collective memory and she seeks to explore how the British and American versions of *Life on Mars* structure memory, both individual and collective, in different ways. Drawing on the assumption that television as a site of collective memory establishes a kind of relationship with many television viewers who view television as their main source of historical information, Marcovitch first explains the role of

collective memory in helping us "define our present position in both time (by establishing a common, popular view of the past) and space (by using our memories to identify with other members of a particular group)" (2011: 176). According to Marcovitch, given that the series is based on a story revolving around the 1970s, the US remake's failure to appeal to American viewers relates to the indifference to appealing to the viewers' memories of the early 1970s. As she suggests, the source version recognizes that, in the case of television series, the past is to be recreated by looking at how previous cultural texts tailored this particular period, but the remake overlooks that (2011: 189). Marcovitch further notes that though the US remake held some of the aesthetics of 1970s movies, it put much more emphasis on contemporary television shows (such television series as *Law and Order* and *CSI*) to restructure its representation of the past and, as a result, it suffered from low ratings and was cancelled after one season (2011: 190).

Carlen Lavigne's (2011) analysis of the remake of the British musical murder mystery *Blackpool* into the American *Viva Laughlin* is another study interrogating the underlying reasons behind the failure of a remake. Conducting a critical comparative analysis on the source text and its remake *Viva Laughlin*, Lavigne argues that Hollywoodization, which refers to employing "the generic Hollywood attractiveness of the actors, the flawlessness of the sets, and the general 'upper-class' nature of the narrative" (Lavigne, 2011: 64), is no longer a preferable process for remaking British programs into the American television market (68). The Hollywoodization method, as Lavigne asserts, has resulted in the loss of the depth that defined the British version:

> *The changes made in remaking the British Blackpool as an American Viva Laughlin serve up Hollywood tropes as though following a rote formula for success: a nobler hero, a higher-class setting, attractive actors, bright sets, glossy colors, flattering lighting, and lots of girls in bikinis. […] Viva Laughlin demonstrates that these stereotypes have an unfortunate basis in truth, but its abject failure as a series also implies that successful intercultural translations are not so simple; it is not enough to assume that U.K. audiences like grim, working-class sagas while U.S. audiences like bright, shiny things* (2011: 68).

Maybe the most significant point that Lavigne's research pinpoints is the fact that, the success or failure of a television remake is bound to and driven by the matrix of factors, which are often interrelated, and thus it is unlikely for the process of remaking, entailing continuous reconsideration of a plethora of components, to be successful if it pursues a simple and outdated formula.

In parallel to these works, Sue Turnbull's "Trafficking in TV crime: remaking *Broadchurch*" (2015) seeks to identify the possible reasons behind the failure of the US remake of the British crime drama *Broadchurch*. In her research, Turnbull initially intends to discover the broader issue of the cross-cultural traffic in television, with particular attention to television remakes. She then speculates that, although there is ongoing transnational cultural traffic between the US and the UK in terms of television crime drama, this traffic has gained momentum with "the more recent global circulation and popularity of Scandinavian film and TV drama series [which] include the original Swedish film version of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2009)" (2015: 707). This research points out that, despite the popularity of Scandinavian products, *Gracepoint*, the remake of *Broadchurch*, failed to attract American viewers. The reason why *Gracepoint* had poor ratings is first linked to the negative reception of some television critics and online commentators (Turnbull, 2015: 707). Turnbull also suggests the issue of language (in the case of *Broadchurch*, an accent) as one of the reasons for failure (2015: 708). As she further notes, the issues of genre proximity, cultural accommodation and casting can be added as other possible reasons. The remake's fidelity to its source, as the research suggests, can also be considered among the possible reasons behind its failure (714). While Turnbull's findings obtained from various resources such as television critics, reviewers and bloggers attribute the poor ratings of the remake to the abovementioned aesthetic differences between the two shows, it turns out that, agents in the television market assess success or failure in economic terms (715). As the research shows, whatever the ratings of *Gracepoint*, its potential sale by an American network, Fox TV, to various countries can end with huge profits for the channel, and then what was viewed as a failure by critics and viewers would be evaluated differently by the agents of the television industry (ibid.).

Alongside the case studies examined so far, there is also a small group of studies that provide us with background information about cross-cultural remake/adaptation history; that is, they offer a wider contextualization of remakes by presenting an overview of the traffic of remakes between different cultural contexts, albeit only briefly and/or exclusively. For instance, Jeanette Steemers's essay "British Television in the American Marketplace" (2011) is one of these studies approaching the topic of remaking from a historical perspective. Providing a historical and material

overview of the transnational broadcasting of British television programs with particular attention to the contemporary British television market, Steemers problematizes the changes in content, style and tone adopted by British television products in order to appeal to larger U.S. audiences and she finds out that British television programs have recently been being produced with assumed American viewers in mind on a production and budgetary level as well as on a conceptual level. According to Steemers, this mode of production adds a transnational aspect to contemporary British television products (2011: 11). In a similar fashion, Mikos, in search of the remake strategies used in the German remake of the British mockumentary *The Office*, provides a brief overview of the history of the international remake market (2015: 694). In Mikos's research, this snapshot of remake history serves only the contextualization of his study within a larger framework; it does not enable Mikos to interrogate his findings and link them to broader televisual concerns whereby he could, for instance, make an overall evaluation about the potential effects of remake business on the German television market.

As the selected case studies that have been reviewed in this subsection have demonstrated, research on adaptations and remakes in the area of television studies has addressed a broad variety of sociocultural, industrial, commercial, generic and textual conditions at macro, meso and micro levels, which have direct and substantial effects on the process of adaptation/remake. Therefore, they have provided comprehensive explanations and understandings of this research field by bringing to light numerous considerations such as local sensibilities, viewing habits, censorship requirements, political outlooks and generic modifications, among others. Nevertheless, most of these studies have failed to take a holistic approach to adaptations/remakes both as process and product, missing one significant aspect or another during the investigation, and they are unable to offer comprehensive theoretical insights. The constraints of the length and scope of a single scholarly work can be suggested as an underlying reason behind this prevalent shortcoming of the case studies conducted in this field of research. Yet, I argue that it is much more likely due to the lack of a methodology for systematic adaptation/remake analysis. I also assert that the lack of comprehensive theoretical insights is another underlying reason for this deficiency prevalent in much research on adaptations and remakes.

1.1.4. Translation Studies

The last primary subsection of this chapter aims at presenting and discussing the selected corpus of scholarly works on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies, putting emphasis on new insights and approaches that translation studies has brought in the research on this subject matter. In other words, this section seeks to demonstrate complementary lines of research on adaptations and remakes in translation studies that have been insufficiently studied to date in the other research fields. At this point, it is important to highlight that the number of critical works devoted to adaptations and remakes specifically from the perspective of translation studies is limited and, considering scholarly works on television remakes in translation studies, this number is even lower.[32] There are only a few studies around the world and even fewer in Turkey that focus on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies.

1.1.4.1. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Adaptations and Remakes

To my knowledge, Patrick Cattrysse's seminal article "Film (Adaptation) as Translation: Some Methodological Proposals" (1992) is the leading scholarly work that offers the expansion of the concept of translation beyond cross-linguistic transfer practices in such a way as to problematize film adaptations within the framework of translation studies (53). In his research, Cattrysse seeks to explore whether Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory provides the necessary tools for a coherent and systematic theory of film adaptation (1992: 55). Drawing on the contextualized semiotic perspective of translation, he suggests that the function and the position of the adaptations need to be negotiated within their context since adaptations are discursive practices, "the production of which have been determined by various previous discursive practices and by its general historical context" (62).

It appears that Cattrysse proposes to problematize the relations between discursive transcultural transfer practices within their sociocultural, political and

[32] Such as Perkins and Verevis, 2015; Perdiaki, 2017a; Sela-Sheffy, 2017a.

industrial contexts to find out how these transfer practices have functioned in their proper context, and to discuss in a more detailed way how they have been put into practice by questioning why certain transfer practices were performed in the way they were. Complementary to previous research on adaptations in other fields, Cattrysse brings forward several promising proposals, particularly including (i) the analysis of large corpora of film adaptations and (ii) the questioning of the (conservative/innovative) function of a film adaptation (1992: 59-60). Besides these contributions, as Cattrysse himself confirms, the polysystemic approach to film adaptation fails in providing analytical tools for comparing and evaluating film texts, which refers to a methodological gap (60-61). The other point that Cattrysse's proposal does not address is adaptations' receptions by the viewers, which has much to tell about their functioning within a given context.

In his later research *Descriptive Adaptation Studies: Epistemological and Methodological Issues* (2014), Cattrysse provides a much more detailed account of his suggestion of more systematically theorized research on adaptations. Seeking to present a theoretical and methodological framework and to explore a common working definition of translation and adaptation, Cattrysse's study indicates that the lack of a common point between these translational processes (and products) would be resolved by means of descriptive adaptation studies (DAS), inspired by Even-Zohar's polysystem theory of translation studies. He proposes to view adaptations within a complex context of producers, receivers, and various other agents. It is possible to argue that such an analysis from a descriptive (and interpretive) perspective has resulted in a more holistic understanding of adaptation as a cultural phenomenon in the contemporary industries. Concerning polysystem theory's relevance to his approach, Cattrysse further notes that "this approach was far ahead of its time, and it deserves better than to be ignored" (2014: 124). Cattrysse's adoption of the polysystem approach to adaptation indicates a descriptive corpus-based research into the roles and functions of sets of adaptations within a given period and culture. This descriptive approach also engages with some epistemological issues such as how to define adaptation and what it means to study adaptation as adaptation. Thus, several common grounds between adaptation and translation can be summed up as follows:

- both adaptation and translation can be viewed as products that are embedded in a dynamic and multilayered context of agents, receivers and forces of various interests;
- both processes involve utterances or texts and the interplay between texts and their receivers;
- adaptation and translation processes can be suggested to be teleological, in the sense that both are driven by source and target (con)text considerations, the latter of which has a particularly decisive role; and
- notions of 'equivalence' dominate both adaptation and translation.

The point to note here is that, even though Cattrysse's recent study, in comparison to his seminal publication in 1992, gives a detailed description of his proposal of a theoretical and methodological framework for research on adaptations, it lacks in providing the necessary tools for a comparative analysis of adaptations.

Bruno Latour's actor-network theory has also enabled the extension of the scope of research on adaptations and remakes. The application of Latour's theory to the process of adaptation has been suggested by Regina Schober in her work entitled "Adaptation as connection: Transmediality reconsidered" (2013). According to her, actor-network theory pushes us to view the adaptation process as a set of connections that involve the interactions between human and non-human actors. In this respect, Schober proposes to compare the interplay between a source text and its adaptation(s) within the framework of social relations as a network (2013: 104). Schober's research puts forward that viewing translational operations such as adaptation as intricate webs of connections, in which the behaviors and interactions of human and non-human actors can be traced, will help researchers illuminate their complex interconnections and contexts.

In theoretical and methodological terms, Lawrence Venuti's *Adaptation, Translation and Critique* (2007) is another critical scholarly work on adaptations from the perspective of translation studies. In this research, Venuti refers to the gap of a theoretical and methodological nature in adaptation studies and he proposes that this gap can be filled by means of theoretical frameworks and critical methodologies in translation studies, which, according to Venuti, can be productively exploited in research on adaptation:

> *[T]ranslation theory can advance thinking about film adaptations by contributing to the formulation of a more rigorous methodology for studying them. If we abandon the communicative model of translation and instead consider its relation to a source text as hermeneutic, the interpretant can assume crucial importance in analyzing both translations and adaptations […] The hermeneutic relation can be seen […] as interrogative, exposing the cultural and social conditions of those materials and of the translation or adaptation that has processed them.* (2007: 41)

Venuti relates the methodological gap in adaptation studies particularly to two factors, one conceptual and the other, institutional (ibid.). The first factor concerns paying too much attention to the concept of original and marginalizing second-order creations like adaptations whereas the second one is in relation to the attitudes of academic departments of literature, in which assumptions about authorship are still deemed highly significant (26).

Venuti suggests considering adaptation as a form of intertextuality and he remarks that an interpretive outlook emanates from "a hermeneutic concept of language as constitutive of thought and determining reality" (2007: 28). This suggests that both translations and adaptations consider their source texts as materials, the meanings of which are required to be transferred in consideration of the values and beliefs of the translating/adapting culture. The transfer of meaning between a source and a target text is a two-way relation, which in turn enriches the source text. Furthermore, the interaction of meaning assignment and negotiation with diverse agents as well as contexts occurs in both translation and adaptation. Overall, Venuti refers to a hermeneutic perspective dominating the process of translation, as it mirrors the sociocultural norms and values of a particular period which are reinterpreted in the translations made across diverse cultural contexts and periods.

Venuti's suggestion that translation theory extends the scope of the research on adaptation draws on the analogy between translation and adaptation, both of which are contingent on the processes of decontextualizing and recontextualizing. As far as adaptation is concerned, as Venuti stipulates, these processes entail much more multifaceted considerations since adaptation is considered more multi-tasked than the conventional understanding of translation as a linguistic transfer between one source text and its target version. In this sense, Venuti views adaptation, unlike translation, as a process in need of many more diverse changes between the source and target material as it deals with "a multidimensional medium with different traditions, practices and

conditions of production", ranging from distinct styles of acting, directing and studio production to the trajectory of actors, directors and scriptwriters, and to numerous economic and political factors as well as many values, beliefs and representations (30).

Venuti, using the concept of "interpretant", reveals his methodological aim of supplying analytical tools to provide systematicity in adaptation research, which has been neglected so far. According to Venuti, this concept can be viewed as "a category that mediates between the source language and culture, on the one hand, and the translating [or adapting/remaking] language and culture, on the other" (2007: 31). He further purports that interpretants are constitutive components of the process/product of adaptation and they facilitate thorough analysis within two categories: (i) formal interpretants (referring to structural attributes such as plot details and the issue of genre) and (ii) thematic interpretants (referring to cultural attributes such as norms, ideologies or moral issues) (ibid.). In line with Venuti's analytical tool of interpretant, researchers are expected to focus on divergences/similarities (such as additions, omissions and substitutions) that will be apparent as a result of a comparative analysis between the target text and its source and their application of interpretants (Venuti, 2007: 41). The findings obtained from this comparative analysis can be interpreted in light of various categories of interpretants, the variety of which can then be identified by researchers and according to each case study. In this respect, it can be suggested that Venuti's methodological proposal provides researchers with illuminating insights about identifying and evaluating adaptations, although his framework does not seem inclusive enough to detect and analyze a great variety of changes in a given adaptation, driven by diverse social, cultural, industrial and intertextual concerns and a range of agents. So, as Venuti himself declares, this method needs expansion and finetuning by further inquiries. Accordingly, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two, the present research will address this need and advance Venuti's methodological proposal by expanding its scope in such a way as to enable the analysis of a broad set of parameters required for thoroughly investigating transcultural television remakes.

My research on earlier studies on adaptations and remakes in translation studies has shown that Katerina Perdikaki, in her dissertation "Adaptation as Translation: Examining Film Adaptation as a Recontextualised Act of Communication" (2016), has established an adaptation model fostered by the affinities between translation and

adaptation.[33] In her research, Perdikaki pinpoints how synergies between adaptation studies and translation studies can contribute to the study of adaptations from a broader perspective and she suggests the conceptualization of film adaptation as a modality of translation. Perdikaki argues that her suggestion can be applied to every adaptation case between novel and film as semiotic codes.

In general terms, her framework draws on the shifts between the source and target products and provides a systematic analysis of the shifts during the adaptation of a novel for a film. According to this framework, adaptation shifts can be analyzed through a model that basically rests on two components: a descriptive/comparative component and an interpretive component (2016: 70). The former enables the examination of the source novel and its film version as cultural goods with narrative aspects in which adaptation shifts can be detected. The latter explores the underlying reasons behind the shifts detected.

As Perdikaki suggests, the descriptive component involves four categories, each with three types of adaptation shifts: (i) plot structure, (ii) narrative techniques, (iii) characterization, and (iv) setting. She further notes that the shifts examined within these four categories are evaluated by means of Van Leuven-Zwart's taxonomy of translation shifts. The three main types of shifts are: modulation (refers to shifts in which connections between the source novel and the adaptation are obvious in some ways), modification (refers to shifts in which there occur remarkable changes) and mutation (refers to certain elements that are added to and/or omitted from the film adaptation). The table below presents the descriptive components of the adaptation model developed by Perdikaki:

[33] Perdikaki notes that the she developed her model under the conjoined influence of translation studies, narratology and adaptation studies (2016: 200; 2017a: 252). See also Perdikaki 2017a, 2017b and 2018.

Table 1: Katerina Perdikaki's adaptation model

Descriptive Categories / **Shift Types**	**Plot Structure**	**Narrative Techniques**		**Characterization**	**Setting**	
		Temporal Sequence	Presentation		Temporal	Spatial
Modulation	Amplif. Simplif.	Duration	Narration→ Narration	Amplification Simplification	Amplification Simplification	
Modification	Alteration	Order	Narration→ Monstration	Dramatization Objectification Sensualization	Alteration	
Mutation	Addition Excision	Addition Excision		Addition Excision	Addition Excision	

Source: Prepared by Perdikaki, 2017

As far as the interpretive component is concerned, it helps evaluate the *raison d'être* of the adaptation shifts. Perdikaki puts forward three categories of reasons that can account for the shifts and can coexist in many cases: (i) economic reasons (referring to commercial concerns of the process of film adaptation), (ii) creative reasons (referring to the creative input of the agents participating in different phases of the adaptation process), and (iii) social reasons (referring to reasons related to the interaction between sociocultural and historical concerns). Perdikaki views paratexts as useful sources for explaining the three types of reasons that she categorizes.[34] By paratextual elements, she implies a range of sources from film trailers, various promotional materials and reviews to interviews with authors and production teams. Perdikaki also employs André Lefevere's (1982/2012) concept of patronage to the film system, which in turn enables elaboration on the ideological and economic considerations concerning the process of adaptation on the one hand and human agents on the other.

[34] The use of paratexts in adaptation/remaking research is also suggested by Christine Geraghty. Arguing that exploring adaptation and other similar processes "involves both textual and contextual analysis", Geraghty suggests an approach in which materials such as reviews, publicity materials and so on are supposed to be examined (2007: 4).

It appears that Perdikaki's model turns out to be an integrated framework for the systematic analysis of adaptation in many aspects. Furthermore, the theoretical insights that she has provided from translation studies have presented the necessary tools for systematically investigating film adaptation in its various manifestations. Yet, I suggest that, taking into account other adaptation/remake types such as television remakes, the applicability of Perdikaki's framework could be complicated, a point that she has already emphasized herself (2016: 199). The fact that her model is designed for intralingual adaptation, i.e. novel-to-film adaptation in the same language, is suggestive of potential problems for other forms of adaptation that involve interlingual aspects. She also acknowledges that one of the limitations of her research is its indifference to investigating audience reception. Moreover, her research does not seek to interrogate interrelations between indigenous films and film adaptations within an elaborate system; that is, it does not present a systemic approach. These limitations notwithstanding, her model and insights, as Perdikaki points out, are open to further adjustments to be made by future inquiries on other cases and other adaptation types.

Jonathan Ross, in "Factors Behind Retranslations: What Can We Learn from The Scholarly Discourse on Film Remakes?" (2017), adopts a remarkably different approach to adaptations and remakes by providing a conceptual discussion.[35] Limiting the concept of remake to a new version of a film, Ross takes as a starting point the fact that film remakes and retranslations of written texts share common motives and they can be compared in scholarly works (2017: 129). According to Ross, regardless of the differences between their media and the conditions under which these cultural products are produced and consumed, it is possible to contribute to the ongoing discussion about the underlying reasons for retranslation by linking it to the motives for film remaking identified in the scholarly discourse on this subject.

Structuring his study on the four reasons for remakes (including economic, personal, political and historical-cultural factors) put forward by Robert Eberwein (1998), Ross further adds new reasons for the remake process. Economic factors, the first factor behind remaking, can roughly be explained to be deployed as a money-saving strategy (2017: 137). The driving force behind remaking is, however, not restricted to a straightforward attempt to make money. A director's production of new

[35] For another conceptual discussion, see also Cattrysse, 2019.

versions of his or her film constitutes an example for personal factors (138). This second reason for remaking is an indicator of the significance of agency as a motive behind the remake production. Unlike Eberwein who opens up a discussion of political factors within a single category, Ross takes political and legal factors together. The legal motives behind a remake, as Ross points out, are related to legal codes or standards that monitor ideological and moral principles about the movies to be released in a certain country (2017: 140). The fourth factor, the historical-cultural factor, directly concerns specific historical-cultural periods in which filmmakers prefer remaking in order to "compensate for differences that Lefevere termed 'universes of discourse'" (2017: 141). Unlike Eberwein, who most probably overlooks technological factors, Ross deems them significant. Overall, Ross's paper stands out among other scholarly studies in that it provides a conceptual comparison between the concept of remake and retranslation, which is mostly of interest to translation scholars.

It seems evident that translation studies scholars have mostly drawn upon the affinities between translation studies and adaptation studies, and they have indicated that, similarly to translation, the process of film adaptation sparks an act of communication between the source text, its target version(s) and their contexts of production and reception. My review has shown that the theoretical and methodological suggestions made especially by Cattrysse, Venuti and Perdikaki have in many respects moved beyond the contributions of scholars from adaptations studies, film studies and television studies in that they have provided a more holistic framework for adaptation analysis through an integrated investigation of adaptations as texts and of a range of agendas surrounding the context of production and reception. It is possible to note that translation studies scholars' combination of theoretical viewpoints and methodological tools from various disciplines has manifested the interdisciplinary nature of adaptation/remake itself.

Nevertheless, as has been indicated by these scholars themselves, the insights that they have provided for integrated micro- and macro analyses can be adjusted by future research on other kinds of adaptation/remake than the novel-to-film adaptations that have dominated the research on adaptations and remakes for so long. This means that translation studies scholars have covered significant gaps identified in many studies on adaptations and remakes conducted within other fields of research, yet the

frameworks and tools that they have suggested are likely to not work well for other forms of adaptation/remake. In addition to this, though broader frameworks (such as polysystem theory) have been proposed as a theoretical lens to examine adaptation/remakes, such proposals have mostly remained on a theoretical level, lacking an application to case studies.

1.1.4.2. Case Studies on Adaptation and Remakes

As has been indicated in 1.1.4., there are only a handful of works on adaptations and remakes, fostered by insights from translation studies. That is, translation studies scholars have paid almost no serious attention to this topic. The number of critical academic studies based on case studies is slightly higher than the number of works providing theoretical and methodological insights. These studies have mostly been carried out in the last five years. It appears from my survey that these case studies are usually restricted to film adaptations and remakes and they mostly disregard other types of adaptation/remake, one of which is television remakes. In parallel to the lack of theoretical and methodological frameworks with notable attention to television remakes, case studies on this type of adaptation/remake are not significant in number.

I suggest that the most salient reason behind this lack of attention is related to the fact that, as opposed to film remakes, the process of data collection is exhausting and time-consuming in the case of television remakes. This is because an average film lasts two hours whereas television series usually appear once a week during a prescribed time slot and they are most often developed to be open-ended, not with a definite number of episodes. Moreover, the average length of one episode of a television series ranges from twenty minutes to more than two hours and this makes it difficult to trace the narrative parity between a given television series and its target version. Besides these points, the sociocultural, historical, industrial and economic forces that concern television series are more multifarious and complex than those that influence films.

The first critical research that will be examined in this subsection is Jonathan Evans's "Film remakes, the black sheep of translation" (2014). In his research, Evans points to the fact that remakes are a form of cinematic and composite translation informed by many social agents and diverse social, economic and industrial concerns,

and he examines the case of the US remake (*Breathless* by Jim McBride in 1983) of the French movie *À bout de souffle* by Jean-Luc Godard in 1959. Conducting a comparative analysis of the two films in a vast range of aspects, from the use of color photography and cultural allusions to the way the characters dress and the representation of sex, Evans points out that the remake "reproduces and recontextualizes *À bout de souffle* in a way that is analogous to the reproduction and recontextualization apparent in the translation of literary works, though it goes further than would normally happen in literary translation…" (2014: 309). As is evident in his analysis, Evans's work is not based on any analytical model for the identification and interpretation of the changes observed between the source film and its remake. Rather it seems that his selection of components for a comparative analysis is haphazard. He uses his case study not for the purposes of presenting an integrated framework for adaptation/remake analysis; rather, he seeks to demonstrate that "the translation of a film by a film is […] more diffuse and subject to multiple influences than translation studies approaches […] have traditionally allowed for…" (311). That is, Evans is less interested in developing a model for the adaptation/remake analysis than providing a more holistic understanding of the adaptation/remake process.

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy's research "Two-way cultural transfer: the case of the Israeli television series *BeTipul* and its American adaptation *In Treatment*" (2017) draws on a comparative analysis of *BeTipul*[36] and its American adaptation *In Treatment*. In this article, Sela-Sheffy delves into the psychotherapy content of the series and she examines the responses that the product has received. It appears from the conclusions drawn by Sela-Sheffy that *BeTipul*'s adaptation has been well received in the US, and it is because the source text was already an American-like production produced in Israeli; that is, from the outset, the adaptation fit in with the conventions of American television. The responses to this television series in Israeli, however, appeared to be more varied than those from American society. As Sela-Sheffy's research suggests, even though Israeli viewers identified *BeTipul* as if it were a television product with a foreign source and they met on common grounds on it, they clashed over responding to this effect of foreignness. While professional critics and Israeli elite audience evaluated this effect positively, noting that *BeTipul* paved the

[36] It is the first Israeli television series purchased by American television.

way for transcending the supposedly mediocre domestic cultural production, others (the mass audience) evaluated it negatively and found the framing of the psychotherapy content an "inauthentic, a fake, even offensive, and discriminating depiction of local life in Israel" (Sela-Sheffy, 2017: 793). As different from many other studies, Sela-Sheffy focuses on how the two series in question have been received in their reception contexts and she reveals what different reception contexts can show us in a broader sense. Yet her research neither provides an in-depth analysis of *BeTipul* and its American adaptation nor elucidates the role this adaptation case and/or overall adaptation traffic between Israeli television and American television plays in the larger cultural context.

Perdikaki's article "Film Adaptation as an Act of Communication: Adopting a Translation-oriented Approach to the Analysis of Adaptation Shifts" (2017a) examines the adaptation of Cecelia Ahern's romantic novel *P.S. I Love You* (2004) into a film directed by Richard LaGravenese in 2007. As a result of her analysis, Perdikaki finds out that, while there has been no difference in the structure of the story plot between the two products, the representation of the characters displays some changes. She then classifies the adaptation shifts into three categories that include (i) foregrounding the male character Gerry in the film version, (ii) the addition of a new male character and (iii) the sensualization of the female character, Holly (11). Her analysis of these three shifts demonstrates that the shifts are all motivated by a combination of creative, economic and social reasons and it is particularly evident in presenting the film as a romantic comedy in the trailer and casting Gerard Butler to appeal to female viewers.

In her later article, "Film Adaptation as Translation: An Analysis of Adaptation Shifts in *Silver Linings Playbook*" (2017b), Perdikaki explores and evaluates the shifts in the film adaptation of *Silver Linings Playbook* in order to reveal the aspects in which the adaptation differs from its source text and to discuss the rationale behind the adaptation shifts (2017b: 250). In this research, she applies her adaptation model for the analysis, which is basically divided into four descriptive categories of plot structure, narrative techniques, characterization and setting (255-258). She then evaluates the shifts that she identified by means of three categories of reasons, i.e. economic, creative and social reasons (259). This twofold analysis carried out by Perdikaki enables a holistical analysis of the adaptation process and product by

eliciting insight into the factors that have notable effects on the adaptation process. For instance, in the case of the film adaptation of *Silver Linings Playbook*, this model, resorting to the wider context of the film system, reveals that the director's personal experiences (David O. Russell's mental health problems) and actors' celebrity status (Robert De Niro's acting persona and Jennifer Lawrence's popularity) played decisive roles in the process of adaptation (260-261). Nevertheless, as Perdikaki remarks, her research puts no emphasis on the role of audiences in the adaptation process, which is essential to serve as a holistic analytical tool for such analyses. The other point to make here is that Perdikaki's single case is unlikely to invite generalization and provide insight about the position and function of film adaptations within the broader context of film production in a given context.

An additional study conducted by Perdikaki is "Film adaptation as the interface between creative translation and cultural transformation: The case of Baz Luhrmann's *The Great Gatsby*" (2018). Employing Even-Zohar's concept of polysystem and Lefevere's concept of patronage, Perdikaki focuses on the film adaptation of *The Great Gatsby* and seeks to problematize the role that film adaptation plays "in cultural production and dissemination within the broader polysystem" (2018: 169). Based on a comparative analysis, she points out that "a classic narrative can be rewritten in a modern-day context in order to comment upon contemporary issues" (182). In the case of *The Great Gatsby*, Perdikaki points to the fact that the socioeconomic crisis that broke out as the film was released seemed to influence its reinterpretation in the adaptation process (ibid.). She also suggests that, considering that a retranslation of *The Great Gatsby* was published in Greece (where socioeconomic problems were arising at the time) shortly before the release of its 2013 film adaptation, it seems not coincidental that the retranslation was commissioned in Greece only a short time before the film was released (181). Based on this, she concludes that there is an interplay between the literary and film systems and, from the polysystem perspective, it can be noted that adaptations play a significant role in the cultural polysystem (ibid.). Though Perdikaki makes use of Even-Zohar's systemic approach to translation, it appears that she has only done so to refer to how film adaptations may create a ripple effect on wider cultural production, or more specifically how the film adaptation of *The Great Gatsby* may have stimulated its retranslation in the Greek context.

To my knowledge, the research on adaptations and remakes backed up by case study is limited among translation studies scholars in the Turkish context, except for several inspiring studies. Among the rare studies on this subject, Ayşe Şirin Okyayuz's article "Seyir Hâlinde Hikâyeler ve Yeniden Çevrimler" (2016), gives a brief overview of the advent of television series remakes and it examines five of them[37] from several thematic perspectives, namely the treatment of family values, societal values and sexuality. Based on her corpus of Turkish television remakes, Okyayuz identifies three primary changes that occur during the remake process, the first concerning essential changes about the redefinition of setting in a target context (such as the use of local proper names and the change of spatial setting) (2016: 209). As for the second primary change that Okyayuz refers to, it relates to the average episode length in the Turkish television industry and, in parallel with this, the need to extend the duration of a single episode (211) whereas the final fundamental change, as her research points out, constitutes reinterpretation and recontextualization of several central themes that the source television series revolve around (212).

It can be suggested that, in this research, Okyayuz seeks to give a brief overview of the subject of remakes as an area of research in several disciplines (such as adaptation studies and film studies) with particular emphasis on translation studies, and, accordingly, her comparative textual analysis on the corpus of television remakes provides only a general examination and evaluation of the changes in the selected themes between the source television series and their Turkish remakes. Her research does not aim at offering critical analytical tools in order to compare and evaluate television remakes in consideration of a range of crucial concerns about them, notably viewers' reception, television channels, regulatory institutions, and generic transformations, among others. In addition, it does not provide information about the position and broader impacts of Turkish television remakes within the overall scope of Turkish television series and in the history of Turkish television. Be that as it may, Okyayuz's research has much to tell researchers about viewing remaking as a form of

[37] *The O.C.* (2003-2007) and its Turkish remake *Medcezir* (2013-2015), *Revenge* (2011-2015) and its Turkish remake *İntikam* (2013-2014), *Grey's Anatomy* (2005-) and its Turkish remake *Doktorlar* (2006-2011), *Dawson's Creek* (1998-2003) and its Turkish remake *Kavak Yelleri* (2007-2011) and *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) and its Turkish remake *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (2011-2014).

translation and it opens up new lines of investigation about television remakes from the perspective of translation studies.

Okyayuz's study "Creativity in Translation and Remakes: '*The Jeffersons*' remade as *'Tatlı Hayat"*" (2017a) stands out with its case study in which the Turkish remake of the American television series *The Jeffersons* into *Tatlı Hayat* has been examined specifically as regards the strategies employed in its transformation in the Turkish context.[38] Drawing on Mark O'Thomas's (2010) classification of adaptive operations in terms of the kind of sources (e.g., television, book) from which a cultural good is adapted and the source culture of a given product, Okyayuz notes that, though some types of adaptive operations would be of little or no interest to translation scholars, there are other types that closely concern them. Among these various operations, Okyayuz prefers analyzing intra-medial transcultural television remakes. Bearing in mind numerous agents, motives and other parameters such as production company, casting, and television channel, Okyayuz focuses on the Turkish remake, *Tatlı Hayat*, shown on Show TV between November 2001 and January 2004. She conducts a comparative analysis between *The Jeffersons* and its Turkish version, grouping her examples within the categories of religious elements, cuisine/food culture, politics, social affairs, institutions, historical elements and humor. It appears from her case study that agents of the remake process can act much more freely and courageously than translators. She also points out that, taking into account that remaking entails the recreation of the source text into a new context, the strategy of rewriting appears to be among the most exploited strategies during this process (2017a: 126). Similar to Henrik Gottlieb (2007) and Jonathan Evans (2014), Okyayuz deems it inevitable that the remake process reveals a number of discrepancies between the source text and its target version, and remakes are often considered successful when they are able to reflect and adopt their new context (ibid.).

[38] Okyayuz's research first sets out to reveal that remakes, overlooked thus far in translation studies, deserve serious attention. She then argues that there are some underlying reasons why translation studies researchers have ignored this issue: one is related to doubts about whether remakes and adaptations constitute research subjects within the field of translation studies and to what degree this subject contributes to the discipline. The other reason relates much more to the idea that remakes have already been investigated within media studies, film studies, adaptation studies and several related fields of research. Thus the inclusion of translation studies into these disciplines triggers an interdisciplinary interaction on the one hand, but, on the other hand, it creates an unnecessary overlap among different research domains (Okyayuz, 2017a: 112).

My survey of case studies on adaptation and remakes within the framework of translation studies has shown that adaptation and remakes have turned out to be a sphere of interest among translation studies scholars and the contact of these cultural goods with translation studies have been becoming more solid and intense in recent years. This increase in interest is most probably related to the widening of the concept of translation in such a way that moves it beyond the prevailing and restricted thinking about the translation process and product. As the case studies examined above reveal, textual comparative analysis based on analogies and divergences in the two (or more) texts plays an indispensable role. However, above and beyond merely comparing them, these case studies view adaptations and remakes as cultural goods circulating within a given social and historical context and they are almost completely devoid of analyses from a linguistic perspective, which usually dominates research on other types of audiovisual translation such as subtitling and dubbing. The case studies conducted by translation studies scholars have appeared to be proficient in terms of the comparative textual analysis and the critical evaluation of the changes in thematic concerns within broader considerations such as sociocultural, financial, marketing and creative, among others. Yet, one of the significant limitations of these case studies is that they exclusively deal with only a few aspects of the process of adaptation/remake and usually overlook the other integral components of the process, which are indispensable for the analysis of such highly complex semiotic structures. Maybe the most notable gap is the lack of investigation of the reception space of viewers, as viewers are the ultimate decisionmakers about adaptations and remakes. The other remarkable gap that I have identified is the fact that case studies are not carried out in a way to demonstrate the role that adaptations and remakes play in and the effects that they have on the wider systems made up of adaptions/remakes, indigenous productions and the many different concerns that relate to any system.

1.2. CONCLUSIONS

This first chapter has shown that considerable research on adaptations and remakes has benefited from dialogue with diverse fields of research, namely adaptation studies, media studies, film studies, television studies and translation studies. As a

result of the collaboration of these cultural goods with the abovementioned academic fields of inquiry, their research has gained much ground. Hierarchical and simplistic approaches to adaptations and remakes have been replaced by approaches built on their reciprocal and relational nature. Recent studies on adaptations and remakes have mostly moved beyond value judgements and deep-rooted conceptions of textual fidelity. New research materials have been included in the scope of scholarly works and many new questions have been raised. The inclusion of historical, cultural, ideological, political and economic aspects of adaptations and remakes into recent research has substantially broadened the scope of the field, resulting in a few works complemented with a larger contextualization of the texts, examining these processes and products within the scope of a wide range of conditions surrounding the moment of production. So, recent scholarly works have provided a more flexible and broader way of studying adaptations and remakes, paying less attention to the questions of the origins and authenticity of these goods, and more attention to the larger dynamics of such exchanges.

This chapter has also revealed that, in comparison to the other disciplines surveyed throughout the chapter, much research on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies has provided researchers with more elaborate methodological tools and theoretical insights. These methodological and theoretical proposals have appeared to address multifarious levels of analysis on both macro and micro levels while investigating these research objects. As many studies point out, the concept of translation has been extended and adaptations and remakes have been viewed as a modality in many scholarly works. Moreover, critical comparative analysis has appeared to be integral in many scholarly works on adaptations and remakes. Comparative textual analyses have been conducted with the intent of making texts communicate with each other and expanding the scope of potential data that can be acquired from an individual text.

In addition to these points, my survey of the literature has shown that the number of academic works on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies is very small. As far as intra-medial transcultural television remakes, the focal point of this research, are concerned, this number is even smaller. It can be suggested that, despite several promising theoretical and methodological

proposals containing within themselves some principles, concepts and tools to delve into the steps taken during a television remake, they seem to be inadequate to provide holistic exploration in order to disclose the complexities inherent in this process. The other remarkable gap that has been revealed in this chapter concerns the evaluation of television remakes from a broader perspective by discovering their position and function within a larger context and problematizing their effects on a given system made up of remakes, indigenous television series and the many considerations that relate to the system. It has also been seen that they have addressed only a few aspects of television remakes, mostly disregarding other indispensable concerns. The other most conspicuous point that most of the previous research has not paid much attention to is the interrogation of the moment(s) of reception and the roles of agents involved in the development and production of television remakes.

In this light, the next chapter of this dissertation seeks to offer an encompassing theoretical framework and methodology with clear principles, useful tools and well-defined categories that enable more systematic examination of intra-medial transcultural television remakes by identifying micro level transformations and evaluating what these transformations tell us about, among others, the cultural perspectives, industrial mechanisms and political outlooks of the cultures involved at a broader level, with a view to exploring the role and position of these cultural goods within a given larger context.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The first chapter of my research has revealed that several researchers (Cattrysse, 1992/2014; Milton, 2009; Perdikaki, 2018) have already pointed to the employment of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory in order to provide an integrated and systematic framework with theoretical foundations for investigating adaptations and remakes. Yet they have either neglected to apply his polysystemic perspective to specific adaptation/remake cases and, or they have benefited from its concepts and hypotheses only partially. Following the trail of these previous attempts, this research proposes that Even-Zohar's polysystem theory serves as a theoretical framework for the investigation of the varying position and role of translation during the three disparate yet interrelated periods of Turkish television, constituting the era of state-run TRT (1968-1990), the commercial broadcasting in the early 1990s, and, lastly and particularly, the 2000s. The assumptions put forward by Even-Zohar, which will be used to explain my research problem and discussed throughout this chapter, will further be scrutinized in the following chapter in light of the trajectory of translated television series on Turkish television.

The other primary aim of this chapter is to present a comprehensive and multifaceted methodological apparatus to illuminate multiple dimensions of the process of intra-medial transcultural remaking. To this end, my research, inspired by the model developed by Venuti, provides a methodology, which, on the one hand, enables see the big picture through the investigation of the production and reception contexts of adaptations/remakes as cultural goods. Yet, on the other hand, it helps conduct the micro analysis of remaking process. Given these, this chapter shows that researchers who carry out investigation on adaptations and remakes can reap many benefits from their dialogue with insights -theoretical and methodological- obtained from diverse fields of inquiry. Alongside this, perhaps even more importantly, this research demonstrates how research on television remakes can be conducted through integrating a top-down perspective driven by theoretical hypotheses and a bottom-up approach driven by a critical textual analysis.

2.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THIS STUDY

The birth of the television broadcasting in Turkey and its formative phase through translation entails an analytical survey which may serve a basis for further and detailed evaluations of translated television series that have been showing up on Turkish television for around five decades. My research proposes a framework for the analysis of translated television series (with an emphasis on transcultural television remakes) at the macro and micro levels in order to pay due attention to all levels of analysis, each consisting of various components. Research at the macro level seeks to explain large-scale patterns and interactions in the history of Turkish television. In that, Turkish television has been interrogated as an institution involving a range of agents (such as executives of television networks and RTUK -Radio and Television Supreme Council) and constituting the complex historical, sociocultural, ideological and economic considerations. When it comes to the micro level analysis, it will exclusively focus on transcultural television remakes and their comparative analysis at textual and paratextual levels.

In order to explain and scrutinize the role and function of translated television series for the Turkish television industry as a whole and their position throughout the history of Turkish television, polysystem theory will be employed as a general theoretical framework in this research. In fact, the use of Even-Zohar's polysystem approach, which broadly engages with cultural encounters, includes both canonized and non-canonized products as part of culture. Thus, this approach makes essential to deal with peripheral strata (i.e. popular culture) for gaining a clear understanding of the way society operates. In this regard, Even-Zohar states that "[i]n Culture Research, we attempt to avoid falling into the pitfalls of either 'popular is authentic and true', or 'popular is the degeneration of high values'" (Sales-Salvador, 2002: 5).[39] Though, in his research, Even-Zohar mainly refers to the vast activity in literature, he also suggests an application of his approach into different types of media like motion pictures (2005b: 199).

[39] Even-Zohar makes a clear distinction between Culture Research and Cultural Studies, the latter of which is interested merely in the arts and biased towards 'lower strata' (Sales Salvador, 2002: 5)

In this light, the following subsection of this chapter will initially define and elaborate on Even-Zohar's polysytem theory and the hypotheses lying behind it. Then, in line with these hypotheses, it intends to explain and problematize the relevance of polysystem thinking to the present research.

2.1.1. Polysystem Theory

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory originated in the 1970s in his writings, yet his approach continued to develop itself in the upcoming years first thanks to his later research, and then through the contributions of several researchers around the world.[40] It came to the fore in translation studies and literary studies, especially in the 1990s and 2000s and contributed mainly to the foregrounding of translations and target culture-oriented perspectives in translation studies. As suggested by Theo Hermans (1999), polysystem theory views cultural life as a stage in which there is always a struggle for power between various interest groups (42). This interactive and conflicting structure gives Even-Zohar's model its dynamic character.

Its teleological dimension to translation comes from its suggestion that various ulterior motives come to shape translators' decisions. This understanding of translation as a teleological activity is indicative of the fact that translation is most often driven by certain purposes that it is supposed to serve and these purposes are defined in and by the target cultural environment (Toury, 1995: 18-19). In this view, it can be noted that translators are often expected to act in consideration of the culture into which they are translating. Overall, as Hermans points out, foregrounding the impact of translation as a historical force and providing an explanatory frame of reference, "polysystem theory gave the descriptive paradigm depth and relevance as well as legitimacy" (1999: 42). So, it can be suggested that Even-Zohar's theoretical insights have helped the extension of the scope of translation research conspicuously.

The idea of polysystem is defined as "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are

[40] For instance, see Tymoczko, 1986; Paker, 1987; Cattrysse, 1992; Sela-Sheffy, 1997; Hermans, 1999; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002/2008; Lambert, 2006; and Perdikaki, 2018.

interdependent" (Even-Zohar, 1990: 11). According to Sela-Sheffy, polysystem theory "conceptualizes culture as an open-ended multiple system of systems, the boundaries of which are by definition fuzzy and ever-changing" (2017b: 350). In his influential article entitled "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem", Even-Zohar underlines the fact that, by means of the approach he proposed, he intends to reveal the major role translation has played within the literary polysystem, given the historical account of this process in a coherent way (1990; revised version of Even-Zohar, 1978: 45). Even-Zohar's approach conceives of translated works as "completed facts, imported from other literatures [and] detached from their home contexts" and presents translated literature "not only as an integral system within any literary polysystem, but as a most active system within it" (46).

As Even-Zohar puts forward, it is possible to point out three major conditions which may give rise to a situation where translation as a tool is likely to be at the center of literary polysytem: (i) "when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is 'young', in the process of being established"; (ii) "when a literature is either 'peripheral' (within a large group of correlated literatures) or 'weak' or both"; and (iii) "when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature" (47). In the first case, translated literature attempts to fulfill the lack of a young literature which is not able to create texts in all types and thus draws on the experience of other established literatures (ibid.). The same holds true for the second instance since the sources of weak literatures, whose position within a broader literary polysystem is often peripheral, are restricted and thus they fail to generate the same full range of literary activities (ibid.). In the third case, there emerges some turning points in which translated literature may occupy a central position even in established literatures (ibid.). At such historical moments when "no item in the indigenous stock is taken to be acceptable", a literary vacuum occurs and, in order to fulfill this vacuum, it becomes plausible to adopt foreign models through translated literature which may become to assume a central position (ibid.).

Even-Zohar's systemic approach suggests that, when translated literature assumes a central position in the literary polysystem, it involves actively in shaping the center of the polysystem (46). In such a state, translation turns out a tool of introducing new literary works, new models of reality and many other features (such

as a new poetic language and new techniques) into the home literature which had not existed there before (47). In another situation where translated literature takes a peripheral position within the polysystem, it has no significant influence on polysystem, and it is shaped by dominant norms already established in the target literature (48).

As it has been stated earlier, though Even-Zohar takes literary polysystem as a point of departure, he suggests that it is possible to apply this approach into a range of media types (2005: 199). Regarding this point, it might be argued that the greater part of these hypotheses holds true for the establishment of the national public broadcaster of Turkey, TRT in 1968. It is possible to account for the emergence of Turkish television particularly with the first case proposed by Even-Zohar in which translation assumes the central position. That is, what is of great importance for this period of TRT is the fact that translations played a conspicuously formative role. This research has revealed that the late 1960s and early 1970s is the period when Turkish television was in the process of being founded and it could not immediately develop its own program content, technical infrastructure and a whole range of other features. Given these conditions, Turkish television made use of the experience of the western established television corporations in order to fill, wholly or partly, this shortfall during the period that lasted over two decades between 1968 and the early 1990s, and in this way, translation maintained a central position for television in Turkey for many years.

Additionally, this research has shown that, as the Turkish television has begun to produce its own products, to diversify its content and program genres as well as to strengthen itself by means of launching new channels, the central position of translation has fallen into decline and translation has become to occupy relatively peripheral position from the early 1990s until the beginning of the 21st century. Though there are various indications that the development of Turkish television after its foundation in 1968 was stimulated by an ongoing translation activity, its amount has remarkably decreased, and its type has changed. After this period, while Turkish television has continued to produce new television shows and to develop new norms and models, translated products have started to adhere to norms which have been specified by the relatively established center. In other words, in the case of Turkish television, the major role translation has played in the crystallization of television

content has slowly weakened and it has manifested itself particularly in the case of television series production in Turkey. Yet, translations have begun to exhibit an upward trend in the third period of Turkish television, that is, the 2000s, when the number of television remakes, as a new form of translation, have reached a considerable amount and made a notable contribution to the television series industry.

2.1.2. Culture Repertoire, Option, Market, Institution and Agent

In this part, in order to enlighten how translated television series have become to integrate into our lives, and to foreground their social, cultural and ideological impacts, I will make use of Even-Zohar's concepts of "culture repertoire", "option", "market", "institution" and "agent" (Even-Zohar 2002a, 2005, 2010). In this research, translated television series will be examined as cultural goods introduced into the Turkish culture repertoire as options since the birth of the public broadcaster TRT in Turkey in 1968.

The concept of cultural repertoire can briefly be defined as "the aggregate of *options* utilized by a group of people, and by individual members of the group, for the organization of life" (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 166; italics mine). Sela-Sheffy views cultural repertoire as "organized sets of models for both action and perception, which direct individuals' behavior, as members of social groups, in all areas of life" (forthcoming, 1). İn light ofof given definitions, it is plausible to suggest that cultural repertoire can steer the making, handing, production and/or consumption of any given cultural good (Even-Zohar, 1997a: 20). In this sense, it should also be added that the idea of repertoire implies not only dependencies between the assumed items of a given repertoire, but also the idea of sharedness (21). This means that, through a commonly shared repertoire, a specific group of people contact and regulate their lives "in acceptable and meaningful ways to the members of group" (ibid.). Accordingly, as the community making and using given options introduced by a given repertoire enlarges, an agreement about the repertoire consolidates as well (ibid.). Nevertheless, "[t]he existence of a specific repertoire *per se* is not enough to ensure that a producer (or consumer) will make use of it" (ibid.). Repertoires consist of options and alternatives

in this sense. The options within the repertoire are not intrinsic but they are produced through invention or importation of members of the society (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 168).

Even Zohar suggests that while it seems to be the nature of a given repertoire which identifies the conditions in which a producer and/or consumer of the repertoire may exhibit certain attitudes within the sociocultural environment, it is not the repertoire itself which establishes these conditions (1997: 21). Instead, "it is the interplay with the other prevailing factors in the system" that identifies these conditions, primarily by means of *market* (ibid.). The concept of market, as suggested by Even-Zohar, relates to "the aggregate of factors involved in the selling and buying of products and with the promotion of types of consumption" (Even-Zohar, 1997: 33). It is "a relational network of power which can determine the fate of a product" (31). Laying emphasis on the importance of market conditions, Even-Zohar argues that:

> *An adequate study of transfer in the context of repertoire making cannot stop at comparing transferred items with their sources, or at analyzing their nature and the processes of adaptation they enter in a target system. What needs be studied is the complex network of relations between the state of the receptive system, the nature of the transference activity (e.g., whether it is if the "permanent flow" type, or the "deliberately engaged" type), and the relations between power and market, with a special attention to the activity of the makers of repertoire who are at the same time agents of transfer.* (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 173)

Along with the idea of market which can be viewed as "the intermediary between social forces and repertoires of culture" (Even-Zohar, 1997: 32), *institution* is also endowed with the authority of making decisions, governing the norms and determining which models will be used by a community. Consisting of "the aggregate of factors involved with the control of culture", the institution, in comparison to the market, makes decisions for longer periods of time (31-32). Even-Zohar views official agents who are the part of the administration as the most outstanding members of institution (ibid.). In the absence of an institution and a market, "there is no space where any aspect of culture repertoire can gain any ground" (33). As this space enlarges, the larger the possibilities of a culture to evolve. However, as the space governed by the market and institution is restricted, the more limited the possibilities of a culture to evolve (ibid.).

For Even-Zohar, the institution and market govern any decision, at whatever level, by any agent. In his relatively recent work entitled "The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer" (2002a), the role of agents in the culture repertoire

is highlighted. Here, Even-Zohar points out that "what plays a role in the culture is the persons, the agents themselves who are engaged in the business" (2002a: 172). Taking into account that the culture repertoire "is neither generated nor inherited by our genes, but needs to be made, learned and adopted by people" (Even-Zohar, 1997: 168), it is possible to view people engaged in developing and sustaining a repertoire as agents. That is, repertoires are transferred to the target culture with the mediation of agents, which serve as a catalyst for imports. So, it can be pointed out that the making and the sustainability of repertoire depends considerably on an intricate network of relations which constitute components such as market, institution and a range of individual and institutional agents which also include the former two factors mentioned.

In line with the Even-Zohar assumptions about culture repertoire explained above, my research has revealed that translated television series aired on Turkish television involve a number of options (television shows, rules, models and images, among others) utilized by the members of Turkish society and governing the producing and handling of television content. Furthermore, translated television series have continuously, though at varying amounts at different periods of time, been introduced as options into the Turkish culture repertoire first through the practice of dubbing in the 1970s and 1980s, then occasionally by means of subtitling and recently by remaking. It is these series which have significantly facilitated the making and sustainability of the Turkish television repertoire. Since then, this repertoire set the scene for diverse and new models and the depiction of alternative images of the world which influenced Turkish viewers in many aspects of life since television series are both accessible and popular. This means that, the purchased series functioned as a contributor of "potential models of life" and provided a wide range of "life images" (ibid.) in the lack of local products and/or in the time of need for alternatives to indigenous television series on Turkish television (Even-Zohar, 2010: 199).

Within the framework of this research, the agents of translation who involve in the process of purchasing and making translated television series and regulating this type of production in the Turkish television industry have been viewed as cultural translators[41] who intend to read the Turkish culture repertoire through its relation to

[41] Horace Newcomb and Paul M. Hirsch, the prolific researchers on television, use the title of 'cultural interpreters' (1983: 563).

the market and the institution. These agents are the members of the television industry in Turkey, who make decisions about the television programs they buy, develop and broadcast. Governments, production companies, production teams, executives of television networks, offices of Broadcast Standards, RTUK, scriptwriters and several other agents are among those who are given the authority of interpreting and defining what is permissible or impermissible on Turkish television.

It can firmly be argued that those human and non-human agents pointed out above can be assumed to operate as either part of a market or an institution. In the case of Turkey, governments and RTUK, for instance, can be identified as institutional agents in view of their ability to specify the type of television content that they wish to introduce to viewers. They act like gatekeepers of the Turkish culture repertoire. But it is the market through which a given television content reaches to viewers. In this sense, the owners of television channels, their executives, the production companies of television series and their production teams for instance may be viewed as the components constituting the market. The agents of the market are those who have a direct impact on the process by which television programs are selected, financed, produced and put into circulation. However, any decision taken by the market depends on the legitimations and restrictions made by relevant sections of the institution which, either implicitly or explicitly, governs the nature of production, as well as that of consumption in the case of the Turkish television industry.

İn light ofof the discussions above, it is possible to briefly note that market and institution, which are relational network of power, are comprised of the aggregate of factors involved in establishing, legitimating and disseminating the images, models and norms through which we organize our lives. In my case, they are engaged with the establishment, controlling and consolidation of Turkish television and of translated television series that appear on it.

2.1.3. Import, Transfer and Interference

In Even-Zohar's theoretical framework, transference of repertoires is viewed as a prominent aspect of the dynamic structure of cultures. In order to account for the process of transference and shift of repertoires, Even-Zohar suggests the notion of

interference (1990). As pointed out by Sela-Sheffy, "the focus of interest of interference studies lies in the complex dynamics of transmission, reception and domestication that occur in the receiving local cultures, and the way they transform these domestic cultural setting" (2017b: 350-352). She further explains that, addressing the duality of continuity and change in culture, interference has been introduced by Even-Zohar particularly "with reference to situations where goods and practices imported from one culture to another become 'domesticated' in the target culture and generate new forms of production and consumption" (forthcoming: 2). Only if goods and practices are converted to active components and they are locally produced in the target repertoire,[42] "do they become a clear case of interference" (Even-Zohar, 2017: 388).

Interference occurs by means of three procedures in intercultural exchange. The process of interference starts with an *import* of goods. That is, the first step is to import goods of any kind including "textual products in their original foreign languages, such as journals, records, [TV series] or films" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 2). Import plays a significant role in the making of repertoire, and thus in the organization of individuals. If goods are successful on the home market, they are imported and may become indispensable part of the target repertoire. At this point, it is necessary to point out that there is no guarantee that all imported goods as options will be accepted by everyone in a given society (Even-Zohar, 1997: 76). In other words, not all imports result in a *transfe*r, that is, "the state of integrated importation into a home repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 169).

The second step of interference constitutes *translation*. This step involves in translation of "both linguistic and non-linguistic items" as well as "local packaging of imported products" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 2). In the case of textual products, translation implies "what seems to be the obvious procedure of producing linguistic equivalents" for the source texts in the target languages (ibid.). Following the first two steps, the third step includes a *large-scale reproduction*, which refers to "implementation of extraneous *models* of cultural production and consumption" such as "marital and parental relations" (ibid.). At this last step of interference, "similar

[42] Here, Even-Zohar adds that, in some cases, "the very integration of goods of whatever nature in a target system clearly makes them an occurrence of interference even though not locally produced" (2010: 59).

goods are eventually produced by local producers under local constraints" and this production anymore functions as a "naturalized" good, developing a new local repertoire (ibid.). Then, there occurs an authentic need of these naturalized goods in the target culture (Sela-Sheffy, 2017: 355). In addition to these, one can argue that, once interference has occurred, the distinction between a source text and translation becomes no longer relevant (Even-Zohar, 2010: 53). Following its interference into the target repertoire, the fate of any good in terms of success or failure becomes a domestic matter (ibid.).

It is proposed that, regarding the fact that cross-cultural encounters and exchanges are often governed by asymmetrical power relations of unequal forces, interference is mostly unilateral (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 3). A target culture is often interfered with by a source culture which may overlook it. This is one of the general principles of interference (Even-Zohar, 2010: 58). Moreover, the incorporation of the imported repertoires occurs by means of two strategies of interference which do not exclude yet complement each other. In this sense, it can be suggested that the form, tempo and extent of interference pertain to the degree of tailoring imported goods to suit domestic conventions and/or maintaining their effect of foreignness, motivated by and depending on multiple factors that may differ in each and every case. Sela-Sheffy elaborates those two strategies as follows:

> *1.1.1. Domestication of imported artifacts through their adaptation to patterns of production and consumption inscribed by the local repertoire (in which process the "transplanted" artifacts are often remodeled so as to fit to new functions). In many cases, items borrowed from another culture are depleted of their regular "practical" functions (Even-Zohar 1990) and attain a bare semiotic function of marking their value, and thereby the status of those who possess them.*
> 1.1.2. *Adoption of and adaptation to extraneous models, by way of which the domestic repertoire is transformed. In this process, a whole set of new cultural options ("ways of doing –and conceptualizing- things") unfolds in the local cultural setting, inducing also changes in adjacent practices, thus transforming the internal organization and stratification of the local culture.* (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming)

Even-Zohar's concepts of import, transfer and interference are instrumental in this study for their explanatory power. As it has been mentioned before, a substantial number of translated television series have been imported and then appeared on Turkish television as of its emergence in the late 1960s. This research has found out

that, particularly during the TRT era between the late 1960s and early 1990s, translated television series have become integral part of the Turkish repertoire. This occurred since there was no television product within the stock of the Turkish television repertoire at that time and the creation of the need for translated television series made them indispensable to fill its broadcast hours. Such an indispensability resulted in their integration. It can be argued that this state of importation into the repertoire of Turkish television series indicates the process of transfer, which appears to fit the case of translated television series during the TRT era.

As Even-Zohar underlines, concerning the transfer of mass media products, "transfer can plant images of the world that will at least be compatible, or tolerated, by the home repertoire" (1997: 74-75). Even going much further, he suggests that transferred products can largely be accepted as models and images of the world. Considering Even-Zohar's perspective, "[t]hese models may be crucial factors for the organization of life of the group(s) involved, because they, whether realized in films or written texts, refer to matters of basic human life, such as human interaction, life and death, good and evil, love and hate" (75). This research makes it obvious that, the dubbed American television series in the first era of Turkish television were notably of service in the provision and construction of social imagery, that is, symbolic dimension of the social world, through presenting innumerable options for how to act in certain cases and how life should be organized. At that period, television broadcasting in Turkey preceded printed publications. Therefore, alongside the service of mass communication provided by radio, people much more likely turned to the screen, where there were abundant options of images and representations for the viewers to take a model for how to live their lives. It wouldn't be wrong to suggest that, since its emergence in the late 1960s, television has got into our homes and Turkish culture has much more begun to be impressed by certain images instead of words mostly by means of the translated television series, a point which I will deal with in detail in the next chapter.

This research has also uncovered that Sela-Sheffy's understanding of the notion of interference (somewhat overlapping the notion of transfer) as well as the procedures proposed by her, account for the function and position of translated television series in the history of Turkish television. Sela-Sheffy's hypotheses make

also evident the three main phases translated television series have gone through so far in the Turkish television industry. Having first been introduced into the Turkish culture repertoire through import (which refers to the first procedure of interference) as options by TRT, foreign television series have been translated into Turkish and they have been aired in their dubbed versions, which implies the second procedure of interference, called as "translation" referring to "creating imitations of the originals" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 2). That period lasted up until the launch and the rapid proliferation of commercial broadcast networks in the early 1990s. Then the production form of imported television series has changed from dubbing and subtitling to remaking in the 2000s and the purchased television series have begun to be packaged locally. In this light, this research further discloses that, Sela-Sheffy's ultimate phase of interference explains the trend of intra-medial transcultural remakes on Turkish television since this third phase is proposed particularly to refer to situations where similar goods are produced by the producers of a target culture in consideration of target-culture constraints and parameters (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 2). As it will be problematized in detail and brought to light in the next chapter, I will suggest that Turkish television remakes are all cultural goods originated from foreign sources and remade by Turkish producers within the constraints of Turkish sociocultural considerations, local censorship requirements, modes of production and viewing habits, among others.

It also appears that, in the case of Turkish television remakes, agents of remake as transmitters of culture, assume the role of mediator and, in the broader sense, they often fluctuate between retaining the established forms and domestic cultural assets and creating a sense of novelty which antecedes a sort of fraction in the target cultural environment. Even though Turkish television remakes have been usually adapted to patterns of production and consumption identified by the repertoire of domestic television series on Turkish television and they have been reproduced "so as to fit to new functions" in the target milieu (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming: 2) in such a way that echoes what Sela-Sheffy defines as domestication of imported artifacts, they appear to keep the delicate balance between the two tendencies -maintaining existing traits, conventions and images vs. adopting non-indigenous options- which shape the nature and extent of interference.

2.2. METHODOLOGY

My research has found out that methodological instruments to extend and deepen our understanding of transcultural television remakes have as yet remained largely unexplored. Several researchers who have proposed to adopt systemic approach for investigating adaptations and remakes have pointed to its lack of analytical tools for comparing and evaluating these cultural goods particularly on a micro level, that is, they have marked a methodological gap. So, in this study, I suggest an integrated methodological framework to examine television remakes in great detail by tracing macro level and micro level changes and what these changes inform about, among others, sociocultural spaces, industrial mechanisms and viewing habits of the cultures involved at a broader level, in order to explore the process of transcultural television remakes from a broad array of angles. In order to complement the methodological tools offered to examine the paratextual and textual materials, this research will posit a methodological framework to build a corpus of intra-medial transcultural remakes based on Toury's concept of "assumed translation" (1995), which serves to open the possibility for contextualizing and further understanding remakes on a larger level before a critical comparative inquiry of a particular case study.

2.2.1. Data Collection

The data collection process of this study is mainly twofold. The first phase of gathering data in this research concerns compiling a corpus. In this vein, in order to lay the groundwork for investigating intra-medial transcultural television remakes in Turkey, I have made use of diverse peritextual materials such as remakes' trailers and opening/closing credits and epitextual materials such as blogs and newspapers and compiled the corpus of remakes on Turkish television between 2001 and 2020, thus giving useful information about the source cultures, producers, scriptwriters, the status of television remakes and their conceptualization in the screen credits. The other aspect of data collection pertains exactly to a comparative paratexual and textual analysis of intra-medial transcultural television remakes as the case study. As it has been mentined

earlier, this research recognizes and thus seeks to foreground the hardships of pursuing the narrative parity between a given television series and its remake(s) since they are often developed as open-ended, without a pre-determined number of episodes, which are remarkably long in general. Furthermore, it intends to address the difficulty of investigating sociocultural, ideological, historical and economic concerns that are at play in the development and broadcast of television series, which are more multifarious and complex than the other forms of audiovisual media such as films. With these considerations in mind, the following two sections will subsequently address the data collection process of this research in a more in-depth way.

2.2.1.1. Building a Corpus of Intra-Medial Transcultural Remakes

This thesis is the first academic research that has focused on the corpus of translated television series in Turkish television history, providing a panoramic view of all phases that Turkish television moved through and concentrating on its last stage, the 2000s, when Turkish television has embraced an alternative form of a foreign program provision, namely, the program format franchising phenomenon; i.e. remaking. The process of data collection was a challenging and time-consuming one. In order to contextualize this research by evaluating the list of all locally produced and imported television series, I have largely capitalized on the book entitled *Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı (1968-1985)* (1986) in which Özden Cankaya, who had worked at TRT as a program producer and supervisor, endeavored to list all television programs broadcasted at TRT between the years of 1968-1985. My survey has revealed that even though Cankaya has done a painstaking work and she tried to complete her list by means of TRT's annual activity and financial budget reports, television program magazines of TRT as well as the archives of newspapers including *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*, her list is not complete, but full of lacking data. She refers in her research to the lack of archival work and the scarcity of documents about television programs.

Alongside Cankaya's work, I have also mostly benefited from Volkan Yücel's 2012 dissertation thesis and his 2014 book. In his works, Yücel compiled the list of all domestic and foreign television series, cartoons, animations as well as children and

youth television programs. This list also provides information about the original titles, year(s) of broadcasting and the television channels of the programs. I also conducted an online interview with Yücel, where he pinpointed that he prepared his list of television programs as part of the TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) project completed approximately within four years and, he further pointed out that, during that period, he also drew on some daily newspapers including *Milliyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet* (Interview with Yücel, 13.11.2017). In addition to these, he also remarked having got in contact with various production companies and television channels. Additionally, he searched for information from several online forums on television series as well.

In addition to the secondary sources I used to overview the repertoire of television series, I prepared a list of Turkish television remakes, the production of which date back to the beginning of the 21st century. In the course of compiling this list, I have used the secondary resources indicated above as well as various primary sources including several websites (*imdb.com*, *ranini.tv*, *televizyongazetesi.com*, *onedio.com*, *ntv.com* and *blog.milliyet.com*), some newspapers (such as *Sözcü*, *Vatan* and *Milliyet*) and the opening/closing credits of the transcultural television remakes in my corpus. My list provides information about the titles of the television remakes, source text titles, source cultures, production companies, scriptwriters, the legal status of a given remake (acknowledged/unacknowledged) and how a given television remake is conceptualized in its screen credits. I prepared this list in order to prove both the emergence of a tradition of Turkish television remakes as from the 2000s and to elaborate on their prevalence within all television series broadcasted on Turkish television, be they indigenous productions or translations.

During the preparation of the corpus of remakes, I encountered some difficulties. First, picking out transcultural television remakes among thousands of television series that have been aired since the launch of Turkish television over five decades ago was highly challenging and time-consuming. In order to overcome this difficulty and prepare a reliable list, I checked over numerous websites and blogs on Turkish television, some of which have already made their own, but incomplete, list of television remakes. Additionally, in order to further ensure the reliability of my list, I have watched the opening and closing credits, as well as the trailers of the remakes

in the corpus. Second, while preparing the list of Turkish television remakes, I realized the fact that there are numerous transcultural television remakes without any kind of licensing or payment to the copyright holders. My research has revealed that such cases were already common in Turkey, for instance, during the Yeşilçam era (literally means *The Green Pine* in Turkish). This sort of remake production has been mentioned in many scholarly works on remakes and adaptation as well, and in these resources, such productions are labelled in various ways.[43] Some of the adjectives used to describe these cultural goods include "hidden", "alleged", "disguised", "unacknowledged", "unlicensed", "uncredited" and "unauthorized".

In such cases, while deciding whether a given unacknowledged remake is indeed a remake or not, I have benefited from Toury's translation postulates[44], i.e. "source text", "transfer" and "relationship" postulates (1995: 33). At this point, it should be indicated that, transnational television remakes in my corpus are conceptualized with reference to Toury's (1995) "assumed translation", and, in order to provide reliable information about how Toury's postulates manifest themselves, I suggest researchers to carry out case studies and map some of the assumed television remakes onto their assumed counterparts and then determine their unidirectional relationships. Drawing on Toury's three translation postulates, I propose that the transfer relationship between a television remake and its "assumed" source involves a cross-textual relationship. In this regard, it can be suggested that the corpus of Turkish television remakes that I compiled within the framework of this research all appears to originate from other television series in another culture/language, which is an indicator of the fulfillment of the first postulate, the source text postulate. This is because I have identified the acknowledged and unacknowledged foreign sources for all transcultural television remakes in my list. Remakes are either recognized by the viewers as inserting the foreign television series into a new network of circumstances in the Turkish context, or there have a legal agreement with the television series that bind them to their source. In addition to this, through a brief look at the television

[43] Heinze and Krämer, 2015; Krämer, 2017.

[44] Toury asserts in his 1995 book entitled *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* that, there would surely be several reasons for viewing any textual production as translation. Based upon the fact that all translation-based texts are time and place bound culturally contextualized phenomena occurring in specific social, institutional and cultural contexts, Toury suggests us to adopt an inductive approach and thus reach to a conclusion from the facts instead of some sort of speculation (1995: 32).

remakes in the corpus, one can safely consider that the second postulate, which refers to the availability of the process in which the television remake is produced by means of the transference from the assumed source, can be observed in the listed television remakes. In order to acknowledge a given textual production as translation, for Toury, it is also necessary to observe some sort of features that the two (or more) texts share, a point which is easy to identify through examining an overall story, themes and narratives of each pair of television remakes given in the list.

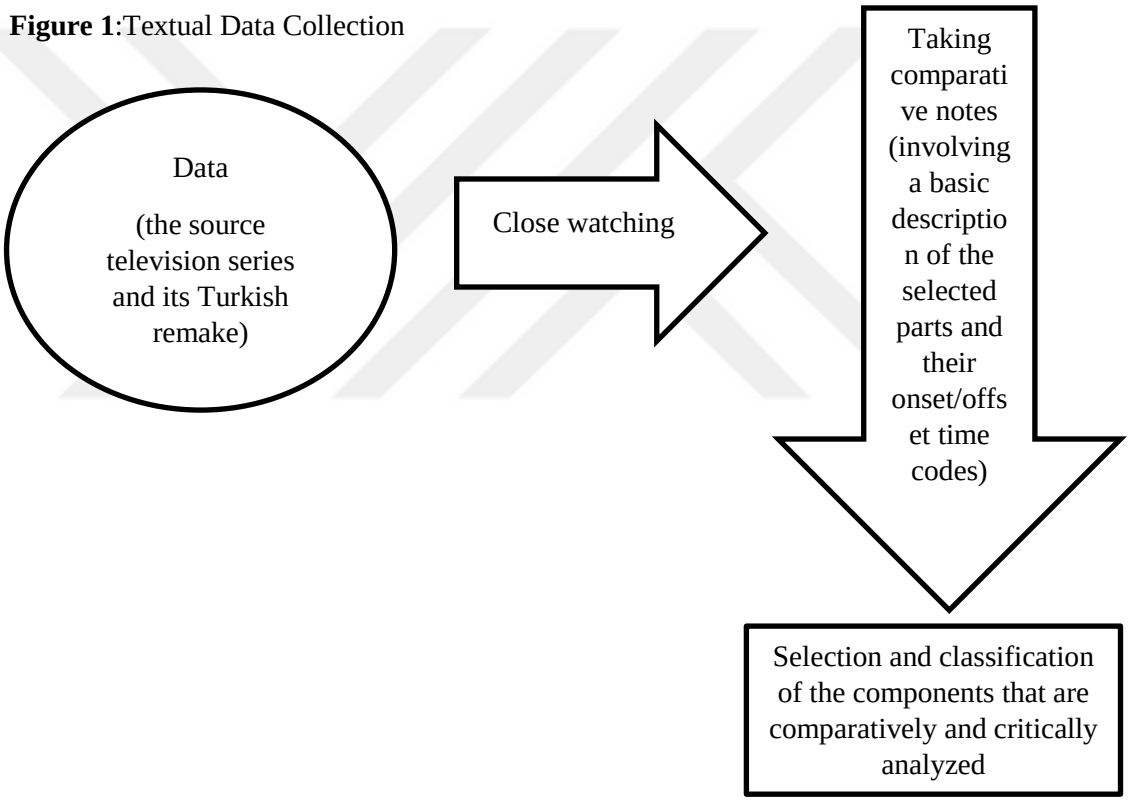
Toury's third postulate implies some accountable relationships that link it to its assumed source, a result of previous two postulates. Toury's assumption about the third postulate that "there is no inherent need for intertextual relationships to always be of the same kind or intensity" (1995: 35) applies well to the corpus of transcultural television remakes prepared by myself since, even at first glance, it is possible to note that the nature and extent of the relationship substantially differs in each pair of television remakes. For instance, it can be argued that unacknowledged Turkish remakes such as *Cinlerle Periler* (2001) and *Metro Palas* (2004), which do not make any payment to the copyright holders, can be suggested to digress from their source materials whereas the acknowledged remakes such as *Seviyor Sevmiyor* (2016) and *Anne* (2017) tend to become not too distant from their sources due to the agreement signed between the copyholder and the purchaser. Overall, as far as my research is concerned, I can argue that the transcultural television remakes in my corpus appear to draw on other television series in another culture/language, they are produced as a result of the transference from the assumed source television series and there are some accountable relationships between the remakes and their assumed sources, though to varying degrees.

2.2.1.2. Collecting Data for and through the Case Study

The other challenging aspect of my data collection process particularly concerns the analysis of the case study, that is, the transcultural television remake. In this sense, this research is also the first to propose a broader methodological approach to investigate intra-medial transcultural television remakes from a translational perspective. Given that television series are likely to last throughout many seasons and

an average length of their one episode may correspond to more than two hours, it is extremely difficult to track down the narrative parity between the source series and its target version and carry out their critical analysis. So, in order to recognize and select the prominent themes and to make an interpretation about the resemblances and divergences in consideration of the research materials' conditions of production and multifaceted choices made during the remaking process, it turned out to be necessary to attentively and critically watch all episodes and take comparative notes which include an overall description about the scenes and sequences that are central to each episode as well as their onset/offset time codes.

Figure 1:Textual Data Collection



This study has recognized that Venuti's methodological suggestion of the "interpretant" for analyzing film adaptations calls for expansion in order to apply it to the remake process of television series since films are less multifaceted and complicated to deal with than television series due to their distinct semiotic forms. Therefore, I added four more categories in addition to Venuti's category of thematic interpretant, leaving out his category of formal interpretant and offering new categories that lead me to investigate an extensive set of parameters concerning the remake

process. The other point that adds to the challenge of investigating television remakes is the need to take into account viewers, their demographics and viewing tastes and, based on these, evaluate their reception since they compose the most relevant constituents providing information about how a given program is received by its target group and what implications it has left on them. The interpretant category "social interpretants" added by myself intends to fulfill the gap of displaying the reception contexts of remakes. The platforms that I collected a set of data in order to gain insight about the viewers' reception will be provided in 2.2.3. Moreover, the more thorough discussion on the data collection process and analytical framework will be provided in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2.2. Interviews

Producing transcultural television remakes involves a vast range of phases ranging from the selection and purchase of a source format to remake, to its development process and broadcast. These phases are considerably contingent on diverse industrial policies and norms, various genre conventions and a lot of narrative patterns that shape a given television remake. Above all, the whole process of remaking is managed by many agents such as television producers, scriptwriters and directors, among others. So, considering that the agents have multifunctional roles in the creative process of the development of Turkish television remakes, this research views it as indispensable to provide further insight about the versatile role and position of agents in the television remake process and to benefit from their critical comments about the process.

In this light, in order to furnish a paratextual analysis with further findings and strengthen the data to be obtained from a comparative textual analysis of the Turkish remake process, I have conducted semi-structured and qualitative interviews with television professionals involving particularly in the creative process of television remakes and these interviews have been cited where relevant in my research. By means of the interviews, I have sought to offer a background knowledge as to the development and production phases of television remakes and the cultural agents behind this process in the Turkish context. I have designed open-ended questions in

order to enable the interviewees to address a multitude of aspects, phases and conditions with regard to the process of remaking in the Turkish television industry. Overall, my interview questions are largely developed in order to display the actual situation of Turkish television remakes, their agents in Turkish television repertoire and, particularly the remakes' creative production phases.

Several initial questions prepared by myself have been addressed to interrogate whether the production and broadcast of Turkish television remakes has turned out a sort of tradition and, if so, what the underlying motives for the production of remakes in the Turkish television industry are. Then, I have asked for the interviewees to share their comments on the distribution of source cultures from which Turkish remakes have been produced and the possible reasons behind the selection of these source cultures. These questions were asked to understand the interviewees' attitudes towards transcultural television remakes from an overall perspective. Most of the rest of my questions have been formed in order to shed light on the development and production process of Turkish television remakes. That is, they have been devised to provide more insight about the overall workflow of the television remake process as well as the roles of agents involved in it and their scope of authority. The focal point of my questions has to do with revealing the whole course of producing a television remake by using a foreign format as a source in consideration of many local parameters, with particular emphasis on how the target production team handles the creative process of remaking. The questions asked during the interviews have also intended to illuminate the interviewees's interpretation of the influence of the broader concerns such as socio-political milieu, industrial forces and genre traditions on the process of television remake.

It should also be noted that most of the interviews undertaken within the scope of this doctoral research were face-to-face and one-to-one encounters. Screenwriters Hatice Meryem (Appendix 4), Makbule Kosif (Appendix 6), and Yiğit Değer Bengi (Appendix 7) who are actively involved in writing scripts for television remakes and director Müge Uğurlar (Appendix 6) are those professionals who answered my questions face-to-face. In addition, television content producer with the pseudonym "ranini" (Appendix 3) and reporter Birsen Altuntaş (Appendix 5) responded my questions through e-mail. I also carried out an online interview with Volkan Yücel in

order to gain more insight about how he was able to compile the list of all local and foreign television series that appeared on Turkish television since its birth in 1968 until 2009.

2.2.3. Paratextual Analytical Tools

Alongside the list of Turkish television remakes prepared by myself within the scope of this research, I have also benefited from paratextual elements. Gérard Genette defines paratext as, "what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public", something "which ensure[s] the text's presence in the world" (1997: 1). Kathryn Batchelor further suggests that it provides some commentary on a given text and governs how it is received, which implies that the definition of paratext is not based on "materiality but on function" (2018: 10). That is, Batchelor indicates that anything that supplies some commentary on a given text and seems to govern its reception is part of the paratext (ibid.). Genette also makes a division between the "epitext", defined as "the distanced elements…located outside the book" (1997: 5) such as reviews, interviews, literary criticism, etc. and the "peritext" which spans around and within the body of a work (including but not limited to the title, preface, introduction, illustration and front/back cover). In her 2018 book entitled *Translation and Paratext*, Batchelor defines Genette's paratext as follows:

> *The paratext consists of any element which conveys comment on the text, or presents the text to readers, or influences how the text is received. Paratextual elements may or may not be manifested materially; where they are, that manifestation may be physically attached to the text (peritext) or may be separate from it (epitext). Any material physically attached to the text by definition conveys comment on the text, or presents the text to readers, or influences how a text is received. A peritext is therefore by definition paratextual. Other elements constitute part of a text's paratext only insofar as they achieve [some kind of function], i.e. convey comment on the text, present the text to readers, or influence how a text is received.* (12)

Though Genette never notes explicitly that the translated text can be viewed as a text with its own paratexts, he implies the possibility of considering translations as original texts with their own paratexts (Batchelor, 2018: 20). A handful of translation studies scholars such as Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2002b) and Sharon Deane-Cox (2014) contributed to the move away from the consideration of translation as paratext to the adoption of the notion of translation as a text with its own paratexts (Batchelor,

2018: 30). In addition to this, though Genette developed the notion of the paratext regarding literary texts and the majority of the paratextual research in translation studies has been into literary translation so far, scholars from other domains of research have begun to engaged closely and fruitfully with Genette's framework, "proposing expansions and alterations in the light of technological developments and in relation to different types of text, notably filmic, televisual, digital and internet-based ones" (40). Genette's definitions of the paratext have been broadened "to allow it to encompass a wide range of material, including material produced by fans rather than by the makers of the product or text itself" (58). Scholars conducting their research on media have for instance shaped the notion of the paratext "to fit the material at hand, moving quite some distance from Genette's constraining parameters in the process" (68). Regarding this, it can be suggested that Genette had already expected this expansion and the incorporation of other kinds of texts beyond literature into paratextual research in the conclusion to *Seuils*:

> *if we are willing to extend the term [paratext] to areas where the work does not consist of a text, it is obvious that some, if not all, of the other arts have an equivalent of our paratext: examples are the title in music and in the plastic arts, the signature in painting, the credits or the trailer in film, and all the opportunities for authorial commentary presented by catalogues of exhibitions, prefaces of musical scores . . ., record jackets, and other peritextual or epitextual supports. All of them could be subjects for investigations paralleling this one.* (1997: 407)

It should be noted that the relevance of Genette's concept of the paratext for television studies (that is, the interest in studying media paratexts) had been discussed earlier for instance by Jonathan Gray (2010). Batchelor also suggests that media paratexts can be considered a centrifugal motion to which consumers of texts are invited (2018: 55). In that vein, this research argues that centrifugal paratexts such as blogs and readers' comments on different social networks play a major role in meaning making for transcultural television remakes to which they are thresholds.

Starting from these premises, I first examined a range of peritextual (trailers and the opening/closing credit sequences of given television series) and epitextual materials (blogs, websites, newspapers and discussion forums) in order to prepare the list of Turkish television remakes, which included information about the titles of the television series in Turkish, source text titles, source cultures and so on. An extensive overview of Turkish television remakes consisting of data obtained from the official

and unofficial paratexts[45] (Mittell, 2015: 262) given above has been presented in detail in the third chapter of this research. The great variety of paratexts has helped the formation of the list which shows that, as of the 2000s, Turkish television has opened its doors to the tradition of transcultural television remakes and this genre has become a supplementary means for contributing to the production of television series. Moreover, the use of paratexts enhanced the reliability of my list.

Secondly, in order to elaborate on how Turkish media react to Turkish television remakes and present them to viewers, I have also drawn on a paratextual framework and examined the paratexts on television remakes within Turkish newspapers, television magazines and a range of internet-based platforms (such as blogs, online commentaries and etc.) on the remakes. These paratexts have enabled me to find out and examine what kind of explanations have been provided about the way how television remakes are supposed to be carried out and how Turkish media comment on the television remakes' faithfulness/unfaithfulness to the source television series they originate from. That is, the examination of media paratexts has helped me to reveal and problematize the overall discourse on Turkish remakes in media. It is significant in that, in today's digital era, viewers are most likely to be informed about and get the impression about television programs through newspapers, television magazines or by using webpages and websites. These printed and internet-based paratexts provide information how these products are received, they influence viewers' interpretations and they serve a commercial purpose.[46]

Alongside the previous two reasons for making use of paratexts, I also conducted a paratextual analysis within the scope of my case study in order to demonstrate how Turkish viewers receive and comment on a given Turkish remake as

[45] Though Genette does not consider user-generated paratexts as belonging to what he defined as a paratext, media studies scholars have introduced new subcategories to foreground the type of originator. In this sense, different labels have been given to these subcategories by various scholars, but they all imply the same distinctions. The labels given to these categories include "industry-created" and "viewer-" or "audience-created" paratexts by Gray (2010: 143) and "grassroots paratexts" and "official paratexts" by Martha Boni (2016: 213). "Given the multiplicity of people involved in creating and circulating […] televisual texts", it seems plausible that the terminology media studies scholars preferred to use draws on broad groupings such as industry and viewer instead of narrower groupings indicating individuals such as director-produced paratext and scriptwriter-produced paratext (Batchelor 2018: 62).

[46] This point fits the Batchelor's hypothesis that though Genette pays little attention to the marketing and promotional function of epitexts, the context of digital era requires a closer interpretation of paratexts in terms of their market-oriented functioning (2018: 51).

agents mostly determining the fate of these products. Concerning this point, it can be suggested that this research embraces the shift from viewers who uncritically respond to media texts to proactive viewers who seek, discover, circulate and create information about television products even in advance of their official release. As Dorothy Hobson (1982) points out, "[viewers] do not sit there watching and taking it all in without any mental activity or creativity" (136). Instead, they actively participate in "transforming the product to something that has meaning and value to himself and herself" (Bielby and Harrington, 2008: 48). This kind of viewers form their own space extending beyond the screen largely by means of new media technologies which help media products to flow through different sorts of channel, diversifying the forms of reception. A growing number of viewers is today summarizing and debating episodes of popular television series and disclosing their varied responses by distributing them wide through the internet. This experience extends throughout the evening and continues with subsequent episodes over the course of months each year, furnishing viewers with conversation starters with each new episode (Akınerdem, 2013: 43).

Within the scope of this research, the responses from Turkish viewers on the remake in the case study will be made use of as a complementary means for the comparative textual analysis. In this light, the particular scenes of the selected Turkish remake will be interpreted in company with the responses of Turkish viewers who have posted their responses to a given television remake online. The responses will be largely acquired from a random sample of YouTube users and Twitter users who commented about the television remake under consideration. I have made use of Twitter's "advanced search" option and examined the tweets that contain the phrase, "umutsuz ev kadınları" (the title of the remake in my case) by filtering search results by date: tweets from October 2, 2011 until June 12, 2014. Alongside the dataset consisting of tweets and randomly-selected YouTube comments, Ekşisözlük, a website particularly popular among the young, has been used as a resource to obtain Turkish viewers' comments about the Turkish remake in question. In this internet-based platform, I have retrieved 331 user responses. When it comes how the source television show was received in its originating territory, its data have been acquired from

secondary sources, involving books[47] and scholarly articles[48] on the show. Given all these points, it can be suggested that, comments, ratings and reviews provided by television viewers form a significant part of television remakes' threshold, which indicates that paratexts can no longer be viewed as singular fixed entities, but they take place within specific dynamic viewing practices (Batchelor, 2018: 53-55).

2.2.4. Textual Analysis Tools

It seems evident that television remakes have become one of the predominant cultural goods of contemporary storytelling. This makes it essential to lay considerable emphasis on their narratives and their modes of storytelling; to problematize what kind of stories are being told and what kind of criteria are supposed to be adopted while analyzing them; to see if there are any patterns recognizable in this large corpus of material and so on. In order to deal with such questions and treat transcultural television remakes as interpretations of their prior materials, I have intended to benefit from Venuti's (2007) methodological suggestion while conducting a textual analysis on the selected Turkish remake. Venuti's methodology has helped my research address and explore the process of remaking in light of numerous components, including but not limited to, televisual norms, commercial issues, viewing habits and genre conventions. So, the application of this methodology has enabled me to avoid making essentialist judgements that could overlook an extensive set of parameters pointed out above.

2.2.4.1 An Analytical Framework for Transcultural Television Remakes: The Concept of "Interpretant"

Unlike this research which mainly draws on television remakes, Venuti devised a methodology for the film adaptation process, and he argued that his use of the concept *interpretant*[49] is likely to offer a more rigorous critical methodology by

[47] For example, see McCabe and Akass, 2006.
[48] For example, see Hill, 2010.
[49] Pointing to the fact that despite its explanatory potential, the concept of the interpretant has been largely overlooked up until now, Venuti takes a critical look at Mikhail Iampolski's use of the term, which refers to a third text "that exists prior to the film but is explicitly present in it, such as the

advancing thinking about film adaptation. Venuti's argument that translation theory contributes to adaptation, as he points out, is based on the analogy between translation and adaptation, both of which are subject to the processes of decontextualizing and recontextualizing. According to him, as far as adaptation is concerned, these processes take place in much more comprehensive and complicated way due to the distinctiveness of the translation and adaptation process. In this sense, it is possible to speculate that adaptation is more multi-tasked and labor intensive than is the often more solitary process of translating a given text.

Here, it is significant to point out that Venuti's use of translation as a concept in the study cited herein is limited to its conventional definition and understanding of carrying over between one source and target text/language/culture. Also, he limits his study on adaptation with film adaptation (a filmic medium) exclusively. Accordingly, Venuti views adaptation, unlike translation, as a process in need of a lot more diverse shifts between its source and target material as it deals with "a multidimensional medium with different traditions, practices and conditions of production", involving distinct styles of acting, directing, studio production, the trajectory of actors, directors and screenwriter, numerous economic and political factors as well as many values, beliefs and representations – that can appear at different levels, such as the word (through specific terms), the phrase (idioms, sayings and etc.), costumes and the attitude of characters (2007: 30). These different parameters at different levels are not isolated elements and become components of a single cultural good (a filmic material in Venuti's research). Given that my research is altogether focused on intra-medial transcultural television remakes which are known for their multidimensionality, I needed to add new parameters to the ones identified by Venuti in consideration of the unique features of a televisual medium.

Venuti's methodological proposal suggests that the interpretation and problematization of the choice of a source text and some other textual choices made by a given agent occurs through "the application of a category that mediates between the source language and culture, on the one hand, and the translating [adapting/remaking] language and culture, on the other". He further suggests that this

references to Samul Taylor Coleridge's poem 'Kubla Khan' in Orson Welles's 1941 film *Citizen Kane*" (Iampolski, 1998: 42-44). Venuti is critical of Iampolski's definition and use of the interpretant for its "open-ended quality" restricting "the explanatory power of the term" (2007: 31).

category constitutes *interpretants*; that is, constitutive components of a given adaptation in order to conduct a meticulous and exhaustive analysis (2007: 31). The interpretants can be categorized into two, as he points out, under formal and thematic interpretants (ibid.). Suggesting the interpretant as an essential category for studying adaptation, Venuti clarifies the possible contribution of interpretants as following:

> *Interpretants enable the film to inscribe an interpretation by mediating between its prior materials, on the one hand, and the medium and its conditions of production, on the other- by providing, in other words, a method of selecting those materials and transforming them into the adaptation through the multidimensional choices made by the filmmakers. As in the case of translation, the interpretants in adaptation can be either formal or thematic* (33).

According to Venuti, formal interpretants by and large refer to the structural attributes such as two (or more) products' divergences in terms of their plot details and generic formations whereas thematic interpretants involve codes, values, ideologies, moral issues and so forth (33). Regarding the complexity of the medium, he sets researchers free as to the number of interpretants to be applied in any material. In this sense, it is revealed that the researcher's application of an interpretant in turn "determines the formulation of hermeneutic relation and its interrogative effects [as a result of the disclosure of the sociocultural environment and conditions of adaptations and their source materials and of the adaptation that has processed them]" (Venuti, 2007: 41). As far as the identification and analysis of the interpretants is concerned, what a critic or researcher has to do, as suggested by Venuti, is to concentrate on shifts (such as additions, deletions and modifications) that will be revealed as a result of a comparative analysis between the target text and its prior material. The comparative analysis "can avoid the unwitting or automatic introduction of an interpretation of the materials themselves" and allow the source and target materials "expose [their] significant formal and thematic features […], both those features that the filmmakers have chosen to adapt in some way and those that they omitted or replaced" (ibid.).

This research suggests that the application of the interpretant for studying transcultural television remakes has much in fact to tell us about identifying the formal and thematic resemblances and divergences, discovering the move to different linguistic, cultural, social, economic and ideological conditions of production and reception as well as generating a critical understanding of the prior material and the contexts surrounding the remakes. It also seeks to contribute to Venuti's suggestion of

the interpretant as a critical methodology through applying it to a case study which is missing in his research. Though Venuti gives several examples from several cultural goods,[50] his analysis on interpretants is not thorough, rather it provides either too general conclusions (as he investigated them in a general way) or more detailed ones, yet based on only a few aspects of the cultural goods in question.

I have first conducted a small-scale preliminary study on the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* to explore whether Venuti's methodological framework provides sufficient analytical tools for my case study and realized that his framework seems inadequate to problematize multiple dimensions of the remake process and to uncover its complexities. Then, I have expanded Venuti's provisional suggestion by adding new categories of interpretants (compositional interpretants, media-systemic interpretants, social interpretants and intertextual interpretants) as well as incorporating new subcategories to be grouped under the more general ones. In this light, considering that intra-medial transcultural television remakes are multifarious cultural goods that are remarkably exhaustive to critically analyze, the interpretant categories (other than the last category –"thematic interpretants"-) that I have identified during my comparative analysis of *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake have been analyzed without any limitation in terms of the number of season and episode. This is because, unlike the category of thematic interpretant, which is perhaps the most complex one to analyze, they do not entail closely watching the shows in question, taking comparative notes about them in detail, as well as making their thorough and comparative textual analysis as thematic examination does. Instead, those interpretant categories are likely to be described and evaluated from an overall perspective by means of broad textual analysis lacking in detail and a variety of paratexts (such as interviews with scriptwriters and reviews) which may well serve as platforms where researchers are able to holistically interpret and analyze the identified interpretant categories. The interrogation of the four interpretant categories constitutes a macro analysis part of my research. In this context, a macro analysis refers to the critical examination of the constituents of a given television remake and the other forces surrounding the remake process, which are more likely to be noticed and

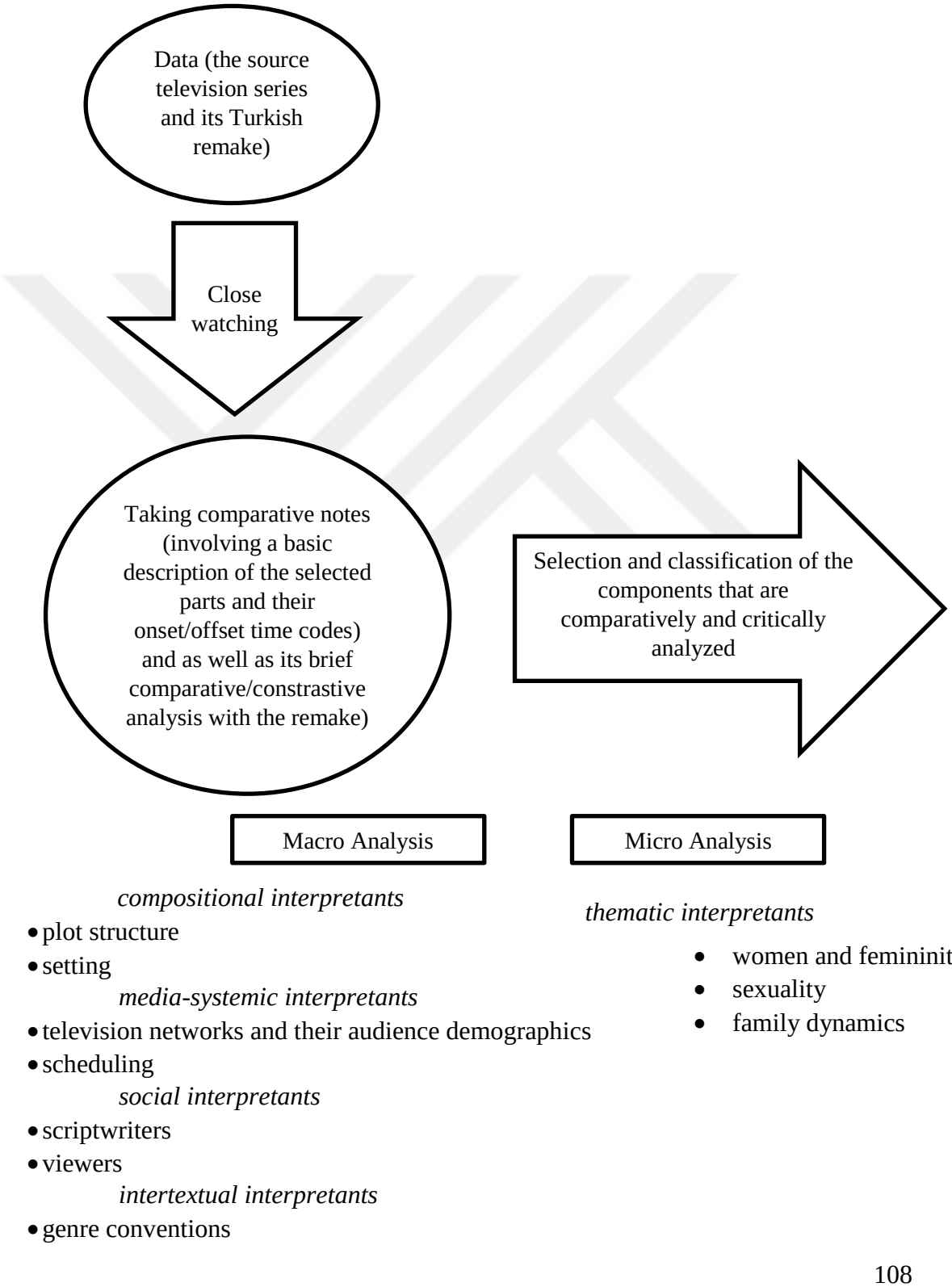
[50] Franco Zeffirelli's 1968 adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*; Derek Jarman's biographical movie *Caravaggio* about Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio; Agnès Merlet's biographical movie about Artemisia Gentileschi and Paul Schrader 1990 adaptation of Ian McEwan's novel.

identified from an overall examination mostly based on paratextual materials. These parameters easier to discern, inspect and evaluate without a deeper textual examination of a given remake include such parameters as plot structure, setting, television networks, their audience demographics, scheduling, scriptwriters' decisionmaking process, viewers' reception and genre conventions. This macro level investigation, conducted just before a critical examination of translational decisions largely taken at the textual level, contributes much to a micro level analysis of the remake process in that the findings acquired from the former set up a base and feed into the latter, after all providing a compherensive analytical framework for the cross-cultural analysis of the television remake as a case study.

Given that it is compelling to closely watch all episodes and take comparative notes (about a basic description and onset/offset time codes of a moving image of a given television series-remake pair) in order to identify and classify the prominent themes and to evaluate the similarities and divergences in their treatment in light of examples retrieved from the remake and its source, the analysis of thematic interpretants has been limited to the comparison of one season of the source material and its corresponding episodes in the remake. This comparative textual analysis part will be referred as a micro analysis, and it involves the critical description and analysis of the examples obtained from the television series-remake pairs. A micro analysis of thematic interpretants, carried out by use of the remake strategies proposed by myself, involves an in-depth interrogation of the thematic concerns within a given remake and its source. The main concern of such an analysis at a micro level is to display how the first four interpretant categories, providing an overall critical interpretation about the remake process, manifest themselves in the prevailing themes in the remake on a textual basis. All categories of interpretants, whether they be a part of a macro or micro analysis, are on a par with the other. This means they are all deemed equal in importance for the investigation of intra-medial transcultural television remakes. A micro level analysis, intimately dependent on a macro analysis, incorporates an integral part of the methodological framework suggested in this study and it helps interrogate the selected thematic concerns in a given remake through the remake strategies. So, the proposed remake strategies constitute another methodological contribution of this research to further research on television remakes. The figure

below shows the process of textual analysis with macro and micro analysis levels. The macro and micro level analysis will be explained in detail in the next sections.

Figure 2: The Process of Comparative Textual Analysis for Transcultural Television Remakes



2.2.4.2. Tools of Macro Analysis

In order to illustrate how the process of remaking takes place in the Turkish television industry, this research has conducted one case study which intends to identify and evaluate the simultaneous interplay of similarities and differences to be acquired from a comparative analysis of *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) with its Turkish remake *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (2011-2014). This close and critical comparative analysis has been undertaken through the use of interpretants as a methodological tool offered by Venuti. Venuti's proposal of analytical framework has been selected as a methodological tool in describing and classifying the components to be examined in the case study. Given that his framework does not suffice in my case study, I have extended his two broad categories of interpretants (formal and thematic) and regrouped them under five comprehensive categories: (i) compositional interpretants, (ii) media-systemic interpretants, (iii) social interpretants, (iv) intertextual interpretants, and (v) thematic interpretants. The first four of the five categories have been employed to carry out the macro analysis of my case, as you can see in the below table.

Table 2: The Interpretant Categories for the Macro Analysis of Transcultural Television Remakes

Interpretant Categories	**Compositional Interpretants**	**Media-systemic Interpretants**	**Social Interpretants**	**Intertextual Interpretants**
	Plot Structure	Television Networks and their Audience Demographics	Scriptwriters and their Production Sites	Genre Conventions
	Setting	Scheduling	Viewers and their Reception	

The first category entitled “compositional interpretants” has been proposed to identify and evaluate the basic constituents that every television series is comprised of. I have suggested that two groups of compositional elements deserve particular attention in the process of remaking television series for another culture. The first of them is a plot structure and the other one is setting which can be splitted into two: temporal and spatial setting. While plot structure is used to describe the main events that make up a story, that is, the sequence of the events in a story, setting refers to the place where the fictional events occur and it has also temporal dimension.

The second group of interpretants constitutes fundamental “media-systemic components” that notably condition the production of television remakes in the Turkish context. These components broadly suggest diverse sorts of industrial practices, norms and routines that pertain to the production milieu of Turkish television remakes. For the purposes of this research, these media-systemic interpretants have been divided into two categories. The first one entitled “television networks and their audience demographics” involves the type of television channel that broadcasts the source television series and its remake as well as their viewer profile. The other sub-category deals with scheduling, under which the number of seasons and average episode length of the source show and its remake have been evaluated.

The other interpretant category that I added into Venuti’s methological proposal is “social interperants” which enable researchers/critics of television remakes to investigate the matter of human agency. Considering that television remakes are produced as a result of the collaborative work, with various agents playing prominent roles in the decision-making process, and my research has found out that scriptwriters play perhaps the most critical roles in the creative process of remaking, I have developed one sub-catogory “scriptwriters and their production sites” under my broad category of social interpretants. The other category of social interpretants proposed by myself has been entitled as “viewers and their reception” and it seeks to explore audience reception, that is, interpretation produced by active television viewers of the source show and its remake. Given that the meanings are not taken for granted by television viewers as active creators of meaning, yet they are filtered and evaluated in consideration of the viewers’ cultural knowledge and experiences about particular social codes, my analytical framework proposes television viewers as crucial social

interpretants in order to gain understanding about how the television remake and its source have been received in their own contexts.

The fourth branch of interpretants I have developed for the investigation of television remakes constitutes intertextual interpretants, which can be multifarious in scope. Yet, within the framework of this research, the only intertextual interpretant that will be examined has to do with the particular genre of the source television series and its resonance in its remake. Given that genre conventions are most likely to diversify within different cultural contexts and television industries which embody distinctive social incidents, intellectual standpoints and ideological outlooks, it is critical to investigate generic components that come into play in source television series and their remakes. I also suggest researhers to critically compare and contrast genre conventions and markers of a given source show and its respective version(s) in another cultural context in consideration of their sociocultural, historical and political context as well as conventional artistic domains (literary works and films) which precede a particular genre within their contexts.

2.2.4.3. Tools of Micro Analysis

My research makes use of the fifth level of interpretants, Venuti's suggestion of thematic interpretants, in order to carry out a micro analysis, that is, the interrogation of remake strategies employed in the process of remake. As it has been indicated earlier, thematic interpretants consist of codes, values and ideologies that are tightly interrelated to the themes of gender roles, sexuality, family patterns, ethnicity and religion, among others (Venuti, 2007: 33). Taking into account that television series encapsulate remarkably wide variety of thematic concerns to deal with, I propose to establish a selection criteria and concentrate on the selected themes that characterize the source show and the remake under consideration.

Concisely, the micro analysis suggested by this research aims at delving into how the dominant themes in the source show and its remake are handled in light of the sociocultural contexts, industrial concerns, generic attributes and audience responses. That is, by means of a micro level analysis, this research refers to the description and

classification of the themes, representative of the television series-remake pair on the one hand, and, on the other, the evaluation of the (dis)similarities in their treatment under the proposed remake strategies by giving concrete examples retrieved from the texts in question. The table below shows the remake strategies identified in the comparative analysis of *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* under the category of thematic interpretants:

Table 3: A Micro Level Comparative Analysis of Transcultural Television Remakes

Thematic Interpretants				
Indigenizing Remake Strategies			Confrontational Remake Strategies	
Substitutions	Additions	Omissions	Continuation	Repetition by toning down

In this light, I propose a set of possible remake strategies that could appear in the process of television remake and these strategies, which function as analytical tools for a micro level analysis, include substitution, omission, addition, continuation and repetition by toning down. It should be noted that the lines between types of remakes strategies are blurred. Considering the blurred nature of these strategies and their blurred edges, it turns out that it is possible to approach to these remake strategies more fruitfully by means of so-called fuzzy logic instead of assigning fixed criteria for category membership. So, my provisional suggestion of remake strategies claims that there are permeable and blurred boundaries between different types of remake strategies.

I have grouped the five remake strategies pointed out above under two broad categories. The first broad category, which includes substitutions, omissions and additions, has been entitled as "indigenizing remake strategies" and it accounts for the tendency of a given remake to stick to target culture parameters and disguise the traces of its source. The second category, falling under the title of "confrontational remake strategies", is made up of the remake strategies of continuation and repetition by toning down. The latter group of strategies suggests the display of non-indigenous elements in the remake as a result of merging source and target culture conventions. These

remake strategies often make diverse confrontational ideas appear in the target television repertoire. That is, it can be suggested that confrontational remake strategies attribute greater value to foreign elements and effects in the course of remaking a television series. Thereby, these strategies make it possible to confront prevailing and established television norms and sociocultural constructs. In doing that, they create new options, models and ideas and thus further enable the repertoire of Turkish television series to evolve by infringing the often rigid and confining frontiers of a local television industry.

2.3. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented the theoretical and methodological framework I have employed in this research to address the multi-layered processes involved in transcultural television remakes. The framework proposed in this chapter has combined a top-down approach guided by theoretical hypotheses and a bottom-up standpoint driven by a comparative textual analysis. As has been pointed in my literature review, a holistic approach to the analysis of television remakes seems to be currently lacking in various disciplines that deal with these cultural goods. Inspired by theoretical insights from translation studies, I have proposed that the combination of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, which holds heterogenous and dynamic nature, with several assumptions put forward by Sela-Sheffy, can be used to elucidate my research problem. This theoretical framework, making use of such instrumental concepts as culture repertoire, option, market, institution, agent and interference, and several fundamental hypotheses, will enable explore translated television series with particular reference to transcultural television remakes from a larger perspective by illustrating their position and function within the Turkish television repertoire and revealing their effects on it in light of a variety of considerations that relate to a given repertoire.

As for the methodological tools, paratextual and textual analyses will be carried out and they will be backed up by the semi-structured and qualitative interviews with the cultural agents involved in the creative process of television remakes. The interviews, consisting of open-ended questions, aims at providing background information regarding various aspects and stages of the remake process on Turkish

television as well as the prominent agents behind it. As far as the textual analysis is concerned, the method presented in this chapter has filled up the gap of a comprehensive methodological framework, consisting of useful tools, in order to analyze multiple dimensions of the remake process and to reveal its complexities. The analytical framework, drawing on the concept of the interpretant proposed by Venuti and advanced within the scope of this research, will help take an overall view of the development, production and reception contexts of television remakes. It will also enable us to examine the narrower steps of the remake process, that is, remake strategies used in the remake process. The classification and naming of remake strategies and the evaluation of their use and effects will shed more light on the multiple ways through which a given television series is remade in another language and in a different cultural milieu. In view of the above, it can be noted that this chapter has shown how the analytical framework developed in this research merges a macro analysis through the examination of compositional interpretants, media-systemic interpretants, social interpretants, intertextual interpretants with a micro analysis, based on the interrogation of thematic interpretants.

CHAPTER THREE
CONTEXTUALIZING REMAKES IN THE TELEVISION SERIES REPERTOIRE IN TURKEY

In the third chapter, I will initially attempt to probe the history of Turkish television in order to understand the position and function of translated television series within the Turkish "culture repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 1990); as well as to illustrate the sociocultural and political conditions in which those imported television series, though in various amounts and forms, have appeared on Turkish television channels between the years of 1968 and 2020. In doing this, I will concentrate on three different yet interrelating periods of Turkish television which has, since its inception, moved through these three eras: a) the first period is the era of public broadcaster TRT between 1968 and 1990; b) the second period constitutes the commercial broadcasting period in the early 1990s; c) the third period encapsulates the period from the 2000s onwards. The elaboration on these three periods of Turkish television will display the active position that translations have assumed within the repertoire of Turkish television series and it will contribute to the contextualization of this research by providing background information about the social and market dynamics of television programming, especially imported television series, in Turkey.

This chapter will proceed with the second part (3.2.) which will rest on the corpus of Turkish television remakes from the early 2000s to 2020 and provide a detailed description of the list of remakes I compiled for this research. The survey presented in this part will reveal the motivations behind the process of remake in the Turkish television industry and provide data about their popularity and ratings. The debate about these data will be followed by another section about the genres, forms and contents of the Turkish television remakes. Then, the next part will provide data with regard to the distribution of source cultures from which the Turkish remakes have been remade and then explain the prime drivers for Turkish producers to select these source cultures' products for remakes in the Turkish context. What follows this part is the research on major production companies of Turkish television remakes and their market size within the Turkish television industry. This chapter will also be concerned with human agency involved in the creative process of producing Turkish television remakes. As for the last part of this chapter, it will attempt to reveal how Turkish

television remakes have been presented to Turkish viewers in the Turkish media and what kind of discourse have been produced about them by means of various paratexts, namely the opening and closing credits and the trailers of the remakes, several newspapers and blogs as well as the television-culture magazine, *Episode*.

3.1. THE MAKING OF THE TELEVISION SERIES REPERTOIRE IN TURKEY (1968-2020)

National television systems that started to function in the 1950s were in search of television programs and they usually imported programs from other countries (Mikos, 2015: 695). The main resource for the countries in the Eastern Bloc was the Soviet Union whereas the US programs often meet the demand for television programming of Western European and Latin American countries (ibid.).[51] As compared to many national television systems[52], Turkey was introduced to television lately, starting in 1968 with the launch of Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT). In its initial years, TRT's broadcasting was largely supplied with foreign products from various countries, including but not limited to, the US, the UK, the Federal Republic of Germany and France (Öztürkmen, 2018: 3).[53] For more than two decades until 1990, Turkish television broadcasts had been supplied by TRT and controlled by the state as an institutional agent. Serving as a public service broadcaster, TRT was founded as an independent public entity with the aim of carrying out radio and television broadcasts on behalf of the state. The first generation of Turkish viewers in the 1970s, as Öztürkmen (2018) points out, used to join in their homes with their family and friends to watch television since there were not much television sets in Turkish households (Öztürkmen, 2018: 3).[54] Back then, television series imported from the US and broadcasted in their dubbed versions were a staple for the Turkish television broadcasting and they have largely helped the making of the Turkish

[51] For some other cases of the import of programs from other national television systems, see Kraidy, 2005b; Moran, 2009c.
[52] British television began to operate in 1936 whereas US television's operation dates back to 1940 (Moran, 2009a: 14).
[53] For instance, BBC dramas adapted from novels like Anna Karenina and such French productions as Arsène Lupin and Jacques were among the European formats aired on TRT (Öztürkmen, 2018: 3).
[54] Arzu Öztürkmen informs that, until the early 1990s, the first generation of Turkish TV viewers largely owned imported television sets, namely German brands like Chaub Lorenz, Grundig, Nortmende, Blaupunkt, Telefunken (2018: 2).

television repertoire. *Star Trek* (1966-1969), *Mission Impossible* (1966-1973), *Dallas* (1978-1991), *The Fugitive* (1963-1967) and *The White Shadow* (1978-1981), and old Hollywood movies were among the dubbed US television programs which dominated TRT during its inception period.

It appears that, during the 1970s, Turkish television looked at available programs for ideas for its own productions and it met the demand for program content with other national television networks. Thus, translated television series (mostly dubbed), as it will be further elaborated, assumed a central position within the Turkish television series repertoire those days. Yet, the rise of commercial broadcasting and the profileration of the first set of private televisions stations (namely Star 1, Kanal 6, ATV, Show TV and Kanal D) had weakened the dominance of public broadcasting monopoly in the 1990s (Cankaya, 2015: 315-20). The liberalization of the Turkish television market began with an amendment in the Turkish Constitution in July 1993, which underlines that "Radio and television stations shall be established and administered freely in conformity with rules to be regulated by law" (Cankaya, 2015: 321). It was followed by the enactment of the Act (numbered 3984) on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Radio and Televisions in 1994 (Cankaya, 2015: 327-28). As a result of the launching of private networks by the 1990s, the central position of dubbed television series within the repertoire of Turkish television series has weakened; but not lost their role of making the Turkish television repertoire altogether.

During the 1990s, Turkish television channels broadcasted long form American soaps [*Santa Barbara* (1984-1993), *The Bold and the Beautiful* (1987-2019)] and telenovelas [*Isaura Slave* (1976-1977), *Maria Mercedes* (1992) and *Marimar* (1994)] imported from the top telenovela producers in Latin America (Çelenk, 2005: 300). Arzu Öztürkmen suggests that, as a result of the repertoire previously established by TRT and the later imports of soap operas and teleovelas by commercial television stations, the *dizi* (television series) genre has thrived and and local productions have mushrommed in the following years (2018: 7). It seems that the Turkish television repertoire has prominently taken shape in this second phase of Turkish television.

Today, in the third phase of Turkish television, there are over two hundred television channels in the Turkish television landscape that broadcast locally, regionally and nationally (TURKSTAT- Turkish Statistical Institute, 2015). Television penetration has also reached a climax among Turkish people who have really intense television viewing habits. According the the research by RTÜK, almost 95% percent of the population, which is around 80 million, has at least one television device and more than half of them own two or more television sets (Research on the Television Viewing Tendency by RTÜK 2018: 99). According to the statistics of the Radio and Television Supreme Council, viewing figures demonstrate an average exposure of four hours per day (2018: 13-14). As these figures indicate, not only is television a significant source of information in Turkey, but it is also the primary form of entertainment and cultural activity[55] of the society. The general taste patterns of Turkish viewers suggests a preference for channels largely dominated by television series, game shows and daytime contents (Mipcom Report, 2015: 9). According to their average duration in hour, though television series rank at the second place with 1.333 hours following the news, they are the top choice in terms of the average viewer they attracted (ibid.). They also appear to be one of the most popular cultural forms being consumed as evening entertainment and producing public discourse in Turkey, which is manifest in their high ratings, on internet forums and fan pages, as well as in lively public discussions.

It goes without saying that national television markets are inextricably dependent on transnational industrial processes and cultural influences, regardless of their market size and the amount of homegrown programming. This also holds true for the Turkish television industry, which is now strongly national and has great power in the regional market and beyond. At this point, it may not be wrong to argue that, although Turkish television has been working with a large and multiform television series repertoire for some time now, it is still in need of increasing proportion of television series since it came to a point where it has difficulty in producing the range necessary for feeding off itself. This need has led intra-medial transcultural television

[55] As the findings of the survey conducted by TURKSTAT (which has not been updated since 2006) demonstrate, Turkish people spend 87,4 % of their monthly cultural activity time to watch television (Tanrıöver, 2012: 18).

remakes to appear as new and alternative ways of introducing options to the repertoire of Turkish television series as of the early 2000s until now.

I have constructed my arguments throughout the chapter by analyzing primary and secondary sources on the Turkish television series industry. The majority of the primary data include face-to-face and online interviews conducted with television professionals involving in the production process of remakes. Another type of primary data is the the corpus of Turkish television remakes I compiled starting from the first remake I found in 2001 until 2020. The secondary data were largely rested on the sources provided by researchers on the history of Turkish television including, among others, Emel Ceylan Tamer (1983), Erol Mutlu (1991/2008), Ömer Serim, (2007), Özden Cankaya (1986) and Volkan Yücel (2014). In light of these resources, this chapter aims at broadly problematizing the varying position and role of translated television series within the repertoire of Turkish television series in the period between 1968 and 2020, with particular emphasis on the third period of Turkish television when the ways of introducing translated television series have become more diversified and remakes have become a pivotal part of the television series repertoire in Turkey.

3.1.1. Introduction of Translated Television Series as Options: TRT Period (1968-1990)

This part of the study aims at demonstrating that translations have provided ways of making the Turkish television repertoire and they have played a prominent role particularly in the shaping of the repertoire of TRT through the introduction of foreign programs which were dubbed and (occasionally) subtitled in the 1968-1990 period. As it has been stated before, Turkish public television channel TRT was launched in 1968 and the TRT period of Turkish television continued during the ensuing two decades. Having been limited in scope and viewership early on, it gained momentum within the very short span of time by means of what Halit Kıvanç named as 'telesafirlik'[56] (2002), which refers to the Turkish tradition (which dates back to

[56] It is a portmanteau word resulting from blending two words; 'televizyon' (television) and 'misafirlik' (paying a visit). In the 1970s, television sets were also a source of socialization and they developed "semi-public sphere within the domestic space" through house visit which brings together neighbors and enables family reunions (Öztürkmen, 2018: 3).

1970s) of paying a visit to those who had television devices. So, the number of television viewers has grown steadily. Ömer Serim notes that, having run as a public service in a monopolistic system for two decades, TRT was affected by pedagogical assumptions and it adopted as a principle the fact that its content constituted materials focused on educational and cultural affairs in harmony with its public broadcasting (Serim, 2007: 15). Serim's statement partially reinforces Marwan M. Kraidy's assertion that broadcasting was planned to function as "a tool of development in much of the non-Western world"[57] (2005b: 97). As different from commercial broadcasting which largely concentrates on good ratings, viewing share and advertising revenue, TRT had long been projected as a vehicle of bringing education and culture to the audience.

Nevertheless, the elaboration on the historical context in which television has become an integral and naturalized part of Turkish social life has unravelled the fact that Turkish television was closely related to political outlooks and cultural politics of the period (Aziz, 1999; Cankaya, 2015; Serim, 2007).[58] On March 12, 1971, Süleyman Demirel's (the prime minister) government was pushed to resign by Turkish Armed Forces which delivered an ultimatum to the president. Back then, the regime had largely rested on a vague power configuration between the civilians and the military forces. After a while, martial law was declared, and the military's power was underscored. In such an environment, Turkish television used to be considered a crucial vehicle of power and thus it could not isolate itself from the effects of that tremendous political unrest. That is, Turkish television remained susceptible to the unstable winds of Turkish politics in the 1970s since, back then, Turkey were about to experience significant social conflicts and polarization and politicians attempted to exercise control over TRT (Cankaya, 2015: 89).

Perhaps the most dramatic effect of this process on Turkish television was its shift from autonomy into neutrality (Cankaya, 2015: 99). It means that the

[57] According to Kraidy, broadcasting functioned as "a public service in Western Europe, an instrument of direct propaganda under authoritarian regimes, or a commercial enterprise in the United States and elsewhere" (2005b: 97). Such media philosophies, as Kraidy argues, had an influence on the broadcasting operations significantly.

[58] In a similar way as Turkish television, Turkish cinema was also in an intimate relationship with the issues of state patronage and ideological forces. For further information about the socio-political concerns as regards film translation in Turkey in the 1940s , see Özmen, 2019.

reconfigured approach to the management of TRT impaired its autonomous structuring and the constitutional amendments in 1972 defined TRT as neutral rather than an autonomous public economic entity (Serim, 2007: 43). While the autonomy of TRT earlier used to keep it out of political affairs and a range of sanctions in the matters of the program production, the management and the use of its budget, the shift from neutrality into autonomy provided by the TRT Law numbered 359 resulted in some drastic changes (Cankaya, 2015: 99). For instance, though the staff working at TRT in its very early years of broadcasting was opposed to include into the TRT's program content entertainment shows lack of cultural and educational content, TRT then gave up this broadcasting policy and the new military government allocated much larger amount of time to popular television series on the grounds that they attacted much attention (Aksoy, 2002: 25). All in all, TRT's autonomy which at least partially used to keep it away from various interventions was cancelled and its first team that made an endeavor to run a democratic broadcasting system was weakened (see Aziz, 1999; Aksoy, 2002; İlaslan, 2014). Regarding those first several years of Turkish television, Mahmut Tali Öngören (the founding editorial director of TRT) makes the following statement:

> *The first team working at TRT was good, and even really good. […] The team responsible for the production of programs that I personally got into contact with consisted of energetic and young people eager to put into practice a democratic broadcasting system. […] It included people only looking to future. However, they came apart following the 1971 Turkish military memorandum on March 12... It was a team full of people who did not make some concessions in order to occupy higher positions and with whom it is possible to freely discuss a range of topics.* [59] (Aksoy, 2002: 25)

During its initial few years, TRT had a different broadcasting policy which used to prefer broadcasting almost four-year-long (imported) television series only six months at most since it was against the idea of long seriality. Öngören as the first head of program department at TRT worked in harmony with his team (consisting of Emil Galip Sandalcı, Varlık Özmenek, Adem Yavuz) which conceived the television medium as a tool of bringing education and culture to its viewers (see Aziz, 1999; Aksoy, 2002). Though TRT did not have the same full range of television products that larger television systems possess and it instigated the feeling among TRT's

[59] All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

executives that foreign programs (particularly US dramas) were indispensable, Öngören's team targeted to produce homegrown programming that broaden the viewers' horizon.

Yet, this policy was interrupted due to "incessant fights for a chair on the board of TRT in the 1970s" (Okyayuz, 2017b: 124), which resulted in a dissolution of Öngören's team. Then, as already pointed out, new power holders preferred to fill TRT's appetite for content largely by the repertoire of translated television series, particularly from the US. The domination of US television products during the TRT era was in conformity with the international television traffic since the majority of the formats in global circulation, as Moran (2009c) points out, have been western in origin (78).[60] The findings obtained from the (1972-1973) report of the international flow of television programs demonstrated the two prevalent trends: i) a one-way traffic from the major exporting countries to the minor, and ii) the dominance of entertainment materials (Varis, 1985: 5). The same study repeated in 1983 indicated no major change (19). In short, as of the 1980s onwards, such significant exporting countries as the US, the UK, Australia and other markets in the Euro-American bloc have provided the majority of sources such as soop operas and sitcoms (Moran, 2009c: 79).

Between 1971-73, Musa Öğün who introduced imported television series to the Turkish television industry became the director general at TRT. For Serim, his mission was to distract Turkish viewers from their daily problems (2007: 67). Additionally, Serim suggests that, such American primetime series such as *The Fugitive*, *Mission: Impossible* and *Star Trek*, were intended to serve for the purposes of transnational influence and propaganda by the US media (68).[61] Popular Turkish newspapers of those times such as *Bayrak* and *Tercüman* reported as news that the US television series *The Love Boat*[62] was asked for discontinuing its broadcast due to propagating the Western vision and immorality (103, 107). Semih Tuğrul also notes that the first

[60] The places that Moran refers to by "western" constitute "the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Europe, as well as more outlying regions of former White European settlement including Australia, New Zealand and Canada" (2009c: 78). They can be concisely called as "the Euro-American/Anglo-American bloc" (ibid.).

[61] Selim's assertion has been confirmed by several researchers, who have suggested that the US has viewed television as a global strategic tool "since the emergence of the free flow doctrine during Woodrow Wilson's presidency, and later formulated as policy by Federal Communications Commission head Newton Minow" (Kraidy, 2005b: 97-98; see also Blanchard, 1986; Curtin, 1993).

[62] It revolves around the romantic and comic tales of the passengers (full of rich women and womanizers) and crew of the cruise ship, Pacific Princess.

generation of Turkish viewers were fooled about through trivial issues in such US television series as *The Avengers*, *Bewitched*, *Bonanza* and *The Fugitive* (Selim, 2007: 84).[63] Despite such criticisms, in terms of average duration in hour and popularity, dubbed American television series ranked at the top on TRT back then (Cankaya, 1986/2015; Serim, 2007). Cankaya explains that TRT allocated the majority of its program schedule to the television series imported from the US:

> *It was 1973 when there was an increase in the dependency on American televisual products. As it was due to the fact that American movies and TV series turned to be a object for trading across the world, it could also be seen as preferences of the officials working at our television. In Turkey, there was neither any scientific research about it, nor public opinion surveys […] The masses in Turkey were forced to either like the programs offered for them, or not like them […]* (Cankaya, 1986: 30).

In a similar vein, Cem İpekçi (the General Director of TRT in 1974) reported as insufficient the content of domestic television programs on TRT and he attributed it to the extreme idleness and lazyness as well as to the poor structuring of TRT established by the senior managers (Cankaya, 1986: 60). Yet, the television viewing survey by the newspaper *Milliyet* in 1975 demonstrated that dubbed television series constituted the leading position on TRT (Öngören, 1975: 114). In another survey provided by the newspaper *Hürriyet*, the dubbed series *McMillan & Wife*, *Little House on the Prairie* and *Police Woman* shared the top three in the list of most popular television series broadcasted on TRT (*TRT Dünden Bugüne*, 1990: 47). Şaban Karataş, the general director at TRT in 1976, provided the following explanations about imported television series aired in those times:

> *As it is known, the most popular TV shows all around the world are television series. They turned out to be the language of various television networks. […] From its earliest days, Turkish television adopted a meticilous attitude towards displaying the products often around the same time with American and European television networks, making right choices about the program selection and preferring to air the television products in which family love and family bonds, loyalty, humanity, as well as civilized and good relations among people are foregrounded* (as cited in Cankaya, 1986: 40); (cited by Prof. Dr. Şaban Karataş, October 3th, 1976, İzmir Press Conference).

The explanation provided by Karataş suggests that general directors of TRT in different periods appear as among the agents who selected the imported television programs constituting the Turkish television repertoire in the early years of TRT. Yet,

[63] See also Cankaya, 1986.

the research on Turkish television has shown that not all agents were pleased with these translations. Several decision makers or intellectuals of the time criticized such foreign products as *Dallas* and *The Love Boat* harshly on the grounds that the lifestyles presented by them were against the traditions and norms of Turkish society. But still these shows continued to predominate Turkish television and draw Turkish viewers' attention even during major socio-political upheavals such as the 1980 coup d'état[64] (Erguvan, 2017; Serim, 2007). Anıl Çeçen, the representative of The People's Houses (Halkevleri), was among these decisionmakers who criticized the high amount of translated television series by highlighting that if Turkish television was not able to cater for its own content at the rate of 50 %, it would not be considered as Turkish. […] (Cankaya, 1986: 55). Çeçen identified Turkish television as a slave of television series imported from other national television systems and he added that the procurement of foreign television series became a defining feature of Turkish television (ibid.). Another criticism against those television series came from Rıza Akdemir. In the official report of the ninth General Advisory Board of TRT, Akdemir notes the following about *Dallas*:

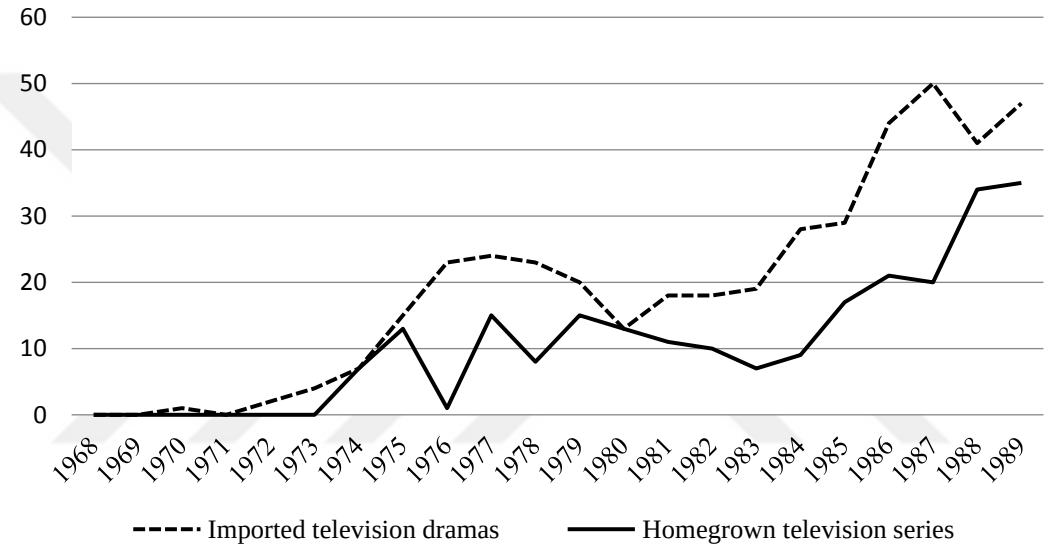
> *As is seen, Dallas represents a lifestyle of the corrupted capitalist family. It is a sort of drama full of images of alcohol, gambling, as well as it damages our value judgements. Only for reflecting the reality and for telling life as it is, television should not be allowed to enter into bedrooms. America is an utterly different community. They prefer whiskey for water and gambling as an entertainment. […]"* (1 June 1980).

As it is manifest in Cankaya's (1986) list of all television programs broadcasted on TRT between the years of 1968-1985, the percentage of the programs imported from the US was almost as much as three-quarters and more of the whole repertoire of foreign programs. That is, a greater amount of television products was imported primarily from American culture and the television content was shaped by the various products and genres imported from other cultures. This finding validates Uygur Kocabaşoğlu's argument that, during its initial years, TRT adapted itself to the

[64] The Turkish Military Coup d'Etat of 12 September 1980, when the military overthrew the government and declared a military regime, had a substantial effect on the television broadcasting in Turkey (Aziz, 1999). As Cankaya pointed out, the 1980s was the period in which the use of many words on TRT was prohibited and the supervisors who did not take out those prohibited words in the television products were given warning and even their position were changed (2015: 193).

asymmetrical flow of televisual traffic (1975: 16).[65] More critically, as the figures obtained from Yücel's research[66] demonstrated, the number of imported television series on TRT predominantly surpassed the number of local television series between 1968 and 1990. The amount of the translations amounts to 426, whereas the number of domestic productions (amounts to 236) is only a little more than half of it (Yücel, 2014: 233-34).

Figure 3: The Comparison of the Number of Imported and Homegrown TV Series in the TRT Era



Source: Prepared by the author of this research by means of the data obtained from Yücel's 2014 research. Explicit permission has been obtained from the author of the dataset for this present research. (see Appendix 2)

In light of the figure given above, it can be argued that translated television series were introduced to Turkish viewers as options on TRT in the initial years of broadcasting when its repertoire had not yet established (Even-Zohar, 1990: 47). Back then, Turkish television exhibited some conditions which are explicable with Even-Zohar's hypothesis suggesting that when the system is young, its repertoire may be

[65] It can also be argued that having imported its technical equipments, its knowledge about televisual market and, perhaps the most significantly, its program content, TRT might be viewed as lending itself to other television industries. It has turned out that, alongside importing a series of television shows in order to fill its lack of program content, TRT also adopted a range of other tools which enabled its handing, production and/or consumption, ultimately contributing to the making of its own repertoire.
[66] It is the first complete survey that presents the amount of television series having aired on Turkish networks until 2009.

limited, which makes it "more disposed to using other available systems" such as other languages, cultures and literatures (1990: 40).[67] It appears that when TRT was in an urgent need of importing and learning from abroad production modes and narrative formulas, translation has become one of the means of filling the deficiency in its repertoire, which had not yet been crystallized, that is to say, had been in the process of being formed (Even-Zohar, 1990: 47). Moreover, translations occupied a central position within the Turkish television repertoire in the TRT era. My previous research has also shown that TRT's initial programming schedules were filled largely with translations due to TRT's shortage of program and for their economic convenience in comparison with the more expensive local programming (Erguvan, 2017: 210-211).

Following Even-Zohar's suggestions, it can be reiterated that the most evident way of import in the case of Turkish television between 1968 and 1990 was to purchase foreign programs in order to fill its broadcast hours. As a result, the first generation of Turkish television viewers were exposed to an unending stream of American and European formats (Öztürkmen, 2018: 3). In line with Even-Zohar's suggestions, it can be noted that Turkish viewers did not get involved in thinking about new options but they went on with their lives by means of the options offered for them as "the overwhelmingly majority of people in any group" do in everyday life (Even-Zohar, 2010: 191). As a result, "the repetition and reiteration of a given repertoire" in the TRT era fostered its consolidation (ibid.) and a willingness to consume those imported programs was "somehow aroused among the members of the targeted group" (Even-Zohar, 2003: 428); that is, the first generation of Turkish viewers. Translated television series introduced by TRT came to be in such huge demand that, as Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver (2015) argues, particular periods in Turkish history were named after "*The Love Boat Era*" and "*Dallas Era*" (nationalgeographic.com.tr).

As I pointed out in my 2017 research, dubbed television series operated as a major contributor of "potential models of life" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 199) and they were conceived as presenting a wide range of "life images", which provided not only conceptions, but also "practical instructions for daily behavior" (ibid.).[68] Therefore, it

[67] Even-Zohar's hypotheses are also applicable to the early stages of other national television industries such as the Lebanese television which has mostly benefited from Egyptian, French and the US dramatic productions since its inception (Kraidy, 2005b: 134).

[68] It was also the case with the Lebanese television in which Mexican, Colombian and Venezuelan serials, dubbed in Arabic, have become popular and gently permeated the popular culture (Kraidy,

can be asserted that dubbed series introduced not only "how to behave in particular cases, but how life should be organized: whether to execute, and in what ways, various options" (ibid.). As such, it can be suggested that, by means of translations, Turkish viewers gained some impressions about romantic relationships, conjugal and sexual relations, eating habits, family planning, working and so on. The effects of translations have most particularly appeared as part of an informal cultural industry that includes popular rhymes, clothing and popular jokes, among others (Erguvan, 2017). Such American stars as Tony Curtis and Roger Moore in those television series seemed like models for the first generation of Turkish viewers (Öztürkmen, 2015: 9; "Turkish TV, a bit of history"). Nursery rhymes telling "A day starts with Charlie, eggs are boiled by Bosley"[69] and "Putting on my bag on my arm/Heading to Dallas on my own/I wait for Boby/Ceyar takes my arm"[70] began to be circulated among Turkish people, which implies the fact that translated television series had an influence on Turkish daily routines and they were even included into children's plays though nursery rhymes (Erguvan, 2017: 213). Such popular characters as Columbo (in an American detective mystery *Columbo*) and Laura (in *Little House on the Prairie*) also provided the first generation of Turkish viewers with new "life images" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 185) through their clothing and style (Erguvan, 2017: 213). Columbo's overcoat and Laura's night robes came into fashion in Turkey and they began to be consumed by Turkish people back then, which suggests the impact of translated series and reveals that Turkish people mimicked snapshots of Western lifestyles at the superficial level of appearances (ibid.). In addition to these, it has also been found out that translations introduced new words and new usages into Turkish language and partially transformed it into "Televisional Turkish" most probably due to translators' incompetence and lack of attention to the use of grammar rules (Erguvan, 2017: 214).[71]

2005b: 130). For instance, one respondent (Marianne) in M. Kraidy's empirical research on media reception of the Lebanese television, told him in the interview that *The Cosby Show* (an American sitcom), broadcast by LBC in Lebonan until the 1990s, helped mitigate her parents' restrictive attitudes towards her (2005b: 132). As Marianne told Kraidy, she once wanted to go out with a young man, but her parents did not seem to allow her (ibid.). Nevertheless, after watching *The Cosby Show* with her family, as she told Kraidy, she said to her parents that she and Denise (one of the Cosby daughters, who was not yet eighteen years old) were in the same situation, and as a result, her parents allowed her to go (ibid.).

[69] [Charlie'yle gün başlar, Bosley yumurta haşlar.]

[70] [Çantamı aldım koluma/Çıktım Dallas yoluna/Ben Boby'i beklerken/Ceyar da girdi koluma.]

[71] Erguvan, citing Serim's 2007 research, gives the following examples from the expressions that sound like literal translation from English: "unut gitsin" (literal Turkish translation of "forget it" in English)

My previous survey on the TRT period has further revealed another perceptible effect of the import of foreign television series, which is the stimulation of various other activities within the Turkish culture repertoire. Even-Zohar suggests that the making of repertoires should not be evaluated solely according to products imported and then (perhaps) transfered (1997: 380). Instead, he underscores that it is essential to evaluate the making of repertoire by problematizing the volume of activity that imports and transfers may have stimulated (ibid.). In line with Even-Zohar's suggestions, imported television series aired throughout the TRT period initiated various related activities and products (Erguvan, 2017: 214-15). Erguvan evidenced that foreign television series which were imported into the Turkish culture repertoire stiggerred the translated popular literature and a new genre –*translated TV series novel*- has been introduced to Turkish literature (ibid.). This genre can be split into two; one constitutes the novels[72] novalized from the television series with the same title and translated from their novalized source texts into Turkish[73] and the other includes translated novels the sources of which are novels providing the inspiration for television series[74] (ibid.).

instead of "önemli değil" (no problem) or "zararı yok" (no matter); "sorun yok" (literal Turkish translation of "no problem" in English) instead of "bir şey değil" (don't mention it) or "önemli değil" (doesn't matter); and "üzgünüm" (literal Turkish translation of "sorry" in English) instead of "özür dilerim" (I'm sorry) (2017: 214).

[72] *Columbo* (1976), *Dallas* (1979), *Mission: Impossible* (1973) and *The Bewitched* (1975). Concerning *Dallas*, there are also other kinds of Turkish literary productions which were produced by inspiration of *Dallas*. One of them is *Dallas'lı Ceyar Destanı*, a comics book written by Gürkay Aylan and drawn by Semih Poroy. This book was introduced into the Turkish culture repertoire as another product of popular literature.

[73] The novalized version of *Dallas* by Lee Raintree was translated by Ali Doruk by *E Publishing Houses* in 1979 and the note telling "a gripping TV series" was placed in the Turkish translation's cover by a publishing house, which was most probably motivated by the publishing house's policy to appeal to *Dallas*'s Turkish viewers (Erguvan, 2017: 216). Another novalized version of *Dallas* by Burt Hirschfeld was translated into Turkish by Gönül Suveren and Gülten Suveren and it met with the readers by *Altın Kitaplar* in 1980 with the note on its cover telling "two episodes that have not yet aired on TV in Turkey" (ibid). In addition to these, novalized by Al Nine, *The Bewitched* was introduced into Turkish by Servet Serdaroğlu in 1975 and its translation was published by *Milliyet Yayınları* whereas *Görevimiz Tehlike: Para Yağmuru* (*Mission:* Impossible) (novalized by Talmage Powell and translated into Turkish by Sevin Kutlu) met with the Turkish readers by means of *Milliyet Yayınları* (ibid.). As it is revealed, *Columbo* (novalized by Alfred Lawrence) was translated into Turkish by Kezban Akcalı and it was published within the serial titled "TV series books" by *Milliyet Yayınları* (ibid.). In this light, I argued in my previous research that the note written "YET TO BE AIRED ON TV" on the front covers of both books and another note written "LET'S READ IT BEFORE ITS TV SERIES HAVE BEEN AIRED" on the back cover of one of them were a strategical choice of *Milliyet Yayınları* that intended to take advantage of interest shown to the translated television series on TRT (ibid.).

[74] For instance, television series such as *Little House on the Prairie* and *Flamingo Road* (adaptations from the novels with the same title) first attracted attention on TRT and then their novel versions were translated into Turkish (Erguvan, 2017: 215). Published by the Turkish publishing house *Altın Kitaplar*,

Emanating from the findings presented and problematized in this part, it has been revealed that, throughout the monopoly of TRT, translated television series were an integral part of the television repertoire. My survey has found out that, even after their integration, translations have functioned as cultural entities organizing the life of Turkish society in different contexts including some daily life-related instructions such as clothing and the use of language on the one hand, and on the other how aggregates of people are supposed to perceive privacy, romantic relationships, and so on. It has also been shown that the making of television repertoire in Turkey stimulated some other activities such as the introduction a new genre of translated TV series novel. Following Even-Zohar's suggestion that all repertoires include various options and alternatives and the introduction of new options has always brought along itself different images and new models of life (Even-Zohar, 2010: 199), this research has suggested that the TRT is highly significant in that it is the first Turkish television network and it makes manifest its idea-making and entrepreneurial responsibility. It has also appeared that the officials working at TRT (such as TRT's general directors as the most conspicious members of the institution) back then functioned as what Even-Zohar called as "the institutional agent" by governing the norms of Turkish television during its inception and acting as if they were keepers of culture. As it has been pointed out, they often gave support to or criticized those that are also involved in the making of the Turkish television repertoire. Those agents, necessarily influenced by the political structures which changed over time, determined the program selection, their duration, and the autonomy of Turkish television. In short, in comparison to the institutional factors, the role of the market in the making and handling of television repertoire largely seemed to remain in the background during the TRT era.

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the novel version of *Little House on the Prairie* which was adapted from a series of American children's novels written by Laura Ingalls Wilder between the years of 1932-1943 was translated into Turkish by Gülten Suveren and published in Turkey in 1976 following its broadcast on TRT (ibid.). As for *Flamingo Road*, which was first published as a novel by Robert Wilder in 1942, met with the Turkish readers by means of Bengi Altıncan's Turkish translation in 1982 after its run on TRT (ibid.). Similarly, *The Love Boat* inspired by Jeraldine Saunders's novel was first aired on TRT and then its original novel was translated by Oya Alper and published by the publishing houses of *İnkilâp* and *Aka* (Erguvan, 2017: 216).

3.1.2. The Stagnation and Decline in the Repertoire of Translated Television Series: the 1990s

The emergence of commercial television networks and their rapid increase identify the second era of Turkish television. One of the notable markers of this phase is the closure of TRT's broadcasting as a state monopoly and the sole option for Turkish viewers. That is, the shift from public service monopoly to commercial network broadcasting has occurred. Having started broadcasting illegally, the first private channel "Star TV" emerged in 1990 ("Star 28 yaşında", 07.05.2018). The neoliberal momentum, which was driven by privatization and progression of the market forces since the 1980s and spiked up in the 1990s, provided a basis for the proliferation of many private channels in the 1990s (see Gencel-Bek, 2010; Çakır and Gülnar, 2007; Kongar, 2013; Kraidy, 2005b). Socio-economical policies mostly stimulated by the implementation of parliamentary democracy in 1983 and the Turgut Özal[75] (Turkish politician) era further converted the media industry into an era of consumer and client focused field (Kaymas, 2011; Tanrıöver, 2012).

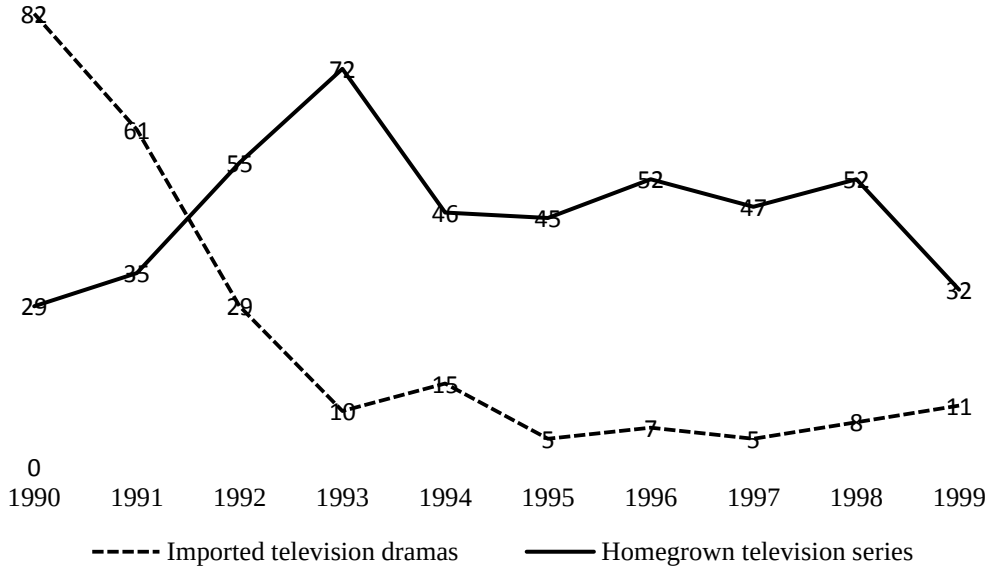
In the era after 1990, Turkish government was seemingly withdrawn from media market and the media began to adjust old policies for new market-oriented landscape and consumer-oriented thinking. Thus, the prominence of the institution as an agent was somewhat replaced by another agent, the market, which is also indispensable player of the television industry, yet responsible for shorter-term decisions as compared with the institution. This structural transformation also made evident the supremacy of commercial interests in the Turkish television landscape. Starting with the 1990s, the policies of the production and scheduling of television series have mostly endeavored to appeal to the viewers' taste and preference (which has been measured since 1989[76]), advertising agencies and companies (Ökten, 2012; Tanrıöver, 2012). In short, the developments briefly stated above during the neo-liberalization era resulted in the consumer-focused tendencies of the media industry triggered by its adoption of profit maximizing strategy (Kaya and Çakmur, 2011: 528) and viewers have grown in importance in terms of their role in guiding and determining

[75] He was the prime minister of Turkey from 1983 to 1989 and the president from 1989 to 1993.
[76] For detailed information about the first measurement of TV viewers in Turkey, see *Radyo ve Televizyon Yayıncılığı Sektör Raporu* (2014).

the Turkish television repertoire. It was in line with the global deregulation of media and its sparking the withdrawal of the state as a key agent of broadcasting (Kraidy, 2005b: 98).

It is of paramount importance in this second phase of Turkish television that, in the view of the development of homegrown television series, the prominent role translation has played in the making of the repertoire of Turkish television series seems to have stagnated and almost disappeared. Since the 1992-1993 television season, Turkish networks somewhat established their production capacities and began to broadcast a greater number of local television series alongside the imported ones (Çelenk, 2005: 300). During the early years of private broadcasting, the scheduling of the dubbed television series such as *Yalan Rüzgârı* (*The Young and the Restless*), *Marimar* and *Fırtınalı Günler* (*Days of Our Lives*) was shifted into daytime, which allures conspiciously less viewers than those during the primetime. In the late 1990s, these series had very negligible ratings and ranked at the bottom of ratings lists (Çelenk, 2005: 322). Their first broadcasts and reruns showed up either on daytime or at midnight (Çelenk, 2005: 302, 321). The comparative look at the number of indigenous and imported television series broadcasted on Turkish state-sponsored and private networks in the first decade (1990-1999) of the commercial television broadcasting makes evident the striking decrease of imported television series in number, which indicates the loss of their central position in the repertoire of Turkish television series. Yücel's findings demostrate that the proportion of domestic and imported television series turned upside down in this era (2014: 233-34). The figures indicate that, in comparison to the TRT era in which the amount of imported series doubled the local Turkish series and reached 465, the number of imported ones somewhat fell by half (which amounts to 233) in this period. The following chart shows the distribution of translated and domestic television series in the 1990s:

Figure 4: The Comparison of the Number of Imported and Homegrown TV Series in the First Decade of the 1990s



Source: Prepared by the author of this research by means of the data obtained from Yücel's 2014 research. Explicit permission has been obtained from the author of the dataset for this present research. (see Appendix 2)

Following the perceptible decline in the number of imported television series and the increase of domestic series, Turkish television was located in a peripheral position in which translations, though still had cultural significance, did not anymore assume a central position and thereby had significantly less effect on the making of the Turkish television series repertoire. Since then, Turkish television was able to rest more heavily on homegrown television series. Succintly, the major role translation has played in the making of the repertoire of Turkish television series has begun to diminish since the resources of Turkish television were not limited anymore.[77]

Though imported television series did not occupy a central position within the repertoire particularly since the mid 1990s, it has appeared that their presence in the Turkish television repertoire and their strong effect on Turkish viewers' local television tastes and modes of television watching for three decades has led the genre

[77] The case of Italian television demonstrates a different tendency where the advent of commercial networks triggered heavy imports of US television series. From that time on, as Milly Buonanno (2009) remarks, Italy turned into, and stayed for a long while, "the main European importer of foreign (mainly US and Brazilian) television drama" (258). It is also made clear in Buonanno's research that, during the initial years of private channels, the North American daily soaps and prime-time serials, Latin American telenovelas as well as various US series pervaded the Italian television (ibid.).

of television series to become an integral part of the Turkish television system (Öztürkmen, 2018: 2). Even-Zohar interprets this state of "integrated importation in a home repertoire [as] transfer" (Even-Zohar, 2003: 428). These transferred goods paved the way to for locally produced television series which have boomed in relatively short span of time particularly towards the mid-1990s. It can be suggested that, as far as a successful transfer has taken place, in the Turkish television case, "it is not only the goods themselves which become domesticated, but rather the need for those goods" (ibid.) as from the mid-1990s onwards. Apparently, imported television series have accomplished to make their semiotic model indispensable parts of the Turkish television repertoire and, accordingly, a need for producing television series has become necessity.

All in all, the first phase of Turkish television, in which the selection of programs were largely decided by TRT as an institutional agent, authorized by, and being part of the state, terminated. Market conditions have gradually replaced the authority of institution and the role the institution played in producting and consuming television content was not as explicit as it was in the TRT era. The emergence of commercial television networks moderately balanced out the previous configuration of the mediascape in which the Turkish television used to serve governmental interests. This, in turn, resulted in partial depolitization of the Turkish broadcasting industry as in the case of Bulgarian television in which the establishment of private national channels "was seen as the most practical, market-driven solution to restore [political neutrality] in the broadcasting market (Cosentino, Doyle and Todorova, 2009: 213). It is also paramount to underscore that, since the mid-1990s, Turkish viewers have tended to prefer the stories that are compatible with their public sentiments and exceptations; and they have preferred watching the characters "who look the same […], behave the same […] and [have] the same beliefs (and worldview) as themselves" (Moran, 2009b: 42). Thus, private broadcast networks of that time have slowly abondoned to buy foreign productions though they were cheaper than homegrown productions. It was during this period that most of the foreign shows have removed their priveleged positions in prime-time slots and domestic fiction has begun to capture wider audiences.

3.1.3. The Emergence and Profileration of Television Remakes as Alternative Options: the 2000s

The third phase of Turkish television, starting from the early 2000s, is defined by a conspicious spread of locally-produced television series in the prime time slots of mainstream television networks (Devran, Göksun and İhtiyar, 2018: 43-44). The percentage of homegrown television series production (which amounts to 904) in the first decade of the 2000s quadrupled the production of the domestic television series in the TRT era which lasted two decades (Yücel, 2014: 234). Particularly from the mid-2000s onwards,[78] indigenous Turkish television series have captured worldwide attention, and the amount of Turkish television series exported to other countries amounted to 200 between 2011 and 2016 (Şentürk, 2018: 25). From the early 2000s onwards, Turkish television has begun to export greater amount of television series and it has also diversified the countries of exportation (Okyayuz, 2017b).

Expanding its international sales and global viewership, as Fatima Bhutto asserts, the Turkish television industry comes in second only to the US in the international television distribution thanks to its domestic television series (*Guardian*, 13.09.2019; see also Dickens 2014). The data acquired from the Professional Union of Broadcasting Organization (RATEM) also revealed the fact that Turkey has escalated to the second highest ranking of television series production across the world following the US (Special Edition Mipcom 2015: 18).[79] The export of the crime series *Deli Yürek* [*Crazy Heart*] to Kazakhstan initiated this interest in domestic series. Then it grew in strength with the other exported series *Kurtlar Vadisi* [*Valley of Wolves*], which was also imported by Kazakhstan, and *Gümüş* [*Nour*], which appeared on Dubai-based media group, MBC (Öztürk and Atik, 2016: 74; Göksun, 2018: 67). Izzet Pinto, the founder of the Istanbul-based Global Agency (which publicizes itself as the world's

[78] The export value of Turkish television series catched the attention of the Turkish government almost a decade ago. In 2010, the Council of Exporters asked for Turkish producers to participate in the high-ranking diplomatic visits in which various trade and industry representatives escorted the prime minister in the trips abroad to publicize Turkish exports (Kara, 2010: *Hürriyet*). Moreover, in the 2011-2013 Social Development Plan, the Turkish government paid particular attention to television series industry and decided to pour money into the series that largely highlight family values.

[79] Over the past several years, however, the international expansion of Turkish television has been notably curtailed (*Guardian*, 13.09.2019). This was because MBC, the biggest broadcaster in the Middle East and North Africa, decided remove all Turkish series from several television outlets in the region (ibid). Nevertheless, as Pinto claims, the penetration into Latin America and the move towards western Europe –Italy and Spain in particular – can offset the losses (ibid.).

primary independent television content distributor) asserts that the international success of Turkish television series in fact began with *Binbir Gece* [1001 Nights] in 2006 (*Guardian*, 13.09.2019). By any means, these changing circumstances transformed Turkish television, which was an importer back then, into one of the largest exporters of content (Chalaby, 2016; Devran, Orujova and Saltık, 2018: 146) and Turkish production companies have remarkably increased their visibility in global markets. Öztürkmen highlights that, "[t]he enthusiasm first began in the Middle East, moving west later towards the Balkans and the eastern European countries" and it has been advancing towards the Latin American market and Asian territories such as China and Korea nowadays (2018: 8).[80] Locally-produced television series' upward momentum in export performance has been one of the most striking transformations in the Turkish television industry in the advent of the 21st century.

Today, Turkey hosts one of the most dynamic television market across the world and it produces the majority of television series from original scripts. Despite the noticeable domination of locally-produced Turkish television series, it has been revealed that, imported television series have maintained their broadcasting and attracted Turkish viewers' attention, though considerably less in opposition to the previous two periods. The majority of Turkish mainstream networks apperantly discontinued to provide the "finished" programs (subtitled and dubbed forms) in the 2000s. Since then, finished made-for television programs have scarcely showed up on mainstream networks, yet they have gone to air on encrypted networks or on those open access channels which partially or completely rest on thematic broadcasting. Another group of television channels broadcasting finished television series in Turkey includes digital satellite television providers such as Digiturk and D-Smart. In this regard, it deems significant to underline that those television platforms do not take place among the top-rated television channels. Instead, such finished television series as *Friends*, *Ally McBeal*, *24*, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Dr. Who*, *Third Rock*, *Supernatural*, *The Walking Dead* and *Criminal Minds* only attract a small group of viewers in Turkey (Tanrıöver, 2012: 61). In other words, they have a specific viewer profile which is presumed to be well educated since those finished products often have a complicated

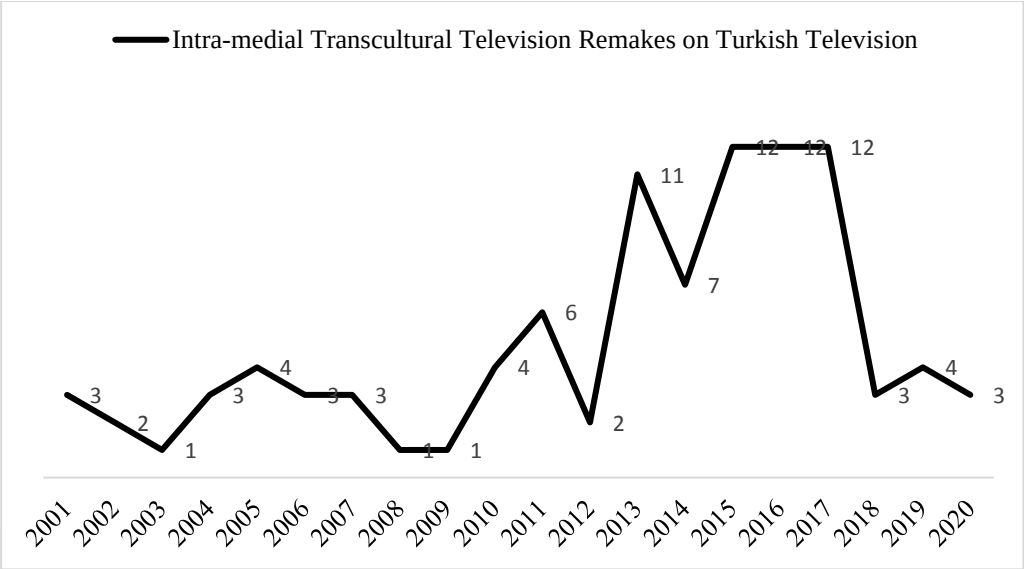
[80] Şenay Filiztekin Turan, the head of drama acquisitions, highlights that, following Central Asia, the Middle East and Balkans, the Turkish content gained popularity in Latin American countries as well (personal interview with Öztürk and Atik, 2016: 75).

narrative structure and various foreign-culture references (ibid.). This group of people often include modern and young viewers who live in urban areas and adopt Western lifestyle (ibid.).

In this light, one thinks that translations have seemingly played a less formative role for the Turkish television repertoire in the beginning of the 21th century and thus they have undertaken a peripheral position, having no significant influence on the repertoire of Turkish television series (Even-Zohar, 1990: 49). Nevertheless, the 2000s has become the harbinger of another form of a program provision which can be labelled as the program format franchising phenomenon;[81] i.e. television series remake. Remaking as a kind of translation has come out and turned into a tradition in the Turkish television industry from that time on. Turkish television has then become to remake a given foreign television series "in some specific way or set of ways to be capable of being broadcast in a particular regional or national market" (Moran, 2009a: 11). As the figures in the corpus of television series remakes prepared by myself for this doctoral research demonstrate, there has appeared ninety-nine (acknowledged and unacknowledged) Turkish television remakes from the 2000s onwards. Below is the graph showing the distribution of television remakes by year in Turkey between 2001-2020.

[81] It is "a combined form of acquisition (licensing) and production of entertainment formats" where an importing licensee purchases formats from an exporting licensor in order to remake an already existing program in another territory (Lantzsch, Altmeppen and Will, 2009: 79).

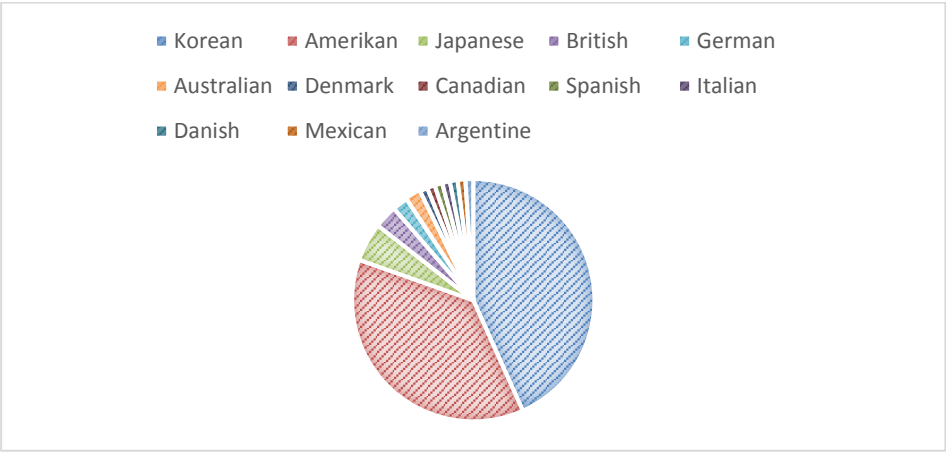
Figure 5: Distribution of the Intra-medial Transcultural Television Remakes on Turkish Television by Year



Source: Prepared by the author

My corpus has also revealed that the amount of remakes has significantly risen as of 2013, which overlaps the upward momentum in the remakes from South Korean dramas in Turkey. While almost 90% of all sources from which Turkish remakes have sprung belongs to the US and South Korea, the other source cultures which form the rest 14 % are made up of Japan, Australia, Britian, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Argentine, Mexico and Canada.

Figure 6: Source Cultures of Intra-medial Transcultural Television Remakes in Turkey



Source: Prepared by the author

As the list indicates, *Dadı* [*The Nanny*] and *Tatlı Hayat* [*The Jeffersons*], which were on air in 2001, were the forerunners of the television series remakes in the Turkish television history. Turkish producer and director Fatih Aksoy also confirmed this finding by noting that *The Nanny*'s Turkish remake was the first Turkish remake and it accelerated the remaking tradition from American television dramas worldwide (*Episode*, Ezgi Özcan's interview with Fatih Aksoy, 2019).

The repertoire of Turkish television series is not in its inception stage right now, rather it has gained notable strength by means of large-scale and multiform products thanks to the imported and homegrown products that pervaded Turkish television for over thirty years. Having mostly proven successful in other countries, television series remakes, as the new form of translation, have recently been contributed to the repertoire. The current phenomenon of television series remake has also been confirmed by all the interviewees I consult, including several screenwriters (Makbule Kosif, Hatice Meryem and Yiğit Değer Bengi) actively writing scripts for remakes, an anonymous television content producer with a nickname "ranini", a director Müge Uğurlar and a reporter Birsen Altuntaş.

This cycle of remakes in the Turkish television market can be explicated through Even-Zohar's hypothesis which suggests that "even when a culture is working with a large and multiform repertoire, a deadlock may occur by blockage of all alternative options" and available repertoires may be exploited in such situations (1997: 22). This hypothesis on the emerging need of cultures (mostly with established repertoires) to new options applies to the case of the Turkish television industry in the 2000s, since it has become unable to achieve self-sufficiency (Şentürk, 2018: 20-21-22-28). Therefore, Turkish remakes of foreign television series have been presented as options to the Turkish television series repertoire in order to cope with this desperation for new content and to generate new outputs.

As Yücel suggested, in this new television landscape in Turkey, the production of indigenous Turkish television series has already been interfered with by foreign television series and, inspired by their foreign counterparts, Turkish television series have developed new and alternative scripts and they have taken novel themes as the base (2011: 86). As an illustration, Yücel takes one of the earliest instances of Turkish detective (action) television series *Yılan Hikayesi* (which was highly popular in the

early 2000s) and he defines it as an American-Turkish hybrid detective story (ibid.). His definition calls attention to the fact that *Yılan Hikayesi* as a Turkish local production was not an intact Turkish show yet it was blended with foreign television forms as a result of intercultural interactions (ibid.). This research suggests that the acquisition and production of television remakes from foreign sources in Turkey since the early 2000s fits the last phase of intercultural exchange put forward by Sela-Sheffy where similar goods are produced by the producers of target culture in consideration of target-culture constraints (forthcoming). Considering that "cross-cultural encounters have been a regular feature of world since the earliest days of the human species' experience" (Bentley, 1993: vii) and interference occurs "in the environment of contacts, […] where transfer has taken place" (Even-Zohar, 2001: 52), Sela-Sheffy puts forward three procedures of intercultural exchange, at the last stage of which interference is likely to occur. Turkish remakes of foreign television series have firstly been obtained from their source cultures, are then locally produced within the constraints of Turkish sociocultural context by a vast array of agents; and I argue that this shows "a clear case of interference" (Even-Zohar, 2001: 53), as will be discussed in detail in the next part.

3.2. THE CORPUS OF TURKISH TELEVISION REMAKES (2001-2020)

The volume of transnational media flows which include finished programmes, remakes and Streaming Video on Demand providers (such as Netflix and Microsoft's Xbox) has risen steeply since the late 1990s and the early 2000s (Chalaby, 2015: 468). During that time, mainstream Turkish television stations imported a limited amount of finished television series from abroad and they have supplemented their schedules largely with locally produced television series. Since the 2000s, domestic television series production has begun to be produced in higher quality, exported in higher numbers and they have earned critical praise in many regions abroad. As such, it appears that Turkish television series industry has consolidated prominently. As a result of this, the foreign fictions, which have earlier been aired on Turkish broadcast networks in their dubbed and sometimes subtitled versions, have then been aired largely by the pay television networks such as Cnbc-e, e2, ComedySmart,

ComedyMax, DiziMax, MyMax and ShowPlus. While the popularity of imported television series was waning back, the very beginning of the 2000s welcomed another form of broadcasting foreign television series through translation and Turkish television remakes have become one of the pillars of television program production in Turkey.

Turkish television remakes have become significant additional means of providing new options to the Turkish television repertoire. In simpler terms, they entail the purchase or unauthorized use of the scripts of foreign television series by the Turkish producers, who use their own cast, directors, and setting. They also involve certain adjustments regarding issues of culture, customs, history, religion, ethnicity, geography and language. In other words, they have the capacity to achieve cultural fit in many different television markets. As the previous part of this research has pointed out, this sweepingly rising trend was also confirmed by the interviewees I contacted. In response to the question: "Do you think the production and broadcast of Turkish remakes from foreign television series has become a tradition?", a television reporter Altuntaş who responded my questions via e-mail answered "Unfortunately, yes" (e-mail correspondence with Birsen Altuntaş; April 19, 2019; see Appendix 5). Then, she added that maybe the most crucial think to consider in today's Turkish television industry is the scarcity of scriptwriters coming up with creative and original ideas (ibid.). According to Altuntaş, Turkish producers often avoid risk and aspire their productions to be guaranteed commercially. For this reason, as she says, they are involved in such practices as an adaptation and the remaking of an old movie and/or television series. As Altuntaş further indicates, Turkish producers sometimes plagirise ideas from various sources as well since intellectual property rights, which are requisite to remake a foreign program for a given territory from a legal perspective, are not well comprehended in Turkey (ibid.). As for Meryem (scriptwriter), she also replied the same question "Yes, it is possible to argue that there has emerged such a tradition in the Turkish television industry" (Interview with Hatice Meryem; January 31, 2019; see Appendix 4). She also added that the practice of remaking, despite having undeservedly bad reputation, is a noteworthy cultural practice.

Though the scriptwriter Kosif's comments are also in the same line, she provides more nuanced understanding about the remaking trend in Turkey.

Considering this trend a sort of obligation rather than a tradition, driven by the trouble in creating authentic and indigenous television content (due to the expanded broadcast hours), Kosif further pointed out that the phenomenon of television remake is not only widespread in Turkey yet worldwide (Interview with Makbule Kosif; April 22, 2019; see Appendix 6). She added that Turkish television has got stuck in developing original stories for its television series and it has reached a sort of deadlock. Kosif explained the reasons in the following words:

> *After some time, you have become unable to produce your own stories. There emanates nothing else in these territories. It holds true for both cinema and TV industries. It also applies to a variety of geographical locations namely the US, the UK and Spain. I think remaking is a sort of cycle, not a tradition. When you run out of your local stories, you immediately look for what is going on in other geographic and cultural locations. Then you opt for remaking* (ibid.).

Offering a similar yet distinctive perspective for the same discussion, a scriptwriter Bengi pointed out in the interview I made on April 23, 2019 that remaking has not become prevalent just for economic reasons and/or the lack of creativity (see Appendix 7). He confirmed its being a popular and alternative form of providing new options to the Turkish series industry though. Bengi put special emphasis on the growing global appeal of remake and explained his consideration of remake as a mundane and even a desired cultural practice (ibid.). Bengi's consideration is somewhat in the same line with a renowned industrial motto which views the practice of remake only as borrowing ideas and suggests that "a good idea can come from anywhere" (Chalaby, 2015: 471). Moran's suggestion that "programme remaking was and is a fact of television's institutional and on-going need for content" (2015: 691) instead of being a result of creative philistinism also evidences Bengi's statements.

Furthermore, in the same line with many research on television remakes (Lantzsch, Altmeppen and Will, 2009; Mikos, 2015; Turnbull, 2015), Bengi notes that the agents of Turkish drama industry view remakes as a safe zone since the source materials of Turkish remakes provide a particular storyline which had already proved their success and had high viewership in their originating industry (see Appendix 7). That is, the fact that source shows are market-tested and proven abroad is a significant motivation behind remaking in the Turkish television industry. In short, as Şentürk suggests, the assumption that high popularity in one market indicates success in another applies to the Turkish case as well (2018: 19-28). Besides the consideration of

remakes as a way of risk reduction, it is also obvious that remakes often provide additional sources of income by means of their sale to other countries (that is, merchandising). It suggests that economic considerations are often the prime driver of remake. The other motivation behind remakes can be clarified through Joseph D. Straubhaar's principle of "cultural proximity" (2007) which suggests that viewers prefer cultural products which are close in cultural content and style to their own cultures. According to Straubhaar, "most audiences seem to prefer television programs that are as close to them as possible in language, ethnic appearance, dress, style, humor, historical reference, and shared topical knowledge" (2007: 26). As such, his concept may account for the global propensity for remaking.

When asked for listing the reasons for television remakes in the Turkish television industry, Meryem underscores that Turkish television series often come to a point in which no further progress is able to be made in their storylines following eight to nine episodes (see Appendix 4). According to Meryem, it is less related to Turkish scripwriters's inability to come up with original ideas and/or their lack of creativity, but more due to the the specific characteristics of Turkish television series, most specifically the average episode length which is approximately between 120 and 150 minutes and the amount of episodes per one television season (ibid.). She adds that the practice of remaking helps Turkish producers keep available a pile of stories and produce a remake by having recourse to the stories on hand often partially. According to Meryem, Turkish producers' aspiration to manage financial risks and reduce uncertainty is reasonable since, considering that even the cheapest television series costs much money, it is plausible for them to guarantee success and avoid the burden of a huge financial failure shared by television stations and advertisers (ibid.). Thus, keeping available the scripts of foreign television series that were already many episodes long can be interpreted as a motivation behind remaking on the one hand, and on the other it is a sort of risk aversion tool for Turkish producers.

Final remarks about the motivations for television remake come from Altuntaş, who pointed out in the interview that the phenomenon of remake is appropriate for the fast consumer television series industry of today since remakes are practically ready-made and they often minimize risk and secure profits (see Appendix 5). Altuntaş interprets the tendency towards television series remake as Turkish producers' choice

of taking the easy way out, noting that choosing a shortcut turned into a motto for producers since television series production is all about money, profit and gain (ibid.). The economic aspect of remaking is also highlighted by Michael Harvey who suggests that the role of economy in remake productions is indisputable (2002: 73). Meanwhile, Altuntaş also argues that being stalled at a creative impasse does not only concern the Turkish television series industry. "This impasse matters globally" she adds (see Appendix 5). The fact that other national television systems increasingly resort to this practice whose growth, as Cosentino, Doyle and Todorova underscored, is obvious worldwide (2009: 205) proves her argument.

3.2.1. Turkish Television Remakes and Their Source Texts

This part of the research provides an overall critical description of the source products (some of which are alleged) and their Turkish remakes. The figures obtained from my corpus of intra-medial transcultural television remakes in Turkey have disclosed that Turkish broadcast networks have aired ninety-nine remakes. As my corpus demonstrates, *Dadı* and *Tatlı Hayat*, which were acknowledged remakes of *The Nanny* and *The Jeffersons* respectively and first aired in 2001, are among the first remakes introduced to the Turkish television repertoire. The two remakes initiated the trend of television series remake in Turkey and several researchers on Turkish television (Çelenk, 2005; Tanrıöver, 2012[82]) and television coloumnists such as Yüksel Aytuğ[83] reiterated this. As it has been pointed out in 3.1.3, Turkish producer and director Aksoy also acknowledged that *The Nanny* is the first Turkish remake and it pioneered the remaking tradition from US products worldwide (*Episode*, Ezgi Özcan's interview with Fatih Aksoy, 2019). When the corpus of television remakes was examined, it appears that, alongside the remakes of *The Nanny* and *The Jeffersons*, that year, Yağmur Ajans produced an unauthorized Turkish remake of *Charlie's Angels* by the title of *Cinlerle Periler*. [84]

[82] See Tanrıöver's report entitled "Television Broadcasting in Turkey" which was conducted in cooperation with and within the body of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ICOC).
[83] See "Başarının sırrı oyuncu seçiminde", *Sabah*, 11.02.2004.
[84] For the comments which suggested to have spotted some parallels between *Charlie's Angels* and *Cinlerle Periler*, see https://eksisozluk.com/cinler-ve-periler--104257 and http://sinematurk.com/film/2958-cinlerle-periler/

Almost half of the remakes (which amount to 39) in my corpus (see Appendix 1) constitutes the productions based on ideas taken from other national television industries without entering into any licensed agreement to acquire production experience and knowhow, which would be considered format theft. These cases of unacknowledged imitations of foreign television series were *ad hoc* and habitual in the Turkish television industry. Still, it occurs, yet much more rarely. Though there has been a purpose across the television industry to link these televisual products to that domain of law collectively known as an intellectual property, there is still a legal gap about a copyright conception particularly in Turkey, which enables producers not to make any payment to the copyright holders, yet to copy and borrow ideas without format transfer. In this regard, it is necessary to note that I have spotted and then retrieved these unacknowledged remakes primarily by means of the observations made by television critics, bloggers and viewers who build virtual communities on the internet. While they may only constitute a small segment of the audience, it can be suggested that they play a significant role in discovering unacknowledged remakes even in cases where the similarities between the alleged source and the remake are of the most flimsy kind.[85]

The repertoire of television series remake has extended through the remakes of *Dharma Grey* [*Kerem ile Aslı*], *The White Shadow* [*Koçum Benim*] in 2002 and with *Who's the Boss?* [*Patron Kim?*] in 2003. These remakes were followed by the Turkish remakes of *Married with Children* [*Evli ve Çocuklu*], *Sex and the City* [*Metro Palas*] and *Yes Minister* [*Sayın Bakanım*], which went to air in 2004. In 2005, Turkish television produced the Turkish remakes of *Hope and Faith*, *Three's Company*, *Rich Man, PoorMan* and *Ugly Betty.*[86] Given the first set of Turkish television remakes in the early 2000s, it turns out that the Turkish television industry has largely drawn on the sitcom remakes namely, among others, *The Nanny*, *The Jeffersons*, *Who is the Boss?* and *Yes Minister* even though remakes of such specific genres as sitcom and comedy rarely appear in other countries (Mikos, 2015: 698). Lothar Mikos explains

[85] It is at this point significant to add that I have spotted another Turkish remake *Sır Dosyası* (1999) which was speculated to rest on the American television series *X-Files*. It was not included into my corpus since there are only few entries about its so-called remake status on the internet and the parallels between the two shows are extremely tenuous.

[86] They were broadcast with the Turkish titles of *Belalı Baldız*, *Çat Kapı*, *Gerçekler ve Düşler* and *Sensiz Olmuyor* respectively.

the difficulty of translating humour which is profoundly engrained in particular national cultures and illustrates it with several examples:

> *[…] viewers who lack the original cultural context have difficulty in understanding another country's humour. Most British sitcoms for example have been adapted for American television in order to replace characteristically British details with more familiar characters, settings and cultural references (Ducray, 2012 in Mikos, 2015: 698). In Germany, sitcoms and comedy formats from Britain and North America are often dubbed. A certain cultural adaptation is performed in dubbing the shows […] As early as the 1960s and 1970s, British formats such as Monty Python's Flying Circus […] were very popular. In the 1990s, Mr. Bean was highly successful on German television. These shows were understandable to German viewers because their humour was largely nonverbal, driven by slapstick elements and the representation of absurd situations. Shows with a narrative structure, however, are not generally imported and dubbed […].* (ibid.)

In 2006, there appeared two unacknowledged and two acknowledged remakes on mainstream Turkish broadcast stations: *Acemi Cadı* [*Sabrina*], *Fırtınalı Aşk* [*Storm of Love*], *Doktorlar* [*Grey's Anatomy*] (licensed) and *Arka Sokaklar* [*CSI*]. Among these, particularly the latter two remakes succeeded very well in ratings. Turkish *Grey's Anotomy* was broadcast over four seasons and it lasted 97 episodes whereas so-called Turkish *CSI* has reached more than 450 episodes and it is still on air on Kanal D today. The latter show did not make any payment to the copyright holders and largely moved away from the source material, which is perhaps the key of its remarkable success. In other words, its success may reside in its ability to tailor the source in consideration of national and socio-political particularities that appeal to a Turkish audience. In fact, the US-based Turkish television remakes, as Ayşegül Kesirli Unur suggests, often take as the base "only the distinctive features of the source television series such as the characters, their personal conflicts and the major events" (2015: 142). Though it is easy to spot the resemblances between Turkish television remakes and their alleged sources in the beginning, after a certain amount of time, they begin to move away from the original scripts since they develop their own plotlines based on the limited material that they took (ibid.). Thus, it can be suggested that it would be better for a television remake to drastically differ from its source and turn into a separate entity if it has any chance of success. It is also possible to assert that television series remakes, unlike reality shows and game shows, have often more freedom to deviate from their source since they are financially risky ventures due to

their high production values, which entail more planning and more investment than nonfiction programs.

The 2007-2008 television season witnessed the second German television series that was remade into the Turkish context: *Parmaklıklar Ardında* [*Hinter Gittern – Der Frauenknast*]. In the same year, the Turkish remakes of two American shows, namely *Kavak Yelleri* [*Dawson's Creek*] and *Hakkını Helal Et* [*My Name is Earl*], were put to air. The year of 2008 led the way for the first Turkish remake *Bir Kadın Bir Erkek* based on the French and Canada coproduction *Un Gars, Une Fille*. The following year, another remake, *Altın Kızlar* (based on the American production, *Golden Girls*), was produced and screened on ATV, but without a great deal of success. *Mükemmel Çift*, *Cuma'ya Kalsa*, *Kanıt* and *Küçük Sırlar*, which did not follow the original storylines of their origins very closely, were put to air in 2010. They were all based on the US originals.[87] Among the four Turkish remakes, *Küçük Sırlar* was the only one which was profitable for its channel Kanal D in terms of rating.

Out of six remakes broadcast on Turkish television in 2011, *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* based on *Desperate Housewives* was the only acknowledged show. It was produced by the leading Turkish remake production company Medyapim and screened on Kanal D and Fox TV with great success. *Kuzey Güney*, which was based on the US series *Rich Man, Poor Man*, was another successful Turkish remake casting one of the most popular Turkish actors, Kıvanç Tatlıtuğ, and it run two seasons amounting to 80 episodes in total. The other remakes that filled the primetime slots in 2011 but failed to attract enough attention to sustain its broadcast were *Artı 18* (which was unacknowledged and highly loose remake of *Friends*), *Karakol* (the US original of which appeared with the title of *The Shield*) and *Yamak Ahmet* (the Korean original of which is *Dae Jang Geum*). Besides these, the other Korean-origin Turkish remake *Beni Affet* [*Temptation of an Angel*], as the first daytime remake on Turkish television, turned out to be successful (with total 1402 episodes) in 2011. *Muck* [*Glee*] and *Emir'in Yolu* [*The Man from Nowhere*] were both unacknowledged remakes which had poor ratings and thereby discontinued their broadcast after few episodes.

The rise of the Turkish television remakes from S. Korean dramas as of the 2010s picked up momentum in 2013, when almost half of all remakes (45 %) were

[87] *The Succesfull Mr. and Mrs. Pells*, *According to Jim*, *CSI* and *Gossip Girl* respectively.

derived from the S. Korean sources. Among these remakes[88], *Güneşi Beklerken* [*Boys over Flowers*] was the one which captured large audiences and high ratings. It ended in its 54th episode. In the same year, four US television series including *Revenge* [*İntikam*], *Monk* [*Galip Derviş*], *The O.C.* [*Medcezir*] and *The Sopranos* [*Altındağlı*] were remade for Turkish viewers. *The O.C.*'s Turkish remake got the highest ratings not merely of its day of broadcasting but during the two seasons it was on screen. Its casting, the outfits its leading female characters wore, the real locations in which characters spend time, and the lifestyle presented in it received spectacular interest and they were all followed by people who are active users of social media. This show is still being watched through the websites such as YouTube, which makes itself evident in having the highest number of subscribers (which amounts to over a million) among the Youtube channels on television series in Turkey. The other two remakes[89] of the same television season achieved mediocre (perhaps less than mediocre) success.

The remake of crime and mystery drama *Forbydelsen* [*Cinayet*] was the first Denmark-origin television series remake in Turkey. Though its cast featured some leading stars of Turkey (such as Engin Altan Düzyatan and Nurgül Yeşilçay), *Cinayet*, which was projected to go to air on Tuesdays at 20.00 in 2014, was first transfered into the Sunday night at 23.15 and then it was discarded from Kanal D's broadcasting schedule in its fifth episode. In that television season, the other country that was first penetrated into the Turkish remake market was Italy. Though *L'Onore e il Rispetto*'s remake *Şeref Meselesi* was customized in such a way as to seem local or indigenous in origin by romantizing its source and turned out to be successful for quite some time, then its ratings remained below the average and it left Turkish television in its 26th episode. Turkish *Leverage* [*Ulan İstanbul*] was the sole remake from the US in 2014. Even though it often ranked among the top 5 in the ratings, then it failed to keep its high ratings and was canceled after 39 episodes, which was anyway a good performance for the Turkish television series repertoire. In 2014, the most successful Turkish television remakes were mostly of S. Korean origins. For instance, *Paramparça* [*Autumn Tale*] consisted of a total of 97 episodes and it succeeded to get high ratings across numerous programs in the ratings list. The others were *Kocamın*

[88] *Osmanlı Tokadı* [*Rooftop Prince*], *Hıyanet Sarmalı* [*Giant*], *Bir Aşk Hikayesi* [*I'm Sorry, I Love You*], *Aşk, Ekmek, Hayaller* [*Bread, Love and Dreams*] and *Güneşi Beklerken* [*Boys over Flowers*].
[89] *Görüş Günü Kadınları* [*Prisoners' Wives*] and *Sana Bir Sır Vereceğim* [*Los Protegidos*].

Ailesi [*My Husband Got a Family*] and *Kiraz Mevsimi* [*A Gentleman's Dignity*]. The two remakes remained on the air 57 episodes and 59 episodes respectively. In that year, among the four remakes based on S. Korean originals, *Günahkar* [*Nice Guy*] was the only remake which failed to attract Turkish viewers' attention and ended in its seventh episode. The higher market share of the Turkish television remakes from the S. Korean dramas in 2014 (which rose to 57 %) was an indicator of the changing ecology of the Turkish remake repertoire.

Turkish television remakes based on S. Korean dramas took off so dramatically in 2015, which corresponded to approximately 20 % increase in the share of S. Korean products as the sources for Turkish remakes. In that year, 75 % of the all Turkish television remakes filling the prime-time slots was based on S. Korean dramas.[90] Among them, *İlişki Durumu Karışık*, *Baba Candır* and *Kiralık Aşk* turned out to be the highest-rated television remakes of the season whereas the others achieved an average (and below the average) ratings and audience share. *Çilek Kokusu*, which was planned to be aired on Star TV during the summer with its first episode broadcast on June 24, 2015, mostly remained at the top of the official ratings list in Turkey. Together with the domination of new television shows of the fall 2015-16, ratings for *Çilek Kokusu* dropped suddenly and it became to be rated among the top 30 in its last seven episodes. Alongside the remakes with the S. Korean sources, this year welcomed four Turkish remakes based on the US products: *Acil Servis* [*ER*], *Baby Daddy* [*Bana Baba Dedi*], *Pretty Little Liars* [*Küçük Tatlı Yalancılar*] and *Jane the Virgin* [*Hayat Mucizelere Gebe*]. These four products were not able to attract Turkish viewers' attention enough to maintain its broadcasting. While *Bana Baba Dedi* and *Hayat Mucizelere Gebe* were canceled at their seventh episodes, *Tatlı Küçük Yalancılar* lasted only thirteen episodes.

Throughout the year of 2016, the share of the Turkish remakes with S. Korean originals continued to go up and reached over 80 % of all remakes aired on that year. *Hayat Şarkısı* [*Flames of Desire*], *No: 309* [*Fated to Love You*], *Seviyor Sevmiyor* [*She was Pretty*], *Yüksek Sosyete* [*High Society*], *Tatlı İntikam* [*Get Karl Oh Soo Joong*]

[90] *İlişki Durumu Karışık* (*Full House*), *Mayıs Kraliçesi* (*May Queen*), *Eve Dönüş* (*Birth of Beauty*), *Beyaz Yalan* (*Bride of the Century*), *Baba Candır* (*What Happens to my Family*), *Kiralık Aşk* (*Can Love Become Money*), *Çilek Kokusu* (*The Heirs*), *Acı Aşk* (*Cruel Love*) and *Maral: En Güzel Hikayem* (*Panda and Hedgehog*)

and *Gülümse Yeter* [*Smile Honey*] were among the S. Korean-based remakes which recorded some of the highest television ratings that year whereas several others[91] failed to get high ratings. *46 Yok Olan*, which was subjected to some remarks ascribing the status of remake to it and speculated to draw on the US series *Breaking Bad*, failed to score high ratings which came in well below the average rating of that year. In 2016, the first Japanese-based Turkish remake, *Anne* [*The Mother*] turned into a big hit and it appeared among the few television series which broke ratings record for Star TV. It gave its broadcasting channel one of its biggest audience at that season and, before long, it began to rank ahead of *Eşkiya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz*, which was aired on ATV and mostly ranked at the top of the ratings list in its timeslot (20.00-23.00) and its day of airing (on Tuesdays). The point which is of great interest regarding the Turkish remake of *The Mother* is that this show and the other Japanese-based Turkish remake (*Kadın*), as Orhan Tekellioğlu suggests, have provided new women images that "can be converted to alternative or new options" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 185) for the repertoire of Turkish television series (2017, 114). According to Tekellioğlu, though both television dramas were produced by the notably conservative Japanese culture, they introduced to Turkish television stable and distant (cool) women images (ibid.). The high ratings that the two series earned can be evaluated as an indicator of the fact that these women narratives have been approached by the Turkish viewers with receptive attitude.

In 2017, twelve Turkish remakes were aired on Turkish television, the half of which belongs to S. Korea. Out of these six remakes based on the S. Korean sources[92], *Cennetin Gözyaşları* (lasted 36 episodes) and *Meryem* (lasted 30 episodes) were among the ones that scored ratings above the average for the 2017-18 television season in Turkey. In that season, *Cennetin Gözyaşları* often placed No. 3 and No. 4 whereas *Meryem* mostly ranked at the top and then among the top 5 except for its last several episodes. Having premiered in mid-September, the Turkish remake of British product, *Shameless*, was located among the highest-rated television series in that season, almost

[91] *Aile İşi* (*Fake Family Service*), *Kış Güneşi* (*Resurrection*), *Aşk Yalanı Sever* (*My Girl*) and *Rüzgarın Kalbi* (*Summer Scent*).

[92] *Babamın Günahları*, its S. Korean original *Two Weeks; Hayat Sırları*, its S. Korean original, *My Father is Strange*; *Aslan Ailem*, its S. Korean original *Oyakgyo Brothers*; *Cennetin Gözyaşları*, its S. Korean original *The Tears of Heaven*; *Kalp Atışı*, its S. Korean original *Doctors* and *Meryem*, its S. Korean original *Secret Love*.

always placing No. 1 and No. 2 in the ratings list in its timeslot (20.00-23.00) and its day of airing (on Thursdays), with average ratings of 6.50 and 8.00. Turkish *Shameless*'s local production team preferred for the title, *Bizim Hikaye* (Our Story), as opposed to its word-for-word Turkish translation "Utanmaz". Even this seemingly minor shift was a marker of the fact that there will be huge differences between it and its source and it was evident in its director Serdar Gözenekli's statement: "We tell 'our own story' and I am absolutely sure that the viewers will get satisfied with it" (*Episode,* Interview with Serdar Gözelekli, 2017). In 2017, Turkish television acquired the format rights of a Japanese drama for the second time. *Kadın*, which depicts a loving mother who struggles to maintain a life with her two children, was the Turkish remake of a Japanese drama *Woman* and it became a mega hit immediately when it went to air in Turkey. Mr. Atsushi Hatayama, the President of International Business Development for Nippon TV makes the following explanation about the introduction of Japanese dramas into the Turkish television market as options.

> *We could not be more proud of the success that our series Mother has achieved in Turkey. It is one of the highest-rated series of this season and we are so happy to hear that the Turkish audience appreciates this heart-gripping drama, which is shown by the numbers that continue to increase each and every week. […] Our hope is that thanks to this deal with MF Yapim, Woman - My Life For My Children-, which is created by the same creative team as Mother, will achieve tremendous success in Turkey.* (April 3, 2017; Award-winning drama series "Woman" to be remade in Turkey)

The significant point to make here is that, given that 60-minute episodes (without commercial breaks) in a 11 episode-season needed to be remade to suit the demands of scheduling in Turkey (which means 100-150-minute episodes and far more than 11 episodes), *Kadın*'s narrative deviated from the basic tenets of *Woman*'s plotline remarkably. During its first two seasons, it made relatively minor changes to the fundamentals of the source narrative, but the third season turned out an original homegrown show with substantially new plotlines. This gradual deviation, as Moran (2011) suggests, has become almost a commonplace of the remake market (38). According to Moran, early episodes of a television remake often display a high degree of fidelity to its source whereas there occur more remarkable shifts of story in the following episodes (ibid.). The Dutch (1990) and German (1992) remakes of the Australian series *The Restless Years* as well as the US remake of *The Office* provide evidence for Moran's argument (38-39).

The third Turkish remake from a Japanese source was *Tehlikeli Karım* (2017) which draws on *My Dangerous Wife*. This Japanese show is also loosely based on the famous American film *Gone Girl* which is based on the novel of the same title. MF Yapim, which had already become successful in Turkey with some Japanese scripted formats such as Nippon TV's *The Mother*, most probably anticipated that *My Dangerous Wife* would have been another great success. Yet it could not draw the Turkish viewers' attention and ended in its sixth episode. During the 2017-18 television season, it was the first time that Australian television series were offered as a remake in Turkey. *Komşular* (remade from *Neighbours*) and *Avlu* (remade from *Wenthworth*) were put into air on Fox TV and Star TV respectively. Following a deal between FremantleMedia International (FMI) and Limon Film, *Avlu* was launched on Star TV on 29th March 2018 and captured huge attention by Turkish viewers. It quickly turned out a big hit in Turkey and won up to 3.4 million viewers per episode, outperforming Star TV's prime-time average among all key demographics. Concerning *Avlu*'s remarkable success, Anahita Kheder, The Senior Vice President of Fremantle Media Middle East, points out that:

> *We are extremely proud of the success Avlu has achieved so far and can't wait to see even more of its suspense-filled action unfold. It's fantastic to see the same compelling characters and gripping storylines of the original Australian drama coming to life in a completely new environment. It's one of the most talked about dramas in the region right now, capturing not only the attention of audiences, but international broadcasters too.* (17.05.2018; Turkish adaptation of Wentworth gets more episodes).

This part the research, written during the broadcast of the first several episodes of the Turkish remake (*Mucize Doktor*) of the S. Korean drama *The Good Doctor* aired in 2019, reveals that S. Korean dramas are still primary resources for Turkish television remakes. The screening of *Mucize Doktor* in Turkey on Fox TV earned strong ratings for the Turkish public broadcaster, drawing the biggest audience of any programme in the category "ABC1 20+" measured by TİAK (Turkish television audience research company) since 2012 and it stills ranks at the top of the ratings list in Turkey. *Mucize Doktor*, which introduced to Turkish television the first lead character with autism and Savant syndrome, provides one of the most evident cases of the adoption of new and alternative models and images through remake, in Henrik Gottlieb's terms, as an inspirational form of translation (2007: 7). Thus, it suggests us

that the remakes are likely to maintain some kind of attachment to their sources and thereby present innovation in the target culture. In the case of Turkish *The Good Doctor*, this attachment takes place on the level of theme and the main character as a model to be drawn on.

The year of 2019 also welcomed the Turkish remakes of two American television series and these are *Bir Aile Hikayesi* (*This is us*) and *Hekimoğlu* (*House M.D.*) respectively. The former of these shows achieved mediocre success and lasted 18 episodes whereas the latter one is still on the air, placing among the top 5 in the ratings list in its timeslot (20.00-23.00) and its day of airing (on Tuesdays). In that television season, the forth Japanese-origin Turkish remake (*Aşk Ağlatır*) was produced, yet it ended 16 episodes later. Lastly, there has yet been produced two intra-medial transcultural remakes (*Öğretmen*[93] and *Hizmetçiler*[94]) in 2020 and the production of the third one is imminent (Turkish version of the Indian drama *Is Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon?*).

3.2.2. The Genre Attributes of Television Remakes

Conducting a series of research on Turkish television series, Feyza Akınerdem and Nükhet Sirman argue that the production of television series broadly draws on three elements of (i) genre, (ii) form[95] and (iii) content[96] (2012). Among the three main elements constituting the television series production, the "genre" seems to be the most relevant and problematic one for the purposes of this present research. The concept of genre is a French word and it refers to a 'type' or 'kind' (Creeber, 2001: 3). It predates

[93] Its Japanese source is *Homeroom.*
[94] Its Mexican source is *Ellas son La Alegria Del Hogar*.
[95] As far as the primary forms (the second constituent pointed out above) of television series are concerned, they are divided into three as "series", "serials" and "sitcoms" (Akınerdem and Sirman, 2012). Series, which is usually self-contained, refers to the type of dramas with a beginning, middle and an end in which the story from one episode does not often carry over to the next whereas serial, which is a popular form of Turkish dramas, is splitted into parts and airs everyday or weekly. Sitcoms (i.e., situation comedies), which are not among the dominant forms of Turkish television dramas, contain a recurring situation and characters written as a comedy.
[96] The third integral component of the production of television series indicates an overall subject matter embodying a given series and it includes but is not limited to tribal narratives (so called Eastern serials), mafia stories, historical fictions, and romances. It can be suggested that, the repertoire of Turkish television series provides abundant examples for the great variety of dramas in terms of content. Some popular contents constitute political events, biographies, historical issues, love triangles and military issues.

the television broadcasting and plays a crucial role in the development of both literature and publishing (Allen, 1995: 1). In all these fields, materials are grouped into categories, and "that each category or class is marked by a particular set of conventions, features and norms" (ibid.). Melodramas, comedies, science fiction and thrillers are, for instance, different types of genre, following certain types of storylines and characters.

As it has been pointed out in 3.2.1, the earlier instances of intra-medial transcultural television remakes were all sitcoms. The Turkish remakes of the foreign series *Dharma Greg* (1997-2002), *Hope and Faith* (2003-2006), *Married with Children* (1987–1997), *The Golden Girls* (1985-1992), *The Jeffersons* (1975–1985), *The Nanny* (1993-1999), *Three's Company* (1976-1984), and *Who's the Boss?* (1984–1992) were broadcast on Turkish television back then. Yet the genre of sitcom has then entered a period of decline. Several reasons might be articulated for why sitcoms have lost their popularity in the repertoire of Turkish television remakes. One is that they are too culturally specific and do not transport so easily across cultures, which implies that there is no global sense of humor (Bielby and Harrington, 2008: 52). Turkish television series' long duration per episode is the other reason. While both indigenous television series and remakes[97] were previously delivered in about an hour-long chunk per episode in Turkey, it is not the case for so long. The point to make here is that, unlike other genres, it is not easy to present the comedic narrative in a lenghtier format. As Gülse Birsel (Turkish comedian, writer, scriptwriter and actress) recently puts it, it is not possible to develop almost two-hour long content for comedies (Gülse Birsel, 17.04.2019; sputniknews.com). Birsel adds that she will no more do any project for television; instead she will prefer digital streaming services and make her recent project *Jet Set* continue on such platforms with 45-50 minutes runtime at most (ibid.). Alongside the reasons given above, swiftly shifting trends in the Turkish television industry, which have recently manifested itself in the form of an extensive preference of dramas over comedies and the declining degree of tolerance towards comedies, may be raised as the reasons behind decreasing selection (and/or even deselection) of the genre of sitcom.

[97] Here are some examples: Turkish *The Nanny* (40-45 minutes), *The Jeffersons* (45-50 minutes), *Dharma Greg* (45-50 minutes), *Who's the Boss?* (40-50 minutes) and *Married with Children* (50-55 minutes).

The variety of genres in the repertoire of Turkish television remakes has notably augmented in the upcoming years and different genres such as crime drama *Hinter Gittern - Der Frauenknast* (1997-2010), thriller *The Shield* (2002-2008), musical drama *Glee* (2009-2015) and crime-thriller *Leverage* (2008-2012) appeared on Turkish television. Nevertheless, my survey has revealed that the majority of Turkish television remakes (including Turkish remakes of a mid-season teenage melodrama *Dawsons Creek* [1998-2003], *Desperate Housewives* with melodramatic storylines [2004-2012], melodramatic mini-series *Rich Man, Poor Man* [1976]) and top-notch melodrama *The O.C.* [2003-2007]) either drew on or they were transformed into melodramas and soap operas[98] (a genre which is instrinsically perceived as part of the melodrama tradition and often disparaged for its melodramatic quality). The same finding applies to the domestic television series in Turkey. It is plausible to assert that Turkish television series largely exhibit numerous features that are likely to be perceived as constituting and defining the genre of melodrama. As the figures provided in Rıdvan Şentürk's research which searches out the proportion of Turkish television series by genre in 2015 demonstrate, melodramas (constituting 60 % of all domestic productions) take place at the top of the list, respectively followed by comedies (31 %) and other genres (9 %) such as action, thriller, sci-fiction, history and political dramas (2018: 20).[99] Tanrıöver also reinforces Şentürk's findings in her interview published in *National Geographic Türkiye* (April 2015). The genre of melodrama, as her surveys conducted in 2011 and 2015 reveal, was placed at the top of her list of most popular Turkish drama genres (ibid.).

[98] Regarding the overall generic category for defining Turkish television serials, Eylem Yanardağoğlu and Imad N. Karam indicate that "Turkish TV series show similarities with the 'soap opera' format, which is not completely an American genre (2013: 562)" and they add that in the non-Western countries such as Egypt, Brazil, or India, the soap opera format is considered a part of the melodrama tradition. Alongside Yanardağoğlu and Karam, Zafer Yörük and Pantelis Vatikiotis (2013) are among those researchers who prefer to call Turkish television serials as Turkish soap operas. Unlike these researchers, Uğur Batı (2011) call them Turkish television melodramas. Regardless of their distinctive narrative forms, this research will use the term "series" since many elements of serial narrative now appear in most "series" programs, thus resulting in the hybridization of the two generic categories (Hagedorn, 1995: 39).

[99] It is at this point necessary to point out that, according to Şentürk, the above-mentioned genres other than melodrama mostly include melodramatic elements though (2018: 20). In his book entitled *Televizyon Halleri: Dizi Dizi Türkiye*, Orhan Tekelioğlu (television critic formerly writing in *Radikal* newspaper) also emphasizes the notable popularity of melodrama within the repertoire of Turkish television series (2017: 29).

As David Thorburn points to in his 1976 paper entitled "Television Melodrama", melodrama can be viewed as "a sentimental, artificially plotted drama that sacrifices characterization to extravagant incident" and it also "makes sensational appeals to the emotions of its audience, and ends on a happy or at least a morally reassuring note" (595). In *The Melodramatic Imagination*, Peter Brooks makes mention of several connotations of the word, melodrama, which are probably alike for all people: "the indulgence of strong emotionalism; moral polarization and schematization; extreme state of being, situations, actions; […] inflated and extravagant expression (1976: 11-12). Admittedly, the genre issue is much more complicated and much more intricate definitions of melodrama can be made. Concerning the literature on the emergence and development of various television drama genres around the world, Öztürkmen (2018) highlights two points in particular: (i) "a particular historical-political context which made these genres appear" and (ii) "a traditional artistic domain which precedes them (popular theatrical forms, radio shows, etc.)" (1-2). Specifically speaking for the Turkish context, she historically links the emergence of the Turkish "dizi" [TV series] repertoire to the international repertoire of television series which, she argues, constituted "the pioneering telenarratives Turkish audiences encountered" and shaped "their modes of television watching" (2). According to Öztürkmen, "the *dizi*[100] [as a genre] evolved in time from the mid 1990s into a semistructural form in the 2000s" and "it has different features from the soap and telenovela" (7). Turkish producer Aksoy also confirms this point. In the interview with Ezgi Özcan, Aksoy underlines that there emerged the Turkish *dizi* genre and Turkish dramas are anymore referred to as *dizi* (*Episode*, Ezgi Özcan's interview, 2019). "This genre was acknowledged around the world" he adds (ibid.).

[100] According to Öztürkmen, having been flourishing by means of international repertoire of television drama and domestic productions since the launch of TRT, Turkish *dizi* constituted its own genre. Particularly with contributions from American primetime series such as *Colombo* and *Mc Millan and Wife*; domestic productions such as *Kaynanalar* ([*The In-Laws*], TRT, 1974-1997, 950 episodes) and *Aşk-ı Memnu* ([*Forbidden Love*], TRT, 1975) and soap operas and telenovelas such as *Santa Barbara* (TRT 1, 1986), *Cesur ve Güzel* ([*The Bold and the Beautiful*], TRT 1, 1988) during the 70-80s, Turkish *dizi* has begun to be formed. Then, new formats or imported foreign productions which began airing on private networks and more diversified domestic genres such as family and neighborhood dramas as well as melodramas featuring national popular singers, have also fed into the genre of *dizi*. Through a significant range of *dizis*, whether they are historical dramas or melodramas, the *dizi* genre has evolved and been constructed as a semi-structural form in the 2000s with their own style of storytelling, being shot in natural settings, naturally slow narration and other musical, textual and visual features.

He further notes that the word *dizi* was exported from the Turkish television series industry to other television markets (ibid.).

In light of an overall outlook to the surface appearances of Turkish television remakes and the comments obtained from television critics, fan sites and virtual communities on the internet, it can be suggested that, Turkish television remakes often take a different route and they involve a shift in genre than their originals. They usually offer a blending, or a pastische of multiple generic conventions[101] and narrative forms. At this point, the issue of genre proximity becomes involved. This means that the shifts in generic particularities of Turkish television remakes are partially motivated by the viewers' familiarity with the specific forms and narrative structures in domestic productions, which, despite their generic fusion, feature loosely or strictly the melodramatic modality.

The Turkish television industy's continuous dialogue with the international repertoire of television series such as *Dallas* which is in many ways a classic family melodrama and, in later periods, with soap operas and telenovelas, which inherently include melodramatic narratives, have been combined with the legacy of melodramatic Turkish cinema (called Yeşilçam "Greenpine") of the 1960s. Turkish television remakes have taken many elements from these varied options offered for over fifty years of Turkish television's broadcast and they have usually revealed them with a new twist. As a result, the rise of the melodrama as a prevalent subgenre in the Turkish television repertoire was inevitable. Accordingly, Turkish television remakes largely follow melodramatic conventions which are instantly recognizable to viewers. In short, though the majority of Turkish television remakes is now characterized by the way they mix genres, generic properties of melodrama appear to be their integral part.

3.2.3. Source Cultures of Television Remakes

My corpus has showed that there are ninety-nine remakes within the Turkish television repertoire. As pointed out in 3.1.3., the number of remakes has grown

[101] Among these conventions, dominant features of the Turkish cinema of the 1960s are notable. Tekelioğlu states that most of the movies in the Yeşilçam era of Turkish cinema are a mixture of Hollywood narratives of the 1950s on the one hand, and on the other European cinema, particularly epitomized by Italian and French film industry (Tekelioğlu, 2017: 232-33).

exponentially since 2013 in particular, which overlaps the rise in the Turkish television remakes taking S. Korean dramas as a fertile source of inspiration. While the US and S. Korea have been the main resources for the greater part of Turkish television remakes (which corresponds to 90 %), the British, Japanese, Australian, Italian, Danish, Spanish, Canadian and Argentine television markets have also had a share, yet constituting a small part of the whole repertoire, thus in the remaking tradition in the Turkish television industry.

3.2.3.1. Remakes from the US

This research has already argued that the appropriation of the basic narrative elements of popular foreign, mostly American, television series has become a tendency particularly in the beginning of the 2000s (Kesirli Unur, 2015: 140). It has been uncovered that the US television series have been sources of Turkish television remakes since the early 2000s. Though the recent popularity of Turkish remakes from S. Korean dramas has left behind the share of the television remakes from the US, it has been revealed in this research that, until 2011, the source of remaking largely drew on the US culture, corresponding to 90 % of all Turkish television remakes. Until 2011, out of 23 remakes in the repertoire of Turkish television series, 21 remakes based on the US television shows. Following from these figures, it appears that, though the US- and S. Korean-based Turkish remakes have had approximately equal market shares in the remake production on Turkish television thus far, the history of Turkish television remakes from American television series dates back to the early days of remaking trend in the Turkish television industry. As for the S. Korean-oriented Turkish remakes, they can be considered newcomers for now.

It is possible to attribute the long-term and sustained superiority of the US television series in the Turkish television repertoire to the global sectoral trends concerning television. The findings on the flow of television content published by UNESCO in the 1970s indicates that "television traffic does flow between nations according to the 'one-way street' principle: the streams of heavy traffic flow one way only" (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974: 52). That is, the US was a dominant creator and distributor of television content to the rest of the world back then. Today, the one-way traffic has long been replaced by counter flows in the worldwide television industry.

Moreover, the global superiority of US television has begun to take another shape and has slowly weakened. Even so, it had left strong impressions on the Turkish television repertoire. Remarkably high percentage of the US-based Turkish television remakes in the recently occurring tradition of remake in Turkey provides an example for this ongoing effect of the US television market on Turkish television. Thus, it turns out that global trends and sectoral developments are among the reasons why the US television series have long pervaded in the Turkish television market with changing translational practices, first through dubbing and subtitling and then by means of remaking.

Alongside these global and market-related reasons, the other motivation behind the use of the US television series as the sources for Turkish television remakes relates to a long history between Turkish and US television, which dates back to the launch of Turkish television. As pointed out earlier in 3.1. and 3.1.1., the US television market was the main resource for Turkish television and the dubbed US television series have largely contributed to forming the television viewing habit in Turkey on the one hand, and on the other they have observable effects on the repertoire of Turkish television series. Though they entered into a period of decrease and began to occupy a peripheral position in the Turkish television repertoire towards the end of the 1980s, American television series did not completely fade away from the broadcasting schedule of Turkish channels, yet their appearance on Turkish television has taken another form, which is called as remake.

As pointed out in 3.2.1. and 3.2.2., Turkish remakes of the US sitcoms such as *Dharma and Greg*, *Married with Children* and *The Nanny* were the first set of remakes which filled the hole in the schedules of the growing number of Turkish television channels, desperate to find original materials since the early 2000s. After a while, however, sitcom remakes reached saturation and lost their dominance as the sources for Turkish television remakes. Then, the agents turned their attention to other genres from the US television market. The genre of melodrama and its great variety of blendings with some other genres such as thriller, crime-thriller and romance have become popular. Around the same time, other national television systems have come into play and begun to supply numerous sources for Turkish television remakes. That

is, a more complex picture emerged wherein a host of significant television markets such as the one in S. Korea have become a part of the remaking tradition in Turkey.

3.2.3.2. Remakes from South Korea

Given the worldwide boom in the popularity of S. Korean cultural economy, it is possible to note that K-pop culture has recently begun evolving from its comfort zone in Asia, and it has created a strong preference for K-pop culture products particularly in the Middle East, Europe, and the US. In the last decade, it has also prevailed in Turkey mainly through translation of Korean dramas done by an increasing number of fans who act as "self-appointed and voluntary agents of culture" (Duraner, Tunalı and Işıklar-Koçak, 2017: 165). Therefore, in order to enlighten the extension[102] of the Korean wave, which initiated further cultural production in Turkey, it is possible to view fans[103], "the most visible and identifiable of audiences" (Lewis, 1992: 1), as "self-appointed agents" (Toury, 2002) who introduced the Korean cultural content into the Turkish culture repertoire as new options. As a result of their efforts, a simple enjoyment of S. Korean dramas in Turkey has led to a growing interest in pop music and movies on the one hand, and, on the other, S. Korean fashion, cosmetics, food and S. Korean lifestyles. As a scriptwriter Bengi pointed out in the face-to-face interview I conducted, S. Korea's concentration on globally exporting pop culture, entertainment, television dramas and movies has accelerated this process. According to him, there emerged a continually growing and sound television industry in Korea where the creative abilities of agents putting their skills to work in the mass-media entertainment industry can easily flourish.

[102] Here, the term "extension" refers to media producers' efforts "to expand the potential markets by moving content across delivery systems" (Jenkins, 2006: 19). That is, it defines the process how one product extends outward from its originating medium to involve in other sites of cultural production.

[103] Fans' steadily growing engagement with popular culture products has also been a matter of debate in the academic literature. The pioneering research on fans belongs to Henry Jenkins. In his book entitled *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (1992), Jenkins asks new questions about fans, in turn attempting to empower their position and changing the understanding of fan culture in academics. In his recent study, "Cultural Acupunture: Fan Activism and the Harry Potter Alliance" (2015), he observes the power that fans possessed in contemporary media culture. Matt Hills (2015) has also attributed a separate role to the key shifts in recent popular media culture, particularly elaborating "a move from the 'reactive audience'-responding to media texts- to anticipatory, proactive fandoms who seek [further] information about new products" (Geraghty, 2015: 11).

It seems that the driving force behind the speed of extension of these products has been technological break-through, which has created a cyberspace serving as the site of communication and sociability as well as "a new market for the exchange of information and knowledge" (Lévy, 2005: 53). Almost universal access to internet service, availability of mobile devices and the rapid growth of social media like Facebook and Instagram have quickened the tremendous popularity of S. Korean dramas in Turkey where websites that provide information about S. Korean cultural products have mushroomed over the recent years. Network media technologies including blogs, social networking sites and other online communication platforms helped the fans to consume those products across temporal and spatial barriers. Emerging to become "the powerful cultural agents" (Oh and Chae, 2013: 79), Turkish fans have more than ever empowered themselves through networking in various media platforms. These fans, though being geographically far away from one another, have got together online, and eventually they created online community disseminating S. Korean cultural content in Turkey.

As already pointed out, a significant part of the influx of K-pop culture in Turkey constitutes the introduction of S. Korean dramas as options for the Turkish television series repertoire. Chae and Oh inform that, following the agreement between the Korean television channel Arirang TV and TRT, the first set of Korean dramas were aired in Turkey in 2005 (2013: 86). The first Korean drama put to air on TRT was *Emperor of the Sea*, which was followed by *All In*, a hit program in Korea in 2003. Though *Emperor of the Sea* earned a low rating due to bad timing and its consideration to be an only "fill-in" program, the screening of the two series on TRT has aroused curiosity of, and interest in Korean dramas in Turkey (87). Following their broadcast, Turkish fansubbers among the K-pop culture fans have engaged with subtitling other S. Korean dramas into Turkish and they still maintain their fansubbing activities in subtitle sharing websites (Divxplanet) and other K-pop culture websites (yeppudaa.com, ezgidizi.com, asyadizileri.com, koredizileri.net). By means of these websites established by the K-pop culture fans, many fansubbed S. Korean dramas have been released. Of particular interest here is the fact that their popularity has even led to Turkish television remakes of S. Korean television dramas, the amount of which

has increased over thirty in the last few years.[104] As indicated several times before, the number of Turkish television remakes has remarkably risen since 2013 and this rise overlaps the growing popularity of the remakes based on S. Korean television dramas, mostly romance and romantic comedy ones, in Turkey. In that, it can be suggested that, having first been introduced as translated options by TRT and fan communities, S. Korean television dramas have been transfered into the Turkish television repertorie.

Alongside the global appeal to popular S. Korean products and technological developments speeding up their proliferation, it is plausible to refer to the cultural proximity of S. Korea to account for how the television remakes from S. Korea are nowadays receiving warmer welcome in the Turkish television repertoire. S. Korean dramas are often perceived as familiar by Turkish viewers because S. Korea is felt to be culturally close to them. Complementary to this argument, a reporter Altuntaş explained in the e-mail correspondence that S. Korean culture is proximate to Turkish viewers' life experiences and therefore Turkish producers, resting on the US series for so long, have somewhat depleted the resources in that television market and turned towards S. Korea's vast television drama repertoire (see Appendix 5). In a similar vein, as Bengi underscores, the fact that S. Korean dramas look emotionally powerful, culturally closer, more familiar, more realistic and therefore easier to empathize with explains the high preference for remaking S. Korean dramas in consideration of Turkish viewers' sensibilities and expectations (see Appendix 7). This means that, to touch the viewers' sensibilities enables these dramas to appeal to a wider range of viewers than the remakes from other cultures' dramas do in the Turkish context. Given the reasons behind remaking S. Korean resources, it seems not surprising that it is the S. Korean television dramas that Turkish television has begun to turn to for stories that Turkish viewers can relate to and show interest in. Scriptwriter Kosif, who argues that

[104] Some of the Turkish TV series remade from S. Korean dramas are as following: *Beni Affet* (2011), *Emir'in Yolu* (2012), *Osmanlı Tokadı* (2013), *Bir Aşk Hikayesi* (2013), *Güneşi Beklerken* (2013), *Aşk-Ekmek-Hayaller* (2013), *Paramparça* (2014), *Kocamın Ailesi* (2014), *Günahkar* (2014), *Kiraz Mevsimi* (2014), *İlişki Durumu Karışık* (2015), *Aşk Yeniden* (2015), *Mayıs Kraliçesi* (2015), *Eve Dönüş* (2015), *Beyaz Yalan* (2015), *Baba Candır* (2015), *Kiralık Aşk* (2015), *Çilek Kokusu* (2015), *Acı Aşk* (2015), *Maral: En Güzel Hikayem* (2015), *Hayat Şarkısı* (2016), *Aile İşi* (2016), *Tatlı İntikam* (2016), *Kış Güneşi* (2016), *Aşk Yalanı Sever* (2016), *Rüzgarın Kalbi* (2016), *Seviyor Sevmiyor* (2016), *Gülümse Yeter* (2016), *No: 309* (2016) and *Yüksek Sosyete* (2016).

she is the one who discovered the potential success that S. Korean dramas would achieve in the Turkish television series industry, makes the following explanation:

> *Turkish TV industry noticed the capacity of S. Korean TV market slowly and very late. It is possible to mention a delay of up to almost ten years. I repeatedly told producers to be cognizant of S. Korean culture which is really close to us. Its people take off their shoes before walking into the house like our people. They have high moral standards, even higher than those of us. The essense of the S. Korean [by "essense", Kosif means observable patterns of behavior and traditions, understood as a set of practices executed in a locale and presumed to be barely influenced by historical change] is in harmony with ours. My efforts have brought results and, after all, Turkish producers got convinved* (Interview with Makbule Kosif; April 22, 2019; see Appendix 6).

Kosif further adds that, in opposition to the majority of American television series which put strong emphasis on sex appeal, S. Korean dramas place their strong emphasis on love in its purest form without any lustful contents to erase the essence of true love (see Appendix 6). While the former largely places emphasis on the urban, young and single professionals and aestheticized lifestyles displacing the central place of family, the latter focuses on the depiction of family matters and filial piety, which makes them easier to get emotionally involved. Kosif gives as an example her experience of remaking *Grey's Anatomy* for Turkish viewers and she notes that it was a tough process since American culture is not close to the Turkish cultural sphere. She concludes that, in comparison to American series, S. Korean dramas' dramatic compositions, storylines and characters are less complicated to remake in the Turkish context (ibid.).

Besides these, the anonymous television content producer with a nickname "ranini" points out in our e-mail correspondence that the fact the S. Korean television market was mostly unaware of copyright violations constituted a significant motivation behind the upsurge in S. Korean-oriented Turkish remakes as of the early 2010s (e-mail correspondence; March 12, 2018; see Appendix 3).

3.2.3.3. Remakes from Japan

The other national television market, which began to provide resources and thereby took part in the remaking tradition in Turkey, is Japanese television. As the television editor Sina Koloğlu indicates in the newspaper *Milliyet*, the Turkish remake of a Japanese drama *The Mother* fostered the interest in Japanese television content in

Turkey, which suggests that this growing interest is closely related to *Anne*'s turning into a huge hit in 2016 (*Milliyet*, 21.08.2018). Koloğlu further emphasizes in his column[105] that *The Mother* was first aired on Tokyo-based Nippon television in 2010 and it was mostly dormant in this channel's drama catalog until 2016. Then it aroused the attention of MF Yapim and Medyapim in Turkey (*Milliyet*, 21.10.2018). Produced for Star TV as *Anne*, the show proved to be an important hit domestically and internationally. The great interest that the Turkish remake generated rolled out to multiple markets by Global Agency and, as a result, new remakes of *The Mother* were produced in other territories. One of them was in S. Korea[106] and the other in Ukraine. The Turkish remake's success, as Koloğlu argues, functioned as a catalyst for the Japanese drama's export to Ukraine (*Milliyet*, 18.04.2018). It can thus be suggested that a kind of contact took place between the Ukraine television market and the Japanese one thanks to the third party, Turkish television, and this contact resulted in the import of television series (Even-Zohar, 2010: 53). Nippon television's board director and senior executive operating officer, Kimio Maruyama, explains the mediatory role of Turkish television as the following:

> *Our recent experiences tell us that there's no better launching pad to take our content to the world, and our objective is to share the allure of our dramas through Turkey. The Turkish remake of Woman is testament to this fact, with spectacular ratings since October 2017 on FOX*. (Prensario Internarional Report 2017, 6)

The second Turkish television remake from a Japanese origin was the female-centric Japanese drama *Woman*. It was produced with the title of *Kadın* only one season later than the remake of *The Mother. Kadın*, which aired on Fox TV in 2017, filled the prime-time slot on Tuesdays successfully and it turned out a huge success, attracting the viewers' attention both at home and abroad. The third Turkish remake that rests on a Japanese source (*My Dangerous Wife*) was *Tehlikeli Karım* (2017). Unlike the previous two successful remakes from Japanese television, this show failed to draw the Turkish viewers' attention and ended several episodes later. Likewise, the forth Japanese-origin Turkish remake (*Aşk Ağlatır*), put into air in 2019, could not get high ratings and was dropped after a little while. The new Japanese-origin Turkish

[105] "Korean is over, Japan is the next!" ("Kore bitti, sırada Japonya!"), *Milliyet*, 21.10.2018.
[106] The Korean remake, produced by Studio Dragon for tvN, was selected as one of ten international dramas showcased at CANNESERIES this year.

remake (Nippon TV's *My Son*) by the coproduction of MF Yapim and Medyapim is speculated to be en route right now. Cindy Chino, the senior director of international business development at Nippon TV, notes that the company's international distribution has largely benefited from its scripted-format deals in Turkey. Regarding this, she adds that:

> *Turkey has become our gateway to the regions we have never reached before. Since the Turkish version of Mother became a grand success on Star TV, we are reporting that distribution has expanded to 29 countries in areas such as Central and Southern America, Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Accumulating sales reports from these areas is something we have never experienced in our history of international sales. The Turkish adaptation of Japanese drama series has set a new trend in the international scripted industry* (Mansha Daswani, Mother makes its mark).

Following the five prior deals pointed out above, Medyapım and Nippon TV made a new deal. Turkish Medyapım purchased the format rights of *Oasis*, a story about a lonely girl who suddenly starts a new life with a family full of love and happiness. In relation to the cooperation between Japanese and Turkish television, Atsushi Sogo (President of International Business Development for Nippon television) notes that "[w]ith the tremendous success of our earlier deals with Medyapim, we have come to realize there are great similarities between the Turkish and Japanese mentalities…" (15.10.2018; Nippon TV sales its fourth scripted format to Medyapim, Turkey: Oasis). Then, he adds that "We are proud that another one of our legendary dramas will be offered to the viewers in Turkey thanks to Fatih Aksoy and his amazing team" (ibid.).

It appears that Japanese television dramas are in demand by Turkish producers mostly on the grounds that there is a huge demand for emotional, heartwarming and relationship-led series in the Turkish television series repertoire. This motivation behind the use of Japanese dramas as sources for Turkish television remakes echoes one of the motivations behind S. Korean dramas's rise in the Turkish television industry, which is cultural proximity. Just like their S. Korean counterparts, Japanese dramas might be regarded as easier to remake because their narratives are often based on emotions that are universally understood across language and cultural barriers. In view of his previous experiences in the Turkish television sector, his predictions of Turkish viewers' demographics, and their likes/dislikes, Aksoy believes in the fact that

their last deal will also capture Turkish audience with the emotions it conveys just as *The Mother* and *Woman* previously did.

3.2.3.4. Remakes from India

Alongside several major cultures that have been mentioned so far, this research has also discovered that, Indian television series have recently been aired on a Turkish broadcast channel, KANAL 7, in their dubbed versions.[107] It is paramount to pinpoint that those dramas have amassed a sizeable viewership on KANAL 7 and some of them have gone on the air in its prime-time slots.[108] By showcasing its popular romance drama *Iss Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon*, the India-based broadcast channel Star India has extended its content to Turkish viewers. As from 2015, this Indian drama, which was dubbed in Turkish and went to air with the title of *Bir Garip Aşk*, has attained mass appeal on KANAL 7 and earned strong ratings, more than quadrupling the channel's audience for the allocated timeslot. This remarkable success was widely reported and received positive coverages in media.[109] The channel's general manager Zahir Akman expresses his appreciation about his decision to broadcast *Bir Garip Aşk*, which is a magical love story told like a fairy tale (03.03.2016; Star India gives Turkey its first ever Indian Drama Series).

According to the analysis of the findings of literature on the subject and the corpus I compiled, it appears that Turkish remakes based on Indian sources may dominate mainstream Turkish channels in the near future. Kosif partly reinforces this suggestion by noting in the interview that Indian dramas culturally resonate with Turkish viewers' experiences (see Appendix 6). The production of *Küçük Gelin*, which was inspired by the Indian drama *Balika Vadhu* and remade in Turkish, can be seen as a forerunner of a new trend of taking Indian dramas as sources of inspiration for new

[107] *Bir Garip Aşk* (*Iss Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon*), *Yalancı Bahar* (*Madhubala Ek Ishq Ek Junoon*), *Deli Divane* (*Sapna Babul KaBidaai*), *Tatlı Bela* (*Iss Pyaar Ko KyaNaam Doon Ek Baar Phir*), *İki Yabancı* (*Saraswatichandra*), *Zor Sevda* (*Qubool Hai*), *Ah kalbim* (*Kum Kum Bhayya*), *Sev Yeter* (*Ye Hai Mohabbatein*), *Kördüğüm* (*Uttaran*), *Benimsin* (*Beintehaa*) and *Sensiz Olmaz* (*Rangrasiya*) are among these dubbed television dramas which constitute a significant share of Kanal 7's schedule.

[108] For detailed information about the primetime schedules of KANAL 7, see https:// www. kanal7.com / (Last access: 07.09.2019)

[109] See http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/kanal-7-nin-hint-dizisinden-buyuk-reyting-surprizi-/Blog/? Blog No= 523067 and https://televizyongazetesi.com/bir-garip-ask-dizisi-reyting-zaferiyle-ekrana-veda-ediyor (Last access 07.09.2019)

Turkish television remakes. *Küçük Gelin*'s project designer Murat Kesgin admits that *Balika Vadhu* (which he watched at abroad) inspired him deeply for the project *Küçük Gelin*. After he watched *Balika Vadhu*, as Kesgin remarks, he immediately shared his idea of shooting the story of a child bride for Turkish television with Erkan Çıplak (the scriptwriter of *Küçük Gelin*) (November 17, 2013; "Küçük Gelin"e Hint Dizisi Esin Verdi). Moreover, the acknowledged Turkish remake of *Iss Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon*, which was broadcast in its dubbed version on KANAL 7, is underway right now.

Throughout the subsections of 3.2.3., I have provided information about the originating television markets of Turkish television remakes produced between the years of 2001-2020, shed light on their journey in the Turkish television repertoire with particular attention to their source markets and, more significantly, explored and discussed the variety of reasons that lead Turkish television to select these source cultures. The next part of this present research has been allocated to production companies as market-related agents who select, produce and circulate intra-medial transcultural television remakes in Turkey. The survey about production companies will help elucidate which companies stand out in the Turkish television remake industry, whether they differentiate among themselves in terms of the preference for particular cultures to take as the base and whether they operate by themselves or in cooperation with other companies in network.

3.2.4. Production Companies of Television Remakes

Television series remake is mostly an interactive process entailing continuous negotiation particularly between the franchise owner and a local production company. This part of the research will focus on the companies who own and control the production and sometimes distribution mechanisms of Turkish television remakes. Production companies, as one of the the primary institutional agents of the Turkish television remake market, play an intermediary role between the television series repertoire and various individual agents including scriptwriters, broadcasters and viewers, among others.

Out of ninety-nine Turkish television remakes, as my corpus shows, twenty-one remakes belong to Medyapim which was founded in 1993 by a partnership with Fatih Aksoy and Güzel Sanatlar Holding. Having produced numerous television series, sitcoms, quiz shows and lifestyle shows, Medyapim is known as one of Turkey's biggest content producer and it has contributed over ten thousand hours of high quality television productions in Turkey so far (https://www.medyapim.com/hakkimizda/). Together with the companies (MF Yapim, NO 9, Vadi Film and FORMED) that operate within its own structure, Medyapim is no doubt recognized among the top producers, i.e. institutional agents, in the Turkish television market.

MF Yapim which was founded in 2012 by a partnership of Faruk Bayhan and Medyapim comes after Medyapim with thirteen remakes in my corpus. Among these, four remakes[110] were coproduced by MF Yapim and Medyapim and it was indicated in the opening and closing credits of the shows. It is also evident in the corpus that Medyapim has contributed to the remaking tradition in Turkey as from its early years and it has largely selected American productions to remake for Turkish television whereas MF Yapim, which joined in this market in 2013, has often produced the Turkish remakes based on S. Korean dramas. This finding was also referred to by the director Uğurlar in the interview, who underlined that it was MF Yapim that introduced as options the Turkish remakes buying ideas from S. Korean dramas to the repertoire of Turkish television series (Interview with Müge Uğurlar; April 22, 2019; see Appendix 6). The fact that MF Yapim mostly concentrates on S. Korean dramas suggests a kind of specialization among production companies in terms of the remakes' country of origin and it is marked in its official website:

> *MF YAPIM is successful in format adaptations as well as original productions and adapted many formats from South Korea, Italy and Japan so far. For that matter it is the first production company adapting the Korean drama formats in Turkey.* ("About us", mfyapim.com)

As the case of MF Yapim demonstrates, Turkish production companies seek to closely keep up with a new facet of the decentralizing multiplicity of the global television drama flow, which refers in this case to the rise of S. Korean drama industry as a new player and new centre to use as sources for Turkish remakes.

[110] *Anne* (2016-2017), *Kadın* (2017-2010), and *Bir Litre Gözyaşı* (2018).

According to the figures acquired from the corpus, Medyapim and MF Yapim dominate one-third of the Turkish television remake market. D Production and NTC Medya go after these companies with six and four productions respectively. Alongside these, Ans Productions, Süreç Yapım and Tims have each produced three remakes, whereas Mia, Endemol Shine Group, TV8 Productions, Ay Yapım, TMC, Gold, Most Productions, Play and No Dokuz productions are among those companies which have contributed to the Turkish television remake repertoire with two remakes each. The other production companies namely Akbel Film & Adam Film, Replik, Ser, Base, Rain, Erler, Samanyolu, Altınoklar, Fabrika Yapım, Üs Yapım, KargaSeven Pictures, Zodyak, Focus, Okur Film, Plato, InDhouse, Barakuda Film, Duka, Ser and Gergedan Film have each produced only one remake thus far.

Overall, Medyapim is the leading intermediary institutional agent in the Turkish remake market in terms of the amount of remake production and it is followed by MF Yapim which is notable for its S. Korean-origin remakes. As this subsection, in which the production companies' market share is calculated by dividing the total production of each company by the total production in the Turkish remake market, has shown, the market share of Turkish production companies except for the two leading companies is conspicuously low. The findings have shown that, out of thirty-four remake producers in Turkey, Medyapim and MF Yapim hold 30 % of the total remake production whereas the rest 70 % is distributed among thirty-two production companies. In that it could be suggested that Medyapim and MF Yapim have acquired the generative role of bringing both US origin and S.Korean origin TV remakes as options to the television repertoire in Turkey. These remakes have become so popular in time that today they have become indispensable part of the Turkish television series repertoire, playing a vital role in the procurement of television series to overcome the deadlock the Turkish television industry is about to face.

3.2.5. Agents in the Production Team of Television Remakes

Television remakes entail a number of different stages during the production process and these stages are intimately dependent on social agents who are involved in developing and sustaining the television remake repertoire in Turkey. To gain

further insight about who are the agents involved, I conducted semi-structured and qualitative interviews with several agents operating in the production of Turkish television remakes. My survey has demonstrated that, there is a joint activity of a number of social agents (ranging from licensing managers, distributors and drama operations to directors, producers and scriptwriters) who act as "cultural translators" (Conway, 2011: 2) in the Turkish television industry. One example is the collaborative work in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*, which illustrates the fact that each agent or group of agents brings something to the table that will contribute to the production choices, including producers (who also often act as a concept discoverer), broadcasters, scriptwriters, and, though not directly, viewers. In fact, one of the scriptwriters of *Desperate Housewives* Meryem, interviewed within the scope of this research, confirmed this collaborative ecosystem and she stated that Turkish television series industry is basically constitutive of four essential parts: (i) laborers involving scriptwriters, directors, lighting technicians (the best boy), (ii) producers, (iii) networks and (iv) advertisers (see Appendix 4). Covering the interviews conducted with several agents, press interviews with the producers and scholarly accounts, the next two subsections intend to examine the significant role and position of two individual agents, the producers and scriptwriters in the remaking process, who take multifunctional roles in the creative process of the development of Turkish television remakes.

3.2.5.1. Television Producers as the Gatekeepers of Television Remakes

As it has been underlined above, it is significant to identify the role of each of the agents involved in the process of television remaking in order to envisage this process in its entirety. For instance, the role of producers is paramount in that it involves the interaction among all agents from broadcasters, directors and screenwriters to cast of television remakes. Given that "[n]o one knows with any assurance what conventions the mass audience appreciates and accepts, what class or professional artistic cultural understandings might inform their choices" (Becker, 1982: 123), producers' role takes on much more special importance and it has already

been suggested in many studies.[111] For example, Héloïse Boudon and Katharina Niemeyer (2016) indicate that, "the producer acts like an orchestra conductor for the group of screenwriters; he or she is also the decision-maker, anticipating the expectations of both broadcaster and potential viewers" (661). Likewise, Silvio Waisbord and Sonia Jalfin (2009) rightly point out that producers use their gut feelings to take some decisions concerning remakes (67) and they monitor "local political, economic and cultural trends that may work as cultural markers in their shows" (59). That is, granted with the ability to perpetually observe ongoing developments to identify public opinion and evaluate the appropriateness of foreign ideas, these key agents usually have extensive knowledge about the television series to be remade and the potential pitfalls and/or the likely successes that emerge in the target television landscape.

Concerning the role of Turkish producers in selecting and purchasing a source material for remaking, Meryem notes that, having an intuitive sense of what will be appropriate for viewers, Turkish producers attend annual trade shows several times in a year (see Appendix 4).[112] In such organizations, as Meryem remarks, producers frequently participate in conferences and events, gain insight into the latest television trends and establish relationships with entertainment industry professionals and network owners. Such conventions, in which format owners pursue to distribute their programs to other television territories around the world, create an opportunity for the showcase of domestic productions to buyers from a number of countries. Also, remake deals and collaborations take place during these international fairs. In this regard, it can be suggested that the choice of the material to be remade for Turkish television is usually in the hands of Turkish producers as the major agents of this market. This finding was firmly approved by Meryem who noted in the interview that, during the recent years, Turkish producer Fatih Aksoy has preferred to produce dramas concentrating on woman characters and the selection of television dramas to remake is in the hands of him, not anyone else (see Appendix 4).

[111] See Gitlin, 1983; Bielby and Bielby, 1994; Wright, 2005; Waisbord and Jalfin, 2009

[112] MIPCOM is one of these events held in the French town of Cannes and it is the world's biggest television and entertainment convention. NATPE (The National Association of Television Programming Executives) and DISCOP (Discount Programming) are also other trade fairs where sellers and buyers of television programming come together, develop business relationships and undertake partnerships (Moran, 2009d: 27).

In an e-mail correspondence, a television reporter Altuntaş provides brief information about mostly vague and ill-defined legal terms[113] about how to acquire a licence to remake a given programme in-house and she notes that, in the trade fairs, Turkish producers purchase the licences of television series by format owners in accordance with the most common business model of licensing[114] in which format owners sell their formats to a distribution company which distributes them to other national television stations or they can handle this marketing on their own (see Appendix 5). Altuntaş also points out that the owners of intellectual property rights associated with a given television series usually identify the course of action that local production team must follow and they monitor how much concession would be made to the interests of target viewers. With regard to this point, Kosif adds that, the scope of contractual conditions is usually not strict, and so licensing companies often do not insist that no transformation in a source material will occur, rather they set local production teams considerably free. As she further highlights, when the fact that Turkish television series last almost three hours is considered, it is what the Turkish remake market needs (see Appendix 6).

As far as the distribution of authority in the field of Turkish television remakes is concerned, Kosif deems it necessary to underline that the choice of source text to be remade is usually under the authority of producers (see Appendix 6). She also emphasizes that scriptwriters are sometimes able to spot a potentially successful remake idea and come up with some suggestions for what television series would appeal to Turkish viewers since they are mostly interested in watching foreign television series and informed of their ratings success in their home countries (ibid.). However, as for Bengi, in many cases, Turkish scriptwriters only carry out the task they are appointed to do and their scope of authority is rather limited (see Appendix 7). This is because, as Bengi suggests, Turkish producers act in the capacity of "employer" and they pay for the services of scriptwriters whereas scriptwriters were

[113] It is a common practice that television executives/producers take someone else's ideas and produce a new program on the basis of that idea without acknowledging their source and paying royalties. For more information and discussion on controversies of the legal rights of television shows, see Waisbord, 2004.

[114] As it has been pointed out earlier, this model is briefly described "as selling and purchasing licences for television formats between an exporting licensor and an importing licensee" (Lantzsch, Altmappen and Will, 2009: 80). It involves "the devolution of rights from the licensor to the licensee" (ibid.).

the employees that provide services to the former (ibid.). By all means, the fact that the Turkish television industry mostly compels scriptwriters to acknowledge producers as bosses and to abide by all sort of decisions conveyed by them has been voiced by all the interviewees.

3.2.5.2. Scriptwriters as the Cultural Mediators of Television Remakes

Based on the interviews, it appears that scriptwriters are the agents who mostly decide the textual changes to be made in a given television remake for it to fit in with and make sense in its new semiotic environment, undoubtedly in consideration of the requirements specified by producers, broadcasters and RTÜK (regulating the audiovisual sector in Turkey), among others. That is, this research views Turkish scriptwriters as "cultural translators"[115] taking charge in the remaking process since they constantly try to deal with a highly difficult task in which they are necessarily supposed to orient towards both the source and target communities between which they are mediating. This double orientation makes this task significantly tough in which scriptwriters operate a dynamic and ongoing process since such texts as television remakes are always open to further negotiation, as do the meaning invested in them. In this regard, as Waisbord and Jalfin indicate, the decisions made by scriptwriters (which are largely under the influence of producers and broadcasters, who have the control and the lion's share of profit in this process) "not only affect the viewing choices of audiences, but also outline national cultural boundaries" (2009: 59).

Concerning the scriptwriting/remaking phase, it is also worth mentioning that Turkish scriptwriters mostly prefer taking only the primary narrative elements of foreign sources as the base. In other words, only the most distinct features of source television series namely their characters, personal conflicts and the turning points in the story are made use of by Turkish writers. As it has been pointed out earlier, although at earlier stages it is easy to identify the similarities between the source products and their remakes, then, as the stories continue to unfold, the episodes of the

[115] In the paper entitled "*Ugly Betty* and the Emergence of the Latina/o Producers as Cultural Translators", Juan Piñon designates the very role as cultural translators of Latina/o producers involved in *Ugly Betty*'s remaking process in the US media industry (2011).

Turkish remakes begin to become more and more distanced from their sources. Meryem confirms this assumption in the interview by stating that source scripts are sometimes ignored or even deliberately withheld in Turkish television remakes (see Appendix 4).

As another scriptwriter Kosif indicated during my interview, she first attempts to envisage in her mind Turkish counterparts of the characters in the source show and determines their apparences and personality traits (see Appendix 6). This is because the fact that a television series achieves high ratings is, as Kosif argues, mostly related to its characters' likeability and their ability to evoke sympathy in viewers. She further declares that she rests on some scenes and fundamental conflicts from source materials, but not often though. Kosif concludes her remarks by adding that there are also scriptwriters whose remakes have high degree of fidelity to source versions (see Appendix 6).

Alike Kosif, Meryem's first phase of remaking process constitutes the construction of characters. Taking as an example the case of Turkish *Desperate Housewives*, Meryem notes that she first outlined four protagonists's general characeristics and tried to find their equivalents in the Turkish context in consideration of the potential resonance of those characters among Turkish viewers (see Appendix 4). She also stated in the interview that the plotline of the source material is what she is looking for while getting involved in remaking and it helps her to find the main theme and fundamental conflicts (ibid.). By so doing, Meryem seemed to intend to preserve what can be called as the spirit of the original *Desperate Housewives* (ibid.).

The discussions that emerge from the interviews I conducted with Turkish scriptwriters have revealed that the essence of remaking resides in keeping the gist and main conflicts of the source but remaking the majority of components to the specific political, economic, social and cultural context of a target culture in which this process takes place and in consideration of local sentiments, cultural concerns and distinctive television traditions. Another scriptwriter Bengi's statements on the role of writers during the remaking process reinforce the previous points underlined by Kosif and Meryem. According to Bengi, an original text only serves as a template for a remake (see Appendix 7). As he further suggests, sketching out well the fundamental conflicts and scenes in the source text as well as identifying its storyline, basic narrative

premises and main theme, Turkish writers often rewrite their own scripts and create a new story by selectively incorporating the component(s) (among those above-specified) that arouse(s) their exciment (ibid.).

The other point to make here is the fact that the majority of Turkish television remakes is scripted not by one writer but a group of writers and it is made obvious by means of the paratextual data obtained from the opening and closing credits of Turkish remakes (where information about writing credits is available) as well as *imdb.com*. The number of scriptwriters in such groups ranges from two to over ten. Kosif repeatedly referred to the fact that the duration of Turkish television series, which has become longer recently, obliged Turkish scriptwriters to adopt the teamwork approach (see Appendix 6). In the interview, she indicated that they (as a team of scriptwriters) negotiate about the main storyline and each one of fundamental scenes in a group e-mail in Gmail (ibid.). Then those scenes, as she remarked, are sent to dialogue writers who complete their task and send the script back to the head of scriptwriting for proofreading and taking its ultimate form. As for Kosif, as the first draft of scripts, treatments [narrative synopses of what happens in a story, including a little dialogue (Field, 1984/2005: 213-214) are the basis of scriptwriting and they demand a group work whereas dialogues are often written individually. This is Kosif's description of how the scriptwriting team usually works (see Appendix 6).

In addition to these, it has been observed that a scriptwriter or scriptwriter team of Turkish television remake often changes in the following episodes of remakes for different reasons, which implicates the fact that it is not possible to identify a particular scriptwriter or the team as recognized and renowned specifically for writing Turkish remakes' scripts. The scriptwriter(s) of Turkish television remakes are often replaced by the new one(s) during their later periods of broadcasting. One reason for this could be the instability of Turkish television series market. It indicates a fragmentary and irregular structure of the writing phase of Turkish remakes, which could be generalized into the whole repertoire of Turkish television series. Despite this unsteady picture in the scriptwriting process, it is possible to mention that several writers engaging with remakes' scripts stand out. Ahmet Saatçioğlu, Aksel Bonfil, Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt, Ece Yörenç, Haluk Özenç, Hatice Meryem, Makbule Kosif, Melek Gençoğlu and Verda Pars are among those scriptwriters who have taken charge of writing of several

Turkish television remakes. Though Özenç wrote the all episodes of Turkish television remakes such as *Tatlı Hayat*, *Kerem ile Aslı*, *Sayın Bakanım*, *Belalı Baldız*, *Acemi Cadı* and *Bana Baba Dedi*, he did only write the scripts of *Acemi Cadı*'s three episodes (episode 1, 2 and 22). Melek Gençoğlu and Ece Yörenç, who are among the scriptwriting team of another Turkish remake *Medcezir*, have contributed its script in different amounts. Gençoğlu was involved in this process during 38 episodes whereas Yörenç contributed to 76 episodes of *Medcezir*. Involving in the scriptwriting process of several Turkish remakes such as *Mükemmel Çift*, *Kanıt*, *Galip Derviş* and *Babamın Günahları*, Ahmet Saatçioğlu has not appeared in all episodes of each remakes. While Saatçioğlu wrote all episodes of *Kanıt*, he did only write four episodes of *Galip Derviş*. The other example for the fragmented nature of scriptwriting process relates to the Turkish remake of *Shameless*, which was written by six different scriptwriters.[116]

All in all, though it seems tedious to collect data about the scriptwriting process of Turkish television remakes due to its fragmented and messy nature, it is significant to obtain such data in order to answer the following questions awaiting answers: What gets remade? Which parts of originating texts are chosen and not others? How does the process start? When do remakes begin to move away from their sources? Drawing on largely the interviews and paratextual data, this part has addressed the questions cited above, highlighting the indispensable role of scriptwriters in the television remake process and providing an overview of their workflow and production site.

3.2.6. Presentation of Television Remakes in Paratextual Elements

As this research has suggested in 2.2.3., paratexts play a significant role in forming public perceptions of Turkish television remakes since they present them to the viewers and convey comment on the remakes, and thus have an impact on their reception. In this regard, this part has resorted to various official and unofficial paratexts (Mittell, 2015) in order to reveal how Turkish television remakes have been presented to Turkish viewers across multiple media platforms (such as newspapers and magazines) and what kind of comments have been made in such platforms about the

[116] Elif Asılkefeli Yeter, 43 episodes; Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt, 37 episodes; Hatice Meryem, 21 episodes; Ebru Hacıoğlu, 17 episodes; Verda Pars, 11 episodes and Seray Şahiner, 8 episodes.

lasting tension between whether Turkish television remakes should bear close resemblance to their source texts or they should be tailored for the Turkish cultural context, Turkish television market and Turkish viewers' sensibilities and taste. The official paratexts used in this part include the remakes' opening and closing credits and their trailers on the one hand, and on the other several newspapers, websites and the television-culture magazine *Episode*. As for the unofficial paratexts, they largely consist of various internet blogs and fan pages.

My survey has revealed that the Turkish media did not mention other words but "adaptasyon" (adaptation) and "uyarlama" (adaptation) for Turkish television remakes. It also holds true for my corpus of Turkish television remakes between 2001-2020 which includes data about the legal status (acknowledged/unacknowledged) of the remakes. This corpus also includes what labels/terms (such as adaptation, remake, special version) were used to refer to the acknowledged Turkish television remakes in their opening/closing credits and/or in their trailers as the most attention-grabbing peritextual elements for television series. According to the list, out of fifty seven "authorized" Turkish television remakes, sixteen pointed at their originating source in their opening/closing credits by means of the expression "senaryo uyarlama" (script adaptation). While eleven series used the expression "…'den/dan (esinlenilerek) uyarlanmıştır" ("adapted from…" or "inspired by and adapted from…"), and "…adlı diziden uyarlanmıştır" ("adapted from the TV series…"), six remakes used such namings as "Türkçe adaptasyon" (Turkish adaptation), "adaptasyon" (adaptation) and "senaryo adaptasyon" (script adaptation). The rest and few labelings are as follows: "özgün formatı… aittir" (its original format belongs to…), "yurtdışı format yazarı" (its original format/scriptwriter), "orjinal hikaye" (original story), "uyarlama" (adaptation), "…den esinlenilerek yazılmıştır" (written by inspiration of…), "esinlenilerek geliştirilmiştir" (developed by inspiration of), "uyarlanarak yazılmıştır" (rewritten based on an adaptation), and "orjinal senaryo" (original script). Alongside, several opening/closing credits kept in English the labelings about the status of remakes and they used such expressions as "…based on" and "in association with…" in order to denote the acknowledged Turkish television series. As a result, it has turned out that Turkish words, *adaptasyon* and *uyarlama*, are much more preferred namings for the acknowledged television remakes in the Turkish context.

As far as the terminology used in *Episode* (the only Turkish magazine on television series) for Turkish television remakes is concerned, similar usages come to the fore. For instance, Çağla Özden's article on *Shameless* written on the eve of its Turkish remake in the fifth issue of *Episode* and the interview with Turkish *Shameless*'s leading actor and actress involve the following expressions: "*Bizim Hikaye… Shameless* uyarlaması" (*Bizim Hikaye...adapted from Shameless*), "Türkiye uyarlaması" (Turkish adaptation), "…dizilerinden uyarlanan Amerikan versiyonları" (their American versions adapted from such TV series as…) and "…en vizyonsuz uyarlamalarından biriydi…" (one of the most visionless adaptations) (*Episode* 2017, fifth and seventh issue). Alongside these names given to the practice of television remake, Ceren Şehirlioğlu, in her article entitled "Çakmacılık Sendromu", refers to remaking through the use of such verbs as "lokalize etmek" (to localize) and "Türkleştirmek" (to Turkify; that is, to relocate it into the Turkish context) (*Episode* 2017, Issue 6, 2).

Many news and other kinds of pieces about Turkish television remakes in some Turkish newspapers (such as *Sözcü*, *Vatan* and *Milliyet*) and many websites (including *ranini.tv, televizyongazetesi.com, onedio.com, ntv.com* and *blog.milliyet.com*) almost always use the word "uyarlama" while mentioning television remakes. There are also different labelings, though limited in number. For instance, the Turkish remake of *The O.C.* is named as "yerli The O.C.miz" (our indigenous *The* O.C.) (*blog.milliyet.com*), and as "yerli uyarlama" (local adaptation) (*gecce.com*) in different internet sources. The other Turkish remake *Cennetin Gözyaşları* is named as a Korean adaptation ("Kore uyarlamamız" in Turkish) (*gazetevatan.com*). The Turkish remake of *Shameless* was also publicized in various internet sources with different labelings: "Yerli Shameless" (indigenous/local *Shameless*) (evrensel.net), "Shameless dizisinin yerli versiyonu" (the local version of *Shameless*) (gzt.com), and "yerli uyarlama" (local adaptation) (22dakika.org). My analysis of various paratextual materials has shown that, even though there are abundant disparate ways of describing Turkish television remakes in Turkish newspapers and various internet sources, it is not indicated why they applied this term and what they exactly meant by it, which suggests that the Turkish media mostly use this concept loosely regardless of the origins, genres and specific characteristics of Turkish television remakes.

Just as there is no consensus on what term to be applied to the remake process in the Turkish context, so is it disputable to what extent Turkish television remakes are expected to diverge from their origins. This point was addressed several times in *Episode*. In "Shameless: Bize Benzemeyenle Empati Kurmak", Özden proposes that neither are television remakes obliged to be the same as their originals, nor should they remain too much aloof from their originals (*Episode* 2017, fifth issue, 54). Şehirlioğlu also makes similar statements:

> *Well, now that we are to leave aside their soul and break them into pieces while transporting television series to ourselves, why we still insistently continue to import them? (2017: 3)*
> *Rather than writing our "own" scripts, why do we still insist on saying Palavra for Parole as Ajda Pekkan does? (ibid.)*
> *If My Name is Earl is to turn into "Hakkını Helal Et" [Forgive me, if I mar any rights of you] and if such an esteemed person as Chuck Bass is meant to be Çet at Etiler High School, it is better not to indulge into this reworking process. If we have already our own story, there is no need to go too far away.* (ibid.)

Alongside these, there are several sources which offer some explanation about the way how Turkish television remakes are supposed to be carried out and thereby contribute to the formation of discourse[117] on Turkish television remakes in the Turkish media. One of these sources concerns the Turkish remake of *The Mother* which went to air on Star TV in 2016. The news reports that the Turkish remake turned out to be anexact copy of its source.

> *Star TV's television series, "Anne", which hit the ratings in its first episode turned out to be an adaptation of Japanese production "The Mother". It is even beyond an adaptation, but almost an exact copy with its scenes and dialogues.* (Anne dizisi birebir kopya çıktı!, gazeteciler.com)

As it has been pointed out earlier, discussions on whether Turkish television remakes should be remodeled in order to fit in with the local repertoire or they should adopt extraneous models and confront the local repertoire, are still continuing. The Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*'s news on the Turkish remake (*Tehlikeli Karım*) of the Japanese drama *My Dangerous Wife* provides an example for the inconsistent comments on what is expected from Turkish television remakes. Unlike the previous statements on the Turkish remake *Anne*, *Milliyet*'s news does not adopt a critical stance

[117] The term "discourse" in this subsection refers to a general sense of talk and meaning about the concept of remake in the Turkish media landscape, and it is not employed in a methodological sense as used in textual analysis.

towards the fidelity of the Turkish remake *Tehlikeli Karım* to its source. *Milliyet*'s comment on the Turkish remake suggests that the project will stay on its course and will not get out of control since the Japanese production team, who provided the original format of *Tehlikeli Karım*, regularly visit the Turkish remake's set in İstanbul ("Tehlikeli Karım' dizisi tutar mı?", milliyet.com).

The opening/closing credit sequences and trailers of Turkish television remakes, functioning as peritextual data, have provided evidences for the prevalence of "uyarlama" labeling. It has also appeared that the choice of labeling has not drawn on contemplated and sound foundations in the Turkish media. Additionally, one labeling is used for other forms of television series based on other resources such as novel-to-TV series and film-to-TV series transpositions regardless of the medium-related, narrative and thematic differences among these productions. Finally, as paratextual data have shown, the basic tension between the resemblance to the source material and the deviation from it has not yet reached any consensus in the Turkish media milieu.

3.3. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter mainly included two compherensive parts. The first one contextualized the translated and indigenous television series within the Turkish culture repertoire in order to develop a better understanding of the position and function of imported television series within the Turkish culture repertoire and the sociocultural and political dynamics in the Turkish television history. My examination showed that Turkish television is consisted of three eras. These are: (i) the era of public broadcaster TRT (1968-1990), (ii) commercial broadcasting in the 1990s, and (iii) the 2000s. As it was revealed in this chapter, the continuous flow of import and the presence of these different forms of translation (subtitling, dubbing and remaking) exhibited the translation's integral role in the history of television series in Turkey.

It appeared that, in the first era of Turkish television, translations ostensibly enabled the making of the repertoire of Turkish television series and they played an integral role in the shaping of the repertoire of TRT by means of introducing foreign programs as options between 1968 and 1990. A huge number of imported television

series were introduced to Turkish viewers as options in TRT's initial years of broadcasting when its own repertoire was in the process of establishment. This chapter also showed that the introduction of imported television series to the Turkish culture repertoire contributed to the literary translation market in Turkey. As for the second era, it became apparent that Turkish television networks rapidly produced their own scripts and program content and, as a result, the central position of translation in the making of the Turkish television series repertoire weakened. During this phase, the imported television series attracted notably fewer viewers. However, the decades-long existence of imported television series in the Turkish television repertoire enabled the series genre to become an integrated part of the Turkish television repertoire. These series inserted their semiotic model into the Turkish television repertoire and the series genre condolidated in the Turkish television repertoire. This era was also marked by the end of TRT's monopoly, during which the program content was majorly monitored by TRT and, accordingly, the state, as institutional agents. In that era, market-related considerations came to play a prominent role and they moderately replaced the institutional agents.

The chapter also explored the third phase of Turkish television after the 2000s, the focal point of my research. This chapter showed that, compared with the first two phases of Turkish television, the rate of indigenous television series production saw a great increase in the 2000s, which led to their domination in prime-time slots of mainstream television networks. In that era, domestic Turkish television series were exported in many countries, showing the worldwide interest as well. Overall, it became evident that, starting from the 1970s until the present day, the repertoire of Turkish television series was remarkably established with ample and multifarious products as a result of both imports and domestic products. Translation became a tool of enrichment in the third era when diverse forms of imported series simultaneously appeared on Turkish television. It could be argued that translations (subtitled and dubbed) seemingly occupied a peripheral position in the repertoire of Turkish television series in this era. This is because, they almost completely disappeared from mainstream Turkish television stations and they have gone to air on several television platforms which appeal to an insignificant number of viewers in Turkey. In place of them, the third era introduced a new form of translation, television series remakes.

This chapter demonstrated that, the number of the Turkish remakes of foreign television series has significantly increased in that era, offering an alternative way of producing content in Turkey and thereby notably enriching the Turkish television series repertoire. It appeared that, so far, ninety-nine (acknowledged and unacknowledged) remakes have been aired on Turkish television channels. As this chapter pointed out, the entire remake production has remarkably risen together with the upward momentum in the number of South Korean-origin remakes in Turkey since 2013. Moreover, it also became apparent that almost 90% of all Turkish television remakes had the US and South Korean origins whereas the rest 10% includes Japan, Australia, the UK, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Canada and Argentine.

Regarding the 2000s, my survey pointed out that, though the Turkish television series repertoire is extensive and multiform, it reached the saturation point and faced a sort of deadlock where it necessitated alternative options to feed off itself. The introduction of Turkish television remakes appeared as a way of providing new options to come through this deadlock and produce new outputs. Concerning this, this chapter suggested that Turkish television remakes, purchased from various source cultures and then produced in compliance with local parameters in the Turkish context, point to the ultimate phase of cross-cultural interference as suggested by Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, which refers to the production of similar cultural goods fitting in with local parameters in another territory.

The second part of this chapter showed that all interviewees that I interacted with referred to the phenomenon of remaking as a tradition, trend, obligation or cycle. This chapter also revealed that there are several reasons for the prevalence of this practice. The first one concerns economic motives since the proven success of source materials is often viewed by target-culture producers as minimizing the potential risk of failure. The second reason, which is the television remakes' potential overseas sale, also relates to economic concerns. In the Turkish case, however, the lack of creativity in the Turkish television series industry becomes perhaps the most significant cause of the remaking phenomenon. Moreover, the other common reason for this practice appears to be television viewers' desire to watch television series that are as close to them as possible in many ways such as cultural references, shared knowledge and viewing taste. Alongside these, the specific characteristics of Turkish television series,

namely the long episode duration and the high number of episodes per one television season, led Turkish producers to keep plenty of stories in stock in order to enable the uninterrupted production flow.

The second part this chapter examined the corpus of Turkish television remakes from the early 2000s to 2020. Firstly, as the examination of the source products showed, the introduction of television remakes into the Turkish television repertoire began in 2001 with the acknowledged remakes of *The Nanny* and *The Jeffersons*. It was further revealed that almost half of the remakes in my corpus was drawn on ideas obtained from foreign television series without any licensing agreement. It also become evident that it is usual for television remakes to diverge from the basic tenets of their source materials and proceed on their ways with new plotlines. As for the generic attributes of the Turkish television remakes, it appeared that the sitcom genre was at the top during the early years of the remaking phenomenon in the Turkish television industry. It turned out then that the variety of genres in the repertoire of television remakes started to rise in the following years. Perhaps the most significant point to make in this topic is that, among various multiple generic attributes and narrative forms, the melodramatic modality pervaded the repertoire of Turkish television remakes almost completely. This chapter showed that the melodrama genre became notably commonplace in the Turkish television repertoire on the grounds of Turkish television's continuous interaction with the melodrama genre in soap operas and telenovelas imported from abroad and its dialogue with melodramatic Turkish cinema of the 1960s.

When it comes to the source cultures that provided resources for Turkish television remakes, there appeared two major (the US and South Korea) and several minor source cultures (British, Japanese, Australian, Italian, Danish, Spanish, Canadian and Argentine cultures). This chapter demonstrated that even though Turkish remakes from South Korean dramas left behind the rate of the television remakes from the US sources, the US was the leading source culture until 2011, constituting the percentage of 90 of all television remake production in Turkey. The primary reasons for it include the global superiority of US television and its supremacy in the Turkish television repertoire since the inception of Turkish television. The underlying motivations behind S. Korea's being the other major source culture are the worldwide

resurgence in the S. Korean cultural economy, the flourishing television industry in S. Korea, technological advancement, the profileration of online communities, and the cultural proximity between the S. Korean and Turkish cultural sphere.

As for the distribution of the production companies contributing to the expansion of the television remake repertoire in Turkey between the years of 2000 and 2020, Medyapim appears to be the prominent content producer, thus a significant insitutional agent with twenty-one television remakes. MF Yapim follows it with the total number of thirteen television remakes. The rest of the production companies such as Endemol Shine, Ay Yapim, TMC and No Dokuz has a remarkably low market share in the Turkish television series repertoire. The other point that this chapter dealt with concerned the matter of social agents involving in the remake process. Drawing on the interviews made within the scope of this research, this chapter suggested that the development and production process of Turkish remakes is carried out as a result of the collaborative work of various social agents. According to my survey, it appeared that producers and scriptwriters play the most prominent roles in the end product. As it became evident, producers are expected to have comprehensive background knowledge about the television series repertoire in the source and target cultures, participate in trade fairs for television series, foresee the broadcasters's expectations, have an intuitive sense about viewing preferences, observe the latest political, economic and cultural developments, and keep order among a group of scriptwriters. As for scriptwriters, it was made manifest that their scope of authority is much more limited than that of producers, but still they are cultural translators. This chapter showed that, though Turkish scriptwriters differ in their workflow in the remake process, they often retain the main theme, fundamental conflicts and basic narrative premises of the source text, which suggested that source television series usually work as a template for the end product. In addition to these, the paratextual examination of the opening and closing credits of Turkish remakes revealed that Turkish scriptwriters often work in groups, the number of members of which ranges from two to over ten scripwriters. Moreover, it also became manifest that the frequent change in the members of scripwriting teams in the Turkish television series industry is inevitable considering the overall instability of the Turkish television industry.

In this chapter, I also examined the paratexts about Turkish television remakes and my examination of paratexts in newspapers, television magazines and internet-based platforms showed that Turkish television remakes are mostly cited as an "adaptation" in the Turkish media landscape. The examination of the opening/closing credits and trailers of Turkish television remakes further revealed that, for these cultural goods, the concept of adaptation is much more commonly used than such alternative labels as "localization" and "to Turkify" . Nevertheless, it became obvious that the choice of the concept to describe television remakes is most often made randomly, that is, the label for a given Turkish television series remake is applied regardless of the differences among similar cultural goods which might differ in themselves according to the shift of medium, narrative, genre, and source material during the remake process. Lastly, this chapter made it apparent that neither is there a consensus among authorities and researchers on what label to be applied to Turkish television remakes, nor is it evident whether these cultural goods are supposed to be produced in consideration of the target culture parameters or those prevalent in the source culture.

CHAPTER FOUR
A COMPARATIVE MACRO ANALYSIS THROUGH INTERPRETANTS: THE CASE OF *DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES* AND *UMUTSUZ EV KADINLARI*

This chapter defines intra-medial transcultural television remakes as translated cultural goods with foreign originals that are transferred into the Turkish television repertoire, addressing a broad range of local parameters while at the same time maintaining attachment to a given source text. In order to present how this process of interference occurs in the Turkish television repertoire, I will comparatively analyze the remade *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* to unearth the resemblances to and divergences from its source, *Desperate Housewives*, as a case study. This chapter first endeavors to provide some basic information as to the origins of the source series and its Turkish remake, and their constitutive corporative traits such as broadcasters and several other production data. Secondly, in order to identify and discuss what elements are carried into, adjusted and ultimately left in the Turkish remake, the two series will be closely compared by using "interpretants" as a methodological tool offered by Venuti (2007).

According to Venuti, the adaptation process entails a range of shifts between a source text and its target version(s) since it deals with a cultural good that is under the strong influence of different traditions, practices, conditions of production, numerous agents and economic and political factors as well as many images and representations (see 2.2.4.1.). Given that these parameters at different levels are intricately related and become integral components of a single cultural good, Venuti suggests the concept of "interpretant" as an essential category for conducting a meticulous and exhaustive analysis of adaptation and proposes to examine the adaptation process under "formal" and "thematic" interpretants. Bearing in mind that the remake process of television series is driven by more multifarious considerations than those affecting film adaptations, I have recognized that Venuti's methodological suggestion falls short in analyzing the remake process of television series. Thus, I offer four more categories in addition to Venuti's category of thematic interpretant, excluding his category of formal interpretant and suggesting new categories that enable me to analyze an extensive set of parameters involved in the remaking process. The categories that I will make use of are as follows: a) compositional interpretants, b) media-systemic

interpretants, c) social interpretants, d) intertextual interpretants, and e) thematic interpretants. The first four interpretants will be examined in this chapter and the last one will be the subject of Chapter Five. In addition to comparative textual analysis, I will benefit from a semi-structured and qualitative interview I conducted with one of the scriptwriters of *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* and paratextual data as regards the source and target series.

This chapter broadly seeks to illuminate, how and in what manners the interpretants have either lent themselves to indigenization for the continuity of the firmly established conventions within the Turkish television series repertoire, and/or aspired to confront them, thus pushing the boundaries, producing a sense of foreignness and enriching the repertoire of Turkish television series.

4.1. SOURCE TEXT AND ITS REMAKE: *DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES* AND *UMUTSUZ EV KADINLARI*

The process of remaking inevitably invites comparisons between the source and its new appearance in a target culture (Moran, 2009b; McCabe and Akass, 2012; Bruhn, Gjelsvik and Hanssen, 2013; McCabe, 2015). Thus, comparative cross-cultural analysis will serve as a methodological tool in this chapter. The pair of television series-remake chosen for the analysis is *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*. This subsection intends to give brief information regarding the production data of the source and target series. The source television series will be introduced by means of a brief plot synopsis in order to make it easier to understand the deeper analysis that will be provided in the following sections of this chapter and in Chapter 5. Given that changes to the plot are one of the aspects that will be handled during the analysis of the remake, the synopsis of the Turkish remake will not be presented separately in this subsection. The same holds for the list of characters' description, which will only include the source product.

Table 4: Basic Information about *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*

Original Title	***Desperate Housewives***	***Umutsuz Ev Kadınları***
Country	USA	Turkey
Production company	Cherry Productions	Medyapım
Producer	Marc Cherry	Fatih Aksoy
Network	ABC	Kanal D Fox TV
Number of seasons	8	3
Number of episodes	180	154
Television seasons that the two shows were on the air	2004-2012	2011-2014
Genre	Comedy Drama Mystery Soap opera Romance	Melodrama Comedy Romance Mystery
Runtime (one episode)	45-50 minutes	90-120 minutes 60 minutes (as of episode 55 to the end)
Scriptwriters	Marc Cherry, Jason Ganzel, Jenna Bans, Joshua Senter, Dahvi Waller, Kevin Etten, Jordon Nardino, Brian Tanen, Alexandra Cunningham, Joey Murphy, John Pardee, Bob Daily, Wendy Mericle, Matt Berry, Kevin Murphy, Tom Spezialy, Jeff Greenstein, Joe Keenan, David Flebotte, Jamie Gorenberg, Marco Pennette, David Schladweiler, Susan Nirah Jaffee, Chris Black, Lori Kirkland Baker, John Paul Bullock, Annie Weisman, Josann McGibbon, Sara Parriott, Bruce Zimmerman, Anne Flett-Giordano, Chuck Ranberg, Valerie Brotski, Sheila R. Lawrence, Oliver Goldstick, Patty Lin, Tracey Stern, Adam Barr, Alan Cross, Katie Ford, Ellen Herman, David Schulner, Jim Lincoln, Scott Sanford Tobis, Valerie Ahern, Brian A. Alexander, Christian McLaughlin, Peter Lefcourt, Jeffrey Richman, Cindy Appel	Hatice Meryem, Yelda Eroğlu, Meryem Gür, Gül Gürsoy, Grup Karayazı

Source: Prepared by the author

Produced by ABC Studios and Cherry Productions, *Desperate Housewives* is known as a dramedy-mystery television series in the US that was broadcast on ABC. It debuted in October 2004 and culminated in 180 episodes. It attained mass appeal, exponential media coverage and commercial success in the US, attracting approximately 25 million American viewers each week (Peyser and Jefferson, 2004). It was the big success of particularly the 2004-2005 television season. Its pilot episode pulled in 21.3 million viewers, making it the best new drama of the year, the highest rated show of the week and the best performance by a pilot for ABC since *Spin City* in 1996 (*Huffpost*, Matthew Jacobs, 2014/updated in 2017). It also generated enormous international debate. It was exported to approximately 200 countries worldwide and was often broadcast with subtitles and dubbing.

Its remakes, which have been summarized in Table 5 below, have aired in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, the US, Nigeria and Turkey since its debut (Sanchez, April 21, 2015). Premiered in 2011, its Turkish remake was produced by Medyapım and broadcast by the commercial channels, Kanal D and then Fox TV. It amassed a sizeable viewership and won critical acclaim, usually remaining at the top of the ratings list particularly during its first season on Kanal D.

Table 5: *Desperate Housewives*'s Remakes in Other Countries

Remakes of the US original version of Desperate Housewives	
Region	**National television market**
Latin America	Brazil, Argentina, Colombia
North America	USA (on Spanish-language network Univision)
Other regions	Turkey, Nigeria

Source: Prepared by the author

As for the subject of this TV series, *Desperate Housewives* opens with the story of Mary Alice Young, who looks like a perfect housewife but mysteriously commits suicide due to secret concerning her and her husband. Mary Alice narrates the show from the afterlife and tells the story of her four friends, Susan Mayer, Lynette Scavo,

Bree Van de Kamp, and Gabrielle Solis, who are introduced at the beginning of the show. The story largely draws on how these women figure out the reasons for Mary Alice's suicide and how they handle the complexities of their own lives and the dynamics of their romantic lives. These four female protagonists show us how the secrets and domestic struggles on a suburban Street, Wisteria Lane, are unearthed. Each season brings with it a new mystery, and life behind closed front doors is uncovered as the story unfolds. The themes that the series broadly revolves around are domesticity, womanhood, manhood, sexuality, romantic affairs, friendship and familial relationships.

It can be clearly seen from the story of *Desperate Housewives* that it is built on the female protagonists. Among these, Susan Mayer may arguably be the most fragile and neurotic character of the show. After her divorce from her unfaithful husband, she was left to take care of her teenage daughter (Julie) on her own. Although Susan is not the perfect housewife and she knows it, she still tries to be better in the domestic and professional field for the sake of her daughter. Gabrielle is an ex-professional model who had appeared on magazine covers such as *Vogue*. She leaves her successful career and finds herself dissatisfied with living in the suburbs and staying home all day. Although she seems to have everything she ever wanted, she lacks complete satisfaction with her life. Lynette, a successful business woman, is forced to quit her job to stay home and raise her mischievous children. She is depicted as a stressed and controlling housewife and mother, and she is viewed as the smart one of the group. As for Bree, she appears to be the perfect housewife. She hosts delightful dinner parties, and often delivers baskets of baked foods to neighbors. However, behind her false face is a woman who is really unhappy. In order to appear as if everything is all right at home, she puts on a mask and plays the role of the happy housewife heroine. Alongside these four women, Edie Britt is another main female character, who is the sexy and savvy divorcée of Wisteria Lane on the one hand and on the other is financially successful.

Following this concise summary, a list and brief descriptions of the other main characters in *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake can be seen in the table below.

Table 6 : Other Leading Characters Featured in *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*

Names of the characters in the source text	**Their Turkish counterparts**	**Basic Descriptions**
Michael "Mike" Delfino	Sinan	A new neighbor, Susan's boyfriend
Carlos Solis	Kudret	Gabrielle's husband
John Rowland	Levent	The teenage gardener of Gabrielle and Carlos, with whom Gabrielle cheats on her husband
Rex Van de Kamp	Behçet	Bree's husband
Tom Scavo	Ömer	Lynette's husband
Julie Mayer	Gamze	Susan's daughter
Andrew Van de Kamp	Kerem	Bree and Rex's son
Danielle Van de Kamp	İrem	Bree and Rex's daughter
Zach Young	Mert	Mary Alice's son
Paul Young	Cemil	Mary Alice's widower
George Williams	Kadir	An ill-disposed homicidal pharmacist in love with Bree Van de Kamp

Source: Prepared by the author

Table 7: Some of the Other Characters That Appeared Either in *Desperate Housewives* or in *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*

Names of the characters in the source show	**Names of the characters in the target show**
Maisy Gibbons	Uncle Resul
Dr. Albert Goldfine	Raziye
	Zeliha's mother
	Zeliha's sister-in-law
	A distant relative of Zeliha's mother-in-law
	Yasemin's sister-in-law
	Nermin's elder aunt-in-law
	Nermin's sister-in-law
	Younger son of Ömer's mother's aunt
	Mert's uncle
	Grandchild of Elif's babysitter candidate's uncle

Source: Prepared by the author

As Table 7 demonstrates, the amount of characters that appeared in the Turkish remake is ostensibly larger than that in the source show. The underlying reason for this could be to fill the Turkish remake's long episodes as compared to the shorter episodes of the source text, which also helps the expansion of the narrative as one of the conventional attributes of Turkish television series. In addition to these points, it can be argued that new family members added by the Turkish scriptwriters seem to aim at exhibiting the family-centric structuring of Turkish culture. The addition of new characters and a more extensive discussion of it will be addressed later in this study.

4.2. COMPOSITIONAL INTERPRETANTS

In addition to the concept of the interpretant suggested by Venuti (2007) as a methodological tool, I have benefited from Albert Moran's (2009b) adaptation model, which identifies three broad categories of shifts ("linguistic-code" translation, "intertextual-code" translation and "cultural-code" translation) that occur in the process of adaptation. Katerina Perdikaki's (2016) research has inspired this research's methodology, as well. Given the complexity of television series as cultural goods, I have proposed new categories for a cross-cultural textual analysis of television remakes and expanded the classifications developed by Venuti, Moran and Perdikaki in order to complement their methodological approach.

In that vein, I first propose *compositional interpretant*, which refers to the basic constituents that compose the foundation of every television series. I suggest that at least two different sets of compositional elements (upon which scriptwriters base their stories) can come into play so far as the remaking of a television series for a particular target culture is concerned. The first concerns the plot structure of a remake, which is also identified by Perdikaki (2016) as one of the descriptive categories in her adaptation model. The second is the remake's spatial and temporal setting. That is also one of Perdikaki's categories that help systematically identify and classify adaptation shifts. Many studies on transnational television remakes have deemed the setting worthy of attention and central to television series (Moran, 2011; Lavigne, 2011; Verevis, 2015). Notwithstanding plot structure and setting, some other types of compositional interpretants (such as characterization and narrative techniques) fundamental to television series remakes might also be cited. However, in this part, in line with my suggestion, the *plot structure* and *setting* will be thoroughly investigated as the parts of the compositional interpretant since an in-depth discussion on such topics as characterization and narrative techniques will be dealt with during the evaluation of thematic concerns in this research.

4.2.1. Plot Structure

Plot structure refers to the events that unfold within the framework of a fictional story (Chatman, 1978: 43). *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake employ similar basic sequences of events. Both shows open with the mysterious suicide of the narrator, whose calm and deliberate narration navigates the story, and both revolve around the four female protagonists' struggle to find out why their friend committed suicide. Nevertheless, my analysis has revealed that they differ in the details substantially. One of the most outstanding difference that the Turkish remake features is the treatment of several main storyline structures, which, as many studies on television remakes have emphasized (Mikos, 2015; Zanger, 2015), in turn affect the ultimate message delivered by certain events within these structures.

Here are the main plot points of *Desperate Housewives* that are closely or loosely followed by its Turkish remake:

- Mary Alice's suicide, setting off the first mystery of the series
- Susan's relationship with a new neighbor, Mike, who has a secret of his own
- Lynette trying to take care of her troublesome kids
- Bree's perfect world falling to pieces
- Gabrielle's struggle to keep her affair hidden from her husband
- Edie's competing with Susan for Mike's love

Given the necessity of filling the Turkish remake's almost two-hour episodes in comparison to the nearly forty-five-minute episodes of the source text, the addition of new characters in the Turkish remake has a decisive impact on the plot structure. Likewise, it appears that several characters in the source show have no dialogues, whereas their Turkish counterparts have been given dialogues and, of course, much more screen time. For instance, in S1/E4 of *Desperate Housewives*, Lynette receives a phone call from her twins' school and she goes to talk to the teacher, who tells her that her children painted a little girl blue during class. Then it is seen that while Lynette steps out of the school with her twins, she comes across the little girl and her mother. In the source show, these two mothers are seen just looking at each other in silence. In the respective scene in the Turkish remake, though similar actions take place, a remarkable shift occurs at the moment when Elif exists the school and comes across

the parent of the girl to whom her children misbehaved. First, the cause of the incident is changed from Lynette's twins' painting their friend blue into Elif's children peeping under a little girl's skirt. Also, that little girl's mother is seen overreacting and shouting at Elif and her children. When the little girl tells Elif what her children did to her, her mother reacts again too strongly and tells her daughter not to keep saying it, adding that if her father hears about it, he will cut Elif's kids into pieces. In the following moments of the same scene, she continues to show an exaggerated response to this incident and reprimands Elif and her children. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the addition of new characters or the change of scenes with no dialogue into scenes with dialogue do not contribute to the narrative's overall complexity; they only help extend the Turkish remake's length.[118] This technique of expanding a particular narrative contributes to what is described by Arzu Öztürkmen as the slow narrative flow of the Turkish *dizi* genre (2018: 7).

It also turns out that, compared with the example above, there are more major shifts in the plot structure of the Turkish remake. For instance, Gabrielle's secret affair has been listed above as one of the most paramount points of the main storyline of the source series. Nevertheless, it is treated quite differently in the Turkish remake, reflecting the varying source and target cultural tolerances towards women's betrayal. In the source show, portrayed as a trophy wife, Gabrielle married Carlos Solis, who proposed after their third date. She then gave up her extravagant life in New York City to move to the suburbs of Fairview and adapt a more settled lifestyle with her husband. During their marriage, Carlos is always away on business trips, leaving his wife to become bored and lonely. Gabrielle begins to feel even more lonely as her husband keeps prioritizing his work above her. As a result of this, she begins having an affair with her teenage gardener and high-school student, John. In the source show, Gabrielle

[118] Examples of stretching out the story with details abound in the Turkish remake. For instance, see S1/E8 of the Turkish remake. While the scenes in which Gabrielle's mother-in-law finally succeeds in catching Gabrielle in bed with John and then is run over while trying to quickly leave the house take place at the end of S1/E7 in the source show, they are carried over to the initial parts of S1/E8 in the Turkish remake. This indicates the effort of unfolding the same sequence (the series of events initiated by Gabrielle's being caught by her mother-in-law) more slowly. It should be pointed out that, other than the addition of characters, the expansion of the narrative as one of the traditional aesthetics of Turkish television series is mostly carried out by the presence of prolonged gaze/eye contact. For instance, in S1/E22, in which Yasemin is proposed to by Sinan, the local method of narrative expansion has been performed by the couple's gazing deeply into each other's eyes for a long time during the marriage proposal. These lengthy look shots, which take much time, contribute to the slow narrative flow and fill the Turkish series' long duration per episode.

and John are portrayed as having sex everytime Carlos leaves the home for work. In almost every episode, they are seen sharing a romantic bath, kissing passionately, and engaging in other sexual acts.

Figure 7: Gabrielle shares a romantic bath with the underaged gardener

Figure 8: Gabrielle and John engage in a sexual act on top of the table

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

In the Turkish remake, however, Gabrielle's Turkish counterpart Zeliha does not have any relationship with another man, let alone anything close to a sexual relationship. Instead, Zeliha has only ambiguous romantic feelings for her neighbor's son Levent, whom she invites to her home to set up the computer and help her use it. In S1/E1 of the Turkish remake, for instance, Levent timidly turns his eyes away from Zeliha and tells her that he does whatever she wants, and the viewers witness the first signs of Levent's tender and romantic hopes for Zeliha. Although in several scenes Zeliha is portrayed as bored, lonely and unhappy, like Gabrielle, due to her husband's indifference, and she is represented as being confused about her feelings for her neighbor's son, she does not take any concrete steps to maintain contact or have an affair with him. Also, in the Turkish remake, Zeliha is not the one cheating on her spouse; instead, her husband Kudret has an affair with another woman. Moreover, Kudret's infidelity has not been treated as thoroughly as Gabrielle's in the source show; it has been represented as a usual act by Kudret, without demonstrating a significant degree of emotional connection to his mistress (that is, his secret girlfriend). In the Turkish remake, a statement by Kudret's mistress even provides an articulation of the legitimization of men's infidelity by linking Kudret's infidelity to the satisfaction/unsatisfaction of his sexual urges: "You, guys, are really weird creatures. You will never be satisfied, will you?" (S1/E1). Here a shift in plot shows us that, considering the conceptions offered in the source show, the Turkish remake provides

Turkish viewers with absolutely different perspectives towards women and men within the society they live in.

In addition to these, my analysis has further shown that scenes involving drugs and depicting drug use orabuse are omitted in the Turkish remake, resulting in several other major shifts in the plot structure. This is evident in S1/E17, in which Andrew is caught smoking marijuana in a car with his friends by his school's parking lot attendant. While the attendant tries to catch him, Andrew drives away, causing the attendant to fall down and injure himself. Bree then decides to send him to a juvenile rehabilitation camp in order to straighten him up. As far as Andrew's Turkish counterpart is concerned, Kerem only bullies the attendant in the school canteen and attempts to create trouble at his school. Following this, his parents decide to send him for an apprenticeship with Nermin's uncle in order to make him understand that if he leaves school, he will need to work harder and under tougher conditions to earn a living. The Turkish remake, as noted above, shies away from dealing with such issues as drug use that take a decisive place in Andrew's characterization and throughout the show. As a result, the sequences omitted from and/or substituted by others in the Turkish remake fundamentally alter the main storyline while also depriving the remake of an opportunity to address broader societal issues, which are highly controversial. For instance, in the case of Andrew and his Turkish counterpart as described above, these serious topics in the source show have been reduced to trivial and ordinary issues of puberty in the Turkish remake.

Here are some other main plots that are omitted in the Turkish remake:

- Lynette's decision to embrace religion and attend a church after her cancer has disappeared (Season 4)
- Mike's drug problem, his dynamics with his drug dealer and his treatment process in a rehab facility (Season 4)
- Edie's death (Season 5)
- Bree's affair with Susan's (one of Bree's closest friends) ex-husband Karl (Season 6)
- Susan's work as a lingerie model on the website *VaVaVaBroom.com* (Season 7)

- Bree's depression, leading her to give in to her old drinking habit, and her lust for men (Season 8)

It appears that, when it comes to topics such as religion, drug use, and alcohol consumption which are widely perceived and treated as taboo within Turkish society in general and the Turkish television milieu in particular, it is quite likely that the Turkish remake either omits these parts entirely or adjusts them in line with the cultural sensibilities, preferences and expectations of local audiences.

Alongside the above-mentioned divergences between *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake, which matter considerably in terms of the plot structure, the other crucial difference results from the leave of Zeliha (the Turkish counterpart of Gabrielle, who was physically seen in every season of *Desperate Housewives*), who made her last appearance in the second season finale (S2/E80). Evrim Solmaz playing Zeliha in *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* reported her marriage and her plan to have a baby as the reason for her absense in the third season (*Sabah* 05.08.2013, "'Zeliş' evlendi diziden ayrıldı"). Following Solmaz's decision to leave the series, a new character, Gülşah (played by Deniz Uğur), was added in the show in order to compensate for Zeliha's absence, promptly giving rise to numerous outstanding differences in the following episodes of the Turkish remake. For instance, the fact that Gabrielle was molested by her abusive stepfather, went to therapy in order to resolve her childhood problems, and was stalked by him did not appear in the Turkish remake. Nevertheless, Carlos'murder of Gabrielle's stepfather and its cover-up by the housewives, which were closely interrelated with what Gabrielle had previously experienced, were substituted in the Turkish remake by Kudret's murder of his new wife's (Gülşah) ex-husband (S3/E134). In the respective parts of the Turkish remake, Gülşah's ex-husband is seen waiting for her at her house. As the ex-husband is about to rape Gülşah, Kudret arrives home, hits him over the head with a candlestick and kills him. Moments later, Yasemin, Nermin and Elif arrive at the house and see the dead body. Thus, it appears that the Turkish remake at least partly substituted what the final season of the source show revolves around overall, but it falls short of presenting one of the leading character's backstories, which reveals her weaknesses, strengths, flaws and fears throughout the eight seasons in the same complicated and conflicted way that is depicted in the source show. It appears that, the rationale behind the alterations, which

are linked with the plot structure, may also be related to compulsory situations like changes in casting, which would stem from some private life-related cases such as marriage and pregnancy.

As a result, as far as the plot structure is concerned, it can be argued that several instances of shifts in the Turkish remake seem to inform and foretell the treatment of various topics in the rest of both shows. That is, even though the main storylines of the source show have been mostly retained, several initial yet decisive differences have pervaded the whole remake, resulting in major differences in the treatment of common themes that are featured in both shows to fit local conventions.

Moreover, the plot structure centering on primarily a female cast and featuring female stories can be evaluated as a token of novelty that resulted in the recognition of female-led television series as a plotline formula in the Turkish television series repertoire. Following the unauthorized Turkish remake (*Metro Palas*, 2004) of *Sex and the City* (1998-2004) and then the authorized remake of *Desperate Housewives*, the originals of both of which were already on air in their dubbed versions in Turkey through such pay television networks as CNBC-e, the Turkish television series repertoire has seen a rise in homegrown television series predominantly led by several female characters, and these indigenous series were usually speculated by television critics, bloggers and viewers (e.g., Twitter users) to have been inspired by some other foreign television series.[119]

The most outstanding examples of these women-led Turkish television series are *Omuz Omuza* (2004-2005), *Gönül İşleri* (2014-2015), *Küçük Tatlı Yalancılar* (2015), *Evli ve Öfkeli* (2015-2016) and *Ufak Tefek Cinayetler* (2017-2018). These homegrown productions suggest the naturalization of foreign shows through domestic production and they leave almost no traces of their foreign origins. In fact, they seem to be inspired by *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake with regard to their basic plot structures revolving around several women and exploring issues like friendship, love,

[119] Some critics, bloggers and viewers recognize so-called unacknowledged or hidden remakes and they ascribe the status of remake to a given television series. See the comparison made by television critic Anibal Güleroğlu between the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* and *Gönül İşleri*, as well as another comparison among *Desperate Housewives*, *Sex and the City* and *Evli ve Öfkeli*: http://www.medyafaresi.com/kose-yazisi/gonul-islerinin-icten-yanmali-umutsuzlari/417907; http://www.medyafaresi.com/kose-yazisi/evli-ve-ofkelinin-mantigi-kadina-karsi-mi/754525. See also viewer comments that suggest that *Omuz Omuza* was remarkably inspired by *Sex and the City*: https://eksisozluk.com/omuz-omuza--60400?p=3.

sexuality and femininity. Thus, the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* can be evaluated as setting forth a new model of plotline for subsequent series making use of the narrative of several women, which would bring into question the female stereotypes that had appeared in the Turkish television series repertoire until then.

4.2.2. Setting

As the second compositional interpretant, setting can be briefly defined as the place where the fictional events take place (Ryan, 2004: 337). It has a temporal and a spatial dimension. Concerning the spatial dimension, setting refers to the actual place(s) of the action. Its temporal dimension constitutes the period during which events unfold and, within this period, a given set of cultural, social, economic and ideological conditions may be of significance. As will be suggested by the examples given in this section, where a setting shift exists, there appear many replacements of the target scenes with completely new scenes and/or addition of new ones to the story arcs that do not appear in the source. That is, setting-related shifts can be viewed as a prerequisite for television remakes, as was shown in several studies on remakes in different countries (Barlaam, 2011; Boseovski and Marcovitch, 2011; Moran, 2011; Gemzøe, 2013; Forrest and Martinez, 2015).

As far as the temporal setting is concerned, the Turkish remake does not exhibit notable shifts from its source. The story unfolds in the contemporary time in both *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake. In the US, season one aired between October 3, 2004 and May 22, 2005. In Turkey it aired between October 6, 2011 and June 18, 2012. Regarding their all of the seasons, the story takes place between 2004 and 2012 in the former case and between 2011 and 2014 in the latter. All in all, a seven-year difference in the premieres of these shows within their own contexts does not seem to have had any notable effects on the process of creating the Turkish remake's setting.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the redefinition of its spatial setting has brought numerous changes to the narrative of the Turkish remake, which seems to be related to the need to rewrite the script in the Turkish context and generate identification among viewers. Here I use the term "identification" in an uncomplicated

and highly concrete way in order to indicate everything recognized in daily life in Turkey. The storyline of *Desperate Housewives* centers on the residents of Wisteria Lane. Wisteria Lane is a cul-de-sac street in the Eagle State, which is the fictitious state where the characters of the source show live. Although it is a fictitious setting, the characters often refer to other states in the US that are not fictitious, such as Maryland or Utah. It is the main setting for *Desperate Housewives*, with the majority of storylines primarily centered around its residents. Setting the show in the suburbs is central to its discourse. Suburbia comes to represent domesticity and community, where social and physical boundaries are often made clear. It represents "cleanliness, order, open spaces, and privacy, all contained within the ubiquitous fences that regulated the community and socially insulated its inhabitants" (Hill, 2010: 164). The pristine facades of such spaces "provide a stark contrast to the dark and dramatic lives unfolding behind the closed front doors" (ibid.).

The Turkish remake is also set on a cul-de-sac street, Gül Çıkmazı, in İdealtepe which is located between Adatepe and Küçükyalı in İstanbul. Similar to the set built for Wisteria Lane, which is infact located inside Universal Studios Hollywood, the houses in the Turkish version are not real. Also, there is no explicit reference to the specific city in the opening credits and scenes, which makes the show less regionally specific. Similar to the suburban life of Wisteria Lane, Gül Çıkmazı represents the characteristics of a "mahalle" (neighborhood), which is the Turkish cultural space of closeness and familiarity generated through practices of neighboring. In turn, these practices create bonds and acquaintanceship (Mills, 2007: 339). Setting the Turkish remake in a "mahalle" acts in a similar way as the suburbs function in *Desperate Housewives.* In addition to being a place of settlement, the "mahalle" has come to represent "innocence, unspoiledness, purity, warmth, intimacy, unbrokenness […]", which might also be applied to the suburbs (Şimşek, 2002: 97, Amy Mills's translation). It largely indicates intimate space and extended family and it is a space of collective identity, a 'we' specific to Turkish culture (Tanrıöver, 2002: 95). In Mills's words, "[t]he idea of 'knowing' (tanımak) defines the mahalle: everyone 'knows' each other, or is 'known' in the neighborhood" (2007: 341).

It appears that both shows are set in areas with lower density, which are a bit outside of the city center. This means that the two settings share several common

points. For instance, the houses in both shows have yards. They are bigger than any in the city and often have garages. There are green areas surrounding them. In both settings, there are other families with children and elderly people around. There are several exceptions to these similarities, though. In the target show, for instance, the setting is not as safe, which indicates a notable exception. In S1/E2, Sevim tells Emel, who stays at Sevim's place for a while, that she is a very beautiful woman and that men try to hit on her and will disturb her if she stays in a hotel or hostel. The other instance of exception to the resemblances occurs in the fourth season of *Desperate Housewives*. In S4/E9, a tornado is headed towards Wisteria Lane and it destroys homes and lives. The whole episode centers on this natural catastrophe and the preparations of the residents of Wisteria Lane for the arriving tornado. Though these violent storms occur around the world, the US is often home to the most powerful and destructive of tornados and it is a main hotspot with about a thousand tornadoes every year. The geographical location of the source show's setting makes the use of a tornado as a major theme ordinary in this episode of *Desperate Housewives*. In the respective episode (S2/E67) of the Turkish remake, there is no tornado, which would otherwise have been highly bizarre as tornadoes rarely occur in Turkey. This means that, in this episode, the Turkish remake does not make use of the source show's script in any way and there appears no reference to any natural phenomena in it.

Figure 9: A tornado comes to Wisteria Lane

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

As was already suggested, the change of the setting from the US to Turkey in the remake brings with it numerous rearrangements in terms of its cultural, religious and moral baggage to enhance viewers' familiarity and access to the target show. Admittedly, the cultural context surrounding these two series is substantially different

in both countries and thus the local character of the Turkish remake was enhanced by a number of references to typical Turkish habits, cultural values, products, the use of classic Turkish-language names (Handan, Zeliha, Ömer), culinary specialties and so on. For instance, in the opening scene of the Turkish remake, Handan is seen making "sarma" (stuffed grape leaves with rice), a traditional Turkish dish. The substitution of Bree's "muffins" with her Turkish counterpart's "hamsi buğulama" (poached anchovies, a famous dish from Turkey) and the presentation of Emel as a woman making "mantı" (Turkish dumplings with spiced ground meat and onion, another favorite dish in Turkey) for her neigbor are among the markers of culinary shifts necessitated by the target setting to suit its audience. The next example indicates a customary shift. In S1/E1, Handan is shown heading to the room where her dowry chest (it being a custom for Turkish brides to bring with them into marriage some personal clothing and various other items in a wooden chest) stands and taking out the revolver (that belongs to her husband) to take her own life, whereas her American counterpart goes to the hallway closet and takes the revolver out of a shoe-box on the highest shelf of the closet.

The notable emphasis on and portrayal of kin relationships such as parents, sisters-in-law and uncles, which are absent in the source series, as well as explicit references to the major official and religious festivals (the two Islamic Eid festivals) and the substitution of the dinner party that the late Mary Alice had planned with Handan's plan to have a picnic (which is a popular form of social gathering in Turkish society) constitute some other instances reproduced in the Turkish remake in order to "(re)construct discourses of national identity and imagined community" (Adriaens and Biltereyst, 2012: 561). Such shifts in national identity markers in the Turkish version contribute to what is described as "banal nationalism", a phrase coined by Michael Billig (1995) to refer to the taken-for-granted and commonplace signs of nationalism or the everyday representations of a given nation that produce a shared sense of national belonging among its residents. In order to facilitate identification and recognition with the Turkish remake by presenting a credible image of Turkish identity, the remake also provides the viewers with various Turkish funeral rites and traditions, such as making halva to honor the deceased, taking the deceased's shoes outside, handing out the deceased's old clothes to the poor, reading the Quran and

performing the ritual of gathering together in order to remember the deceased in prayer to God on the 40th day after death.

In addition to the previous instances of setting-related shifts, the Turkish remake undertook many other major and minor adjustments to help extend its appeal for the audience. Below are some selected instances of shifts that are inextricably linked to the change in setting.

Table 8 : Instances of Shifts Originating from the Setting Shift in the Turkish Remake

The addition of a scene in which Behçet and Resul are drinking raki, a Turkish liqueur flavored with aniseed, and Resul's calling it lion's milk, a name by which raki is also known in Turkey. (S1/E3)
The replacement of Tom's business meeting in which a margarita, cigar and sombrero are present on the table with Ömer's corporate dinner in which a dancer is performing belly dancing, which is one of the most popular forms of dancing in Turkey. (S1/E3)
The addition of the scene in which Zeliha, Elif and Nermin are seen drinking Turkish coffee, which is a centuries-old ritual particularly enjoyed in company, and the subsequent scene in which this ritual is followed by another Turkish habit of fortune-telling with the leftover coffee grounds in the cup. (S1/E4)
The presence of a variety of foods such as homemade yogurt and Turkish "sucuk" (a dry and spicy beef sausage) that Mukaddes (Zeliha's mother-in-law) brings with her in her surprise visit to her daughter-in-law's house. In the source series, Mukaddes's counterpart Juanita pays a visit with only her suitcases by her side. (S1/E5)
Yasemin's sewing a costume for a child to be circumcised, a scene absent from the source show. (S1/E7) • A special circumcision outfit is one of the most significant parts of the preparations for the ceremony of circumcision, which refers to the cutting off of the foreskin of males. It is one of the strictest and most widespread traditional rituals practiced by Muslims, both as a social custom and for potential health benefits. (S1/E7)
The addition of scenes in which men are lazing about in a social place called a coffeehouse ("kahvehane"), the tradition of which dates back to almost five centuries ago in the target culture. (S1/E7) • Coffeehouses are known as open-to-the public places suitable for passing time, mostly for men, where they often play table games such as okey (a rummy-like game played with tiles) and backgammon.
Zeliha's friends' hospital visiting after her mother-in-law is accidentally run over and taken to the hospital. Even a distant acquaintance of Mukaddes is seen visiting her. (S1/E8) Yasemin and Elif's paying a visit to Nermin and Behçet to wish him a rapid recovery after a heart attack. (S1/E11) • Paying a visit to acquaintances at the hospital and/or at home is common among Turkish people and it is considerably valued as a sign of support and respect for the

patient and his/her relatives in Turkish society. In *Desperate Housewives*, none of Gabrielle's friends appear in the hospital. (S1/E8)
The amplification of scenes in the remake where especially female characters are seen gossiping, which is often being practiced and noticed particularly in small neigborhoods in Turkey. -Sevim's gossiping about her neighbors with her butcher in the neighborhood's small butcher's shop. (S1/E3) -Emel's gossiping about Kudret's being taken to the police station and her saying that she obtained this news from the owner of their neigborhood's small market ("bakkal" in Turkish). (S1/E10)
The addition of "golds days" hosted by women in the Turkish remake. (S1/E12-E16) • As a traditional leisure activity, gold days (altın günleri) have been long hosted by Turkish women, particularly with the intent of enjoying themselves and maintaining social solidarity. Alongside such purposes, these days are also organized for materialistic purposes by means of women collecting money among themselves and making some amount of investment.
The addition of a scene in which women are seen practicing the tradition of lead pouring/casting ("kurşun dökme" in Turkish). (S1/E12) • Many Turkish people believe in the evil eye and the negative energy of other people traveling from their eyeballs into their life, leading to bad luck. In order to avoid this negativity caused by such an evil spell, people often call upon a lead melting specialist to melt lead over them and then drop it into cold water so that the hot lead explodes and disperses the negative energy surrounding them.
The addition of a scene presenting the first step of arranged marriages, which is called "görücülük", an act of go-between. (S1/E19) • "Görücülük" is defined as an act of go-between of several relatives or friends of a man who wants to get married. It is practiced by means of paying a visit to the home of a woman considered potentially fitting for the man. It is still one of the most common ways of initiating the process of marriage.

This analysis of the shifts pertinent to the setting as one of the compositional interpretants has shown that the Turkish remake exhibits substantial complex and subtle differences from its source. That is, the change in the setting of the source show results in a range of shifts that weave the target setting through adding, substituting and omitting various conventions, rituals, rules and sensibilities in the source show in a way that comes to be appropriate for the target setting and fits its new cultural context. This shows that the setting-oriented shifts are strongly interrelated. As this analysis has illustrated, broadly speaking, the setting of the Turkish remake has not offered "alternative, different, or new models of life" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 199). Particularly in comparison to the practice of dubbing (a popular form of translation

during TRT's inception period), in which many levels of the text constituting setting such as dress, food, local products and rituals are retained and thus offer new options of life "by possibly showing that there might be some other possibilities" (ibid.), the setting in the case of the Turkish remake has undergone substantial shifts in such a way as to sustain "preferred interpretations of life circumstances" (ibid) in the Turkish context.

4.3. MEDIA-SYSTEMIC INTERPRETANTS

The second broad group of interpretants that I suggest involves several media-systemic mechanisms that have affected the mode of the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*. These mechanisms largely refer to all kinds of organizational shifts, norms and practices originating from customizing *Desperate Housewives* for the Turkish television production milieu and accordingly for Turkish viewers. I have divided the media-systemic interpretants into two categories, one constituting the types of television networks that aired the two shows and their target viewers and the other focusing on scheduling, which also relates to the two shows' numbers of seasons and their average episode lengths.

4.3.1. Television Networks and Their Audience Demographics

As pointed out in previous chapters, there are key agents who are engaged with the various stages of television products, such as their development, production and reception. In this subsection, the channels on which *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake aired, their audience characteristics and the viewing preferences that these audiences are associated with have been evaluated as media-systemic interpretants.

Television stations are broadly differentiated from mainstream (commercial/free) television to cable television networks and Internet streaming sites like Netflix and Amazon. Each type of television provider is constrained by the requirements of a particular set of rules and regulations, which chiefly affect its programming type. For instance, *Forbrydelsen's* US remake *The Killing* was relocated

from AMC (which is liable to the basic cable restraints) to Netflix (which offers freedom) and, as a result of this shift, the show began to delve "even deeper into the dark world of maternal denigration" (Akass, 2015: 749). As far as *Desperate Housewives* is concerned, it was launched on ABC (a mainstream commercial channel) in 2004, when the proliferation of multichannel television—cable, satellite and digital channels—gained momentum and further divided already fragmented viewers. Its Turkish remake[120] also aired on the mainstream Turkish television networks of Kanal D and Fox, respectively.

For the purposes of this research, the type of channel is significant in that it points to, among others, the profile of the audience the show attracted and that audience's viewing preferences. In this case, it can be suggested that mainstream television channels are known for playing it safe. This means that, in order to avoid huge financial loss, they are supposed to target the mass audience and overlook the fewest people possible. In the case of *Desperate Housewives*, as Kristian T. Kahn (2006) suggests, it "must, on the surface at least, appeal to the broadest constituency possible and offend the least – both right and left" (96). This suggestion also holds true for the Turkish remake. The interview I conducted with Hatice Meryem, one of the leading scriptwriters of the series in Turkey, proved this point. As Meryem points out, in the prime-time slot in which the Turkish remake was aired, people with fundamentally different worldviews were likely to be in front of their television screens at the same time and thus the Turkish remake had to conform to their viewing preferences (see Appendix 4). "If not, it would have never seen the light of day on Turkish television", she remarked during the interview (ibid.). In this respect, it can be said that both the source show and its Turkish remake met with their audiences on mainstream commercial channels and had to attract the highest numbers of people possible.

Though the US production *Sex and the City* has long been compared to *Desperate Housewives* in that both engage with the social and sexual dilemmas of female leads, there emerges one critical difference between these shows, which is the

[120] Unlike the two versions on American and Turkish television, the African remake aired on a pay television platform, EbonyLife TV (Africa's first Global Black Entertainment and Lifestyle network), which began broadcasting in 2013 to a pan-African audience, by a license agreement with Multichoice (DStv) Africa.

platform on which they met their audiences. As Kahn points out, it was normal for *Sex and the City* to exceed more boundaries "due to its home on cable television" (2006: 96), since it was not obliged to abide by the constraints of the Federal Communication Commission,[121] whereas *Desperate Housewives* was forced to adhere to them since it was a prime-time product of a free television network (ibid.). In a similar vein, the Turkish remake had to follow the rules of RTÜK (an institutional agent regulating the audiovisual sector in Turkey), which fined the Turkish remake several times due to, for instance, its description of an illegitimate relationship with an underage individual.[122] Another fine arose from its use of implicit sexual messages in S2/E84,[123] in which Gülşah tries to seduce her then-blind husband Kudret by saying that she has made her husband's favorite dishes and, immediately after the dinner is over, they will "skip straight to dessert". By "dessert" she means sex, which is evident in the scene in which Gülşah, in her night robe, makes her husband touch her breasts. The phrase "skip straight to dessert" has a similar effect in S4/E11 of the source show.

Figure 10 : Gülşah seduces her then-blind husband, Kudret

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

According to information obtained from *gazeteport.com*, RTÜK's report references the following statement about the scene described above:

[121] The Federal Communication Commission (FCC) regulates communications by radio and television in the USA.
[122] See "Umutsuz Ev Kadınları'na RTÜK'ten ceza" [Fine against *Desperate Housewives* by RTÜK], http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-umutsuz-ev-kadinlari-na-rtuk-ten/magazin/detay/1800925/default.htm (Last Access: May 5, 2019).
[123] See "Umutsuz Ev Kadınları'na RTÜK'ten ceza!" [Fine against *Desperate Housewives* by RTÜK], https://www.aksam.com.tr/televizyon/umutsuz-ev-kadinlarina-rtukten-ceza/haber-268118 (Last Access: May 5, 2019).

> *In the show, Gülşah and Kudret decide to have a baby. Gülşah comes closer to Kudret in a special outfit and tells him that they first enjoy their delicious dishes and then skip to dessert. While saying to her husband that they will skip to dessert, she makes her husband grope her body, by means of which she implies something other than enjoying dessert. "If the children are not at home, let's make a baby right now", Kudret says to Gülşah. While Gülşah and Kudret are giggling beneath the sheet, their daughter Alara gets in the bedroom and she asks her mother if she is allowed to watch them.* (https://www.gecce.com.tr/ haber-umutsuz -ev-kadinlarina-sok-ceza)

On the grounds that the scene may harm the physical, mental and moral development of children and young people, RTÜK fined Fox TV 115,000 Turkish lira (ibid.). In this regard, it should be noted that RTÜK, the leading supervisory authority of television in Turkey, acts under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Turkey as the most powerful governmental institutional agent of the Turkish television industry.

As far as the viewers are concerned, ABC captured the Sunday night schedule in the 9-11 pm prime-time slot with *Desperate Housewives*, and it enhanced its market share in the key demographic group of 18-49 years old (Goldsmith in McCabe and Akass, 2006: 5). These figures illustrate that the show had a broad audience extending beyond gender and age barriers. Given its wide range of potential viewers, it also faced harsh backlash, particularly from sections of right-wing America due to "its being too racy for prime-time television" (1).

> *Parents Television Council, for example, runs a website containing a pro forma easily filled out in seconds. Submitting the complaint to the PTC it is passed onto the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Indecency complaints rose from 350 in 2001 to more than a million in 2004, illustrating how the 'values warriors' (Harris in McCabe and Akass 2006, 6) have seized the agenda (ibid.)* [...] *President of the PTC, Brent Bozell, condemns further the assault of the series on American morality, [noting that] 'Desperate Housewives really should have an even more obvious title, like Cynical Suburban Sluts'. (ibid.)*

It appears that *Desperate Housewives* led to much criticism in the US during its airing period, when the issue of values was highly prevalent within American popular culture, which was polarized along religious and moral lines. George W. Bush's reelection in 2004, as Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (2006) argue, "politicised the cultural wars as never before" and, "[g]alvanised by his victory, conservative watchdogs have stepped up their policing of the airwaves" (6). Within the framework of Bush's America, the conservative values associated with it and the increasing media censorship in the US, it was inevitable that much more emphasis would be placed on "family values, tradition and religiosity", which heteronormative American culture

broadly supports (Kahn, 2006: 96). As Kahn suggests, *Desperate Housewives* attracted the attention of conservatives most probably because it placed notable importance on the social order based on family and community (2006: 97). It also lured the attention of liberals, most probably due to "its transgressive nature and the satiric subversion of social and sexual norms", namely the depiction of adultery, statutory rape and homosexuality (ibid.).

In a similar vein, the Turkish remake had to remain within the constraints of the growingly conservative Turkish media. The effects of rising authoritarianism have, as Öztürkmen (2018) puts it, became more established following the 2011 elections, "where political critique in the Turkish media became an increasingly constrained and state-controlled issue" (8). Öztürkmen adds that it caused a notable shift in primetime broadcasting (9). She further underlines that this phenomenon led to a growing acceptance of censorship within the media, a point also confirmed by Meryem in our interview: "Drama writers often complain today of auto-censorship, particularly under the pressure of the censor, Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), which can easily penalize networks airing nonconformist material regarding government policies" (Öztürkmen, 2018: 9). Taking into account the industrial norms, Meryem finds it reasonable that Turkish producers "play it safe" and abstain from taking any risk of censorship or offending their viewers (Appendix 4).

As for the television networks and the audience demographics, it appears that the political context in which both shows came about is similar. Regarding televisual and cultural norms, Bush's America and the conservative government policies in Turkey are alike to some degrees in many ways. As pointed out earlier, these two shows on commercial television networks were subject to the constraints of institutional agents, which are authorized to penalize networks airing content against their rules, and thus they had to treat the themes that could be viewed as transgressive cautiously. However, my research has revealed that, though the two shows seemingly existed in similar circumstances, they were already differentiated in the primary stages of development and production, and the Turkish remake was mostly domesticated by the Turkish production team to be locally produced while embracing new influences offered by its source in some cases. These differences will be made clear in the subsequent subsections of this chapter and in the next chapter.

4.3.2. Scheduling

Arranging for a television program to appear on a particular day and at a particular time is an industrial requirement and therefore this part has subsumed the shifts in scheduling under the more general category of media-systemic interpretants. Scheduling is among the system-related parameters that broadcasters weigh and adjust to their plans while deciding to buy and broadcast a specific program. Silvio Waisbord and Sonia Jalfin give as an example the inappropriateness of dubbed versions or remakes of daytime US soap operas for Latin American television due to the difficulty they create in scheduling since they do not have clear beginnings and ends (2009: 64). This example indicates the presence of distinct cultural differences among different national television industries in terms of scheduling. Another example is provided by Tania Lewis's research. In her interview with a senior executive at a major Australian production company, the senior executive pointed out: "In the UK they structure their content hours differently – they run things for longer, have less commercial breaks" (Lewis, 2009: 301). The third example concerns the US version of *Yo soy Betty, la fea/Ugly Betty*, which was reconfigured as an hour-long dramedy on American television, unlike its five-nights-a-week telenovela format in other countries (Moran, 2009d: 107). *Homeland* (2011-2013), the US remake of the Israeli series *Prisoners of War* (2009-2011), also demanded rescheduling since its source ran for two seasons whereas *Homeland* consisted of eight seasons. The case of *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake also offers some discussions to examine their similarities and differences in scheduling.

Desperate Housewives occupied the Sunday night schedule of ABC in the prestigious 9-11pm prime-time slot and it appeared on Sundays throughout its eight seasons. As was pointed out earlier, its average duration per episode was forty-five minutes. Its Turkish remake was first scheduled to start on Sundays at 8 pm as well, and it seized the Sunday night schedule in the 8-11 pm prime-time slot. Just as *Desperate Housewives* appeared to predominantly capture female viewers on ABC, the rationale for the choice of Sundays by the Turkish remake's broadcaster Kanal D was most probably to attract female viewers and fill the void of programming that would meet their demands on that day of the week. This is because major football

matches (which mostly grab men's attention, who go to watch matches in person or follow them on television) in the Turkish Super League are usually scheduled on Sunday evenings and Turkish male viewers often watch football games via sports channels or prefer sports programs on television in order to follow each week's scores and the discussions on big moments in games on television.

The Turkish broadcaster Kanal D might have paid special regard to the source show producers' rationale for attracting the attention of women by broadcasting the Turkish remake in its Sunday schedule as it was searching for an alternative for female viewers. However, Kanal D then broadcast the Turkish remake on Thursdays at 8 pm in its second season. It rescheduled it several more times and, in the respective weeks, the show aired at 9:45 pm, 10:30 pm and 11 pm, respectively. Due to Kanal D's inconsistent scheduling policy, it was transferred to Fox TV at its 55th episode in 2013. Following its transfer to Fox TV, 26 episodes (starting from 55 until 81) aired two days (every Saturday and Sunday) a week at 7:45 pm, whereas 50 episodes (starting from 81 to 131) were scheduled every Wednesday and Thursday. As for the rest of the 23 episodes, they met the Turkish viewers on Thursdays. Though the Turkish remake's inconsistent scheduling is not astonishing in the Turkish television industry,[124] uneven shifts in scheduling as summarized above show that the dynamics in the industry, which is characterized by fierce competition in time slots and viewer fragmentation, can trivialize the rationale behind the scheduling-related decisions about remakes while taking into consideration the decisions of source shows' agents regarding television programming.

Another important point is related to the amount of time that the Turkish remake occupied on Turkish television. The demands of scheduling in Turkey meant that forty-five-minute episodes of *Desperate Housewives* (without commercials) needed to be remade to fit approximately hundred-minute episodes in the Turkish television landscape.[125] Though the Turkish remake first acted in line with the already conventionally established norms identified by the Turkish television series repertoire

[124] Shifts in scheduling have become routine in the Turkish television series industry and many television series are often rescheduled every television season. Recent cases include the transfer of Star TV's *Çocuk* (2019-2020) from Monday to Tuesday and Fox TV's *Her Yerde Sen* (2019) from Friday to Saturday.

[125] One episode of the majority of Turkish television series lasts 100 to 150 minutes, whereas a typical episode of a US series is much shorter, averaging about 40 to 60 minutes.

in terms of the length of a single episode and it lasted approximately one hundred minutes, the Turkish remake's new channel, Fox TV, decided to broadcast the show two days a week in hour-long episodes, which indicates a kind of adjustment made in consideration of the organizational norms and routines in the source television repertoire.

This decision can be viewed as providing the Turkish viewers with a new option borrowed from the US television repertoire's modes of broadcast and apparently deviating from the viewing habits prevalent in the Turkish television repertoire. In short, the schedule-related fidelity of the Turkish remake to its source, which was implemented through curtailing its episodes almost by half, points to a particular case of interference in media systemic traits between *Desperate Housewives* and its remake, whereby Turkish viewers were introduced to a new mode of viewing that was unusual during the television season of 2013-2014. The Turkish remakes of *The Naked Truth* (*Çıplak Gerçek*) in 2012 and *Monk* (*Galip Derviş*) in 2013 were also modeled in terms of their sources' industrial conventions regarding the mode of scheduling. Another case in point is *46 Yok Olan* (which was speculated to be inspired by *Breaking Bad*), an average episode of which lasts sixty minutes.

4.4. SOCIAL INTERPRETANTS

The process of remaking television series involves more than the structures and norms provided by compositional and media systemic components, generic conventions and some narrative choices (which are considered the diegetic aspect of television series). Therefore, complementary to Venuti's interpretants, I propose social interpretants to incorporate and examine the role of human agency in the remake process. Given that remaking critically has to do with the decision-making process and this research has foregrounded the role of scriptwriters actively involved in the process of remaking among other social agents, scriptwriters were then considered a kind of interpretant as the two shows in question carry traces of their subjective mental experiences. The second category of social interpretants to come into play during the critical textual analysis of *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake concerns the reception of the source show and, more particularly, its remake since, as Moran

underscores, “it is the local audience that forms the most relevant yardstick” while producing the scripts (2009b: 52). Thus, viewers are taken as the other social interpretants in this research and subsection 4.4.2 will be devoted to a discussion of their influence on the remaking process of *Desperate Housewives*.

4.4.1. Scriptwriters

The development and production of the story provides us one of the key findings for evaluating the creative process of remaking *Desperate Housewives* in Turkish. Particularly in the Turkish remaking industry, scriptwriters can be argued to be the social agents most closely engaged with this process. As far as the source text is concerned, Marc Cherry was the show’s chief creator and executive producer, involved in its scriptwriting process throughout the eight seasons. As observed in the previous chapter, scriptwriters often work as a group and the members of such groups are not stable, as they are frequently replaced by new ones in due course, which is the case for *Desperate Housewives*, as well. As the findings obtained from imdb.com have demonstrated, the total number of source scriptwriters was over fifty. The majority of them were involved with fewer ten episodes, whereas a smaller number of writers took place in the show’s scripting for more than forty episodes (https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2051741/). Likewise, the Turkish remake’s script was written by a team of writers. Hatice Meryem, Yelda Eroğlu, Meryem Gür and Gül Gürsoy were outstanding members of the team. Meryem indicated in our interview that there are also other assistant writers whose names did not appear in the opening and closing credits of the show (see Appendix 4). Meryem is, however, the first head of the remaking team as she was the one who was informed about this project from its outset.

When asked about the remaking process and the relative freedom she and her team encountered, Meryem noted that the source American script was only used for the construction of overall character typology and basic tenets of the plotline (see Appendix 4). This means that though the Turkish remake bears many audiovisual and intertextual traces of its source, the majority of it was created anew. According to

Meryem, source scripts often only provide guidance for Turkish remakes, much like a pilot boat used to accompany a large ship, and the success of remakes lies in it (ibid.).

As for the source show, the chief creator himself declared that his source of inspiration in developing the project was a conversation with his mother about the case of Andrea Yates in which, to Cherry's astonishment, she expressed sympathy for Yates, a mother convicted of drowning her five children in a bathtub (Gillis and Waters, 2006: 199). He tells his much repeated source story of the series in the following words:

> *'Can you imagine a woman being so desperate that she would hurt her own children?' And my mother took her cigarette out of her mouth and said, 'I've been there.' […] Suddenly it occurred to me, 'Well gosh, if my mom had these moments, every woman has had a moment where she is close to losing it.' As I talked to her and found out these things, the genesis of this idea was born in that.* (Crook in Sharp, 2006: 121)

Realizing the fact that every woman in suburbia is likely to have moments like this, Cherry got the idea to write about housewives' moments of desperation and "the concept was born for a series about women making the choice to live in the suburbs but finding the reality not as imagined" (McCabe and Akass, 2006: 3). In other words, the idea for *Desperate Housewives* originated from a woman who had been featured in the media due to her considerable deviation from normative conceptions of motherhood and housewifery but also in terms of how she highlighted the difficulties women face while living up to certain societal and cultural ideals.

The interview conducted with the writer of the target show, Hatice Meryem, revealed that she had knowledge of how the source story originated from Cherry's observations about the suburban women surrounding him. Regarding this point, Meryem notes that, like Cherry, she also used to live in a small neighborhood ("mahalle") in her youth, where it was easier to observe Turkish traditional culture and the daily lives of women (see Appendix 4). Though Meryem argues that she was considerably inspired by the real-life stories and situations of her mother (and her mother's friends) in portraying a credible and realistic atmosphere that fits the Turkish context, it appears that she rather benefited from her experiences while roughly building up the target storylines and character typology in particular (ibid.). Meryem seems not to dig as deeply to find Turkish women's moments of great despair as Cherry

did in the original context, who most particularly declared himself to be inspired by the unspoken parts of women's life, which astonished him when he realized them.

Meryem's statements show that her inspiration for the Turkish remake was rather centered upon and limited to her observations of her mother's everyday life and her primary occupation as wife, mother and homemaker, together with her shared activities with her friends and the topics of women-only conversation, such as telling "dirty" stories. As will be explained later in more detail, Meryem's script prepared for the Turkish remake often hesistates to reflect the darker side of the characters in the Turkish remake.[126] This is particularly revealed in several significant shifts made to the source script in the source story's narrative line, which usually uncover the female leads' ambivalence towards femininity and domesticity. It is also evident in the divergences in the characters' arcs drawn over several seasons by the source show and its Turkish remake. For instance, Bree's[127] strict adoption of Republican ideology and religious doctrines and her transition from a conservative and prudish woman with strict moral values into a more loose, sexually open and promiscuous one in *Desperate Housewives* has been displayed in the two shows in considerably different ways.

In the Turkish remake, as Meryem points out, Bree's Turkish counterpart Nermin does not reveal her political stance, and her religious life is presented in such a way as not to spark more complex and broad conflicts. In fact, during our interview, Meryem said that she had first projected Nermin as a woman putting on a headscarf and acting as a representative of the ruling conservative party of the time in Turkey (see Appendix 4). "I had no intention to portray a woman revealing her political views blatantly. Yet I had desired to reflect a piece of conservative lifestyle by means of Nermin. My producer did not let me do it since the show was planned to be broadcast in a prime-time slot which appeals to a broad amount of viewers from diverse demographics and political stances", she added (ibid.). It appears that the political context of the time and its influence on the drama production site in which Turkish scriptwriters carry out their tasks play a decisive role in scriptwriters' scope of authority and thereby in the process of remaking. In that, it appears that producers have a decisive role in the process of translating and remaking scripts.

[126] This research is certainly cognizant of the fact that she is not the ultimate creator in the remaking process, which is subject to various mechanisms of collective production.
[127] In the source show, Bree is portrayed as a believer and church member of Presbyterian Christianity.

Another significant point that relates to the creative process of remaking and leads one to question to whom *Desperate Housewives* speaks is Cherry's position as a self-proclaimed gay man and an advocate of the Republican Party. That party is one of the two biggest political parties in the US and is a representative of conservative ideology. This means that it seeks to preserve such institutions as religion, parliamentary government and property rights in order to foreground social stability and continuity. In this light, it is necessary to consider two divergent evaluations of the show in the popular American media. Ashley Sayeau comments on this point by observing that a notably high number of people view the show as progressive, handling extremely liberal themes and subversions, whereas others argue that the show reinforces the conservative ideology of the American right and traditional attitudes towards family and sexual politics (2006: 42). Felicity Huffman (one of the lead female actors of the show) is among the supporters of the former argument and she articulates that Cherry's sexual identity made him create a gender-conscious series: "[W]e're not the objects of [men's] sexual desires, but they always consider us sexual objects, [whereas] gay men appreciate women differently than straight guys do" (Traister in Chambers, 2006: 69). Nevertheless, Cherry seems to promote the latter argument, which is manifest in his statements: "I love the values the suburbs represent. Family, community, God" (Pozner and Seigel in Sayeau, 2006: 46). Concentrating on how Cherry's sexual identity shapes the representation of homosexuality in *Desperate Housewives* and concluding that this topic is subject to repression in the show, Kahn's research supports the latter argument as well (2006: 105). As a result, in line with Cherry's oxymoronic identity as both a gay man and also a Republican, *Desperate Housewives* speaks to both liberals and conservatives alike.

As far as the Turkish remake's scriptwriter is concerned, Meryem identifies herself as a feminist. As Meryem noted in our interview, she often tries to highlight her identity and the position she takes by means of the selection of works that she is involved in. Meryem explains the driving force behind her involvement in remaking *Desperate Housewives* and articulates her personal objections against taking part in projects within certain themes as follows:

> *When I first got into writing drama scripts, there were two kinds of dramas on Turkish television. The first kind was mafia [mobsters and gangsters] TV dramas like Kurtlar Vadisi [Valley of Wolves] which mostly appealed to men, whereas the second kind constituted the dramas in which women were objectified and they*

> *were bursting into tears most of the time. So, when I encountered this project, which was centered upon women, their relationships and their solidarity, I really liked it. I am a feminist, after all. It drew my attention and I got involved in it* (Interview with Hatice Meryem; January 31, 2019)

As Meryem further noted in that interview, the reason why Turkish television producer Armağan Çağlayan immediately informed her about this project and convinced her to get involved in it was her ability to handle women's issues in Turkey very well. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the Turkish remake largely restores the traditionally defined femininity, family values and mainstream sexual politics throughout the first season. It goes without saying that, as Meryem repeatedly stated in our interview, there is, though relatively slight, some sort of subversion in the Turkish remake, which can be deemed inappropriate for Turkish sociocultural norms and values. The subversive parts in the Turkish remake usually make themselves evident in matters of the depiction of new female protagonists, the treatment of sexually loaded scenes, the portrayal of new relationship models and so on. They will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter and in the following chapter.

As a result, in the case of *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake, both American and Turkish scriptwriters based their stories on real-life encounters that they gathered from their local neighborhood surroundings. It also appears that they were influenced by culture-specific norms, the political climate of their countries that pervaded the politics of television, the constraints of regulatory mechanisms and the increasing censorship of network television, among other factors. Even though both scriptwriters were subject to similar constraints, obvious variations emerge in their representation of the same characters, their conflicts and wider notions such as maternity and the intensity of transgressions (like homosexuality and prostitution). This variation may be attibuted in part to Cherry and Meryem's scope of authority, as Cherry served as writer, creator and executive producer of the project whereas Meryem's authority was limited to her role in rewriting credits. By any means, though again to varying degrees, the seemingly liberal identities of both writers affected their creative processes, which will be discussed more in the thematic textual analysis in Chapter 5.

4.4.2. Viewers

As Chris Barker points out, the meanings that are intended and generated by the producers of television series are not necessarily the same as those produced by active television viewers since television series, as audiovisual texts, possess the potential of a range of different meanings that await to be realized by actual viewers who give life to the representations and images they encounter (2000: 10). Barker further notes that it is possible to analyze the ways in which texts operate, although such a textual analysis does not reveal viewers' meaning production as meaning is activated in the interplay between text and viewer (ibid.). Thus, "the moment of consumption is also a moment of meaningful production" (ibid.). This means that meanings and messages are not uncritically taken up by television viewers as active and knowledgeable creators of meaning in relation to television. Instead, the interpretation of shows as texts is intertwined with viewers' previously obtained cultural competencies and familiarity with social codes. In this light, this part of the research suggests that television viewers can be identified as indispensable social interpretants in exploring the broader reception processes of both *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake. My main aim here is to investigate how the Turkish remake has been received by its viewers in the Turkish context, with particular attention to the viewers' negotiations regarding the Turkish remake's role either in ensuring the continuity of the established television repertoire or in infusing new ways of thinking that work to question it.

For this purpose, this section, evaluating data about different readings of *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, has mainly used the online comments of Turkish viewers of *Desperate Housewives* as epitextual data. Turkish viewers' responses were obtained from Twitter users who tweeted about the show and a random sample of YouTube users who posted their comments. I have benefited from the "advanced search" option of Twitter and I searched for tweets containing the exact phrase, "umutsuz ev kadınları", tailoring the search results to the specific period between October 2, 2011 and June 12, 2014. In addition to the dataset consisting of tweets and randomly selected YouTube comments, the internet-based platform Ekşisözlük (which enables online commentaries) was another source. I found that 331 users shared their opinions about

the show on Ekşisözlük, specifically popular among the young. As far as the source show is concerned, the ratings and reviews of *Desperate Housewives* have been retrieved from secondary sources such as scholarly works and online newspapers, and they have been used in order to elaborate on the show's reception in its originating territory.

4.4.2.1. American Viewers

As media research on ratings indicates, *Desperate Housewives* attracted a huge amount of viewers during its eight seasons (McCabe and Akass, 2006: 2). As indicated in subsection 4.3.1, it was broadcast on a mainstream network, ABC, and therefore it had to appeal to the viewing preferences and sensibilities of a great variety of viewers with different social, political, economic and educational statuses. That is, it had to compromise on divergent ideologies and to conform, in terms of gender and age range, to the expectations of the broadest audience profile as possible. This is because, in an effort to minimize uncertanity, industry agents would rather reach demographically desired audiences and that means a broad demographic reach for *Desperate Housewives*, which is indicative of the need to speak to both conservative and liberal values. Thus, the decision to meet the diverse demands of viewers in different demographics resulted in the generation of two different reception spaces in the US.

As various research on *Desperate Housewives* (Akass, 2006; Sayeau, 2006; Chambers, 2006) suggests, although the show achieved remarkable success in the ratings, it divided its audience and critics, inciting a struggle between different viewer groups. The polarized reception of *Desperate Housewives* mainly pertained to the show's oscillation between upholding traditional norms and values and transgressing them in such a way as to confront the dominant social order prevailing in the US at that time (McCabe and Akass, 2006). Given that *Desperate Housewives* was broadcast during a time period in which there occurred a rise in media censorship, in turn giving rise in the stress on family values, tradition and religiosity in the US television industry (Kahn, 2006: 96), the show provided its viewers with many scenes and messages that aligned with traditional American social norms in terms of the lifestyles presented. That is, the show had to tell its story within the constraints of increasingly right-wing-

mediated American media, and this obligation made it try not to offend its conservative-minded viewers. Below are some of these plots that provide the show's viewers with "potential models of life" (Even-Zohar, 2010) in favor of the conservative values prevalent in Bush's America and the growing media censorship at that time:

- Bree's embodiment of the patriarchal ideals of the housewife
- Susan's domestic containment, symbolized by the patriarchal ideal of the attainment of romantic love
- Bree's condemnation of homosexuality as a sin
- Carlos's authoritative masculinity
- The pharmacist's (George) refusing to prescribe birth control pills

Notwithstanding such topics and representations in *Desperate Housewives*, which are relatively limited, the show contains a wider range of plots dwelling on such subversive topics as adultery, suicide, statutory rape, prostitution, padephilia, sexual infidelity and drug abuse, which would pose a threat to the norms and values embraced by its presumably conservative viewers. The show's seemingly restorative social order based on family, tradition and religiosity undergoes major changes as the story unfolds in the following seasons. For instance, Bree, depicted as a believer and member of the Presbyterian Church and ostensibly valuing traditional norms of femininity, renounces many patriarchal ideals in the later seasons as she realizes that they have brought her nothing but unhappiness, which brings her to the verge of feminism (Lancioni, 2006:142). She even accepts her son's identity as a homosexual.

Several studies have suggested that, as a result of the treatment of such racy themes and the depictions of characters who gradually became more tolerant of potential subversions and transgressions, the show drew some reactions from a particular group of viewers and institutions such as the American Family Association (AFA) and Parents Television Council (PTC), which can be viewed as reflecting the conservative type of viewers of *Desperate Housewives* (McCabe and Akass, 2006; Chambers, 2006). On the other hand, these subversions, which point to the show's "transgressive nature and the satiric subversion of sexual and social norms" (Kahn, 2006: 97), have also made it highly popular among liberal viewers (Kahn, 2006; Pozner and Seigel, 2006). This indicates that the blending of various life images,

models and topics that would appeal to both conservative viewers, and other liberal types of viewers has made the show's viewers satisfied with the show, thus contributing to the show's success in terms of the amount of viewers it attracted.

4.4.2.2. Turkish Viewers

Turkish viewers' online comments on the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* have served for the analysis of (i) the remake strategies deployed in the Turkish remake and (ii) the different reception discourses that were formed with regards to these strategies. My critical analysis of the Turkish audience's recognition and appreciation of the remake points to the fact that the Turkish remake is also divided in reception like its source show, yet in a relatively nuanced way. This is most probably because the show that Turkish viewers have engaged with is a remake with a foreign original and therefore it entails a twofold negotiation, the first viewing the Turkish remake as a homegrown production and the second as a Turkish version of the foreign-origin show. As the viewer comments acquired from Twitter and Ekşisözlük have revealed, Turkish viewers have some prior experience or at least possess overall information about *Desperate Housewives* before watching its Turkish version, whereas YouTube comments mostly disregard the fact that this show is a remake of an imported US television series and rather seem to consider it a domestic production. Thus, these two different ways of reception will be examined in detail in two parts below.

4.4.2.2.1. Turkish Viewers' Responses to Indigenizing Remake Strategies

The bulk of online comments about the Turkish remake have suggested that the local production team has creatively reinterpreted the source material by employing indigenizing remake strategies such as omission, addition and substitution. That is, the majority of comments refer to a domesticating tendency in the Turkish remake. Meryem, the show's first scriptwriter, also points out that the majority of Turkish viewers (viewers imagined by her, the producer and the channel) enjoyed the remake and the ratings, which were usually high, provide testimony to her argument

(Appendix 4). From this perspective, it can be speculated that the Turkish remake has contributed to the perpetuation of established conventions, images and representations with regard to Turkish culture's sociocultural understanding, cultural politics of television and media-specific components. In the Turkish popular media, there has been almost no severe backlash against the themes explored in the Turkish remake, most probably since the source script was already tailored against any possible criticism. Nevertheless, the powerful tendency of indigenization led to a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish viewers were separated between welcoming and objecting to the employment of indigenizing strategies.

It has been found that many Twitter users expressed their great pleasure regarding the Turkish remake, which enabled them identify with the indigenized storylines and characters. For instance, the Twitter users Gamze Ceviz and Bihter remarked that they were able to identify with and could relate to Yasemin (one of the female leads) (@gamzeceviz, November 13, 2011 and @Bihteerr, November 13, 2011). Similarly, one commentator on Ekşisözlük referred to the fact that the Turkish counterparts of female leads in the source show have been depicted in conformity with his/her understanding of the traditionally perceived image of Turkish women (patlıcan, October 3, 2011). According to him/her, the depiction of female characters in such a way that look the same and behave the same as the majority of women in his/her culture is an indicator of the Turkish remake's success (ibid.). Another viewer who shared his/her opinion on the same platform cautions those who regularly make biased comments on Turkish television remakes and notes that the show was successfully remade into the Turkish context (thenounofnounkalibi, November 2, 2011). Several other viewer comments on the same website also praise the remaking process of the source show into Turkish (ranini, dutya and crimson force; November 2, 2011). The viewer nicknamed "dutya" most particularly focuses on the source text's strong embodiment of American culture and, for him/her, the great success of the Turkish remake is its ability to remake such a show that is loaded with a range of culture-specific values and themes.

Another viewer (under rug swept) lists several remarkable differences between *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake based on a comparison of the first episodes (October 3, 2011). These include some observations attracting attention to

the remake strategies that led to the divergences in the themes and characters in the process of remaking (ibid.). Below are some of these observations which are also apparent in the majority of viewer comments:

- Turkish characters dwell in garden floor flats instead of suburban villas as the original characters do in *Desperate Housewives*.
- Unlike Edie who ranks her sexual needs in priority, her Turkish counterpart Emel is described as a flirtatious woman in search of love and she has a romantic vision of marriage.
- Gabrielle has a sexual affair with her gardener John. The Turkish remake substitutes the dynamics between Gabrielle and John by a tenuous relationship developing between Zeliha and Levent.

According to this viewer's comment, such differences summarized above are prerequisite for television remakes and they indicate how successfully and properly the Turkish scriptwriters handled the remaking process of *Desperate Housewives* (ibid.). A similar comment is made by another viewer who suggests that the differences between the two shows relate to the Turkish producers' attempt to relocate the original show with regard to perceived cultural norms and sensitivities (paranoyasiz yasayamayan insan, October 3, 2011). This viewer accuses those who adopted critical stances against the Turkish remake of trying to pretend it is "marginal" (ibid.). He/she further asserts that those who shared their cynical opinions about the indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake are unable to live their real lives that they insistently remark that they would prefer to see in the Turkish version (ibid.). In other words, this viewer labels these commentators as keyboard warriors who are considerably critical in online text-based discussion media but unable to behave similarly in real life due to cowardice or shyness. In fact, what all these online comments have in common is the view that the Turkish remake necessarily entails many arrangements while it is being tailored into the target context. It is no wonder that Turkish viewers would be much less tolerant of what the source culture viewers deem as usual, such as the use of profane language, and they would be more worried about issues of sexuality. In this sense, it can be suggested that these comments are in compliance with the principle of cultural proximity, which emphasizes viewers' desire

to engage with cultural products akin to their perceived cultural sensibilities and their established viewing modes.

My analysis has also revealed that indigenizing remake strategies are not welcomed but rather fiercely criticized by a large number of viewers. According to Meryem, these viewers, who rather tend to criticize the extent of shifts made to the source script and often react against the Turkish remake's deviation from the source's transgressive nature, constitute a minority of Turkish viewers and they are mostly younger, better educated and more left-leaning than the general population (Appendix 4). She further points to the fact that these individuals have prior knowledge of the source show and they are often regular viewers of American dramas (ibid.). As Meryem underlines, the general Turkish audience cannot be expected to have extensive knowledge of *Desperate Housewives* (ibid.).

Here are several of the comments made by viewers who have taken a cynical approach to the overuse of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake:

- The omission of gay characters or their depiction as heterosexual, resulting in a number of subsequent differences in the narration of the overall story
- The toning down of sexually progressive and self-confident portrayals of the female leads in the source show (such as Gabrielle's secret love affair and her infidelity, or Edie's fondness of sexual acts)
- The use of sexist discourse, which mostly targets women characters
- The lack of character complexity in the Turkish remake, such as the underrepresentation of Bree's (who identifies herself as a WASP, or White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) sociocultural and religious identity
- The substantial omissions and substitutions in sexually charged scenes
- The omission of such sensitive issues as pedophilia, sexual assaults (such as rape), alcoholism, drug abuse and homosexuality, which would be viewed as taboo in the Turkish context
- The remarkably longer length of an average episode of the Turkish remake in comparison to its source material

As shown at the top of the above list, the majority of online comments made about the Turkish remake, which are often unfavorable, are intensively concentrated

on the depiction of gay characters as heterosexual or the complete omission of them (such as the gay couple Bob and Lee in *Desperate Housewives*). In the Turkish popular media, several television critics and writers such as Sina Koloğlu have recognized the underrepresentation and misrepresentation of the gay characters in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* and other Turkish television remakes[128] including but not limited to *Revenge, Shameless* and *Pretty Little Liars*. In his column entitled "Our son did not turn out to be gay!" ("Oğlumuz gay olmadı!" in Turkish), Koloğlu refers to the omission of Andrew's gay identity in the Turkish remake and further notes that the complete omission of Andrew's sexual orientation would be considered better than the negative portrayal of his gay identity (13.02.2012; *Milliyet*).

In fact, LGBT characters are usually underrepresented in the repertoire of Turkish television series, and this subject has been a point of interest in several pieces of news that have appeared in newspapers and some online platforms. The very rare appearances of LGBT characters on Turkish television include Mahmut in *Kampüsistan* (2003), Zekeriya in *Bir İstanbul Masalı* (2003-2005), Yiğit in *Mükemmel Çift* (2010) and Barış in *Kılıç Günü* (2010). Several other gay male characters, such as Can in *Sevginin Gücü* (1994) and Memoş in *Kaldırım Çiçeği* (1996), are often portrayed with feminine characteristics in a stereotyped matter, such as having a fashionable sense of clothes and awkward hand gestures as indicators of their sexual orientation. Such representations reduce LGBT characters to overly effeminate caricatures. Those who were not restricted to stereotypical depictions have then been either censored in reruns of the series in which they appear (the scenes where Zekeriya from *Bir İstanbul Masalı* reveals his homosexuality to his close friend were censored in its rerun six years after its first broadcast[129]) or they have been subjected to discrimination by some authorities such as producers and statesmen. For instance, in response to backlash against the scene in *Kılıç Günü* where two gay characters are seen in the same bed, Osman Sınav (the producer of the series) defended himself by noting

[128] For further information about Turkish television remakes' mis- and under-representation of characters with different sexual orientations in foreign television series, see several columns and news stories from popular Turkish media: http://gzone.com.tr/pretty-little-liarsin-turkiye-uyarlamasinda-escinsel-karakter-buhar-olup-uctu/ (August 6, 2015); https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/kultur-sanat-haberleri/this-is-us-uyarlamasinda-escinsel-ve-sisman-karakterler-kayboldu/ (March 19, 2019); https://www.gazeteciler.com/haber/dizilerde-niye-escinsel-karakter-yok/217803 (January 5, 2013).
[129] See http://www.5harfliler.com/zekeriyaya-ne-oldu/(January 5, 2013).

that his product seeks to disclose, within the constraints of moral principles, sexually immoral acts and lifestyles of individuals who are not straight (05.01.2013; gazeteciler.com). These cases can be viewed as suggestive of private and governmental institutions' (TV channels) negative stance towards the representation of LGBT characters on television.

My comparative analysis of the two shows has also uncovered that portrayal of the characters identifying themselves as homosexual has undergone highly notable changes in the Turkish remake. Perhaps the most outstanding of them is the distinction between the dynamics evolving from Bree's relationship with her son (Andrew) in *Desperate Housewives* and that of Nermin's with Kerem in the Turkish remake. Due to the change in the sexual orientation of Andrew (who is openly gay) in the remake, the experiences that Andrew and Kerem have gone through largely differ as the story unfolds. For example, in the source show, Andrew confesses that he is gay and his mother Bree is outraged. Their relationship, which is already stormy, then worsens. In the Turkish remake, Andrew's sexual identity as a gay man is omitted and his Turkish counterpart Kerem is portrayed as a heterosexual character. Therefore, the dynamics between Bree and her son Andrew, which play a significant role in the main storyline, are totally absent in the Turkish remake. In S2/E21, for instance, Andrew seduces his mother's bisexual boyfriend, Peter. Bree finds out that the two had sex and she ends her relationship with Peter. She also abandons her son at a gas station in the middle of nowhere and drives away. As a result of this, Andrew lives on the streets for a while. Nevertheless, remarkably different from this instance, in S5/E10, Bree adjusts to her son's sexual identity and invites her son and his boyfriend Dr. Alex Cominis to dinner in order to develop intimacy with her son. These instances, which establish a depth of backstory and contribute to character depth, have not managed to find their way to the television screen in Turkey.

Figure 11: Andrew seduces his mother's boyfriend; Bree is shocked to find her son in her bed with her boyfriend coming out of her bathroom half-naked

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

Figure 12: Bree learns that her husband's doctor Alex is dating her son and she invites Alex and his son into her home for dinner

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

The table below provides selected online comments made by viewers about the omission and/or substitution of gay characters' representation in the Turkish remake.

Table 9: Several Selected Criticisms Posed by Turkish Viewers Regarding the Lack of Gay Characters in the Turkish Remake of Desperate Housewives (rephrased by the author)

[…] Bree's gay son […] In the first episodes of *Desperate Housewives*, Bree is depicted as dignified, perfect and religious. The show then disrupts this flawless portrayal of Bree and lets her get through a range of hardships. This is not the case for Bree's Turkish counterpart, Nermin. In the Turkish remake, Nermin faces much more softened challenges such as her son's resistance to continuing his high school education, a kind of trivial adolescent rebellion, whereas, in the source show, Andrew shares his gay identity with his mother, who is very religious…There are no gays in our country, aren't there? They are just a group of exceptions, are they? [...] Isn't it this perception that leads them to leave their homes due to the fear from their families and social pressure, in some cases even resulting in their murder […] (ml in neverland; September 28, 2012)
Where on earth is our favorite gay couple, Bob and Lee? Are they going to appear as "a very much flawed couple" who want to quit school like the Turkish counterpart of Andrew in *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* or else are they going to not appear at all? (birphoebusdegilsin; April 15, 2012)

> Unfortunately, Turkish television has covered up the issue of homosexuality as expected. In fact, I was hoping that the scriptwriters of *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* could show courage and not change Andrew's gay identity in the source show. Yet, much to my regret, some topics will never be presented to Turkish people on free television. If Nermin, like her American counterpart, had told her son that he would go to hell due to his sexual identity (as it is in *Desperate Housewives*), and her son had got so angry at his mother as to make her alcoholic and stay in mental asylum […], it would have foregrounded Bennu Yıldırımlar's acting performance and the show would have been strongly applauded. In such a case, Turkish people, who were ignorant of and/or prejudiced about homosexuality, would have taken a much more responsive and sensitive approach to this issue… But, not a chance. Such individuals should be judged. They should be viewed as devils. No television series should portray them as well-disposed individuals, carrying with them a lot of troubles, should they […] (in between dreams; February 2, 2012)

It appears that the vast majority of comments compiled from diverse resources and discussed thus far most often refer to the Turkish remake's indigenization tendency. My analysis has shown that these strategies have been evaluated either positively, as fitting in with Turkish culture, or negatively, as disguising all traces of the source show and various alternative life images to be provided by means of its importation into the Turkish television repertoire.

4.4.2.2.2. Turkish Viewers' Responses to Confrontational Remake Strategies

The less popular but recognizable response to the Turkish remake suggests that the acquisition of *Desperate Housewives* and its production in the Turkish context have incited a sense of novelty in the repertoire of Turkish television series by means of the use of confrontational strategies in the process of remaking. A considerable amount of viewers have referred to the fact that the Turkish remake, offering storylines and characters that work to question Turkish social norms and values, has provided its viewers with alternative images of life, messages or models by destabilizing and blurring cultural boundaries. The relatively abundant use of confrontational remake strategies was either welcomed, as opening up possibilities to question conventional categorizations, prejudices and assumptions, or criticized, as subverting them.

My analysis of Turkish viewers' online comments has revealed that a cluster of storylines, characters and features have been perceived by the viewers as visible reflections of confrontational remake strategies employed in the Turkish remake, functioning as contributors of "potential models of life" and providing alternative "life

images" (Even-Zohar, 2010). Viewer comments like "obviously, it is not an indigenous Turkish script" (hilaldinx, @hilaldinx; January 25, 2013) or "it is both a foreign origin and also close to us" (Tunca Tutkun, @tuncatutkun; June 3, 2012) are not rare. Moreover, sociologist and television critic Orhan Tekelioğlu directs his negative criticisms against the non-local components in the Turkish remake (2017: 271). According to him, the sort of romantic intimacy between married woman Zeliha and her neighbor's son and the dynamics between them are not credible in the Turkish context (ibid.). He adds that some instances in the source show, which could in fact give rise to honor killings in Turkish culture, have been normalized by the Turkish remake (ibid.). Below are the observations of Turkish viewers drawing attention to the ways in which the Turkish remake has somewhat retained the content, themes and characters of the source show, as a result of which diverse extraneous narratives and features from the source show have been adopted.

- The Turkish remake's proposal of new female protagonist models (such as Zeliha and Nermin) for Turkish television, in some ways challenging the perception of women in Turkish television series
- The use of sexual innuendos and various images associated with the topic of sexuality
- Portrayal of alternative models of relationships and romantic affairs at odds with the presumed social conventions in Turkish neighborhoods ("mahalle") representative of innocence, purity and intimacy
- The remake's generic features that lead to simultaneously laughing and feeling down, fuelled by the mixture of drama and comedy

I have found in my analysis that a number of viewers shared their opinions about the unconventional attitudes of the female leads in the Turkish remake, particularly referring to Zeliha (Gabrielle) and Nermin (Bree). Their comments acknowledge the subversive potential of the Turkish remake, praising it for its bold portrayal of women figures. That is, they have indicated that the Turkish remake has taken a small but noteworthy step for going some way towards confronting conventional images of female characters on Turkish television. For instance, many viewers suggest that the Turkish remake has displayed certain signs that Zeliha, a

middle-aged married woman, develops some feelings for Levent, a handsome young man. Regarding the depiction of a flirtatious woman and her mixed feelings for a man other than her husband, commentators have made the following explanations:

> *By disclosing Zeliş's touching glance at a young man who resembles an ugly duckling on the one hand and Murat Boz on the other, Turkish scriptwriters have demonstrated that they may pursue a courageous path for Turkish television*. (under rug swept; October 3, 2011)

> *Despite a range of omissions, this show is able to depict a married woman flirting with a guy who is young enough to be her son.* (snidget; October 3, 2011)

> *As evident in its recent episode, the Turkish producers do not avoid depicting a middle-aged woman overtly flirting with a guy young enough to be her son in front of a perfume stand.* (snidget; November 7, 2011)

Alongside these statements, several viewers declare their admiration for Zeliha's frank and assertive expressions:

> *"You think that you have a wife only in bed and I am done with that!!!" Zeliş, you are number one :)).* (Jack Wolfskin, @HeiHakan; October 2, 2011)

> *"There are plenty of fish in the sea. The one who grabs me can own me, not the one who just looks at me". Zeliş, you are really awesome :D* (Beliz Dündar, @BelizDundar; October 30, 2011)

The scenes in which Zeliha cheats on her second husband with her ex-husband, where the Turkish remake bears the footprint of its source, have been received negatively among the viewers. Many viewers, particularly on YouTube, have shared their negative comments about Zeliha's infidelity:

> *Though Zeliş is fond of money and power, she was able to hold firm and she had acted prudent when she first met Levent and, later, Haluk. This is why I used to admire her attitudes. She had never ever cheated on her husband…Yet what she is doing behind her recent husband's back right now is so sad.* (ikbal koçak, comment on episode 63, 2018)

> *I freak out at Zeliş. On top of it, they present her acts as if they were usual and common. I feel nauseous while watching it. Just get divorced and do whatever you want. What on earth are you doing cheating on your husband…* (GL KRĞL, comment on episode 63, 2019)

> *Zeliş was a chaste woman, defending her honor. But storylines have started to slowly degenerate. And they are not funny at all.* (srp ymkgnc, comment on episode 63, 2019)

Nermin's marriages and relationships with several men throughout the three seasons of the Turkish remake have been viewed as unusual but humorous by certain viewers, and at the same time, they have been discredited for their transgressive nature:

> *Nothing stops Nermin to get married to different guys and have new spouses. What a woman! Bravo!* (esme, @esmayildiz; March 14, 2014)

> *In this series, Nermin is really lucky to receive marriage proposals. This is great. She takes revenge for what she went through in her previous television drama Yaprak Dökümü.* (Burcu Bade Duru, @burdubadeduru; March 14, 2014)

> *Nermin is in her fifties. The guy next to her looks like 25 and he hits on Nermin :)* (Göksel HOŞTAN, @realhostan; Mai 29, 2014)

> *"What a shame!", I just say in these moments of the show. The most well-mannered, humble and docile woman of the series is in another guy's arms and they are kissing right now. Everybody is randomly hitting on each other…* (tualdeki yansıma; December 5, 2013)

As revealed among the viewer observations above, a considerable number of Turkish viewers have frequently made mention of the presence of sexual innuendos and diverse sexually connotative dialogues and images, suggesting that the Turkish remake has adopted a sort of confrontational stance by breaking, at least to some extent, some taboos about the representation of sexuality on Turkish television. Below are several viewer comments, supportive and adverse, on the topic of sexuality in the Turkish remake:

> *I was particularly curious about how the Turkish production staff was able to handle some of the scenes in the source show. For example, I was wondering if the dialogue between Lynette and Tom [Elif and Ömer in the Turkish version] about condoms was to appear in the Turkish remake. Then I saw it was present and said "It is ok!" The second scene I was wondering about was Rex's [Bree's husband] fondness of sexual fantasies and obsessions. I recognized that the Turkish team was able to get through it as well.* (big bang, January 15, 2012)

> *Tekin is sleeping with a woman and he uses a condom. It is his first sexual experience. That's my boy. Go for it. Make love.* (MORETELLO MOZERTA, @moretellomozert; September 27, 2013)

> *This girl they call İrem is always on the wrong track. She is way too fond of making out with men. She dyed her hair with three colors like a flag. If she keeps on going this way, her mother [Nermin] will have another grandchild. I wish that God will save everyone from such a daughter in real life.* (Aylin, comment on episode 77, 2019)

The other point that has been made in the list of viewer observations regarding the potentially adversary nature of the Turkish remake concerns alternative

representations of relationships, romantic affairs and issues of commitment and attachment in a relationship. Many Turkish viewers have shared their opinions about many of the relationships in the Turkish remake, which are unstable in many aspects, usually turning into a cycle of breaking up and getting back together and/or starting new romantic affairs (often in the form of dating their friends' former partners). Here are several viewer comments pointing to the ever-changing dynamics in relationships in the Turkish remake.

> *This series turned out to be a platform in which everybody randomly hits on each other's partner.* (Gamze tiryaki, @Gamze_Tiryaki; October 11, 2013)

> *I am wondering what kind of neighborhood it is. Everybody gets to flirting with each other :)* (leyla karadogan, @lelakrdgn53; October 11, 2013)

> *What kind of desperate housewives are they? They each have two husbands at least.* (Pablitto, @_elPayaso_; November 1, 2012)

As my analysis has further revealed, Turkish viewers have specifically reacted against Sinan's (leading male character) affair with Yasemin's (leading female character) friend Suzan. At this point, it is significant to point out that both Mike (Sinan) and Susan (Yasemin) have multiple relationships and change partners several times while searching for happiness during the eight seasons of the source show.

> *Yasemin and Sinan's breakup sounds bad. This series has begun to get closer to the American lifestyle than Turkish. Everyone has three to five spouses. It is absolutely nonsense.* (Katsiaryna Makarevich, comment on episode 86, 2018)

> *Damn him! Sinan's lustful glance at Suzan and his kissing her was disgusting…*(Ay Isıgı, comment on episode 86, 2019)

> *Sinan fell out of favor with me. How on earth does he date his ex-wife's friend? Shameless guy…It is an inhumane act.* (Madina Dibirova, comment on episode 86, 2019)

> *Whoa! Sinan is together with Yasemin's bestie Suzan…* (1453, @Asi_4585; October 3, 2013)

> *Sinan and Suzan's coupling is utterly nonsense :(It is absolutely nonsense!!!* (……..., @BraBapnar; October 3, 2013)

> *I am shocked right now. Sinan and Suzan cannot be a couple. I wish Sinan and Yasemin to make peace and get back together!* (Bahar, @bahar0014; October 4, 2013)

> *Watching Sinan and Suzan together is nauseous. I got bored. Yeah, it is absolutely nonsense.* (Firuze, @firuzemeltem; October 24; 2013)

The fourth point in the list of viewer observations relates to the Turkish remake's genre. Many viewers have acknowledged that this Turkish remake has in many ways differed from many other indigenous television series, such as *Adını Feriha Koydum* (2011-2012)*, Ay Tutulması* (2011), *Firar* (2011-2012), *İffet* (2011-2012) and *Sensiz Olmaz* (2011), appearing on Turkish television in the early 2010s (see https://eksisozluk.com/umutsuz-ev-kadinlari--1464900?p=9). They have mostly referred to and emphasized the Turkish remake's much funnier storylines in comparison to other then-popular Turkish television shows. Even though several viewers, the comments of whom reveal that they have prior knowledge of the source show, have suggested that the comedy and drama are not equally balanced with each other in the Turkish remake, the majority of viewer posts, particularly those shared on Twitter, refer to the Turkish remake's combination of comedic moments and drama elements in a consistent fashion. Here are some of the Twitter posts drawing attention to the coexistence of drama and comedy in many storylines of the Turkish remake:

> *The series which makes you alternately laugh and feel sad within a few minutes is called Umutsuz Ev Kadınları.* (Özlem Limoncu, @OzlemLmnc; March 16, 2013)

> *Finally we have a television series to watch in laughter and amusement, which does not make us cry with its grieving storylines. Many thanks.* (Jack Wolfskin, @HeiHakan; October 2, 2011)

> *Comedy and drama in one :*) *Two in one!* (Elçin, @elcincoraklar; November 29, 2012)

Complementary to these, on Ekşisözlük, one commentator has listed several genres and narrative themes that Turkish television series are usually loyal to, and then he/she points at the Turkish remake's difference among them (visnefr; October 4, 2011). According to him/her, *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* is one of the few likeable television shows of that period, since Turkish television abounds in tribal series about social life in the southeast of Turkey and romances mostly centered on some practices disciplining the female body on the one hand; and, on the other, political action series based on a series of events that typically include violence and some other series depicting luxurious lives of the Turkish bourgeoisie residing in mansions along the Bosporus. In fact, his/her comment echoes the explanation of scriptwriter Meryem who, as indicated earlier, suggests that the reason why she got involved in remaking *Desperate Housewives* was that it was distinct from mafia (mobsters and gangsters)

dramas and the other kind of dramas mostly centered on the objectification of female characters.

My analysis of the viewers' comments has revealed that a number of Turkish viewers point to the prevalence of the non-local images, representations and themes, or namely to the tendency of the Turkish production team to confront domestic conventions and unmask traces of the source culture. It might also be suggested that the effect of foreignness created by the Turkish remake has incited a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish audience groups are divided between embracing and rejecting what they have assumed as the non-local content.

It could be suggested that just as the source series presents a number of options to its viewers, which were either welcomed or rejected, so its Turkish remake incorporates various images, representations and ideas that led to a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish viewers evaluated them either positively or negatively. In this sense, these two television series seem to be received similarly by their own audience profiles.

4.5. INTERTEXTUAL INTERPRETANTS

In addition to Venuti's methodology, I have further proposed intertextual interpretants. In television remakes, intertextual elements can be manifold in scope. However, for the purposes of this research, the sole intertextual interpretant that will be given consideration has to do with the particular genre of the source show and its resonance in the Turkish remake. This interpretant type echoes Moran's second category of intertextual codes, the third set of which concerns "the particular mode or genre of a format and the localizing disposition it might entail" (2009b: 49). How sociocultural reshaping in television remakes produces generic effects also constitutes one of the fundamental points of focalization in the special issue of *Continuum* (2015) entitled "Transnational Television Remakes".[130] Given that television series "offer greater latitude for cultural variation than does a game show" (Moran 2009b, 49), it is paramount to note that meticulous preparation should be carried out to ensure the

[130] See Mikos, 2015 and Turnbull, 2015.

necessary accommodation of generic conventions between the source show and its remake.

4.5.1. Genre Conventions of the Source Series and Its Turkish Remake

Generic conventions and markers usually undergo noticeable changes within diverse cultures and even in the same culture in different time slots that harbor distinctive social moments, intellectual perspectives and political outlooks. In light of this, drawing on the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* as a case in point, the following two subsections seek to elaborate which generic components come into play in *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake, with particular reference to the overreliance on the melodramatic mode of expression in the latter. This elaboration will be made in view of a particular sociocultural, historical and political context that makes melodrama appear in the Turkish context as well as traditional artistic domains (literary works, movies) that antecede this generic form in the Turkish culture repertoire.

4.5.1.1. The Generic Form of *Desperate Housewives*

Many researchers have come to terms with *Desperate Housewives*'s combination of diverse generic forms and conventions (Lancioni, 2006; Sharp, 2006 and Hill, 2010). Its official website describes the show as "[a] primetime soap [opera] with a truly contemporary take on 'happily ever after'" and an "hour-long" drama [taking] "a darkly comedic look at suburbia" (Wilson, 2006: 144). This generic labeling is not only driven by the show's content "focused on families, friendship groups or neighbourhood, where just a sense of life going on moves the series forward", but also by its following the episodic pattern of soap operas, in which one storyline is engaged with in much more depth than others and is not transferred to the next episode (Coward, 2006: 36). Likewise, Cherry describes his work as "a dramatic soap opera that has more than a few laughs" (Jones, 2004). This description fits the

conventions of dramedy,[131] which, as the name suggests, can be viewed as a generic fusion bringing together comedy and drama. In relation to the show's generic form, Nicollette Sheridan (playing Edie) has opinions similar to Cherry's and she comments on the show that "it's touching and it's weird and it's funny and it's witty" (Carroll, 2004; FilmStew.com).

Besides soap opera and dramedy, the show's categorization within the broad genre of melodrama has been referred to in several academic studies. One of these is Rosalind Coward's article in which she reiterates that *Desperate Housewives* begins with "the classic tease of a thriller or melodrama, in this case the violent death of Mary Alice shattering the perfect surface of Wisteria Lane and opening up a mystery from which the narrative action will unfold" (2006: 36). Janet McCabe also points out that the show exploits generic forms of melodrama and comedy "known for exposing hidden meanings", and by means of the use of these genres, it uncovers taboos and cultural prohibitions, providing its characters the tools to reveal the paradoxes that they encounter (2006: 80). What all the research identifying the show with melodrama as a genre has in common is the view that *Desperate Housewives* is not considered a melodrama at large, yet it partly displays its expressive features and devices. It should be pointed out that a range of genres such as those associated with *Desperate Housewives* thus far can be subsumed under melodrama as a permeable metagenre, which smoothly adjusts to any historical period and genre (Mercer and Shingler, 1993; S. Mumford, 1995; Singer, 2001). Given that the roots of melodrama reach deep into French culture as of the dawn of the 19th century and it has endured, with a few alterations, into the present day, in such a way as to ultimately serve cinema and later television, it can be suggested that many genres may feature some premises and expressive techniques of this generic form (Brooks, 1995: xvi).

My analysis suggests that *Desperate Housewives* has only remained loyal to some basic premises of melodrama, largely escaping the limitations of its repertory of expressive features and devices. For instance, perhaps the most significant formula of melodrama, which is "either/or" (melodramatic narratives' division into two sharply contrasting sets of opinions or beliefs), does not apply to this show, where it seems not

[131] According to Judith Lancioni (2006), having first appeared in the 1980s, the concept of "dramedy" was used to refer to series like *Moonlighting*, *The Wonder Years* and *Hooperman* (131).

possible to identify characters and/or storylines as either innocent or evil. For instance, even though one of the main characters, Bree, repeatedly mentions her moral values and identity, proclaiming herself as a church-goer and Republican in the first season of the show, throughout the following seven seasons, she ends up being an alcoholic, having many one-night stands and questioning her faith. However, her noticeable transformation in terms of habits, manners and values are reflected in the show in a particular way to enable the viewers to contemplate the depths of her motives for adopting a remarkably different personality. Thus, her moral state turns out to be a very delicate perception, which is not judged pursuant to any clear set of moral imperatives. The enrichment of melodrama with realism-driven interactions and ideas in the American context, which have been imported from European resources, can account for the apparent divergence from the basics of melodrama in *Desperate Housewives* and in its realistic narratives (Tunalı, 2006: 191).

It should be pointed out that the genre of melodrama usually attracts no public attention in prestigious prime-time slots of mainstream US television networks. This makes *Desperate Housewives*, which was the only new female-centered drama of the US free television channels in 2005, an unusual and phenomenal success for the US. In fact, the repertoire of American television series has a long history notably marked by a wide spectrum of genres borrowed from a complex mix of literary, filmic, documentary and radio sources since its early days. One of the popular genres of television series in the 1950s was the anthology series, a format of American live television of the 1940s and 1950s ("Television in the United States"; britannica.com). Dramatic adaptations of classic plays of, say, William Shakespeare and literary works such as Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* were among the first instances of television series in the US (ibid.). Over the years, a collection of situation comedies, westerns, adventures, soap operas, historical dramas, animated series, adult cartoons, legal dramas and procedural dramas as well as police and medical dramas has emerged, with these becoming the signature genres of US entertainment television (ibid.). Television series in such great diversity can be suggested to provide American viewers mostly with hours of escapist pleasure, yet alongside the series falling within the escapist framework, themes of contemporary social relevance have been introduced into dramatic series since the 1960s and 1970s, the early period of the history of

broadcasting (ibid.). These socially relevant television series have brought with them relaxation for the television industry and have enabled feature stories about rape, racism and many other formerly forbidden topics, particularly sexuality (ibid.). In this light, it appears that the repertoire of television series in the US has been established and consolidated with a broad range of genres that have appeared on American television over a period of almost 80 years. It hosts escapist television shows that lack socially relevant content and give pleasure to their viewers on the one hand and, on the other, non-escapist shows reflecting the cultural landscape as objectively as possible.

Brief examination of the repertoire of American series genres has also revealed that soap operas, having been thriving in American broadcasting since its inception, have most often appeared during the daytime. The genre of soap opera, identified frequently by melodrama and sentimentality, has rarely appeared in prime-time programming, with some exceptions such as *Dallas* (1978-91), *Dynasty* (1981-89) and *Falcon Crest* (1981-90) ("Television in the United States"; britannica.com). This means that the positions they have occupied in prime-time slots are insignificant in quantitative terms. More particularly, at the time when *Desperate Housewives* started out on American television, the majority of free channels were producing and broadcasting procedural dramas following the notable popularity of *CSI* and *Law and Order*, series that have almost no links to soap opera and melodrama conventions (McCabe and Akass, 2006: 5).

It turns out that, looking back over the history of American television series in prime-time slots with regard to genre conventions, many popular television series appear to maintain a variety of conventions other than those of the genre of melodrama. Thus, as it has been pointed out before, even if *Desperate Housewives* adopts, at least loosely, several melodramatic techniques and narratives, it can be evaluated as an unpredictable success for the US television series industry.

4.5.1.2. The Generic Form of *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*

In terms of a generic form, the Turkish remake appears to incorporate plentiful narratives and techniques typical of the genre of melodrama, which has its roots in

Western culture. In particular, melodrama had responded to the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, during which the new bourgeois class appeared (Bushnell, 2005; Hayward, 2013). In those days, desacralization of society between the Renaissance and Enlightenment phases gave rise to a post-sacred bourgeois society where values and ethics gradually came to reside in individual everyday lives (Brooks, 1976: 11). The drive for melodrama at that moment was the necessity for the establishment and sustainability of moral and ethical codes in a post-Enlightenment world in which previous religious and transcendent values, monitored by institutions such as churches and monarchs, had become insignificant for people's lives (ibid.). It was melodrama that substituted the absence of the apparent moral meaning in the bourgeoisie's daily, lived experience (Brooks, 1976: 12).

Dating back to very old times, melodrama can be viewed as a generic form which is apt to be configured in consideration of the expectations of a particular culture and its prevailing social order (Tunalı, 2006: 304). Given my main concern here with Turkish television remakes, it is significant to point out that melodrama also has a long history in Turkish culture. In order to find earlier instances of melodrama in the Turkish context, one can go back to the appearance of the first examples of Turkish novels and plays written in Western style since the promulgation of "Tanzimat" ("Reorganization")[132] (Tunalı, 2006: 24). Many of these novels and plays, as Tunalı argues, were inclined to melodrama in terms of contents and themes, featuring characters and dramatic conflicts that refuse depth analysis founded on psychology (ibid.).

Alongside novels and plays, melodrama's most evident trails can be traced in the "Yeşilçam" ("Green Pine") period of Turkish cinema (Tunalı, 2006; Güngör, 2007; Agocuk, 2012). Melodrama garnered outstanding popularity in Turkish cinema, which had apparently made use of and emulated prominent narrative mechanisms of the movies released during the classical period of the American film industry (Güngör, 2007). The classical Hollywood film industry played the role of catalyst in the import and transfer of melodrama into the cinematic repertoire in Turkey.[133] Since then, it has

[132] Tanzimat, as the first conscious Westernalization movement that sought to modernize the Ottoman state and society, was proclaimed on November 3, 1839, and it included a great variety of administrative, military, legal and educational reforms (Berk, 2006: 2).

[133] The Egyptian Film Industry was a major intermediary for the import of Hollywood movies into Turkish cinema. Due to World War II beginning in Europe between the years of 1939 and 1945, this

occupied a superior status, becoming a traditional way of telling stories in audiovisual cultural goods. Nevertheless, the significant point here is that the transfer of generic mechanisms and melodramatic narratives that they bring with them had not occurred successfully, since melodrama was introduced to the Turkish culture repertoire as an option without critical and historical introspection (Tunalı, 2006: 206). However, this transfer had taken place with the adoption of some distinctive characteristics of the Hollywood film industry, including "taking the easy way out", "commercial profit" and "imitation" (ibid.). Several crucial issues in the Turkish context such as rapid urbanization, internal/external immigration and modernization around the 1960s can be viewed as potential reasons for Turkish movie makers' haphazard enterprise to integrate the models imported from Hollywood into the Turkish television repertoire (Güngör, 2007). The lack of obvious principles of organization during the import and transfer of Hollywood movies and their melodramatic content has resulted in a number of imitations in Turkey (Tunalı, 2006; Güngör, 2007).

With the development of the Turkish television series industry, melodrama has taken on new life and has had a lasting and significant effect on the repertoire of Turkish television series, with some modifications such as enhanced technical quality and relatively modernized narration employed on television (Tunalı, 2006). The first commercial television stations recognized the fact that reruns of movies from Turkish popular cinema on television in the 1970s firmly held the attention of Turkish television viewers, and therefore they have frequently broadcast old movies over the years and still continue to do so (Güngör, 2007: 65). As Arif Can Güngör suggests, Yeşilçam movies, usually viewed as imitations of classical Hollywood movies, have provided guidance to the repertoire of Turkish television series in terms of their semiotic models and narratives, and Turkish television producers, chasing these models and narratives, have evolved their own models and produced Turkish television series (ibid.). The long-standing interplay between Turkish television with a range of directors, producers and actors from the Turkish film industry of that time has had a decisive role in the incorporation of aesthetic and economic components of the latter into the Turkish television repertoire (73).

import was not carried out though the mediation of European countries which were turned into areas of heavy fighting, but by means of Egypt, which remained neutral during World War II (Derin, 2014: 65).

Given that the Turkish cinema industry and Turkish television share a few common, mostly profit-seeking, interests and concerns, namely the primacy of viewers' preferences, commercial interests and risk avoidance, their interplay can be viewed as inevitable (Tunalı, 2006; Güngör, 2007). As a result of this mass consumption-oriented production site of the two industries, identified by their similar financial interests and failure in becoming well-founded industries, a sort of inflation has occurred in both cultural production landscapes where viewers' unceasing demand for goods has resulted in a notable decrease in the goods' quality (Güngör, 2007: 188). Thus, the Turkish popular cinema industry in the 1960s and 1970s and the Turkish television series market are alike in production conditions and their outputs. Duygu Sağıroğlu, interviewed within the framework of Güngör's thesis, further points to the fact that the effects of this interplay are also apparent in Turkish television remakes even though they have foreign origins (Güngör, 2007: 84).

Tunalı suggests that Turkish television series have placed melodrama in the particular sociocultural and ideological background of Turkish culture and the prevailing "mentality" behind it (Tunalı, 2006). By "mentality", I refer to a particular society's ingrained patterns of thinking, values, beliefs, behaviors, and social institutions, which are utterly difficult to recognize without a deeper analysis and usually resistant to evolution and change (Tunalı, 2006: 97). In this vein, it can be suggested that several decisive and groundbreaking moments and traditions of Turkish culture explain the recurrent recourse to melodrama in many indigenous and remade Turkish television series. These moments and traditions have also influenced melodrama's way of application to the Turkish context. Among them, the tradition of Turkish oral literature (tales, the tradition of public storytelling called "the art of meddahs"), Islamic mysticism and Tanzimat as the first conscious modernization process have become prominent.

In particular, Islamic mysticism has had a tremendous impact on shaping the Turkish mentality, lifestyle and creativity. Given that the creative process usually entails confronting extant ideas by relying on a particular creator's experiences and intuition, the central concepts of mysticism, such as love and faith, and its primary motive of resolving our existential dilemma to experience divinity can be argued to hinder essential openness to confrontational ideas required to stimulate creativity in

cultural production (Tunalı, 2006: 117). For instance, creative thinking restricted by particular teachings and concepts of Islamic mysticism gave rise to the emergence and expansion of Anatolian and Ottoman art in which many figures and narratives were devoid of necessary perspective and depth (ibid.). This viewpoint proposes that those who try to create something like the creation of the only Supreme Being are unable to succeed. According to this proposition, an artist is defined not as a creator but only an imitator, and it is vain for human beings to emulate their Creator in the creation of things (Tunalı, 2006: 127). Instead of creativity, the understanding of variation ("tenevvü"), which refers to a sort of mass production of cultural goods with only slight variations in content, prevails in the production and rapid proliferation of the Turkish culture repertoire (128). Likewise, the appraisal of plunder culture, in the form of plundering goods, money and food among Anatolian Turks, has been inscribed into the Turkish mentality and it has taken on its recent form, which has become evident in plundering the melodrama genre into the Turkish context without a necessary internalization process before its implementation (182).

The other paramount historical process that relates to the integration of melodrama into the Turkish culture repertoire is the phase of modernization in the Ottoman Empire and its successor state, the Turkish Republic. It can be argued that this phase did not occur in the Turkish context in light of a rational vision and systematic knowledge as it did in the Western world. Back then, Ottoman society had entered a new era not in full compliance with its own idiosyncratic social, cultural, ideological and intellectual background and needs. Instead, a number of reforms had been implemented in the form of the imitation of Western models (the adoption of Western literature and commercial codes and measures, to name only a few) into the Ottoman and then into the Turkish cultural milieu (Berk, 2006). Thus, modernization in the Turkish context had neglected its local context and had not captured the complex dynamic processes involved in it. It had happened in the form of a top-down process of implementing various reforms without properly considering the target population's views and potential impacts, in which several policy and opinion makers had mastered control of the target population (Tunalı, 2006: 123-124). Therefore, it may well be argued that the interplay of modernization with diverse movements and nationalist ideologies such as pan-Turkism, Westernalism, traditionalism and Turkish-Islamic

synthesis rendered it a slippery term, marked by the divide and tension between theory and practice (Zhongmin and Meng, 2017: 14).

As a result of the aforementioned momentous socio-political, cultural and intellectual processes and their formative effects on the Turkish culture repertoire, the repertoire has often been dominated by a considerable number of literary, cinematic and televisual narratives, which appear as variations of one another. Such narratives popular in the Turkish culture repertoire usually present a reductive and artificially simplistic vision of the world and they do not grow richer through reflexive engagement with a given cultural good (Tunalı, 2006: 134). These features that echo the common characteristics of melodrama can thus be viewed as the motive behind the overreliance of the Turkish remake on the melodramatic mode of expression.

As was indicated earlier, the melodrama genre plays a paramount role within the repertoire of Turkish television series even though the repertoire is rich in terms of the diversity of genres. The first set of locally produced television series, which largely consisted of the adaptation of popular Turkish literature, namely *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*Forbidden Love*) in 1975, *Bugünün Saraylısı* (*Today's Aristocrat*) in 1985 and *Çalıkuşu* (*The Wren*) in 1986, provided some examples for melodramatic stories in the early years of Turkish television. The earliest instances of foreign soap operas and telenovelas that began airing on TRT in the 1980s also corresponded well to the memory of melodramatic Turkish movies of the 1960s and 1970s (Öztürkmen, 2018: 5).[134] The popularity of the melodramatic mode among Turkish viewers, as Öztürkmen suggests, was the primary motive behind the prevalent use of this generic form by indigenous Turkish television series (ibid.).

The genre of melodrama also served very well during the private broadcasting phase of Turkish television in the 1990s. Many melodramatic television series featuring popular singers appeared on Turkish television in those days. *Tanrı Misafiri* (*God's Guest*) featuring Ebru Gündeş, *Gündüzün Karanlığı* (*The Darkness of the Day*) featuring Emrah, *Alem Buysa* (*If Universe is as Such*) featuring Mahsun Kırmızıgül and *Aynalı Tahir* (*Tahir The Mirror*) constitute several examples of series featuring well-known stars of the time (ibid.). Just like the previous two periods of Turkish

[134] Examples of these soap operas and telenovelas include *Köle Isaura* (*Esclava Isaura*), *Santa Barbara*, *Cesur ve Güzel* (*The Bold and the Beautiful*), and *Zenginler de Ağlar* (*Los Ricos También Lloran*).

television, the recent phase, since the turn of the 21st century, has also been offering a range of indigenous television series consisting heavily of melodrama conventions (Öztürkmen, 2018: 6). This points to the fact that melodrama has become the most popular genre of Turkish television series in the 2000s as well (ibid.). A large variety of popular domestic television series, falling under diverse subgenres such as romance and tribal series ("töre dizileri"), have had recourse to melodrama in this time period. Some of these series are *Asmalı Konak* (*Vine-Clad Mansion*), *Binbir Gece* (*1001 Nights*), *Gümüş* (*Nour*), *Fatmagülün Suçu Ne?* (*What is Fatmagül's Fault?*), *Haziran Gecesi* (*The June Night*), *Sıla* (a Turkish woman's name) and *Zerda* (a Turkish woman's name). In this sense, it can be suggested that the firmly established repertoire of Turkish television has been enriched in terms of the genre range, simultaneously including neighborhood dramas (*Mahallenin Muhtarları* [*Headmen of the Neighborhood*]), historical dramas (*Hatırla Sevgili* [*Remember Darling*]), sitcoms (*Tatlı Hayat* [*Pretty Life*]), comedies (*Avrupa Yakası* [*European Side*]), crime dramas (*Ezel* [a Turkish name]) and action (*Arka Sokaklar* [*Backstreets*]), among others. However, melodrama, more than any other form, has manifested itself in the majority of Turkish television series in the form of pure melodrama; it has also sweepingly infused other genres by incorporating its primary conventions and aesthetics into them (Tunalı, 2006; Güngör, 2007; Kotaman, 2011).

It is against this backdrop, I argue, that the remaking of *Desperate Housewives* in the Turkish context has resulted in conspicuous generic transformation by means of the Turkish remake's adoption of narrative mechanisms and expressive techniques associated with the genre of melodrama. It is due to the fact that local production teams are often predisposed to be in conformity with domestic conventions and, in the case of remakes, they usually transform the generic conventions adopted from their originating materials. Drawing on the fact that the repertoire of Turkish television series had already accumulated an affluent repertoire, the fact that Turkish scriptwriters have usually made use of the "patterns of production […] inscribed by the local repertoire" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming) is not an unexpected outcome.

4.5.1.2.1. Melodramatic Configuration of the Turkish Remake

Given the historical trajectory of melodrama in the Turkish cultural repertoire, the previous subsection highlighted that the Turkish remake's overemphasis on melodrama has been primarily inspired by the repertoire of Turkish television series in which melodrama has occupied a central position and has had a strong effect on Turkish viewers' local television tastes and modes of watching. In this light, the present subsection will illustrate the main dramatic features of melodrama and briefly mark these features in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*.

As far as common characteristics of melodrama are concerned, Brooks lists the following connotations of the word melodrama, which, he argues, are alike for everyone. As stated by Brooks, there are:

- Moral polarization and schematization
- Persecution of the good and final reward of virtue
- The indulgence of strong emotionalism
- Extreme states of being, situations, actions
- Inflated and extravagant expression
- Breathtaking peripety [that is, an abrupt turn of events]
- Overt villainy (Brooks, 1995: 11-12)

The universe of melodrama resides in the conflict of good and evil as opposites, which are not open to reconciliation (36). Melodramatic storylines are built on "the either/or in its extreme form as the all-or-nothing" (ibid.). Furthermore, emotions are made blatantly obvious and hyperbolic (41). As Brooks further emphasizes, high emotional and ethical drama centered on the conflict of good and evil functions to identify and confront evil in order to establish the social order (13). The rationale behind the genre's motivation to purge the social order relates to its connection to the French Revolution, which marks "the final liquidation of the traditional Sacred and its representative institutions (Church and Monarch), the shattering of the myth of Christendom, the dissolution of an organic and hierarchally cohesive society, and invalidation of the literary forms – tragedy, comedy of manners – that depended on such a society" (15). That is, melodrama has emerged in an atmosphere where the

conventional imperatives of truth and ethics have begun to be interrogated and then it has conspicuously taken over the role of discovering and proving the existence of a moral universe in a post-sacred era (ibid.). Therefore, it can be suggested that melodrama strives to implement resacralization and it offers its implementation in personal terms (16). According to Brooks:

> *Melodramatic good and evil are highly personalized: they are assigned to, they inhabit persons who indeed have no psychological complexity but who are strongly characterized. […] Good and evil can be named as persons are named—and melodramas tend in fact to move toward a clear nomination of the moral universe. The ritual of melodrama involves the confrontation of clearly identified antagonists and the expulsion of one of them. It can offer no terminal reconciliation, for there is no longer a clear transcendent value to be reconciled to. There is, rather, a social order to be purged, a set of ethical imperatives to be made clear.* (Brooks, 1995: 16-17)

A range of features of melodrama, concisely summarized above, serve to foreground and pay a noticeable and public homage to virtue. Recurring clarifications and acknowledgements of a message, which is usually moral, function in such a way as to dramatize and highlight the sign of virtue and innocence (Brooks, 1995: 28). The other prominent feature of melodrama is the absence of psychological conflict in its characters. In Brooks's words, "[t]here is no 'psychology' in melodrama in this sense"; that is, its characters most often have no interior depth and seeking an interior conflict in melodrama is futile (35). In addition to this, characters in melodrama usually announce their moral judgements of the world from the outset, dividing themselves either as honest and virtuous, or as false, terrible and cruel (36-37). This is one of the indicators of melodrama's expressionist form.

As far as the Turkish remake is concerned, among the most prominent marks that melodrama left on it are the notable substitutions and omissions on the part of comic sequences and dynamics. The two female leads, Songül Öden and Özge Özder, point to the combination of comedy and drama in the Turkish remake, and Özder further remarks that the show does not exaggerate dramatic storylines too much; rather, it provides viewers with tragedy, comedy and also reality, encapsulated within a tale (*Habertürk*, 12.03.2012). However, my textual analysis suggests that the blended genre of dramedy does not function as similarly as it does in the source material. Instead, as previously indicated, the Turkish remake has cleaved more strongly into melodrama conventions than dramedy. This is not to discount, however, a few

glimpses of comedy in the Turkish remake, which offer a vivid example of the novelty that the remake process has brought to the target televisual repertoire. Thus, it can be suggested that, even if comedy and drama are not equally balanced with each other in the Turkish remake, its endeavor to mix these generic forms has at least incited a new sense of novelty in terms of genre conventions. Moreover, a considerable number of Turkish viewers (see 4.3.2) who have referred to the Turkish remake's divergence from many popular television series of that television season in terms of its richness in comic scenes, can be evaluated as testament to this argument.

My critical analysis reveals that the source show weaves together comic and dramatic elements in ways to create a complex text that fosters the articulation of ideological content and produces a show in which the characters are likeable even if they are bad. This is not the case in the Turkish remake, though. As far as the Turkish remake is concerned, it may only be perceived as a pale imitation of the genre of dramedy, in which the comic and the serious are not in equilibrium. For instance, *Desperate Housewives*'s serious look at various constructions of images of women is most often presented within and interrupted by a comic storyline, whereas serious storylines are not followed by a brief pause and they are kept not as much for their comic effect as for their serious purposes in the Turkish remake. Thus, it appears that, alongside the lowered tone of comedy in the Turkish remake, the other evident effect of melodramatic narratives and techniques in the Turkish remake has consisted of the representations of women and gender roles.

It can be suggested that the Turkish remake usually reproduces traditional and patriarchal discourses on Turkish women, which are prevalent in Turkish culture where patriarchy is predominant. In comparison to its source, gender roles are rigid in the remake, which is most probably in conformity with the dominance of melodrama in the Turkish remake. This is because this generic form, in favor of patriarchal order by its very nature, usually acts as a representation tool that relegates women to a role secondary to men, confines them to the private domestic realm and retains control of their bodies and sexuality (Tunalı, 2006: 40). That is, melodrama's dualistic framework also applies to a dualistic opposition between man and woman.

Moreover, as is evident in the Turkish remake, the genre of melodrama sidesteps the representation of explicit sexuality due to its mission to offer the nearest

approach to sacred and moral values in the secularized world (Brooks, 1995: 205). Given that the emphasis is usually on the role that women play in protecting their family and sustaining (patriarchal) social order, melodrama most often renders female sexuality either invisible, pushing it to background, or deviant, associating negative connotations with it. This is related to the fact that the sanctity of moralistic conservative family values essential to purge the social order is prevalent in melodrama. This thematic feature accounts for its prevalence in many Hollywood movies seeking to cater primarily to family-oriented audiences. That is, Hollywood movies' aspiration to appeal to the widest number of viewers from diverse cultures and languages has led them to take recourse to the narrative mechanisms that will offend the fewest viewers. In this respect, "conservatism" can be construed as a lowest common denominator of melodramatic narratives and the spirit of the movies, luring both Western and Eastern viewers (Tunalı, 2006: 70). This conservative nature is in fact fueled by and serves the commercial ethos that has informed the Hollywood film industy since its inception.

As has been indicated, the indulgence of strong emotionalism or sentimentalization, is paramount in melodramas. This expressive mode of melodrama manifests itself much more frequently in the Turkish remake than in its source. For instance, in S1/E8 of the source show, Mike knocks on Susan's door and Susan pulls him inside. Then they are seen kissing in the bed and having sex for the first time. This scene appears in the ninth episode in the Turkish remake with major alterations, in which Yasemin and Sinan are seen having a sentimental and painful talk about their relationship in the doorway. Yasemin is seen bursting into tears and, a little later, Sinan comes nearer to her and kisses her on the lips. After their first and short kiss at the threshold, Sinan leaves. As is evident, the Turkish remake tones down the source scene conspicuously, relegating the sexually loaded parts to the background, and it transforms the scene into one that is emotionally charged. S1/E17 provides another scene in which Yasemin and Sinan are seen going through emotional pain, and the scene is accompanied by a sentimental Turkish song. The addition of songs, most often popular Turkish ones, appears as one of the key strategies of remaking in the Turkish context and it is considered a vehicle of promoting sentimentalization. Above all, it is another manifestation of the use of melodramatic components in the Turkish remake,

since the genre of melodrama is inherently associated with the use of music as a tool of generating emotional pitch (Brooks, 1995: 48).

S1/E4 provides another instance of the amplification of heightened dramatic effect in the Turkish remake. In this episode of the source show, Lynette is seen calmly sharing her concerns with Bree about the fact that the pediatrician suggests her twins go on medicine since they show signs of attention deficit disorder. In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, however, her Turkish counterpart Elif is seen ready to cry due to the doctor's suggestion of medicine to treat her children. A sentimental melody playing in the background of that scene accompanies Elif on the screen, who keeps sniffling and silently crying. The use of the melody in the background seems to target playing on the feelings and emotions of the Turkish audience. Throughout several scenes of the same episode, Elif is seen to be teary-eyed and choked up, which adds to the dramatic intensity. In sum, the use of music, inherent to melodrama's very existence and representations, further enables the Turkish remake to preserve its melodramatic essence by creating a particular emotional pitch and leading its viewers to a heightening of mood (Brooks, 1995: 48-49).

Taking into account the relevance of melodrama to the Turkish culture repertoire (subsuming the demands of Turkish televisual media culture), I put forward that, as compared to *Desperate Housewives*, the Turkish remake makes maximum use of the melodramatic elements, with large emphasis on, among others, heightened sentimentalization, polarized representations and restoration of social order, and relatively little emphasis on the humorous elements—all of which essentially enable it take a notably more melodramatic look. Thus, it is suggested that the Turkish remake has mostly complied with domestic generic conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire, but at the same time it has occasionally remained close to the generic elements of its source, thereby stirring up a sense of novelty in the target culture.

4.6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I conducted a comparative textual analysis between *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* through the use of Venuti's concept of the interpretant as a methodology. In order to offer an integrated methodological

framework, I extended Venuti's two categories (formal and thematic interpretants) and regrouped them within five categories, constituting compositional interpretants, media-systemic interpretants, social interpretants, intertextual interpretants and thematic interpretants. The critical analysis of the first four interpretant categories constituted a macro analysis of my case study in this chapter.

Within the framework of compositional interpretants, I examined the basic constituents of both shows in view of two groups of compositional elements, which are plot structure and setting. As far as the plot structure is concerned, it was revealed that, even though *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake converge at some point in terms of the basic sequence of events, the treatment of the main plot structure of the two shows differed considerably in the details. From a broader perspective, however, *Desperate Housewives* seems to establish a model of a storyline formula for subsequent indigenous Turkish television series. Several local Turkish television series such as *Gönül İşleri* and *Evli ve Öfkeli* can be suggested to emulate *Desperate Housewives* and/or its Turkish remake in terms of their primary plot structure, which revolves around several female protagonists and mostly narrates their everyday life and problems. Accordingly, it can be proposed that, the Turkish television series repertoire experienced interference with the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*, which has offered the home repertoire a new option of women-led plot structure. As for setting, it led to many more shifts than those identified in the plot structure since the cultural context in which both series are located is remarkably different. Therefore, this sub-category of compositional interpretants contributed to the consolidation of prevailing images of life, models and representations in the Turkish context.

As far as media-systemic interpretants are concerned, two subcategories appeared. In the first category, I examined the type of television networks that both shows were broadcast on and their viewer profiles. My examination of the first category showed that both television shows aired on mainstream television networks, which appeal to the broadest portion of viewers as possible. Due to their understanding of broadcasting, they operated under strict conditions. It was also revealed that both shows had to deal with conservative and authoritative perspectives in their media contexts and follow the restricting rules of supervising institutional agents. However, I also uncovered that the source show seemed much more free in terms of its response

to the restrictions it faced. As for scheduling, the second media systemic interpretant, it became apparent that both shows were scheduled to air on Sundays in prime-time slots in order to pull in female viewers, but the irregular scheduling arrangements prevalent in the Turkish television industry led the Turkish remake to be broadcast on several different days of broadcasting. Moreover, even though the Turkish remake initially obeyed the already firmly established conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire in terms of its average episode length, it then appeared two days a week in one-hour episodes on its second television network, Fox TV. The fact that the Turkish remake was modeled in consideration of its source as regards the mode of scheduling by shortening its episodes almost by half can be viewed as an interference in media-systemic attributes between *Desperate Housewives* and its remake whereby Turkish viewers were offered an alternative viewing mode prevalent in the US television market.

The third branch examined in this chapter was social interpretants. Within the scope of this interpretant category, the role of scriptwriters during the remake process and viewers' reception were interrogated. My examination revealed that, in the course of scriptwriting, the head of the writing team, Marc Cherry, drew on certain aspects of women's everyday life routines, problems and feelings, which push their boundaries and make them confront the conventional understandings of femininity, motherhood and housewifery, whereas Turkish scriptwriter Hatice Meryem only made use of women's daily routines and conversations and declined to narrate the darker sides of the female leads, most probably due to her limited scope of authority in comparison to that of Cherry. In addition to these points, it was also revealed that both writers' subjective mental states affected their writing process and led them to touch on liberal themes and subversive topics, yet in diverging aspects and to varying degrees.

As for the audience profile, it appeared that the source show divided its viewers and critics into two. This polarized reception most probably concerns the show's thematic content and its treatment, which oscillates between abiding by traditional norms and values and challenging them in such a way as to confront the dominant social order in the US at that time. When to comes to the Turkish remake, my examination of viewer comments acquired from Twitter and Ekşisözlük as well as a random sample of YouTube users showed that the Turkish remake illustrated different

remake strategies and this led to a polarized reception discourse in view of these strategies. It was revealed that, in terms of reception, the Turkish audience is also divided into two. My examination demonstrated that the Turkish production team creatively rewrote the source show by employing indigenizing remake strategies such as omission, addition and substitution, which suggest the tendency of domestication in the Turkish remake. It became evident that the tendency of indigenization gave rise to a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish viewers evaluated it either positively, as fitting in with the Turkish context in many aspects, or negatively, on the grounds that it erased the source show's traces. My examination further showed that alternative images, representations and storylines that appeared in the Turkish remake were evaluated by the Turkish audience as clear reflections of confrontational remake strategies employed in the Turkish remake. Even though this reception discourse is less widespread than the former one, it disclosed how the Turkish remake generated a sense of novelty in the repertoire of Turkish television series and provided its viewers with new images of life, messages or models by weakening cultural boundaries. The use of confrontational remake strategies was either welcomed, as working to interrogate established life images and representations, or condemned, as confronting them. In any case, the Turkish audience's reference to the tendency of Turkish remakes to confront local conventions highlighted the innovative role that the Turkish remake played in the Turkish television series repertoire.

Within the fourth branch of interpretants, intertextual interpretants, I examined the particular genre of *Desperate Housewives* and its resonance in its Turkish remake. My examination showed that the source show was referred to as blending several generic forms and conventions such as soap opera, comedy, drama, thriller and melodrama. Among them, it largely exhibited the genre conventions of dramedy, i.e., a generic fusion of drama and comedy. As for the Turkish remake, it was revealed that the show embraced a wide range of narrative mechanisms and expressive techniques that characterize the genre of melodrama. My textual analysis disclosed that the remake process of *Desperate Housewives* into the Turkish context resulted in a notable generic transformation. In relation to this, this chapter demonstrated the long-standing permeation of melodrama into the Turkish context and its appearance in different cultural production sites such as literature and cinema. It was also shown that the

traditions of Turkish oral literature, Islamic mysticism and the modernization process of "Tanzimat" led the melodrama genre to make its way into the Turkish culture repertoire. Moreover, it became apparent that, the genre of melodrama was prevalent in the three eras of Turkish television and thus its fundamental conventions, techniques and aesthetics significantly permeated the Turkish television series repertoire. My examination further disclosed that the melodrama genre was introduced into the Turkish culture repertoire as an option without critical and historical introspection. Instead, it appeared as a way to maintain cultural production via imitation, taking the easy way out and making money due to the understanding of mass consumption-oriented production widespread in the Turkish television series industry. As a result, the understanding of mass production with only minor variations spread throughout the Turkish television series repertoire. It turned out then that the Turkish remake's overreliance on melodrama was largely driven by the repertoire of Turkish television series, in which melodrama has occupied a primary position and has had a great influence on Turkish viewers' local television tastes.

In this light, my comparative textual analysis concluded that the Turkish remake predominantly embraced melodramatic components and expressive techniques such as heightened sentimentalization, polarized representations and the inclination of purging social order. As a result, its level of comedy turned out to be much lower than that of the source show. It was also shown that the dominance of the melodrama genre enabled the Turkish remake to depict its female characters as having secondary roles as compared with men and acting in line with the traditional norms and expectations imposed on them. The adoption of the melodrama genre also led the Turkish remake to underrepresent sexuality with the intent of preserving the sanctity of moral values. Alongside these, the reliance on melodrama in the Turkish remake enabled the remarkable increase in the number of scenes with heightened dramatic effect. Overall, it can be concluded that the Turkish remake largely conformed to the local generic conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire, but at the same time it used comedy elements, albeit on a smaller scale, and thereby aroused a sense of novelty in the target culture.

CHAPTER FIVE
A COMPARATIVE MICRO ANALYSIS THROUGH THEMATIC INTERPRETANTS: THE CASE OF *DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES* AND *UMUTSUZ EV KADINLARI*

The fifth level of interpretants that help analyze the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* falls under the title of "thematic interpretant" offered by Venuti (2007). Thematic interpretants involve the combination of codes, values and ideologies that largely have to do with the themes of, among others, sexuality, family patterns, ethnicity, religion, gender politics, public behaviours and identity-related matters. In fact, this type of interpretants offered by Venuti overlaps Moran's third category of transformations which he deals with under the collective name of "cultural codes" (2009b: 50). This chapter suggests that even though the two shows handle almost exactly the same themes, their interpretation and contextualization vary considerably. The detail and extent to which the same themes are handled in the two shows differ substantially because, as pointed out earlier, the cultural contexts, socio-political milieu, televisual landscapes, genre preferences and the reception environment with which the programs are intertwined entail taking different stances to those issues.

As indicated in Chapter Four, the television series selected for the case study includes 8 seasons (180 episodes with approximately 45 minutes long) of differing length and scope and its Turkish remake consists of 3 seasons which correspond to 154 episodes, each 90-100 minutes long on average. It makes highly compelling to closely watch all episodes with the purpose of identifying and classifying the dominant themes and to problematize the shifts in their treatment and exemplify these shifts by means of specific instances within the television series-remake pair. That is, given that television series-remake pairs require a comprehensive and multi-layered analysis which would exceed the scope and time slot of a single doctoral research, this chapter is limited to the comparison of Season I (hereinafter, S1) of *Desperate Housewives* (featuring 23 episodes at total) and its corresponding 23 episodes in the Turkish remake.

In this light, this chapter has splitted into two all kinds of remake strategies that occur in the case of the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*; namely substitutions, omissions, additions, continuation and repetition by toning down. The

first broad category, which involves substitutions, omissions and additions, has been collected under the title of "indigenizing remake strategies", which refer to the tendency of a local production team to adhere to target culture conventions and conceal the traces of a given source culture. The second one that encompasses the remake strategies of continuation and repetition by toning down falls under the title of "confrontational remake strategies". These strategies serve to incorporate foreign elements into television remakes by means of blending source and target culture conventions, leading diverse confrontational ideas to appear in the Turkish television repertoire. So, it can be suggested that they help television remakes create ways to circumvent dominant sociocultural constructs and offer some alternatives in return for them by pushing the boundaries prevalent on Turkish television. The strategies in this broad category can be better captured with the concept of hybridity and hybridizing nature of cultural exchange (Kraidy, 2005b).

In view of all the above, given that television holds the power of controlling the type of information and disseminating certain life images to spread in a particular culture by monopolizing viewers' conscious and subtly contributing to incalculate diverse assumptions about a range of issues and conceptions, this chapter seeks to find out how indigenizing and confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake have been put into practice and functioned in their proper contexts by critically evaluating the reasons behind and the effects of their employment on the one hand, and relating them to the wider public discourse about the three selected thematic concerns in the Turkish context on the other.

5.1. THEMATIC INTERPRETANTS

As pointed out in Chapter Four, *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* revolve around the similar themes that could particularly lure female viewers. These are domesticity, femininity, manhood, sexuality, romantic affairs, and familial relationships. As it has been suggested in Chapter Four where the particular genre of *Desperate Housewives* and its resonance in the Turkish remake has been examined, the practice of remake has generated noticeable generic transformation through the Turkish remake's incorporation of narrative structures and situations associated with

the genre of melodrama. The adoption of melodramatic attributes by the Turkish remake necessarily offers a rich opportunity for such subjects as femininity and sexuality since this generic form is all in support of patriarchal order by giving the viewer a variety of norms and representations that assign an inferior position to women, and it seeks to maintain control over their bodies and sexuality. As already pointed out in Chapter Four, the genre of melodrama also serves the sanctity of moralistic conservative family values in order to maintain the social order, thus largely catering to family audiences. So, the argument throughout this chapter will be drawn on the most dominant themes and plotlines that are broadly constitutive of and characterize the two shows and the generic characteristics of the Turkish remake. In this regard, "Women and Femininity", "Sexuality" and "Family Dynamics" have been selected as representative of the range of prominent themes in the shows. These three thematic interpretants have been arrayed in such a way that the theme that has more to promote and give an explanation about my main argument appears before the next thematic interpretant.

5.2. WOMEN AND FEMININITY

The above part has shown that the setting of *Desperate Housewives* has lent itself to a spatial variation, moving from the US to Turkey, and this variation has been accompanied by different gender considerations. Alongside the change of sociocultural and political ambit, the generic transformation of the Turkish remake, which has relied widely on melodramatic mode of expression, has had a considerable influence on how the conception of femininity has been handled in the two shows. Since *Desperate Housewives* is a female-centered television show, it tells us much about the attitudes towards women politics and the ideas of femininity in the US at a time when it went to air amid highly contested political landscape in the early 2000s. Its Turkish remake is also centered on female roles and storylines, which are the show's emotional centre, and it has an obvious connection to the debates about women's representations of its moment. What do the two versions have in common after all is the fact that they both raise numerous controversial, yet significant questions concerning the politics of women and femininity.

The comparative analysis on this first thematic interpretant "Women and Femininity" will provide examples for both indigenizing and confrontational remake strategies. It is noteworthy that the nature of and the use of each strategy as well as the effect it produces depends on a given scene from the Turkish remake. Before delving into the comparison of adjustments that originate from the broader concerns, which have taken place with regard to the issues of femininity, this part provides an overall impression of the two shows in terms of women and femininity.

The initial and overall impression acquired from the female leads' lives in *Desperate Housewives* is the fact that they mostly make post-feminist lifestyle choices. That is, as Rosalind Coward puts it, they take their particular path despite all hardships and traditions (2006: 38). Following MacDonald's definition, post-feminist era here broadly refers to the phase in which "the aims of feminism have largely been achieved and […] women can now accomplish whatever they want to, provided they are prepared to make sufficient effort" (MacDonald, 1995: 226). Though the popular American media seems to be unsure of whether the show adopts a progressive portrayal, and there is a broader cultural ambivalence about its socio-political and cultural postures, the show has been viewed as referring to a sort of feminism (Sayeau, 2006: 43).

In an interview about her role "Lynette", Felicity Huffman underlines the progressive aspect of *Desperate Housewives* where all the central roles have gone to women in their thirties and forties, which seemed in the past almost impossible. As for Huffman, it is producer's identification himself as a gay man that "provides the show with a different take on gender roles" (Chambers, 2006: 69). María Pérez L. Heredia also evaluates *Desperate Housewives* as a distinctive television series with regard to the other series appearing on mainstream American television channels such as ABC, CBS and NBC, which, even today, seek to promote various social, cultural and ideological notions, since free channels serve to the general public and they are dependent on the advertising industry (2016: 169). She further puts forward that "in this conventional environment [where] women have traditionally played secondary parts characterised by their stereotypical nature" and "conditioned by conservative values", *Desperate Housewives* is one of the very few series which signal the change of perception towards women in television series (ibid.). From another perspective,

however, it appears that the series bolsters norms of binary gender, heterosexual norms and standards of femininity. By any means, though none of the female characters is apperantly feminist in *Desperate Housewives*, the show engages with them in ways that relate to feminist issues with post-feminist concerns such as subjectivity and identity.

As for its Turkish remake, there has been no apperant debate over the show's so-called feminist content in the popular Turkish media. Nevertheless, like its source text, it taps into its own culture's ambivalent relationship to modern women's lives. Moreover, even the selection of *Desperate Housewives*, seemingly at odds with the lives of Turkish women, for remaking in the Turkish context can be evaluated as an indicator of its producers' intention of bringing women's identities and their lived experiences to the attention, whereby it would, perhaps, provide access to counteractive women representations and images for the Turkish television repertoire.

5.2.1. Indigenizing Remake Strategies

I argue that with regards to the first thematic interpretant of "Women and Femininity", the Turkish remake seems to be more like an acknowledged, transformed remake (Greenberg, 1991: 152), in which substantial changes to the earlier show are made through the use of indigenizing remake strategies (substitution, omission and addition). That is, it is not closed, but usually open to any kind of transformation which is, as Albert Moran suggests, easier to be tolerated and accepted (2009b: 45). Regarding this point, Moran further notes that:

> *Consultants are given a good deal of autonomy in decision-making and there is likely to be far more equitable collaboration with local production personnel. […] TV format remakes are deliberately arranged to 'dress in the fashion of the country they are sent to, for fear of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of the people they try to please'. Frequently, in fact, the judgement and decision-making of local production personnel will increasingly be trusted over time.* (45)

Given that television and women's politics are usually intersected, and feminine identity is historically constructed within a particular culture, the prevalence of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*, a show which overtly subverts binary categories of gender, and portrays these categories as flexible, turns out to be unspectacular.

Research on the history of women in Turkey have revealed that throughout the history, Turkish women have been allotted secondary positions and roles that contribute to the perpetuation of patriarchal values and discourses subconsciously rooted in Turkish society (İmançer, 2006a: 39). Over the years and depending on the changing social, political and economic conditions, the roles that the women take on have ostensibly evolved, yet deep down these changes have not had a considerable effect on the system of male domination over women. For instance, Ottoman women's social status was understood by some Turkish feminists within the confines of private spaces, dismissing their active participation in a public sphere (Yıldız, 2018: 179). On the other side, Turkish women's movement had made some progress in the Ottoman era.[135] Yaprak Zihnioğlu argues that female school education had become better to lead a better status for women at home and in society during the Second Constitutional period (II. Meşrutiyet) (1908-1922) (2003: 56-57). She highlights that nationalist discourse had been enhanced by the İttihat ve Terakki (The Union and Progress Party) in particular and, as a result of this discourse, the woman question had turned into the question of national culture, thus securing the place of women at the center of the nationalist discourse during that period (54-55). Ayşe Durakbaşa (2002) further notes that women created some spaces for discussing and making their voices heard in this period (10). Women's associations and women's magazines such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895-1908) [Newspaper for Ladies], *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921) [Women's World] constitute these spaces which had enabled women's active participation in society and the increase of their visibility in social life (ibid.).

During the republican period, which is viewed as the third period in the history of the women's movement in Turkey, Mustafa Kemal's [the first president (1923–38) of the Republic of Turkey] reforms laid the groundwork for women to appear as individuals in the public sphere (Arat, 1998: 23). Nermin Abadan-Unat (1998) points out that the Kemalist reforms significantly contributed to the improvement of the social

[135] As Nilüfer Göle (1996) points out, the position of women in society was adressed in the debates among intellectuals in the *Tanzimat* period (the Reformation) (1839-1876) and II. *Meşrutiyet* (Second Constitutional) (1908-1922) (30). Back then, two opposing perspectives on the "woman question" appeared. The Ottoman Westernists were in favour of women's participation in social life, suggesting that the emancipation of women could take place when they were set free from traditional limitations. Yet, the Ottoman conservatives had defended the argument that women should be restricted since freedom of women could lead to the breakdown of morality in Turkish society (Göle, 1996: 37).

status of women in Turkey through the granting to women of a range of opportunities in education and in the workplace (293). The adoption of the Turkish Civil Law (1926), which reformed the family structure, the Unification of Education Act (1924), which provided compulsory primary education for all children, and the Law of Municipal Elections (1930), which granted women with the right to vote and to be elected, were of significance for women's emancipation in the republican era.[136] Despite the favourable effects of these changing circumstances for women during the two periods, Turkish women's movement has failed to resist against the dominant patriarchal cultural climate which places restrictions on Turkish women (İmançer, 2006a: 45). Furthermore, since the early new millennium, Turkey has been affected by the rise to prominence of the conservative political government, The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi abbreviated officially AK Parti in Turkish as an acronym). It can be noted that AK Parti pursues the patriarchal route with regard to women's issues and femininity (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011: 563).

As a result, one can argue that the recurrent point of view of different modes of patriarchy that have prevailed in Turkish culture in various temporal contexts is that women's empowerment have been recurrently framed within the context of family politics in a way that consolidates the continual hierarchy between women and men in Turkey. Many research have shown that drawing on the accumulated perceptions and ideologies as regards Turkish women, Turkish television, as a kind of cultural institution reflective and reorganizer of the prevailing values and ideas in Turkish culture in a desired way, has often provided its viewers with women images and representations in favour of the wide affirmation of traditional patriarchal values that dictate women's status within society. That is, it has presented the preferred picture of women and femininity, reflecting and complying with the dominant patriarchal public discourse about Turkish women in the Turkish context (İmançer, 2006c; Pişkin, 2008; Mutlu, 2013). As several studies have argued, within the repertoire of Turkish television series, exclusion of women's presence in public life and female characters'

[136] The republican period also received some criticism from the perspective of women's movement by such researchers as Şirin Tekeli, Deniz Kandiyoti and Nilüfer Göle. According to Göle, the republican reforms set the stage for "an ideal woman" model within the state's modernization project and girls from the upper class took education in line with the Kemalist modernization rationale so that they may take part in social life (2001: 30). Göle (2001) further argues that, in the republican period, women could become apparent only at the discreation of men (106).

portrayal as family oriented, maternal, docile, submissive, and self-sacrificing appear to be quite often. In that the following three parts, concentrating on the thematic interpratent of "Women and Femininity", will critically evaluate the use of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* and illustrate the use of these strategies with examples from the show in question.

5.2.1.1. Substitutions

It can be suggested that the indigenizing remake strategy, which offers the highest degree of creativity in the process of remaking, is substitution in which a given culture-specific image, representation or expression is replaced with a target culture item in consideration of its impact on the target reader (Baker, 1992: 31). This strategy abounds in the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*. When comparing the two shows, one of the first things that immediately catches the eye is the surface similarity of the sociocultural profile of the female characters in the Turkish remake with those of their American counterparts. Both shows centre on the lives on three married and two divorced housewives (who are also mothers except for Gabrielle who is not yet a mother) in their thirties and forties. However, there are discernible shifts between them in terms of their apperance, image, demeanor, occupation, personal dilemmas, emotional patterns and mentality type, which are core traits constitutive of one's personality.

It appears that the activities that women take up in the source show have been substituted by different ones in the Turkish remake and these substitutions can be provided as examples for "countless modifications of trivial details that construct a taken-for-granted cultural world" (Sela-Sheffy, 2017a: 784), revealing a completely different set of "ready-to-use representations of reality available to people in a given culture" (ibid.). For instance, female characters in the source show host weekly poker games, attend once in a month in a book club, hold dinner parties and some of them are seen jogging almost in every episode. Their Turkish counterparts, however, prefer socializing in rather limited and traditional ways such as hosting gold days[137] or

[137] It is a traditional leisure activity for Turkish women to socialize and collect money among themselves in order to make some amount of investment. So not only is this a traditional way of socializing, but it also has a significant economic function.

frequently paying home visits to their neighbours. These substitutions disclose that just like most female characters are portrayed as filling their leisure time with social activities that have no mental and physical benefit in Turkish television series (İmançer, 2006c: 97), women's activities represented through the Turkish remake turn out to make no intellectual and physical contribution to those women and their self-development.

Several other substitutions are also noticeable in women's occupations. Apperantly, none of the wives are seen working whereas all three husbands work in professional and high-status environments in both shows. As far as the central female characters who are not yet married are concerned, Susan works from home as children's book illustrator and Edie is a real estate agent -a job which is gendered female in the US-, whereas Turkish Susan (Yasemin) is a designer and tailor and Turkish Edie (Emel) works at a call center. Then the Turkish remake informs us that though it is never shown, Emel is a beauty consultant. Also she, like her American counterpart, becomes a real estate agent in S1/E22. More significant than the substitutions in their occupation is the fact that Turkish counterparts of Susan and Edie are portrayed as barely making their ends meet. In S1/E1, voiceover narrator Handan gives no information about Emel's career and she informs us that Emel maintains her life by means of a sum of money inherited from her late husband. Unlike her American counterpart who does not need any financial support from men in order to lead her life and does not see men as the financial providers, Emel is often seen complaning about financial difficulties that she encounters (S1/E9). Likewise, the conversation between Yasemin and her daughter makes it clear that without spousal support from her ex-husband, Yasemin is unable to sustain her life (S1/E2). So, it appears that neither Emel nor Yasemin is portrayed as well-paid though they perform the jobs identical to those of their American counterparts in that they are traditionally assigned to women in their respective cultural contexts. Considering that it is not very likely to make much money and have a strong financial condition by running a tailoring business from home in Turkey as Yasemin does in the Turkish remake, it seems evident that the substitution of Susan's professional status with that of Yasemin reduces the Turkish counterpart of Susan to a financially weaker position.

As for their everyday habits, hobbies, leisure time activities and consumption patterns, huge differences between American and Turkish female leads are also noticeable. For example, Lynette in the American show gets a needle therapy (S1/E8) and joins a yoga class (S1/E12), which are indicators of an American middle-class affluence. It has been substituted in the equivalent shots in the Turkish remake by Elif's getting a cupping therapy, an ancient form of alternative medicine in which a non-professional local woman puts special cups on the skin to create suction as well as her going to beauty center just to use a gift token given to her by her friend. Another example is provided by S1/E12 in which Gabrielle in the source show is seen going out to buy a luxury car whereas her Turkish counterpart buys two wing chairs (which are of course much cheaper than a car). In fact, such substitutions appear to be in line with the world created in the Turkish remake in which women, though being portrayed to belong to the middle class, differ from their American counterparts in terms of their financial status and this reflects in their leisure time activities and consumption patterns. If the middle class is divided into lower and upper echelons, it is obvious that the female leads in the Turkish remake seem to fall into the lower income category, regarding their lifestyle presented to us. This can be related to divergences between the middle class's characteristics (spending habits, income ranges, wealth) in the US and Turkey. Also it can be speculated that, in the target culture, women do not often get involved in financial matters and it is men who manage the household income and do not let women spend huge amounts outside their knowledge.

The other example for substitution concerns Bree Van de Kamp, ostensibly the most superficial and caricatured female lead in *Desperate Housewives*. Though she seems so at first sight, she is perhaps the most complex and outstanding character abiding by the privileged images of female normalcy and the practices disciplining femininity like her Turkish counterpart (Nermin) who seems to go much further than her in being supportive of perceived traditional norms about femininity and is troubled with their violation. Indeed, the first episode introduces Bree as a perfect wife and mother, who is proficient in the classically feminine occupations of cooking, sewing, homemaking and gardening. Heavily contributing to her construction as an upper middle-class married woman with children living in the suburbs, Bree lives an ideal of a well-managed femininity identified and sanctioned by the dominant culture in her

habitat. Particularly in the first half of S1, Bree portrays a certain type of American middle-class femininity and thus normalizes dominant ideals of the femininity through her body (slender, fashionable), her choice of identity (wife, mother) and her aspirations (suburbian family life). From this perspective, she appears to represent the pre-feminist ideology critiqued by Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique* (1965), which describes housewives got stuck within a culture in which media images stress that the correct femininity is domesticity. It turns out then that Bree is also able to declare some feminist views explicitly. Despite the fact that it seems unusual for Bree to be an advocate for women fighting against patriarchy, she is seen standing up for other women against patriarchal injustice in S1/E2. In that episode, Bree is seen delivering a harsh attack on Sigmund Freud's patriarchal attitudes and telling Dr Goldfine that she is critical of Freud's theory which traces back "the problems of most adults […] to something awful their mother has done" (S1/E2). Given the general tendency of blaming women for the consequences of changes in the family, Bree's attack about one of the principal narratives of patriarchal culture has a distinctive feminist tone. Bree's character also presents some other transgressive possibilities in which alternative views of female subjectivity are displayed. In S1/E11, for instance, Bree is seen asking her pharmacist, George, out on a date in order to make her husband jealous though she is still married. Throughout the first season, Bree's attitudes of outspokenness, boldness and daringness have been clearly illustrated and reiterated. She frankly tells her husband that she knows that she doesn't please him sexually (S1/E14), she pays a visit to John (to whom her daughter is planning to give up her virginity) to forthrightly ask him not to accept her daughter's offer for having intercourse with him (S1/E15) and she also confronts Maisy (with whom her husband got engaged in S&M activities) in jail to ask her to take her husband's name out of the little black book in which all her clients' names are disclosed in return for money (S1/E16).

Comparing Bree, it appears that Nermin in the Turkish remake highlights a man/woman binary far more frequently. For instance, in S1/E2, she is seen asking for her daughter to place the dishes into the dishwasher. To her daugther's objection to place her brother's dishes, Nermin's reply reveals her discrimination based on a person's gender: "But, he is a man […] My dear, girls should realize their places like

boys should know theirs [...]". In a similar vein, in S1/E15, she explicitly remarks that girls should not be allowed out alone at night (she means by "night time" 8.00 pm). She also declares in S1/E12 that, without her husband who is the head of her family, she can never protect herself from the dangers of the outer world. Nermin's embodiment of the patriarchal ideals of femininity in these instances echoes the regulatory norms disciplining femininity and the female body within Turkish culture. In light of Sela-Sheffy's (forthcoming) suggestion that the action of the agent involved in the import and incorporation of innovations may be guided either by domestication of imported product or adoption of source models, it can be asserted in this instance that the Turkish remaking agents has chosen the former strategy by tailoring the source material in order to suit the local cultural sensibilities and local viewing taste. As such, it appeared that the Turkish remake has diverged from the source text, which is usually tolerated as the process of television remaking as a commercial practice is open to appropriation and intervention. In this instance, the strategy of substitution can be viewed as a strategic move that has been made to provide the Turkish remake with the prevalent images of women in the repertoire of Turkish television series and thus to allow Turkish viewers to relate to the character. As a result, the substitutions made regarding Bree's demeanour, discourse and lifestyle in the Turkish remake and her transformation into much more docile and unassertive woman serve to perpetuate and consolidate the firmly established women images on Turkish television and bring no alternative to those images.

Likewise, the next example demonstrates that Yasemin in the Turkish remake is far more defined by her fragile, sensitive and overemotional traits than is her American counterpart Susan. The underlying motive of substitution of the aforementioned traits for those of Susan in the source show is most probably the fact that women are expected to cry and express their sensitive emotions in Turkish television series and this pervades the homegrown television series production in the Turkish context (İnceoğlu and Akçalı, 2018: 40).[138] In S1/E17 of the source show, for instance, Mike pops in Susan's house to give her a letter in which he claims to tell her everything about his past. Yet Susan, seeing from her kitchen window Mike coming towards her house, does not open the door and tries to give the impression that she is

[138] See TÜSİAD's 2018 research on Gender Equality in Television Series by İnceoğlu and Akçalı.

not at home. During these moments, American viewers see Susan conjuring up diverse possibilities (which function as comic elements) if she were to open the door. Then, Mike slides the envelope under the door and Susan immediately takes the envelope containing a letter without waiting Mike to leave and she reveals herself. And Mike replies to her, "Susan, maybe we should have waited till I left to do that", which also creates a funny moment in this scene. During those moments, Susan's facial expressions and her sympathetic demeanour are presented in such a way as to contribute to the comedic elements of this scene.

In the Turkish remake, Yasemin opens the door and she and Sinan are seen in involved in a sentimental talk. When Yasemin begins to accuse Sinan of not telling her the truths about his past, Sinan suddenly kisses her on the lips. Then, Yasemin asks for him to leave her, closes the door and takes in hand the letter that Sinan slips under the door. Over the rest of this scene which takes more than two minutes, Yasemin is seen crying. In this scene, as it is symptomatic of melodramas, it is not the words that Yasemin articulates, yet her cries that express her emotional condition. Cries and unarticulated words and gestures, as melodramatic components, substitute words (Brooks, 1995: 66) and it adds both a melodramatic and rather serious layer to the Turkish remake. It is at this moment the sentimentalisation of the scene reaches to peak and a popular song "Yakamoz -Sea Sparkle-" by Deniz Seki, which have sentimental lyrics, plays in the background. The song, accompanied by crying Yasemin on the scene, heightens the scene's emotionality considerably and it helps the Turkish remake resonate emotionally with Turkish audiences. It appears then that the interplay of several substitutions in the Turkish remake has contributed to fulfill and promote the public image of the ideal woman in indigenous Turkish television series, which has constructed a particular common sense interpretation of the femininity conception.

Figure 13: Selected sentimental shots from the Turkish remake (S1/E17)

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

The next example for substitution as an indigenizing remake strategy provides new insights to the elaboration of femininity in the source and target shows. This examples relates to a former top model Gabrielle, who is the most materialistic and high-class member of her group. Her appearance and character development appears to be in line with the Latina stereotypes in American movies and television shows as identified by Keller (1994). Gabrielle is sexy, lustful, sexually-experienced, quick-tempered and devious. Also, she is good at using her wiles, her body and her sexuality to manipulate men to her advantage. She, in a lot of ways, fits the description of Betty Mayhew who highlighted that representations of women bringing men under control and defying socially- and culturally-identified norms in media contribute to challenging patriarchy (Mayhew in Lancioni, 2006: 139). Even though Gabrielle may be viewed as an archetypal housewife abiding by her role as a her husband's trophy wife and doing all she can to spend his money, the complexity and depth of her character portrayal[139] implicates that she cuts across this archetype. Her complex and morally ambivalent character points to the fact that there is no such thing as truly right and wrong. That is, the source show deems significant the gray area between right and wrong, which refers to and foregrounds the motive behind the actions taken and attitudes adopted.

[139] Lancioni (2006) claims that Gabrielle's traits (her portrayal as selfish, greedy and unmaternal) were transmitted mostly "through a humorous hyperbole" and it weakened their strong effect in the show (139).

Figure 14: Selected photos of Gabrielle

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8.

As far as her Turkish counterpart Zeliha is concerned, the Turkish remake provides its viewers with a character whose behaviours are easier to be judged as either good or bad regardless of the gray areas in between. It echoes the melodramatic feature of easy identification of characters, which serves to the insaturation of the reign of virtue as an indispensable value of the melodrama genre (Brooks, 1995: 204). Just like the widely seen characters in melodramas who announce their moral states and goodness quite a lot, it seems that Zeliha is portrayed as a morally elevated version of her American counterpart and there is almost no interior depth in her portrayal. In this regard, Zeliha's depiction conforms to an idealized woman character that is, as suggested by Sevilay Çelenk and Nilüfer Timisi (2000), typically endowed merely with positive characteristics in the repertoire of Turkish television series.

The instance that can be provided as an example to this occurs in S1/E19. In this episode, Gabrielle's credit card becomes frozen and she accepts John's offer to use his student card. When Gabrielle exceeds the credit card's limit in the restaurant, she attempts to flirt with a rich guy to pay for her meal. When she turns back home, Carlos sees her with a new shoe bag in her hands and asks her how she bought it. Gabrielle replies to him, "You know, I forgot how generous men could be […] I don't need your credit cards, Carlos". In the respective scene in the Turkish remake, Zeliha also runs out of money, yet she does not behave as if playfully attracted to someone in order to deal with it. Rather she only comes across someone she got acquainted with from her youth and this guy pays for her meal. When she was back at home, she tells her husband that she does not need his money or credit card to maintain her life and she has realized the fact that she is able to support her life without him. By any means, it

cannot be argued that Gabrielle and Zeliha are alike in those moments. As it is apperant, the same scene reveals one of Gabrielle's foibles or personality defects whereas it does not even attempt endangering Zeliha's characterization and revealing any flaw that belongs to Zeliha.

Unlike the source show which provides its viewers with numerous challenges against normative conceptions of femininity, the Turkish remake's adoption of indigenizing remake strategy and its incorporation of melodramatic mode of expression in this instance keeps it out of presenting a morally ambiguous woman character which would push Turkish viewers to question their own established assumptions about women and contront melodrama's primary motivation to purge the social order. In this respect, one can argue that the Turkish remake substitutes the scenes in which Zeliha acts out in such a way as to reproduce prevailing women stereotypes on Turkish television for the scenes in which her American counterpart often transgresses the roles that women are expected to play in society.

Figure 15: Gabrielle's Turkish counterpart Zeliha

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

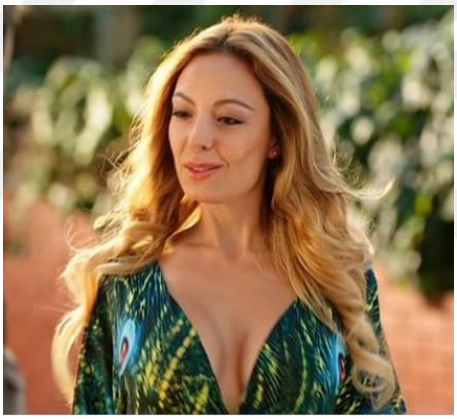
The last example for substitution in this subsection concerns Edie. In *Desperate Housewives,* Edie sleeps with almost every available men and she is defined as a threat to the other women. Her dressing code is remarkably assertive and eye catching. She is at peace with herself and her fondness of sex. It appears from the first season that there is no attachment of husband, family or friends in Edie's life. Male sexual attention feeds on her much. Edie's first scene in the source show documents various men Edie has slept with. Edie revels in her sexuality and she is pretty sure of her needs, which is manifest in her words in S1/E17: "I said never mix pleasure with

commitment". She is characterized by her indifference to the ideal feminine self defined as the norm and she enjoys a life of independence and pleasure.

Figure 16: Edie with her handyman, tennis pro and priest

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

Figure 17: Emel in *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*



Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

It turns out that the Turkish remake has also relegated Turkish Edie (Emel) to a deviant position and portrayed her as a threat to society as she can cause damage to social order through her sexuality. It has been explicitly articulated in Handan's voiceover in S1/E11, which points to the fact that Emel is a nightmare to all women in the neighbourhood as she is a widow. Emel is implicity accused by Sevim (her best friend) of being crazed for sex behind her back just on the grounds that she goes to a body waxing salon and has a overnight (most probably male) guest. Sevim is also seen in S1/E3 critical of Emel having male friends by saying that women and men could not be friends. Yet, when looking at the first season of the Turkish remake overally, it appears that Edie's sexually assertive attitudes have been substituted by Emel's quest

for love and her romantic vision of marriage. In S1/E1, for instance, Yasemin sneaks in Emel's house and overhears her having sex with someone. During these moments, it is heard that Emel tells the guy that she is together (we only hear their voices as they do not appear on screen), "This is love at first sight. I couldn't dream of it. Let's make it offical immediately. Sweetie, we're getting married, aren't we". This substitution turns *Desperate Housewives*'s Edie, careless of moral values, into a much more morally concerned woman image in the Turkish remake, since premarital sex is usually deemed against moral sentiments in the Turkish context and female characters most often practice their sexual experiences within the sacrament of marriage in Turkish television series (Çelenk and Timisi, 2000: 36). It points to the fact that the Turkish remake considers morality not an individual, but a public concern that requires unremitting surveillance and regulation since any infringement of morality is viewed an offence against the community.

5.2.1.2. Omissions

The second indigenizing remake strategy that helps Turkish remake create its own universe by diverging radically from its source is omission. S1/E10 provides one example for the prevalence of such creative reinterpretation through omission in the process of remaking. In this episode of *Desperate Housewives*, Susan is seen planning a special night with Mike at her own house and she says fortright as ever, "I just want it to be special […] I just need to have my things around me. Perfumes and oils, and I want to pick out the outfit that you're going to tear off me". In the subsequent sequences of the same episode, Susan is seen preparing for the romantic night that she plans to spend with Mike.

Figure 18: Susan wears lingerie for a romantic night with Mike and decorates the bed with rose petals

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

In its respective scene in the Turkish remake, the scenes described above have been omitted as a whole and they have been recreated in a totally different way. In the Turkish remake, Yasemin looks shy about seeing Sinan in his unbottoned shirt and she turns her back until he buttons up it (S1/E10). When Sinan complains about that they are not able to spend time all alone, Yasemin suggests him as an obstacle the presence of others by identifying the social role she is supposed to adopt in order to fit other people's expectations. In the Turkish remake, Yasemin sets up a dinner for Sinan, in which her daughter is also planned to be present. Alongside the omission of Susan's organization of a romantic night in which she and Mike engage in a sexual intimacy, the Turkish remake portrays Susan's Turkish counterpart as a woman who refrains from developing intimacy with men. It has been observed many times in the Turkish remake that, when Sinan comes to Yasemin's house, she is seen speaking out loud (in a way that other residents in her apartment building can hear her) that Sinan comes by her for some other reasons other than seeing her, such as fixing her oven. In such instances, when Sinan makes fun of her attitude, she reminds him that caring what other people think is not ridiculous yet a serious matter particularly for her as they live in a small neigbourhood. It is also seen that she feels the need for explaining Sinan that the indoor slippers she gave him has never been used before, by means of which she seems to prove that there has been no one else special for her in the aftermath of her divorce from her husband. By explaining it, Yasemin announces her moral state blatantly, which is an indicator of the embodiment of melodramatic traits in the Turkish character Yasemin.

Figure 19: Yasemin prepares a dinner for Sinan and her daughter.

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

Figure 20: Yasemin puts on her dress for the dinner.

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

That is, this instance refers to the process in which the source material is partially omitted and then recreated to the target audiences's universe, thereby resembling its source only slightly or not at all. The omitted parts can be regarded as the Turkish remake's motive to represent a divorced woman's evasion from sexual acts outside of the sanctity of marriage as a sign of virtue and innocence, which would otherwise violate the character's (Yasemin) innocent nature in the Turkish context where customary norms and religious beliefs are widely used as tools to control women's sexuality. So, Yasemin's depiction conforms to the repertoire of Turkish television series which abounds in women images portrayed as having no sexual needs or desires.

The other instance of recreation through omission concerns another leading female Gabrielle. In *Desperate Housewives*, Gabrielle's marriage represents a different paradigm of marriage. Alongside her being childless and desire to stay that way, Gabrielle's way of sustaining her marriage, as the following example demonstrates, seems to deviate from nostalgic images of the ideal marriage and devoted housewife. In S1/E11, Carlos gets arrested for importing goods made by slave

labor and the only way for his release is to present his passport to his lawyer. So, he tells his wife that his passport is in a secret place along with some papers. Then he tells her to bring him the passport and burn the papers. However, Gabrielle, feeling angry over Carlos's carelessness, keeps the papers and throws the passport into the fire. After the government seized all of her personal property, Gabrielle has to start looking for a job, yet she can not find a modelling job which she made huge amounts of money in her younger days. Then she takes out her husband's burnt passport and gives it to their lawyer. Gabrielle's motive to help her husband is not the fact that she is filled with compassion and mercy towards him, yet it is because she couldn't go on her life without Carlos's money. Also, after Gabrielle quarrels with Carlos in S1/E17, she tells him that she didn't burn down the papers which would save him from prosecuation and she blackmails him with this information.

In the respective sequence of the Turkish remake, these dynamics have been omitted and, following Kudret's arrest, Zeliha is seen worried about her husband and unceasingly crying by looking at their photos and pouring out her troubles to her friends. She seems concerned about the quality of food available in custody as her husband has gastritis. In another scene, her friends pay a visit to wish Zeliha to get well soon and they see Zeliha laying on her sofa with a scarf tied up on her head, which she uses to ease her headache. These two scenes described above are additions to the Turkish remake, supporting its credibility and its local character. One can argue that it would have been incredible to portray her as a woman who keeps her calmness in such a situation. This makes inevitable the use of indigenizing remake strategy. The Turkish remake does not characterize Zeliha as a woman who lets her husband stay in jail on purpose. Unlike Gabrielle, who ignores her husband and states her anger over his illegal business affairs, Zeliha is seen visiting her husband in jail and tries to be supportive of him. She makes feel her support behind him by saying that she is always there for him as his wife. It is apperant that the messages conveyed in the source show have been omitted in the Turkish remake. The woman in the source show who takes up her position against her husband's becoming involved in illegal affairs beyond her knowledge has been transformed into the image of an obedient woman, who becomes immediately convinced of her husband's statement that he did not make her informed

about the happenings as he is a man and his duty is to meet his wife's needs and provide better living conditions.

It turns out that the omission of major dynamics with regard to Gabrielle in the construction of her Turkish counterpart Zeliha has brought with it a broader level of omissions about different forms and aspects of womanhood. Considering how Gabrielle's story unfolded throughout the first season, it appears that Gabrielle's character is double-coded, paving the way for alternative critiques within her own experience and enabling the audience to evaluate all sides of each situation. The tension between Gabrielle's expectations and reality provides much of the motivation behind her decisions and actions as she remains indecisive between ending/sustaining her relationship with her secret lover and she has ambivalent thoughts about her husband. Regarding this double-coded aspect of her story, it becomes possible to develop a deeper understanding of Gabrielle's isolation, her marital issues and even the acts of adultery and statutory rape that she committed. Nevertheless, the transformation of Gabrille into a character lack of depth appears to be ideal to promote the stereotypical character typology which is likely to obviate a possible backlash against normative conceptions of femininity prevailing in the Turkish culture.

Gabrielle's deviation from the normative conception of motherhood has also been omitted in the Turkish remake. Gabrielle is the only wife who is not yet a mother in *Desperate Housewives*. The fact that she doubtlessly does not want to become a mother (which is several times underlined in the first season; see S1/E18) and even thinks over aborting her unborn child of uncertain paternity confronts the patriarchal assumption that a woman who does not want children is unnatural and unfeminine. S1/E8 in which the Van de Kamps visit Gabrielle and Carlos can be provided as an example to enrich this matter. In this episode, Carlos tells Bree and Rex that he and Gabrielle are planning to make a baby. Gabrielle gets shocked and screams as follows: 'We're not negotiating my uterus". In the Turkish remake, the same scene takes place during Nermin and Behçet's visiting to Zeliha and Kudret at hospital. Kudret intimates to them that he and Zeliha begin to plan pregnancy and childbirth, which is not to Zeliha's knowledge. Unlike Gabrielle, Zeliha does not condemn her husband fiercely though she seems to reject motherhood up until that episode. She is also not seen stressing that it is her right to choose to have a baby or not. It has appeared from the

Turkish remake that Zeliha does not hate the idea of having a baby, yet she has just reservations about it due to their financial troubles. This fact has been underlined and made manifest in several episodes (such as S1/E18, E19 and E22) in which Zeliha remarks that her reluctance to have another family member is due to their awful financial status. Beyond that, she tells that to raise her baby with her husband is her sole aspiration (S1/E21).

The last example for omission in the Turkish remake concerns the dynamics of Lynette and her Turkish counterpart Elif. In the source show, Lynette unsuccessfully adopts life as full-time stay-at-home mom in order to take care of her kids after having sacrificed her high-profile career as a businesswoman. Her most notable contribution to the narrative of femininity in *Desperate Housewives* is her challenging "the cardinal television rule that women should never express dissatisfaction with housewifery and motherhood" (McCabe and Akass, 2006: 12). As Sharp argues, the show presents its most explicit "feminist critique of patriarchy and the unequal division of labour" in Lynette, who recurrently articulates the ambivalence of being a housewife and mother (2006: 124). Lynette's characterization, as Lancioni (2006) suggests, displays one of "feminism's contradictions" (Schriefer in Lancioni, 2006: 138), which is "an equally strong desire for fulfilment inside and outside the home" and it can be considered a post-feminist subtext, problematizing the choice between housewifery and a position outside the home (ibid.). What is more, through her character development, a reflection of an ambivalence towards the role of motherhood is blatantly demonstrated, which is manifest in her abject appearance. Unlike the other female leads, Lynette is often seen in a baggy and casual clothes smelling of baby vomit. She is often seen as feeling suffocated rather than fulfilled by the construct of motherhood she represents. According to Huffman (playing Lynette) her character's desperation originates from her effort to settle for a life of motherhood and domesticity while her identity was mostly constructed upon her corporate success back then (Carroll in Lancioni, 2006: 137).

S1/E7 provides an example representative of these arguments about Lynette and it proves the points made by Huffman. During the scene in which Lynette hosts a dinner party for Tom's boss, she steals her husband's spotlight by coming up with better ideas than those of her husband which appeal to the senior partners. But it

frustrates her husband and he tells his wife to be aware of the fact that her career was going so much better than his before they had kids and she never let him forget that by competing with him. Then Lynette replies that she recalls an atmosphere she left behind where she was the winner and people endeavored to keep up with her. She adds that she can't go back and she is stuck in the middle.

The emphasis on the woman character's previous successful career and her superiority over her husband in the corporate world has been omitted in the Turkish remake in which Elif (Turkish Lynette) does not exhibit much complex emotion, disappointment or ambivalence regarding her choice of settling for a life of motherhood and domesticity instead of escalating into the corporate ladder. In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, Elif (unlike Lynette) looks tearful and she only mentions her effort of living up to the ideals of motherhood and housewifery. She specifically refers to the drudgery and effort required behind the image of the perfect housewife and she only points to the fact that she deserves her effort being acknowledged. When her husband tells her that she is a perfect housewife and mother and everybody knows it, she instantly calms down and stops crying. In this light, it is revealed that Elif's desperation seems to not come from her conflicts of adopting the traditional roles as a wife and mother while aspiring to her past as a high-powered business executive. Rather, the Turkish remake discloses in this scene that what Elif only needs is someone to say "thank you" for all domestic works she performed. Much like the previous examples, the strategy of omission has served to the local production team's will to abide by target culture conventions and disguise the source culture's traces during the process of remaking in the Turkish context.

5.2.1.3. Additions

The other way of indigenizing a particular television series in conformity with local parameters in another cultural ambit is the use of addition. The process of television series remake usually entails the addition of local issues and culture-specific concepts, which also applies to the case of the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*. The first instance for addition relates to the Turkish counterpart of Susan in the source show. Susan has been represented as unhappy with and constricted by

the social roles imposed upon them. She is in some ways portrayed to be trapped in patriarchy, particularly in her effort to find a man to fulfill herself as a woman. Nevertheless, Susan's emotional expressivity and sexual assertiveness demonstrates that she has been represented in the source show as a woman not strictly conforming to rigid patriarchal codes. Her actions and choices in many ways challenge the patriarchal delusion that women are supposed to live within the constraints of certain norms of gender and sexuality identified by the culture they live in.

As far as her Turkish counterpart (Yasemin) is concerned, she seems to act within the constraints of the culture in which she learned a particular kind of femininity and various ideals about it. Yasemin is largely defined by her fear of social norms and boundaries and she seems to internalize the implicit social pressures on her whereas Susan is seen pursuing Mike thoughout the first season, revealing that she acts against the patriarchal paradigm, in which men most often play the role of pursuer. It resonates throughout the first season in which Yasemin is most often seen in denial of her liking to Sinan. For instance, in S1/E3, Yasemin gets panicked and stresses that there is no one special in her life except for her daughter when Zeliha implies the opposite. More significantly, Yasemin is narrated by Handan's voiceover as a divorced woman, a status described by Handan as overwhelming. According to Handan, Yasemin devoted her life to her daughter even though she has many suitors aspiring to marry her. Yasemin is also seen telling Zeliha that she has a daughter who is grown up and so she can't even have a liking to another man (S1/E2). Also, in S1/E4, Sevim goes to visit Yasemin and she delivers some stereotypical views of what a divorcee is expected to do and feel. In S1/E8, Sevim tells divorced/widow women can not have any private life -she means by it developing intimacy with guys. In S1/E5, the police officer is seen reacting to Yasemin by saying how dare the burglars enter into her house while he even abstains from visiting a divorced woman and he adds that it may be improper for the two divorved to drink coffee at home. These instances make it obvious that, following marital dissolution by divorce, patriarchal socialization most often leads women to a dramatic change in their social networks and, in this case, the majority of women turns out outsiders of social relations which were constructed while they got married.

These instances point to the addition of the stigma associated with divorce in the Turkish remake, which tells a lot about femininity in the Turkish context. It has been revealed through this addition that the idea of a divorced single mother's quest for a new relationship or romance, especially if she has ever taken on the role of motherhood, is unconceivable in a country where divorcees usually experience economic hardships, loss of social network and social support. In Turkish culture, divorcees are mostly subject to stigmatization as being considered a deviant or a threat to stable marriages and families.[140] It appears then that, as different from the source series, the indigenizing remake strategy of addition used in the Turkish remake has opened the way for broader discussion about the divorcee, one of most conflict-laden social issues in Turkish society.

The other example for addition, which has provided the basis for addressing women's issues in the Turkish context, concerns Bree's Turkish counterpart Nermin. Bree's dynamics with her counselor have been replaced by Nermin's scenes with her uncle in the Turkish remake and, during these scenes, honor (namus) as a patriarchal notion, which is not present in the source text, has often been articulated. Unlike the counselor in the source show, Uncle Resul most often stands up for ideas perpetuated by a patriarchal society, one of which is honor. In S1/E2, Uncle Resul refers to his niece Nermin's honor that she has been defending over the years while voicing his criticism against her husband's desire to get a divorce from Nermin: "He has a woman of honor like you [...] What else is he expecting?".

This concept relates to men's control over women's sexuality and largely places a burden on Turkish women. It is one of the fundemental concepts in traditional norms and values in Turkish culture which firmly assumes and tries to preserve a religious and moral ethos (Türkiye Araştırma Merkezi, 1991: 139). According to the reports provided by the Bianet news website, nearly 2,000 women have been murdered since 2010 in Turkey and the notion of honor has most commonly been used as

[140] See, Özar, Ş. (17.09.2011). "Aile Kurumu İkiyüzlü". [Family Institution is Hypocrite] https://www.aksam.com.tr/roportaj/aile-kurumu-ikiyuzlu--67868h/haber-67868. (Last Access: 08.05.2019); Özar, Ş. and Çakar, B. (2012). "Aile, Devlet ve Piyasa Kıskacında Boşanmış Kadınlar" [Divorced Women in the Grip of Family, State and Marketplace]. *Kültür ve Siyasette Feminist Yaklaşımlar*. Mart, sayı 16. and Özar, Ş., and Yakut-Cakar, B. (2013, December). "Unfolding the invisibility of women without men in the case of Turkey". In Women's Studies International Forum (Vol. 41, pp. 24-34). Pergamon.

justification for violence and killing (*Hürriyet Daily News*; November 26, 2017). As Çelenk and Timisi (2000) pinpoint, the traditional conception of family honor and the approval of honor killings to preserve that honor are usually used to justify various brutal attacks on women in indigenious television series on Turkish television as well (55). Dilek İmançer also confirms the argument that female characters are frequently represented in their relation to the notion of honor in Turkish television series (2006c: 94). So, it seems usual for the Turkish remake to make use of this culturally and historically loaded concept for the purposes of indigenization. These added issues, being a divorced/widow woman and the issue of honor are mostly related to a woman's body and sexuality in Turkey. They expand the textual experience offered by the source text and they somewhat sound as a critique of the social pressures that place an unequal burden on women though it is constrained by the Turkish remake's emphasis on the internalization of cultural values that insist women should adopt social expectations about femininity and domesticity.

Based on these topics that have been added by the Turkish production team, it is possible to assert that, the element of creativity has often become central to remaking in the Turkish context, which conforms with Okyayuz's suggestion that remaking entails operating more freely than translation (2017a: 126). That is, the more creative intent of remaking and its disposition to create its own universe stand out in such cases where the major changes provide examples for the use of indigenizing remake strategy usually preferred by a system and/or repertoire with "a solid canon" which refers to "a durable body of sanctioned models and artifacts, widely recognized as this field's both *epitome* and *guidelines*" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming).

5.2.2. Confrontational Remake Strategies

My critical textual analysis has revealed that, alongside the indigenizing remake strategies, the thematic interpretant, "Women and Femininity", also provides a considerable amount of examples for the use of confrontational remake strategies: continuation and repetition by toning down. I suggest that, as distinct from indigenizing remake strategies that serve to the parameters and interests of a given target culture, the strategies of continuation and repetition by toning down aspire to

carry alternative life images and worldviews from the source show into the target culture. This means that confrontational remake strategies might open the door to the new beliefs, values and knowledge by means of representing a source material, thereby preserving the foreign elements within it. My case has demonstrated that these strategies that will be illustrated and interrogated in the following subsections have enabled extraneous images and messages reach to the Turkish television series repertoire.

At this point, it should be noted that this research does not overlook the availability of alternative and defiant portrayals of female characters in the repertoire of local Turkish television series. Yet, it is proposed in several research that the amount of women images which bring any alternative to the hierarchy pitting women and men against one other is very few on Turkish television (İmançer, 2006b; Mutlu, 2013; Sancar, 2017). Sancar suggests that a couple of female characters in Turkish television series, who have resisted the socially constructed ideals about women in the Turkish context, have either been portrayed negatively in later episodes of the television series that they appear, or been unwelcomed by Turkish viewers, resulting in the termination of the project (2017: 19-20). For instance, the woman character Şehnaz in the formerly popular television series *Şehnaz Tango* (Turkish name) (1994-1997) gave representation to one of the rare instances of a divorced woman of strong character who holds her own economic liberty and has a romantic and sexual relationship with a guy, who is not her husband. As the series's producer Güler Namlı points out, Şehnaz's extramarital affair received some negative reactions by its viewers and this backlash led to the project's cancelation (ibid.). Regarding this, Namlı puts forward that their motive to stand up for women's emancipation was the underlying reason for the cancelation: "in this series, we argued that women have equal rights as men. Yet our project sparked huge reactions when we got involved in granting women some rights that are already in the hands of men" (İmançer, 2006b: 74).

Another series *Ayrılsak da Beraberiz* (*Together Even If We Got Divorced*) (1999-2004) also provided its viewers with a woman character Berna who lives under the same roof with her ex-husband. The situation in which she maintains her life can be viewed as an extreme deviation from how a divorcee is expected to lead her life in Turkish society. Berna is depicted as an independent career woman, who usually

voices her criticism against men in the show. Yet for Ilgün, as the story unfolds, Berna's strong woman image is transformed into the image which leads the viewers to define her as temperamental and stubborn, pointing to her portrayal as an unpleasant woman (Ilgün, 2006: 111).

The other example for the alternative woman image in the repertoire of Turkish television series is *Kayıp Şehir*'s (*Lost City*) Aysel (leading role), who makes her living by engaging in sexual activity for payment. Oya Doğan views the lead role Aysel and her occupation as risky choices both for Turkish television and also for Turkish viewers to empathize with, since the viewers are heavily imposed to the images of victimized and oppressed women (*habertürk.com*; 13.03.2013). In this light, the failure of the series to suffer from low ratings can partly be evaluated in terms of the marginal nature of its leading female character, around whom the story revolves. Whatever the underlying reason for this failure, it can be suggested that this alternative woman image could not establish a long standing presence on Turkish television.

It is against this backdrop, the following two subsections will provide examples for the instances in which the Turkish remake has been apparently utilized from its source in the contruction of women depictions, and thus contributed to the enrichment of alternative women portrayals in the firmly consolidated repertoire of Turkish television.

5.2.2.1. Continuation

The first example for the use of extant messages in the Turkish remake through the strategy of continuation takes place in S1/E8. By continuation, I refer to the cases in which the Turkish remake has remained as closest as possible to its source from which it has been originated. In this regard, in the same way that "in some cases translators [are less committed to] act as guardians of the domestic [repertoire]" (Sela-Sheffy, 2017: 353), Turkish scriptwriters of *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* have made notable concessions to the interests and taste of the targeted audience in some instances.

In *Desperate Housewives*, we witness that Bree often plays a primary role in the family decision-making process and she is able to keep her calmness and steadiness even in case of the most severe conditions. For instance, in S1/E7, Juanita (Gabrielle's

mother-in-law) is hit by a car that drunken Andrew (Bree's son) is driving, which leads to her death. In the next episode, while all members of the Van de Kamp family are trying to offer their solutions to this tragedy and to cover up Andrew's crime, Bree appears as the one who comes up with the best solution to cover her son's tracks and her idea is put into practice. In the situation described above, Bree is seen assessing the situation calmly to resolve it, reacting not emotionally but rationally and finally developing a solution. It reveals that she is a strong-minded woman with high self-confidence and she is able to play a key role in crisis management.

The comparative analysis of this scene with that in the Turkish remake has showed that the Turkish scriptwriters have followed the source show and made use of the mutual enrichment originating from the encounter between the source show and its remake. As a result, they have portrayed Nermin (Bree's Turkish counterpart) as if she is the head of the family and the one whose reasoning is rationally appropriate and also influential in her family. In this instance, like her American counterpart, Nermin is depicted to take a highly rational approach to his son's crime, using facts to guide her decision-making, rather than relying on her emotions. In such a catastrophic situation, she is the one who plays a crucial role in managing stress under pressure, transforming this nonrecoverable situation into the simple one by coming up with the best solution to cover her son's tracks. This instance can be viewed a typical example of the continuation of an extraneous idea in that it brings an alternative image of woman to the repertoire of Turkish television series where female characters are often represented as passive and habituated to self-surveillance in the service of prevailing social norms whereas men are decision makers (İmançer, 2006b; İnceoğlu and Akçalı, 2018).

S1/E8 provides another example for the Turkish remake's high degree of fidelity to its source text and this example pertains to Elif's (Lynette's Turkish counterpart) characterization. In the source show, Lynette, desperately in need of energy necessary to keep on dealing with her responsibilities, becomes addicted to her children's medication. Counting on her children's ADD medicine, she succeeds in many tasks in time and then she gets worse and worse, unable to perform the simplest tasks without this medication. One day, her tiredness and maternal desperation is reflected on Lynette as a suicidal hallucination. Looking outside, Lynette sees a

silhouette of Mary Alice moving across her lawn and beckoning her to commit suicide. Contemplating suicide to escape from her domestic isolation, Lynette is then suddenly awakened and leaves her children in care of Susan, driving to an empty field. Lynette's characterization, particularly in this episode, can be read as an exploration of the ambivalence towards housewifery and motherhood that *Desperate Housewives* seeks to pinpoint. It provides a broader critique of those widely prescribed roles of women.

This scene is also recreated by continuation in the Turkish remake as closest as possible to the source text. That is, the Turkish remake has made use of this scene as a major source of inspiration in that it articulates the deep ambivalence towards the role of motherhood. By doing so, it perhaps most apperantly provides a critique of the fact that motherhood can be exhausting and unfulfilling, which does not conform to the media stereotypes of motherhood in the Turkish context in which there is almost no place for negative and contemptuous stance towards mothers and motherhood (İmançer, 2006b/2006c). Examining the reproduction of maternity roles in local Turkish dramas, Burcu Yıldırım (2019) also suggests that the images of "the good mother" are prevalent on Turkish television (127). This image, as Yıldırım points out, puts pressure on women to abide by particular standards and ideals, against which they are judged and judge themselves (ibid.). Regarding this point, Seza Esin Erdoğan (2015) adds that, unlike Cristina, her Turkish counterpart Zenan in the Turkish remake of *The O.C.* is depicted as the representative of "the good mother" image and she is mostly seen preoccupied with mothering (73). All in all, this is one of the most remarkable scenes that the source show has significantly contributed to shaping the narrative universe of the Turkish remake in which the transformative message, like exposing the difficulty of motherhood, has been conveyed to Turkish viewers. This example reveals the fact that, trying to decide between bearing a close resemblance to the source show and tailoring it to suit the target context, the Turkish remake's production team has sometimes managed to find a balance between respecting the source and making allowance for the Turkish setting. The result is the Turkish remake which at the same time diverges from, yet interacts with and talks back to the source upon which the remake rests on.

The next example for continuation also concerns Lynette and her Turkish counterpart Elif. It is articulated in S1/E11 of *Desperate Housewives* that Lynette is a

confident, self-assured, expressive and straightforward woman. In that episode, while Lynette and Tom are in bed, Tom goes downstairs to turn on the coffee maker for the morning and, at that exact moment, he catches Claire (their babysitter) naked. When Tom turns back to the bed, he feels aroused and he and Lynette make sex. Then Claire tells Lynette about her embarrassing encounter with Tom, and Lynette finds out that Tom is attracted to Claire. Lynette asks Tom to admit that he finds Claire attractive. She does not get mad, yet just tries to talk about it as calmly and frankly as possible. She tells her husband that the only reason he made love to her the other night was because he had just seen Claire naked. She frankly tells him that they both had crushes before and they always talk about such issues and just laugh about it. In this scene, Lynette is seen trying to figure out what appeals to him on Claire and deal with it. In another scene related to this sub-plot, upon Tom's insistently denying his thoughts, Lynette stops the car in the middle of the road and decides to go nowhere until her husband confesses what he thinks about Claire. She then fends off the woman coming to say her to go on driving and end up cloging the road by saying, "My husband won't admit that he has lust in his heart. Can you give us a minute?".

In the respective scenes of the Turkish remake, Elif catches her husband peeking at their babysitter and feels troubled with it. Though she tries to keep her calm for a while, she can't help herself giving a tumultuous reaction to her husband while waiting on a supermarket line. When the woman behind them starts complaining, Elif turns around and recklessly says to her that her husband is about to cheat on her. This instance shows that the Turkish remake markedly adheres to Lynette's character typology in *Desperate Housewives.* Although this instance, which provides a portrayal of Elif as careless and inconsiderate of what other people think of her reactions, somewhat diverges from her previous appaerances in the Turkish remake, its capacity to confront the prevalent and stereotypical feminine traits and behaviours (such as docility and gentleness) in Turkish television series is apperant.

This analysis has found out that Emel's (Edie's Turkish counterpart) characterization also harbours several traits and manners which can be evaluated as foreign to the repertoire of women images in Turkish television series. Regarding this point, it is possible to argue that, even though female characters are often constructed either as passive and (presumably) asexual or as a sexually active sinner in local

Turkish television series (İnceoğlu and Akçalı, 2018: 47), the Turkish remake extends beyond such stereotypical approach to women by creating a likeable woman flirting with and/or having a crush on several guys without depicting her as a sexual object is noteworthy. Yet, the effect of foreignness in Emel's attitudes and discourse is disclosed in the form of contradictions. This means that Emel is seen involved in various acts and articulating thoughts which are in contradiction with her character development which refers to the process of developing a credible fictional character by giving his/her depth and by identifying his/her primary goals and motivations. For instance, though Emel takes a critical look at her friend Yasemin's intimacy with Sinan, she pretends that there is nothing wrong with her hanging with guys when her neighbour calls her to account for her actions and accuses her of being impudent. Over those moments, Emel is seen replying to Sevim, "I cannot tolerate someone to pock her nose in my private life", a statement which makes Emel to come closest to her American counterpart. Furthermore, in S1/E12, she tells Sinan why she chose the house that she was about to move into. In that scene, Emel and Sinan are seen on the balcony of Emel's new house. Emel explicitly tells Sinan that she decided to move into that house as his house could be easily seen from it and they can make signs to each other by means of turning on/off the lights. Emel further tells Sinan that switching on and off the light for one time means "I miss you so much" and, for twice, "I am thinking of you". Also, in S1/E17, even though Emel abstains from inviting her architect (to whom she has a liking to) to her house to drink a coffee late at night, her sexually deviant characterization is implied in her expressions: "I would have liked to take you home and display my all skills (she implies by it something related to her sexuality). Yet, if someone, God forbid, sees us while I am taking you my house, I might have a bad reputation […]".

In short, the use of continuation as a confrontational remake strategy reveals the hybridity in the construction of Turkish characters and their recreation as a result of mixing some traits of American characters in conformity with the expectations of Turkish audiences. It can be suggested from such instances that the Turkish remake has partly adopted Paul S.N. Lee's "Parrot" (1991) strategy, one of the four patterns of absorption and indigenization of foreign cultures indicating "a wholesome adoption of foreign cultural […] contents, just like a parrot imitating the human voice […]"

(64). These instances also suggest a sort of selective incorporation of foreign values which echoes Lee's "Amoeba" pattern "which keeps the content but changes the form, just like amoeba which appears different in form but remains the same in substance" (65).

5.2.2.2. Repetition by Toning down

The second confrontational remake strategy that I have identified during my analysis of the thematic interpretant "Women and Femininity" is "repetition by toning down". This strategy refers to the process in which the Turkish remake has followed its source by implicating the scenes and the messages they transmit. The use of repetition by toning down seeks to enable target viewers draw similar conclusions from a particular scene in the source show as the source viewers do, yet by means of implications; that is, not explicitly stating the conclusion to be reached.

The first instance of this subsection relates to Bree and her Turkish counterpart Nermin. In the source show, Bree gets apperantly closer to her pharmacist, George, and they spend a lot of time together though Bree is still married. The Turkish remake depicts Nermin as a character who relishes her role as a wife and mother and behaves in accordance with certain restrictions, rules and requirements identified by her roles. However, there are several instances in the Turkish remake, which have been recreated by the local production agents in such a way as to bear a resemblance to the source show in terms of Nermin's display of femininity. For instance, though Nermin does not exhibit any tendency of cheating on her husband in the Turkish remake, Emel (who spots Nermin and pharmacist Kadir at Kadir's pharmacy while he is spoonfeeding Nermin) tells Nermin in S1/E21 that she is pretty intimate with a guy that's not her husband. She adds that Nermin's sharing her innermost thoughts with the guy is a sort of infidelity which is not only performed through any physical intimacy yet by means of various other interactions. Emel's statement can be regarded as an implication that, from one perspective, Nermin cheats on her husband not physically but mentally.

In this sense, it can be suggested that this instance provides a varied approach to Nermin's actions and attitudes by suggesting that she in fact behaves outside the constraints and ideals that she seems dedicated to obey. Such instances may remind

the Turkish audience of the possibility of diversion from those fixed social norms. They also suggest that, even though the Turkish remake can be regarded relatively autonomous from the material it remade, its relationship to *Desperate Housewives* constitutes a simultaneous similarity and divergence, in Venuti's words, "mimetic but never an identity" (2007: 27). My analysis has disclosed that the Turkish remake retains some messages from its previous manifestation and the Turkish scriptwriters occasionally prefer repeating those extraneous messages by toning them down. I think that such instances partly undermine, yet not completely deny, the suggestions about remakes, which straightforwardly presuppose that aesthetic, moral and cultural circumstances of target culture are superimposed on the source material almost completely.

The other example for repetition by toning down is about Zeliha's vague romantic feelings for Levent. Zeliha has no relationship with another guy like her American counterpart Gabrielle, who pretty much views John (her lover) as a little excitement. Yet, it is implicated in the Turkish remake that Zeliha is awakened to her desire for emotional intimacy absent in her marriage though she is even unsure about it. Concerning this, considerable shifts regarding the dynamics between the Turkish counterparts of Gabrielle and John are particularly notable in new subplots added to the Turkish remake. For instance, after Zeliha falls out with her husband and leaves the house, she runs across Levent outside and then she spends the night at his house when it turns out that it is unsafe for a woman to stay out -in that scene, several drunk men are seen on the screen (S1/E18). Nevertheless, Gabrielle willfully runs to John and sleeps with him as a revenge from her husband who resorted to physical violence on her. Though it is not her own will but the dangers of an outer world that leads Turkish Gabrielle to spend the night at another guy's house, even the presence of this scene -a married woman spending the night in the house of a guy who loves her- might be sufficient for the Turkish audience to evaluate it as transgressive. Though there is no tangible signs showing that Zeliha and Levent are in a relationship and/or have a some sort of intimacy, the Turkish remake provides the audience with the hints of Zeliha's having a sort of liking to Levent through, for instance, her facial expressions and her way of talking to him on the phone (S1/E7). It is remarkable that the Turkish remake seeks to repeat the extramarital affair in its source by toning down, yet not

avoiding to demonstrate the dynamics between Zeliha (who is much older than Levent) and Levent. For instance, in S1/E7, Zeliha sees in her dream that she experiences a physical intimacy with Levent and then she all of a sudden gets woken up by her husband calling her name. Though she seems to confess something to her husband in that scene, she changes the subject and then is seen lost in thought.

Figure 21: After Zeliha leaves her house, she sleeps over at Levent's house

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları,* YouTube

In such scenes that attempt to repeat the dynamics in the source show by toning them down, the Turkish remake's tendency of uptaking new dynamics from its source is noteworthy. Such instances, though very few in the Turkish remake, are indicator of the two-way processes of cultural interchange and seem to result in "new cultural formations "neither fully foreign nor fully indigenous" (Tymaczko, 2010: 122). That is, mixing foreign and local sensibilities, such scenes which prioritize "repetition" (Loock, 2012) of those in the source show and which have apperantly been developed from *Desperate Housewives* to the Turkish remake, can be better captured with the hybridizing nature of cultural exchange (Smith, 2017: 13).

The discussions provided throughout the subsection 5.2. pinpoint that, as with their American counterparts who are also not able to avoid entirely the prevailing ideals of femininity identified by dominant culture, the female leads in the Turkish remake mostly themselves uphold moral norms with regard to binary gender and standards of femininity. That is, the recontextualizion of *Desperate Housewives* into the Turkish remake has demonstrated how the issues of women and femininity are remade at the same time as the television series is remade, largely reflecting self-victimization of the female leads in the Turkish remake. Many instances from the Turkish remake have shown that, by means of indigenizing remake strategies, Turkish

female characters have been depicted as being readily habituated to experiencing subordinate treatment in the male dominated society. The omnipresence of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake can be interpreted as its intention to function effectively within the receiving culture without being viewed as a remake at all. Furthermore, the rigidity of gender roles in the Turkish remake pertains to its emphasis on melodrama, a generic form in support of patriarchal order by means of relegating women to the secondary role to men, associating them with the private domestic realm, and seeking to discipline their manners (Tunalı, 2006: 40).

The comparative analysis has also found out that there are a significant amount of instances in which the Turkish remake comes closer to the source material in treating femininity-related issues through confrontational remake strategies while at the same time seeking to create its own universe. In those instances, the Turkish remakes's hybridity, which is a result of the selective incorporation of foreign and local cultural sensibilities, has become visible. That is, such instances, perhaps most explicity offering a critique of the patriarchal ideals of femininity in the Turkish context, display the Turkish remake's constitutive process which entails both inclusion and exclusion of traditional narrative formulas, storylines, and the messages that are delivered on domestic Turkish television series. It turns out that confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake confront to and thus enrich the established conventions of the Turkish television repertoire in varying degress by introducing alternative life images and depictions to the target culture. The discussion on Turkish viewers' comments on the use of confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake, provided in Chapter Four, also validates that the Turkish remake's incorporation of alternative images and messages has served to question conventional Turkish social norms and values regarding women and femininity. The viewers have either handled well these novelties, bringing into question conventional categorizations, prejudices and assumptions; or they have criticized them.

5.3. SEXUALITY

Sexuality, the second thematic interpretant, is one of the most prominent themes that have usually undergone extensive changes in the Turkish remake of

Desperate Housewives. Though it is a universally relevant theme, the examples from the comparative analysis of the two shows which I have taken to be representative have disclosed that sexuality has been tailored quite differently in the Turkish remake. It is also the same thematic interpretant which has apparently disclosed, though occasionally, the effect of foreignness that interference has created in the internal organization and dynamics of the Turkish television repertoire. In this vein, I assert that the Turkish remake has moderately contributed to "profilerating (the repertoire of) domestic options" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 190) in the matter of the narrative treatment of sexuality in the repertoire of Turkish television series.

Concerning sexuality, it can be argued that *Desperate Housewives* goes some way towards confronting outdated sexual taboos and stereotypes and mobilizing "a crucial *subversion* of a mainstream sexual politics" (Chambers, 2006: 61). Lisa Hill asserts that representations of women and sexuality are at the heart of the construction, reception, and, ultimately, the success of this show (2010: 163). Its fictional characters are mostly comfortable with and confident in their sexual desires, pleasures, activities and boundaries; and they are not shy about them. Not only are they eager to have sex but they are also open to talking about it within their family and among their friends. This is not to say however such an explicit treatment of sexuality has not met with some criticism. The source show enraged certain sections and several institutions, such as American Family Association.[141] Despite various criticisms, however, *Desperate Housewives* maintained its broadcasting as a subversive show in terms of its addressing the sexual politics.

It has appeared that, unlike its source material, the Turkish remake mostly abstained from raising controversial and complicated questions concerning sexuality. There are simiar applications in many other television remakes in other countries. For instance, remaking in the Argentina television provides ample evidence to the omission of sexuality-related topics which would then clash with the accepted options

[141] American Family Association (AFA), for instance, denounced the show as immoral (Potts 2004 in Chambers, 2006: 72). Jessica Anderson of Concerned Women for America is also critical of the show since it treats infidelity as comedy and sex as gratuitous, further adding that this show exalts the detrimental immorality (Anderson in MacCabe and Akass, 2006: 6). As pointed out earlier, the PTC sent letters and emails to the show's sponsors and asked them for withdrawing their advertising. Accordingly, several companies adopted this step and cut off their support, declaring that the show was against their core values. Nevertheless, other companies immediately covered this deficit of advertising and the show even made much more profit (7).

of life in Argentina. "The libertine sexual mores of the lead character in *The Nanny* and the free-flowing, ironic remarks about the sexual life of the daughter in *Married with Children*" were omitted on the grounds that Argentine families' approach to sexuality is different (Waisbord and Jalfin, 2009: 67). As such, the former character who makes jokes about her sexual encounters was transformed into a woman who talks about her regular dates whereas the latter was displayed as a love-struck young lady and her sexuality was not referred in the Argentine context (ibid.).

Yet the Turkish case also exhibits divergences from target cultural norms, and it includes many instances where it follows the source, though not very closely. In this light, this subsection intends to demonstrate how sexuality was often toned down, sometimes completely changed and even omitted in the Turkish remake on the one hand, and how the Turkish remake benefited from its source and has brought novelty to the target universe despite diverse transformations on the other.

5.3.1. Indigenizing Remake Strategies

This subsection aims at revealing how and in what ways the agents involved in the Turkish remake have created their own universe and repackaged the sexuality-loaded scenes by means of indigenizing remake strategies. It can be suggested that the resonance of melodrama on the Turkish remake is one of the primary reasons for its shunning from the representation of sexuality blatantly since this generic form inherently seeks to preserve sacred and moral values in the secularized world (Brooks, 1995: 205) and it usually performs it by viewing female sexuality either invisible or deviant. It is probably related to the fact that the sanctity of moralistic conservative family values required to consolidate the social order has always remained on the political agenda and it has pervaded the cultural public sphere in the Turkish context.

Given that the rubric of classic patriarchy prevalent in Turkey is less tolerant of sexual liberalization (Kandiyoti, 1988), and Turkish societal norms seek to control women's bodies and regulate women's sexual lives (Arat, 2009), it can be deemed as usual for the Turkish remake to disengage sexuality and exhibit important variations from the US show in its treatment. Furthermore, as compared to Turkish television, American television contains a relatively high threshold of sexual content,

comparatively providing more freedom to its television series industry ("Television in the United States", britannica.com). In this light, it is proposed that the use of indigenizing remake strategies in the second thematic interpretant of "Sexuality" predisposes the Turkish remake to viewers who are accustomed to conforming to their traditional family, religious discourse and cultural conservatism, and where the effects of rising authoritarianism has given rise to constrained and statecontrolled televisual environment. Moreover, this group of strategies reveals that the Turkish remake does not aim at representing the source material as a document of the source culture, instead it seeks to function within the target culture without necessarily being recognized as a remake (Tymoczko, 2010: 124-25).

5.3.1.1. Substitutions

The first example for the use of substitution in the treatment of sexuality in the Turkish remake has been identified in the dynamics of Bree's life. The example from S1/E6 discloses Bree and Nermin's attitudes towards sexuality. In that episode, Bree and Rex attend their marriage counseling session and Rex says that he is not happy with their sex life. Just then, their counselor Goldfine suggests that Bree and Rex benefit from a sex surrogate[142] to improve their love life. In another scene, Bree is seen spotting Dr. Goldfine dining alone and she decides to continue their session on sex. She tells him that she loves sex and everthing about it. She gives too much detail about her love of sex and gives specific examples by remarking that she likes the sensations, the smells, the sensation of running her tongue over her husband's nipple and the final eruption of pleasure. This scene demonsrates that Bree is not afraid of being judged due to her comments on sex and she openly talks about her sexual desires and pleasures in detail, even to her doctor's embrassement. Following this, Bree surprizes Rex at the motel room when she arrives in a fur coat. She quickly takes off her clothes, revealing sexy lingerie, and the two begin making love. After her stopping sex due to a burrito falling from the night stand and distracting her, Bree is demanded by Rex to leave his room. Later on, when Rex comes to the home he used to live with his family to take

[142] Surrogate Partner Therapy (SPT) aims at helping people (who have traumatic life or sexual experiences in their past) learn to become comfortable with their sexuality.

his papers he left, he and Bree begin to talk about what happened the day before. Bree tells that she has been thinking about their sex life for some time and realized that there is a problem which stems from Rex. She says that she is in the mood and willing for sex and then adds that normal men don't say "no" to this offer. As the scene described and the dialogues given above suggest, Bree is a woman who is able to speak up and share her own thoughts about what is wrong about her sex life. She is portrayed as being confident of her desires and does not abstain from igniting sex thoughts in her husband's mind and exploring his sexual boundaries together. She frankly expects to learn where her husband stands on the sexual behaviours and fantasies he wants to experiment with.

As far as the respective scenes in the Turkish remake are concerned, the first difference manifests itself in the omission of a marriage counselor and, of course, the counselor's suggestion of getting help from a sex surrogate. All of the conversations about sexual problems that the American counterpart of the couple faced with are absent from the Turkish remake. The scene in which Bree and Rex are seen sharing their sex issues with their counselor has been substituted by the scene in which Nermin and Behçet have dinner out and talk about their marital problems not even mentioning their sex life. The Turkish remake has resorted to a substitution in the next parts of this scene as well. For instance, in the Turkish remake, Nermin is seen going out and buying a red nightrobe in order to look more attractive to her husband. While paying its cost, she tells a cashier that she buys it for her friend from another city and underlines that she doesn't buy it for herself. At the moment the cashier looks at the nightrobe in order to be sure if it has any flaw, Nermin hastily warns of her not unfolding the nightrobe and murmurs herself that she will never ever come back this store. She then asks the cashier to wrap up the nightrobe inside the newspaper that she takes out of her bag. Later on, Nermin is seen sitting down at the dinner table and welcoming her husband warmly in her nightrobe. Her husband Behçet approaches to her slowly and begins kissing her on her neck. But, Nermin stumbles upon an oil stain on her husband's pullover and gets involved in cleaning it. As a result of the use of substitution in the scenes described above, Nermin, unlike her American counterpart, turns out as a woman who is unable to proclaim her sexuality, practice it and feel confident and comfortable with openly expressing her sexual desires.

The next example comes from S1/E1. In this episode, Gabrielle and John are bathing and enjoying their lustful affair. At the very moment, Gabrielle realizes that Carlos arrived the home earlier than expected. She panics and rushes John out of the house, tidying up his clothes and throwing them at him as he falls out of the window. Carlos gets in the home and looks around suspiciously. Meanwhile John pops up at the window and acts as if he is busy with the bushes in the yard. From his angle, Carlos can only see John from the waist up and is not aware of the fact that John isn't wearing any pants. Later, Gabrielle goes to John's house and tells him that they have to be more discrete about their affair and implies that they can only come together to have sex.

As far as the Turkish remake is concerned, the effect of remaking is detected in this scene from major substitutions in a wide range of details, which disclose totally different cultural sensibilities. In the same episode of the Turkish remake, Carlos's Turkish counterpart Kudret comes his house unexpectedly when Levent is at home to give Zeliha her old photograph and help her use the computer. Zeliha realizes that her husband pulls over his car. She is seen overreacting and hiding Levent in the bath even though, at those moments, she and Levent just talk about how to use the computer and they practice it. To Levent's astonishment, Zeliha keeps on acting panicked and tells him that her husband would kill both of them if he saw them together. After Levent hides in the bathroom, Kudret comes in and Zeliha convinces her husband to go to his business dinner earlier then scheduled to make a good impression on his business partner. While having dinner, Zeliha leaves the table for going to the toilet, yet in fact she comes back to home for a while in order to take Levent out of the bath that he was locked out. At this very moment, she sees him topless and tells him that he should put on his shirt and get out of the home immediately. As it is apperant, the scene in the source has been substituted by a quite different scene in the remake, considerably softening its sexually-loaded parts and messages. For the purposes of substitution, the scene where Zeliha sees Levent topless, which is absent from the source, has been added, most probably with the intent of remaking a respective scene in some way rather than omitting it as a whole. Even the presence of such scenes which implicate that there would develop an affair between an older married woman and a younger boy in the Turkish remake makes evident the source material's influences upon the Turkish remake even though it largely creates its own universe and generates a new text.

The two examples given above have unearthed the fact that, as regards sexuality, the Turkish remake has had a greater tendency to overlook its source material, often asserting creative independence from it and this perspective emphasizes the understanding of remakes as versions of source materials which involve in the creative process and draws attention to the fluidity of the remake process in the Turkish television industry. The focus of this vision of fluidity is on identifying the critical distances between a source material and its remake(s), and on finding out the meaning of this distancing (Bryant, 2002; Bryant, 2013).

Moreover it appears that the Turkish remake's close fidelity to its source material is of secondary interest to its tailoring process to suit local expectations or to conform to local sensibilities and cultural codes. Such instances in which a remake is seen making a lot of concessions to the target audience's expectations and taste reveal "the power of domestic media industries amidst the increasing complexity of media flows and economies" (Waisbord and Jalfin, 2009: 58). Given that the repertoire of Turkish television series has already been established since the mid-1990s in particular, it seems usual for the Turkish remake to be modelled in terms of the local repertoire and already conventionally-established norms in the Turkish context (Even-Zohar, 1990: 49).

5.3.1.2. Omissions

In this part of the research, the first instance for the use of omission as an indigenizing remake strategy concerns how a mother-child pair tackles with the topic of sex among themselves. In S1/E7 of *Desperate Housewives*, before Susan's date with Mike, Julie (Susan's daughter) sees her mom getting prepared for the night and asks her if she got any protection. Then Susan replies with a smile and says, "Oh, my God! We are so not having this conversation". Then Julie continues the conversion as follows: "We are, because I enjoy being an only child […] I always assumed I'd have sex for the first time before you had it again". This conversation between a mother and daughter indicates that Julie treats her mom as if she were her friend and feels free to questioning her mom's sex life. This instance also reveals that though Susan does not give harsh reaction and keeps her calmness, she wants to keep some issues in the dark.

Susan just puts a smile on her face and says she does not want to keep talking about this topic.

The dialogue between Julie and Susan relating to Susan's using protection has been omitted from the Turkish remake. Accordingly, the rest of this scene has been utterly recreated, which has in turn impacted the overall dynamics between the mother and daughter and, most importantly, the wider messages delivered in this scene. In the Turkish remake, Gamze helps her mother choose what to wear. Yasemin concerns about what to do after her dinner date is over and asks Gamze if she should pay for the whole dinner bill, split the cost or not to pay. Just then, Gamze asks her mother if she is in love with Sinan and Yasemin replies, "Don't talk nonsense. I have a grown up daughter. What gave you that idea?" Then they keep on talking about it as the following:

> Gamze: My father has also a grown up daughter, but he fell in love and left us.
> Yasemin: It is your father's choice. He had a different disposition. Also, he is a man.
> Gamze: So what.
> Yasemin: This means… this means… That is just the way we get used to. A woman only really falls in love one time and then gets married. Then. That's all. That's that. That's the end of the story.
> Gamze: That doesn't sound fair.
> Yasemin: I know. That is not fair. But that's just how it goes.

As it is apparent from the scene and the dialogues between Yasemin and Gamze, the Turkish remake has omitted the dialogue on the mother's sex life in the source show. It has replaced with a scene in which issues such as women's viewing themselves in a secondary position in society and their un/consciously consenting to the position and circumstances they live in are questioned. Additionally, this instance has ostensibly shown that the Turkish remake, unlike its source text, seeks to make a well-defined distinction between the feminine and maternal positions; that is, between being a mother and being a woman, by highlighting the need for silencing mothers' feminine desires and transforming them solely into mother figures.[143] The fertility of, instead of the fidelity to, the source show stands out in this example, in which the

[143] See also S1/E22 in which Yasemin shares with her friends about her special feeling that Sinan's look into her eyes made her feel like a woman rather than a mother for the first time, a statement which reveals that motherhood and womanhood are assumed to hardly be able to coexist.

naughty scene in the source show has led the Turkish remakers to omit and recreate it, which nevertheless gives the source show an afterlife (Grindstaff, 2002; Hutcheon, 2006).

S1/E2 provides another example for the use of omission in the Turkish remake. In this episode, Susan's awakening and going downstairs for a glass of water is narrated by a deceased character, Mary Alice, as follows: "Susan awoke that night alone and parched. But as she gazed out her window, she saw the tall drink of water she needed to quench her thirst". In that scene the guy Susan sees from her kitchen window is Mike. This means that what Mary Alice describes as "the tall drink" to quench Susan's thirst is Mike. This innuendo made by Mary Alice interprets sex as an ordinary act desired not only by men but also by women. Even though the same scene is present in both series, its originally sexuality-related content has been omitted in the remake, instead it has been tailored to the sensibilities of the target culture. In the Turkish remake, Yasemin is seen unable to get to sleep since she can't help but think her recently deceased friend, Handan. She and her daughter are seen sharing their grief with one another. At this moment, Yasemin is seen crying and tells her daughter that Handan's son passes through tough times. Just then she adds that being an orphan is horrible and gives her daughter a hug. It seems apparent that, in order to make the Turkish remake appropriate for Turkish viewers, the scene involving funny and sexually-loaded messages was substantially transformed into the scene dealing with a much deeper and melodramatic issue of being left an orphan at an early age. Furthermore, this recreation of the source text provides the Turkish viewers with familiarity in *Desperate Housewives*'s new iteration in the Turkish context, which suggests that remakes hint at "another way of reading translations, as a form of rereading across languages that can offer a deeper interaction with the text" (Evans, 2014: 310).

The other instance that provides an example for the use of omission in the Turkish remake relates to Gabrielle. Gabrielle is depicted in the source show as an outstandingly sexy and almost all scenes that she is present feature overt sexual practices and innuendos. These scenes, accompanied by her apparence, further sensualize Gabrielle and foreground her sexuality. Comparing Gabrielle's scenes to her Turkish counterpart, it can be seen how differently Zeliha is portrayed in terms of

proclaiming her sexuality and how it has resonated in throughout the course of the first season. For instance, in S1/E1, Gabrielle's gardener, John, cuts his finger and she takes him inside of the home to get a band aid. Immediately after Gabrielle's husband Carlos goes to work, Gabrielle joins John and it appears that they are having an affair when they begin to have sex on the table. In the respective scene in the Turkish remake, Zeliha asks for permission of his husband to call for her neigbour's son beforehand and then invites him to have the computer set up. Zeliha's husband Kudret initially gives harsh reaction and says that any guy he doesn't know well cannot step in his house when he is not absent. But Zeliha convinces him by saying that the guy she intends to call is her neighbour's son and he is just a young boy. After Kudret goes to work, Levent comes in and he just helps Zeliha how to use a computer. Then he says that he has seen Zeliha's photo on the internet, which belongs to the times when Zeliha won the beauty pageant. Zeliha gets surprised at it and says that no one reminds of those times anymore. Without even looking at Zeliha and turning his eyes away from her, Levent coyly replies, "But, I do". As the described scenes have illustrated, all scenes involving sex by which Gabrielle is motivated to keep on this relationship in the source have been omitted and represented in such a way that unlike Gabrielle, her Turkish counterpart has been showing no sign of sexual intimacy towards Levent.

In the next example, we see that Gabrielle's husband Carlos realizes that his wife looks like really tense and suggests her go to a spa, go shopping and find a way to relax. Once he leaves for work, Gabrielle calls John to come home and have sex. As this scene shows, Gabrielle does not abstain from sharing her sex fantasies as it is ordinary for her to fantasize about sex. In the Turkish remake, Zeliha complains about getting bored at home, and her husband recklessly suggests her find out something to do without him. Then Zeliha is seen murmuring to herself, "Is that so? You say that I should search for something to do without you. Is that so? Alright then. I know what to do without you, Kudret", which implies that she is about to do something which her husband never tolerates. Just then, she calls Levent, yet hangs up the phone immediately, questioning what she is about to do. Looking at his phone, Levent sees the missed call from Zeliha and calls her back. Then she says she called him by accident while she was intending to call her drycleaner. Levent tells her that he is sorry for giving her a rose. Zeliha replies to him: "Don't do it again. I am a married woman

[…]. If Kudret gets informed about it by chance, he kills both of us. D'you know what I mean". As analogous to the previous instances, the source series's bald depiction of sexuality has been omitted and Zeliha and Levent are not even seen together in the Turkish remake. As it has pervaded throughout the Turkish remake, this instance shows that the Turkish show has also a tendency for conveying some sort of transgressive messages –like Zeliha can be involved in such an act that contradicts standard codes of morality- yet only by means of giving hints about them.

The last example for the strategy of omission that the Turkish remake has resorted to in the treatment of sexuality is about Lynette's worry about the fact that she and Tom have not had sex over ten days (S1/E21). In that episode, she tells her husband that they set their record of not having sex. Then, Lynette is seen trying to seduce her husband and initiate sex in the livingroom. Yet, they cannot have sex due to their baby's throw-up and spit on Lynette's undershirt. Later on, Lynette is seen going out and buying a French maids outfit for a little fantasy in order to come up with the lack of passion in her marriage. She wears it in hopes of seducing her husband. However, her attempt fails when Tom comes home late with his colleague and finds her sleeping on the couch. Then, Tom surprises her by wearing a small animal print thong and he and Lynette finally have sex. These scenes depicting a couple's sex life have been remade in the Turkish remake, which has largely omitted the parts relating to sex which is, in fact, a major concern of these scenes in the source show. In the Turkish remake, Elif is seen upset over the fact that her husband forgets to kiss her before going to work for a week. As it has been revealed, not having sex for ten days has been omitted in the target show and the scene has been sentimentalized with the addition of dialogues in which Elif tells her husband that one of their boys begins to feel sorrowful and to bemoan as he is neither able to see nor spend time with him.

The examples that have been given throughout this subsection have shown that the use of omission as an indigenizing remake strategy in many instances can not be merely evaluated as the absence of the scenes and/or sequences in the Turkish remake. Rather, a considerable amount of omissions illustrated and discussed above have pointed out how the repertoire of Turkish television series has been restrained from liberating itself from strongly established conventions and embracing alternative and explicit depictions of sexuality. From the perspective of sexual liberation in the

Turkish context, it can be argued that, in comparison to its source, the Turkish remake has failed to open a number of new questions about sexuality and to call for re-analysis of established sexuality-related taboos[144] in the Turkish context.

5.3.2. Confrontational Remake Strategies

Concerning the thematic interpretant of "Sexuality", it can be pointed out that confrontational remake strategies used in the Turkish remake have somewhat made accessible what rarely appears and is most often subject to repression on Turkish television by bringing it into the public realm. As it has been already referred to in previous chapter, a confrontational stance towards the treatment of sexuality in the Turkish remake has reverberated in the Turkish viewers' responses which suggest that the availability of various sexually connotative dialogues and images has pushed, at least to a particular extent, the limits of the representation of sexuality on Turkish television.

Given that the Turkish sociocultural context has becoming more sensitive to moral violations and Turkish television has been facing ever-increasing amount of censors, the profileration of alternative images and the questions that those images bring to viewers' mind through the use of confrontational remake strategies are worthy of attention. Therefore, it can be argued that these instances, where the Turkish remake has made more evident its relationship to its source as regards sexuality, have in some ways enriched the repertoire of Turkish television series through the introduction of assertive ways of treating sexuality in the Turkish context, by means of which it seems to infuse new ways of perceiving sexuality. Yet, taking into account the fact that Turkish viewers would show less willingness to tolerate what American viewers deem

[144] Many contemporary societies have sexuality-related taboos (Buckley and Gottlieb, 1988; Costos, Ackerman, and Paradis, 2002; Kulick and Willson, 2003). As Yalkın and Veer (2018) point out, soap operas provide an avenue for topics that may be taboo and liminal to be talked about (1152). Examining Turkish soap operas in terms of the reception of taboo topics, one of which is the issue of sexuality, these researchers argue that the presence of the characters aware of their sexuality are strongly criticized by religious and political conservative leaders in Turkey (1153). These critiques, as Yalkın and Veer put forward, "range from negative publicity in the form of opinion pieces to fatwas issued by religious clerics" (ibid.). All in all, in Turkey, sexuality often appears to be much more than an act that is essential for the continuation of sexuality for cultural and religious reasons. Therefore, such issues as premarital sexual relationships, consensual sexual relations among youths and different types of sexual orientation remain taboo in Turkey (İlkkaracan, 2016: 63).

as usual about sexually-loaded content, the Turkish remake has been unable to resort to the strategy of continuation in which the target text retains the ideas and images provided by the source text as closely as possible. Instead, based on my textual analysis, the Turkish remake has absorbed alternative depictions about sexuality issues that appear in the source show by means of "repetition by toning down", a strategy which seems to provide target culture viewers with analogous ideas and images as those presented in a given source culture.

5.3.2.1. Repetition by toning down

The first instance in which the Turkish remake repeats its source text by toning it down relates to the scene in which Lynette and her husband Tom in *Desperate Housewives* are seen about to have sex. In S1/E1, when Tom returns from business trip, Lynette feels relaxed as her children are driving her crazy. As soon as Tom and Lynette send their children out to play, they go to their bedroom to have sex. When Tom throws her to bed, Lynette says, "Oh, you got to be kidding. I'm exhausted […] Well, is it okay if I just lie here?", and asks Tom to put a condom on. But Tom suggests not putting on it by saying, "Let's risk it". In return, Lynette punches him. The scene described above demonstrates that Lynette is comfortable with talking about sex and giving some sort of explicit directions (such as her choice of just lying and letting the rest to her husband) to her husband during the sexual intercourse. Moreover, the last part of this scene suggests that Lynette is the one who has the right to decide on pregnancy. She is free to make her own decision regarding her sexual and reproductive rights. The message is: it is her body and it is her right.

In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, Lynette's Turkish counterpart Elif adopts a different attitude towards her husband's desire to have sex and she tells her husband that he is acting foolish by reminding him that their children, who are out then, might come back home any minute. Yet, later on, Elif, much like her American counterpart, warns her husband about putting on "the thing" ["şey" in Turkish] since her doctor made her discontinue contraception pills. Even though Elif abstains from uttering the word "condom" and she just says "the thing" to refer to it, the repeated scenes in the Turkish remake which features a wife and husband who are about to have

sex and make reference, though subtly, to a thin rubber sheath worn during sexual intercourse as a contraceptive can be viewed as far more courageous and transgressive than a range of depictions of sexuality on Turkish television. Regarding the repetition of the source scene by toning down in the Turkish remake, one viewer on the Internet implied that, if the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* had been designed as an indigenous drama from its outset, such scenes would have never existed. This viewer also shared his/her delight at recognizing the fact that the Turkish remake was able to handle the dialogue between Lynette and Tom about condom (Ekşisözlük, January 15, 2012).

In the next example, we see that Lynette's attempt to turn her husband on in *Desperate Housewives* has been replaced by the scene in which Elif is seen having set a classy and romantic table in order to be alone with her husband. Nevertheless, later on, the Turkish remake repeats its source text and Elif is seen buying a French maids outfit like her American counterpart. The scene in which Elif is seen buying this outfit is toned down by Handan's verbal narration that evaluates Elif's decision to purchase an erotic outfit as "a courageous step". In addition to this, in the Turkish remake, Elif is seen removing the dust with a hand duster, which is a part of her fantasy costume. This part of the scene is narrated by Handan as the following: "A woman cannot get further away from her disposition even if she is striving for preventing her marriage from not getting monotonous". Even though Handan's narration reiterates traditional stereotypes regarding women's dispositions in the Turkish context, the Turkish remake attempts to pursue a similar path to its source and repeats the source scene by depicting how a woman deals with the sexual issues in her marriage. The repetition of the source scene in which Lynette buys an erotic costume by the Turkish remake indicates how the Turkish remake has absorbed its source material's influences. The interpenetration of the images and narratives abound in the source culture and those in Turkish culture is made obvious in such instances.

Another instance in which the Turkish remake seems to repeat its source by toning down in order to handle a delicate matter without keeping it untouched at all belongs to S1/E14. In that episode, Bree is seen pushing her husband to tell her why he goes to another woman for sex and Rex tells that he loves S&M (i.e., sadism and masochism; the practice of using pain as a sexual stimulant). It is revealed that Bree

has no idea about it, yet she is eager to understand what it is. She and Rex then begin to watch a S&M porn video and Bree concludes that her husband has some unresolved childhood trauma and says it is a perversion. Though she overreacts and is reluctant to try it, she finally agrees to try it. It is apparent that Bree is open about what her and her husband's sexual needs are and prefers keeping the communication open. Her demeanours, her way of discovering her husband's likes/dislikes and her actively involving in her husband's plans for sex indicate her high level of confidence about this topic.

In the Turkish remake, while Nermin is asking her husband the reason why he slept with another woman, she doesn't openly refer to her husband's sexual needs or pleasures. The underlying reason, which is in fact sex, for her implicit question is to let the Turkish audience draw their conclusions from Nermin's expression. It appears in this scene that Nermin timidly asks her husband to tell her what is missing in her and blames herself for being cheated on, attributing this event to her own deficiencies and unattractiveness. Then she wants her husband to tell her the deficiencies she is supposed to cover up in order to save their marriage. Then Behçet says that he needs to spice up their sex life and suggests her to put a mirror on their bedroom ceiling and watch some movies, the obscene ones. Though Nermin overreacts and slaps her husband at first, then she agrees to watch some movie. While Nermin and Behçet are seen watching a pornographic film, they get surprised at some scenes and Behçet closes his wife's eyes by saying, "Don't watch this scene". Although the issues of sexuality have not been given much screen time and sexually-charged shots have not taken much space in the Turkish remake, the repetition of the scene described above can be viewed unusual for the repertoire of Turkish television series in which the depictions of a married couple's exploring their sexual fantasies are most often kept secret and underrepresented. Nermin and Behçet's decision to have a mirror installed on a ceiling as a part of sexual fantasy and the documentation of this couple with a taste for looking in a mirror while having sex can be regarded as a kind of transgession in a prime-time slot of Turkish television. Although the extent to which the topic of sexuality is treated in the two shows differ, this instance shows that the Turkish remake synthesizes the ideas that appear in the source show, of course with the Turkish

scriptwriters's ideas that take shape as a result of numerous media specific, agent-related and audience-oriented circumstances.

Figure 22: Nermin and Behçet are about to have sex.

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Figure 23: They put the mirror above their bed on the ceiling

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları,* YouTube

The portrayal of Edie and her Turkish counterpart provides another example. In *Desperate Housewives*, when Mike moves to Wisteria Lane, Edie and Susan set their sights on him and they continue their war for him throughout the first season. In S1/E4, while Susan is watching topless Mike from the kitchen window, she sees Edie go outside to wash her car. While washing her car which she has already washed the other day, Edie wears skimpy, cotton cloth and drenches herself in soapy water in order to attract Mike's attention as he is doing his own yard work.

Figure 24 : Edie washing her car

Source: *Desperate Housewives* DVD Boxset, Seasons 1-8

Edie is well-known with having the power to seduce men and she boasts of satisfying her sexual appetite. It appears in this scene that Edie does not abstain from dressing in the way that could cause a sexual arousal response in Mike. She apparently sends seduction signals to Mike. Her apperance, body language, mimics, drenching herself in a soapy water and the position of her body are all delibarate acts of her desire to turn Mike on. Taking all into account, *Desperate Housewives* seems not to avoid representing a kind of woman like Edie proclaming her sexuality and not being shy about showing off her desire to have sex. For Edie, sex, sexual attention, and flirtation can just be a way to fill a physical need and women can have physical sexual needs along with emotional ones.

In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, Yasemin watches Sinan washing his car and sees Emel going outside with a bucket full of water and a dustcloth in order to clean up the windows that were already wiped by her friend, Sevim. As it is apparent in this scene, like her American counterpart, Emel attempts to get Mike's attention but with a notable difference that indicates a sort of toning down. Emel is seen wearing clothes which cover the whole of her body except for her cleavage. Even so, she is seen bending down to display her breasts in order to get Sinan's attention. Her intent of sending seduction signals is further emphasized by the camera movements as the shots focus on her breasts. This scene has been remarkably toned down in the Turkish remake and Edie's exaggerated and extremely seductive manners have been minimized. Even though the fact that Emel has presented minimized sexual overtones in conformity with Turkish cultural norms and the cultural attitudes to women's proclaiming their sexuality in Turkey, the repetition of the source scene can be regarded as confronting the boundaries of prime-time programmes as regards women sexuality on Turkish television, which is often vulnerable to the pressure of censor.

Figure 25: Edie's Turkish counterpart while cleaning up windows

Source: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, YouTube

It appears from the instances problematized throughout the subsection 5.3. that the sexuality-led subtexts which were originally ingrained in the source show have been substantially absent from the Turkish remake, in which the theme of sexuality has been tentatively and quite differently dealt with. From the perspective of remaking process, the dynamics motivated by sexuality in the source show have often been overturned in the Turkish remake through the use of substitutions and omissions. By means of indigenizing remake strategies, the representation of sex in the Turkish remake has been usually substituted and omitted. Turkish women characters have mostly exhibited no attitudes that could be interpreted as desiring to have sex. Furthermore, conversations and minor discussions revolving around the topic of sexuality have been frequently omitted from the Turkish remake and these parts of the story in the source have been replaced by the scenes which are either lack of any sexual content or put less emphasis on sexually-loaded images and representations.

It is also possible to deduce from the findings discussed throughout this subsection that, in some instances with regard to the politics of sexuality, the Turkish remake has made more manifest its relationship to the source material, resulting in new and assertive ways of treating sexuality for the Turkish context while adjusting it to the complex web of domestic cultural concerns and televisual norms in the meantime. The point to make here is that, in such instances, the Turkish remake has blended the foreign models with its own by pushing to forefront its source and embracing the "other" (Mazdon, 2017) through the incorporation of some images of the world that its source material served its viewing public.

5.4. FAMILY DYNAMICS

Briefly speaking, a family is a group of two or more people who are related by blood, marriage, adoption, or a mutual commitment and who care for one another. Defined in this way, the concept of family seems to be universal or nearly universal. This means that some form of family has existed in every society, or nearly every society that we know about. Yet it is also true that cultures incredibly differ in meanings that they ascribe to the concept of family and its types (e.g., nuclear family, extended family, joint family, blended family and family by choice). This means that how a family is conceptualized; that is, what constitutes a family, varies across the world according to a variety of factors including marriage types (monogamous, polygamous) and authority (patriarchy, matriarchy) (see Ahern and Bailey, 1996; Schlegel, 1996; Ember and Ember, 2011). In terms of the family and familial relationships, the first impression that I gained from the comparative textual analysis is that *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* thoroughly exhibits the family-centric orientation of Turkish culture. It also appears that its characters are viewed as more attentive in keeping and maintaining ties with their relatives and care for the parents and elders than those characters in *Desperate Housewives*.

This can be, in particular, related to the fact that the genre of melodrama, largely adopted by the Turkish remake, by nature seeks to preserve moralistic conservative family values in order to consolidate the social order. As it has been pointed out earlier, the integration of melodramatic components in the Turkish remake is tightly interwoven with Turkish society which has becoming ever more sensitive to moral violations particularly due to its transition in governance, resulting in a sociopolitical transformation to Islamic-dominated politics. Given that television is very likely to inform the collective dialogue of society by creating a sort of cultural forum (Newcomb and Hirsch, 1983), the role it plays in transmitting and perpetuating the prevailing ideology of those who control its functioning is significant.

In the case of Turkish television, which regards the family as the foundation of the Turkish society, television is assumed to be the primary advocate for traditional family values and this assumption is supported by the legal structure prevailing the Turkish television industry, which has a significant influence on the production site of

Turkish television series. For instance, recently, one project, emanating from the cooperation and collaboration between RTUK and the Ministry of Family and Social Politics, has been launched to subsidize pro-family television series on Turkish television, whereby it seeks to show that the family is the base of the Turkish society and it is crucial to ensure the peace and welfare of the family (03.04.2018; *hürriyet.com.tr*). Moreover, Turkish government passed the legislation on procedures and principles for promoting pro-family and pro-child television productions and dramas (*Resmî Gazete*: May 8, 2018).

In this light, it is little wonder that the valuing of family and family dynamics is a prevailing theme in the repertoire of Turkish television series (Güngör, 2007; Sancar, 2017). Eset Akçilad, a young Istanbul screenwriter and film-maker, highlights that the centre of any Turkish television series is the family (Bhutto, 13.09.2019; *guardian.com*). He further points out that Turkish series most often seek to cater to a family oriented audience by means of promoting the sound functioning of the family, which is not the case for television series produced in the West (ibid.). According to Eset, "[d]isappearing family values are not concerns for the West", yet the viewers of Turkish television series usually appreciate the "romantic notion of family where everyone is trying to cherish one another" (ibid.). In this sense, it is plausible to evaluate the use of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake as a tool for fostering the sanctity of family values and suppressing confrontational ideas and images in the source show which would clash with this sanctity. My textual analysis has shown that remakers have not opted for confrontational strategies when transfering scenes related to family issues. Thus this part will include only indigenizing remake strategies adopted in the narrative treatment of the thematic interpretant, family dynamics.

5.4.1. Indigenizing Remake Strategies

It can be suggested that the approaches about the primary difference in human societies, namely the role of the individual versus the role of the group (Hofstede, Jan Hostede and Minkov, 2010: 90), can shed light on the use of indigenizing remake strategies in transferring varying accounts of family dynamics in the two shows. In this

context, individualist culture is often marked by the prevalence of the interests of the individual over the interests of the group (91) whereas collectivist culture mainly refers to a group or community where "the interest of the group prevails over the interest of the individual" (90). More specifically, collectivist countries such as Malaysia, Taiwan, Chile, Singapure and Vietnam give much weight to group goals, that is, what is best for personal relationships (103). On the other hand, individualist countries such as Australia, Italy, Denmark and Latvia are driven by personal benefits and objectives based on self (ibid.). Based on the basic tension between individualism and collectivism, it is possible to highlight that individualism is very common in the US whereas Turkey is mostly defined by collectivism (ibid.). With its traditionally collectivism-oriented structuring, Turkish society is viewed as subordinating the value of the individual to the values and goals of the group (Üskül, Hynie and Laronde, 2004) and it explicitly displays and highly values such traits as caregiving, protecting, respecting, and relatedness in the family (Sunar and Fişek, 2005), which manifest itself in the discussion given throughout the subsequent subsections.

The examples concerning this thematic interpretant category have shown that, as compared to the other two thematic interpretants, the Turkish remake masked its origin at the uttermost when family dynamics underwent a tailoring process and it turned out to be less receptive to new life images provided by non-indigenous options. The scenes featuring family issues in the Turkish remake have lent itself to so many creative reworkings that it became unlikely for the Turkish viewers to even detect that it is the remake of *Desperate Housewives*. This is because, with regard to the narrative treatment of family dynamics, the Turkish remake in many aspects exhibited the characteristics of indigenous and homegrown television series, and thus benefited from its own established models in the TV repertoire.

5.4.1.1. Additions

The addition of new family members to the Turkish remake is among the most salient shifts which display the family-centric structuring of Turkish culture and the mutual interdependency within Turkish family. In S1/E2 of the source show, for example, Bree and Rex find themselves a marriage counselor and begin to take up

professional counseling in order to solve their marital problems. Nevertheless their Turkish counterparts Nermin and Behçet look for ways to help their conflicts by means of a completely different method: consulting an elderly family member, Nermin's uncle. In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, Nermin pays a visit to her uncle's workplace with a basket full of pastry in it. Nermin and her uncle begin to talk about Nermin and Behçet's marriage and Nermin cryingly tells him that their marriage is about to be over. Uncle Resul, who is absent in the source show, substitutes the marriage counselor Goldfine in the source show. The addition of Uncle Resul and Nermin's consultation to him for help to save her marriage shows that marriage counselling is not a very common practice in the Turkish context. More than this, these additions expose the intimate relationship between family members in Turkey foregrounding the kinship ties and their ingrained structuring.

Another character who is not present in the source show but appears in the remake is Sinan's mother, Raziye. Raziye was often given screen time particularly in the first several episodes of the remake in which Yasemin and Emel were seen getting into competition for catching Sinan's interest by means of his mother. Raziye is used in the Turkish remake as an aisle to reach Sinan. In S1/E2, for instance, Zeliha suggests Yasemin visit Raziye if she wants to steal Sinan's heart: "If you want to entice a man to approach to you, it is imperative that you should first win his mother's favour. Golden rule". In the Turkish remake, Raziye visits her son to help him take care and manage his newly-moved house. Her visit is an indicator of the fact that, though most households in Turkey are nowadays not extended but nuclear in structure, the Turkish family is mostly "functionally extended," which refers to the fact that there is much mutual support and interaction especially among close relatives (Kandiyoti, 1974; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). At this point, it is significant to highlight that decisions made by writers and producers such as that of creating new family members made by the Turkish scriptwriters "not only effect the viewing choices of audiences, but also outline national cultural boundaries" (Waisbord and Jalfin, 2009: 59).

In addition to these character additions which have featured and have been given a particular screen time in the Turkish remake, there are also additions of family members who never acted out, yet were implied and mentioned through dialogues and phone calls. This means that though these family members are not shown present in

the Turkish remake, as different from the source show, it has been observed that the majority of leading characters often make mention of their family members. For instance, in S1/E2, Handan narrates the scene in which her husband is seen trying to take the chest out of the trunk of his car, which contains a corpse within itself, as the following: “If my mother had known what I hid inside my dowry chest, she would have never forgived me”. Handan’s reference to her mother does not occur in the source show. Other references to family members in the first season of the Turkish remake include Elif’s mother (S1/E2); Nermin’s mother-in-law (S1/E2); Zeliha’s mother (S1/E3); Nermin’s sister-in-law (S1/E3), (S1/E11) and (S1/E19); Gamze’s grandfather (S1/E5); a distant relative of Zeliha’s mother-in-law (S1/E7); Zeliha’s sister-in-law (S1/E8); Nermin’s elder aunt-in-law (S1/E8); Yasemin’s sister-in-law and uncle (S1/E5); Mert’s uncle (S1/E6); the grandchild of Elif’s babysitter candidate's uncle (S1/E9); the younger son of Ömer’s mother’s aunt (S1/E14); the son of Elif’s elder uncle (S1/E14); the son of Nermin’s aunt (S1/E19); Yasemin’s distant relative (S1/E19).

As pointed out earlier, these characters have not been visually present but they have been included into storylines by means of phone calls or through other characters’ reference to them in their conservations. Even though these references have had no significant impact on the storylines of the Turkish remake and they have had no contribution to its depth and narrative complexity, they have apperantly exemplified the closely-knit relationships of the traditional family and helped represent the most recognized family model in the Turkish context. As a result, the use of addition as an indigenizing remake strategy has contributed to the characterization of the traditional Turkish family “by their attitude of faithfulness to one another, sensitivity to each other’s needs [and] respect” (Sunar and Fişek, 2005 in Zabriskie et al., 2018: 10).

5.4.1.2. Substitutions

Besides the addition of characters, there occur notable differences in treatment of the scenes in which family matters have been portrayed. It turns out that these differences have been handled through the use of substitution as another indigenizing remake strategy. The first example relates to a parenting style and a mother-daughter

relationship in particular. In S1/E5 of *Desperate Housewives*, Susan is walking back and forth at home and tries to find a way for asking Mike out. Julie realizes that her mom is nervous and says, “Stop being so nervous. You're just asking him out to dinner. It's no big deal”. Julie tells her mother to stop stalling and go before Mike figures out he can find a better woman. Susan is surprised at Julie’s comeback, and says to her, “Tell me again why I fought for custody of you”. Julie replies “You were using me to hurt dad”. Susan says "Oh, that's right", kisses her on the head, and leaves the house to go Mike. This instance describing the relationship between Susan and her daughter indicates that Julie do not need to hold herself back from giving her mother a dating advice and Susan’s replies also seem to prove the fact that Julie’s attitudes are not exactly unusual.

In the respective scene of the Turkish remake, Yasemin does not attempt asking Sinan out to dinner. She even acts as if it is not usual that Sinan asks for her help to find where he finds the nearest store to buy a gas bottle. When she tells her daughter that she couldn’t know how to talk to him since she doesn’t know who he is, Gamze tells her mom that he is handsome and Emel doesn’t stop chasing up him. Gamze’s reply is unwelcomed by her mother. In fact, Yasemin’s reaction seems not far away from what is expected from a traditional Turkish mother in such a conversation, who generally desires to view in their daughters the characteristic of obedience and wants their children follow a generational hierarchy which is, for Kağıtçıbaşı, an unspoken structural feature of the Turkish family in conformity with the prevailing cultural norms in Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002). Also, it appears that Yasemin adopts a rather different mothering role from her American counterpart by combining autonomy and control orientation, which is similar to "authoritative parenting" (Baumrind, 1980). It can be suggested that, as far as a matter of parenting style is concerned, substitutions are abundant in the Turkish remake.

Another example appears in S1/E13 where Susan sees Julie and Zach kissing and she is freaked out. She tells Zach that Julie is 14. While leaving Susan and Julie’s home, Zach turns back and says Julie, “See you Friday”, and then he just goes out. In this scene, Julie does not get panicked and she acts calmly. When her mother asks what they are planning on Friday, she just says that Zach is taking her to school dance. She then wants her mother to calm down. In the Turkish remake, though Yasemin only

sees Gamze and Mert sitting and chatting on the couch, her reaction to Gamze is notably more exaggragated and harsh than that of Susan. It is also observed in the whole scene that Yasemin strongly proclaims her authority on her daughter by means of her register, pace, pitch and voice while talking to her. This reflects the high authority orientation in a mother-child pair in the Turkish remake, which does not much value the autonomy and privacy of the individual members particularly in adolescence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002: 4). As the substituted scene suggests, as opposed to Turkey which is largely at the high power distance side of the spectrum, the US source shows that, as a result of parental education given in the US, it is usual to let children take control of their own affairs and contradict their parents (Hofstede et al., 2010: 67). Unlike the Turkish remake, the US source represents the small-power-distance situation, where children are somewhat treated as equals; that is, there is almost no discernible order of authority between parents and children (ibid.).

In such instances, the practice of remake in the Turkish context turns out to be a sort of "nationalizing strategy in the sense that it aims to turn someone else's culture (e.g. programming formats) into a product that can be recognized as part of a specific national symbolic landscape" (Waisbord and Jalfin, 2009: 60). In order to strenghten credibility, it appears that the Turkish remakers treats family issues and handles the roles conferred upon different family members within the family according to the norms and values expected to be conformed in collectivist societies. In fact, the fact that some family dynamics- related narratives in a source show may cause offence in a target culture is not rare. For example, the Chilean would-be remake of an Australian drama *Sons and Daughters* could not even appear on Chilean television since the project had already generated controversy among a focus group (consisting of a group of people gathered to provide their feedback about a television program before it is launched) due to "its apperant cultural incompatibility with [family-related] social mores" in Chilea (Moran, 2009b: 51). As Moran states in an interview with Kolle,

> *The Chilean drama fell through because they did a focus group on it and the audience reacted with great shock at the hint of romance between brother and sister, the basic Sons and Daughters story. The twins that had been separated [at birth] meet as adults and fall in love. The focus group felt that the audience in Chile [would] tend to react as the government think they should react, being a very Catholic country. And the channel withdrew it.* (Kolle, 1995).

The next example for substitution, which relates to mothering, occurs in S1/E7 in which Bree and Rex share their plans to divorce with their children, Andrew and Danielle. In that episode, Andrew and Danielle decide to move out and live with their father, who tried to buy their love with expensive gifts. Bree demands Andrew and Danielle to refuse the gifts. She adds that if they do not, it is not possible for them to entry back into the house since she has the locks changed. She is just then seen throwing outside their children' personal belongings. As this scene suggests, even if it is her children who are in question, Bree is portrayed as being determined to apply her strict rules and showing no mercy even for her children. Bree's kicking her children out has been substituted by Nermin's withholding the keys of her children' rooms in the Turkish remake. It is seen that Nermin does not even threaten to throw her children out. The children in the source show are kicked out of their home whereas the Turkish children are only forbidden to enter into their room and they are allowed to stay in the livingroom. This is in part because Nermin does not want to risk losing her face which is of significance in collectivist societies and which refers to the failure of meeting necessary requirements placed on an individual by virtue of the social position s/he occupies. In this instance, Nermin acts in line with the requirements of her positioning as a mother and she does not dare to do anything that would be interpreted as outside the unwritten limits of motherhood by herself and people closely or loosely related to her.

The other example for substitution concerns Lynette's father-in-law, Rodney. One day, Lynette catches Rodney flirting with and fooling around on their couch with another woman who is not his wife. Though Rodney tells that Lois is one of his major suppliers in paper products manufacturing, Lynette sees her shoes taken out of her feet and lying on the floor. Meanwhile Lois buttons up her shirt, which does not escape Lynette's notice. At the very moment, Lynette's child brings Lois's tights and gives it to his mother. Then Rodney confesses what happened and tells that Lois is not his supplier. Lynette brings him to account for the incident that Rodney is involved in and tells that what he did is an completely irresponsible act. Rodney tells Lynette that he does not want to keep on talking about it because his sex life just interests him, not Lynette. Just then, it is seen Lynette throws him out on the street. This scene provides us with a father-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship. As it has been described,

Lynette feels free about talking with her father-in-law about his manner which she considers inappropriate. She does not avoid discussing her father-in-law's sex life and goes her own way by tossing him out. Lynette's tossing a family elder indicates that she does not find necessary treating her elder with respect if this elder person acts against the values that she holds.

In the Turkish remake, we see that Elif's father-in-law, Eşref, is not being cought with another woman, yet his female friend comes to visit him at Elif and Ömer's house. Then, Elif is seen catching her father-in-law kissing his friend's hands and arms and getting closer. Unlike her American counterpart, Elif only reacts to her father-in-law by keeping her silence and she does not even attempt to throw him out of the house. In this scene, there takes place no conversation between Elif and her father-in-law. It is seen later on that Elif reveals her concern about this indicent through her husband. As it has been noted earlier, Turkey represents a collectivist culture and, in such countries, individuals are by any means taught to respect their elders as wisdom for their community and they have strong sense of family unity. Respect for elders is considered a fundemantal virtue and it lasts through adulthood (Hofstede et al., 2010: 67). So it comes as no surprise that Elif avoids sharing her opinion and going into a further action such as tossing her father-in-law for her children's sake. Given that Eşref, compared to Elif, occupies a higher position in terms of the order of authority, it is most probably deemed inappropriate for Elif to give a similar reaction towards her father-in-law like her American counterpart did. This is because, in societies such as Turkey which has a high power distance, attitudes toward other people are dependant on the other's age or status and, therefore, formal respects and deference is a necessity (ibid.).

5.4.1.3. Omissions

The other indigenizing remake strategy that the Turkish remake has resorted in the process of remaking family-related scenes is omission. As far as the scenes in which motherhood seems to coexist with and/or be paired with moral values are concerned, their treatments in the source and target shows are subject to fundemental alterations, which provide us with examples for the use of omission. For instance, in

S1/E13 of the source show, Lynette wants to join a yoga class, yet she finds out that the facility is full. She is turned away and asked to come earlier next time. The next day, the receptionist sees that Lynette's son is bald and she supposes that he has cancer -in fact, his baldness is due to the chewing gum stuck in his hair. So, she lets Lynette into the class and finds a way of keeping her kids busy in the daycare center during Lynette's yoga session. Lynette takes advantage of her son's baldness to get into the sessions, but she eventually stop using it when her son believes he's really dying.

Likewise, Lynette's Turkish counterpart Elif is seen going to a beauty center, yet she is turned away and asked to make an appointment next time. However, when the receptionist sees her son's baldness, she mistakenly believes that he has cancer and provides convenience for Elif. It appears that the Turkish remake has omitted the parts where Lynette exploits her son's state, rather it has portrayed Elif as oblivious to what the receptionist thinks about her son. That is, she does not keep on using it intentionally. The Turkish remake alters the scene, which is humorous and cunning in the source show, and uses it as a step to treat the topic of leukemia and children with leukemia. In the Turkish remake, Elif and her husband are seen sadly talking about how health is more important than anything else in life and how they are supposed to feel grateful for it. The intent of the source scene is altered to promote the social message that people should keep in mind how numerous people get through very hard times due to health-related issues and they should always be supportive of those people facing tough health conditions. Overall, Elif's mothering style and her approach to the same situation, which is a moral and ethical one, results in a more moralizing show by taking the issue of health more seriously than its American source and by heightening its emotional intensity. As it is manifest, the creative reinterpretation through the use of omission in the Turkish remake contributes to the main drive of melodrama, which is to form and sustain moral and ethical codes, on the one hand, and on the other it seeks to perpetuate dominant representations of motherhood on Turkish television.

The next example for omission is provided in S1/E9 where Mary Alice tells that Gabrielle was sexually assaulted by her stepfather when she was 15. Along with this horrible incident, Gabrielle's next tragedy, as Mary Alice suggests, stems from her mother's disbelief in her report of sexual abuse and being blamed for seducing her stepfather. Then it is known in the source show that, after this tragedy, Gabrielle leaves

home and goes to New York. She soon becomes a supermodel and later on she chooses to marry Carlos and becomes a trophy wife to Carlos. This part of Gabrielle's story in the source show touches on and emphasizes a delicate yet not a scarce issue of child abuse by stepfathers. Sexual assault is a prevalently encountered attack which is likely to take various forms ranging from rape and attempted rape to an unwanted sexual contact or threats. In Gabrielle's case, this occurred when her stepfather paid her a late-night visit and assaulted her. As it has been elaborated in the description of the scene, Gabrielle's later choices, her way of life and her demeanour were largely determined by this traumatic event that she passed through at a very early age.

Traumatic experiences that Gabrielle has got through and their lifelong effects on her have been completely omitted from the Turkish remake. This omission has lessened the narrative complexity in the source material. In what follows, the portrayal of dysfunctional family has been largely toned down, replacing the incident which is seemingly turning point for Gabrielle's life with Zeliha's being forced into marriage at 18 for financial reasons. In the Turkish remake, there is no hints of sexual abuse, rather the Turkish audience has been provided with a prevalent incident of marrying a daughter at an early age, which is acknowledged as an essential strategy for economic survival among poor families. Throughout the story, the American viewers are likely to discover how significant this incident is for Gabrielle and how Gabrielle's desire to seduce men is motivated by her past whereas the Turkish viewers are provided with Zeliha's background, which seems insufficient to emphathize with her. These omissions ultimately reveal a very different national attitude towards family issues. As far as the treatment of family is concerned, the Turkish remake deems it necessary to filter such touchy issues that would clash with Turkish viewers' sensibilities and their ideal-typical family model, especially concerning controversial matters such as a sexual abuse within a family.

Another example for the comparative look at the family issues in the two shows comes from S1/E22. In that episode, Gabrielle tells John's friend (Justin) that her baby could be not her husband's, but John's. Justin calls Gabrielle a bitch and she slaps him in the face. Later on, she goes to John's apartment but only sees Justin. She makes up with him and they hug. At this moment, Carlos sees them hugging and thinks that she has an affair with him. He beats up Justin and then he is arrested. Carlos wants

Gabrielle to lie and tell the cops she has an affair in order to be saved from an eight-year imprisonment. Yet, Gabrielle declines her husband's request for help and reminds him that he replaced her birth control pills with sugar pills and got her pregnant by saying that she has lost her freedom for the next 18 years due to him.

In the Turkish remake, Gabrielle's Turkish counterpart does not even mention her husband's playing with her pills, which results in her pregnancy. Showing reluctance just for a second, she looks like eager to help her husband. Unlike her American counterpart, Zeliha is seen in the next episode as the one who timidly suggests her husband to tell a lie in the court and say that she has an affair. Zeliha is seen worried and feeling uneasy about telling her husband this suggestion, which is vice versa in the source show in which Carlos looks like in need of Gabrielle's help. As it is suggested from this scene, in line with Turkish marriages, it is more likely to engage in acts of sacrifice for partners. This means that, relegating individual concerns to the background, the Turkish remake promotes a process of sacrifice both on the level of commitment and as an interdependent dynamics between partners. The respect for the marriage and family is higher in the Turkish remake. The omission of Gabrielle's recklessness towards her husband in the Turkish remake suggests that, with growing interdependence prevalent in collectivist societies such as Turkey, it is not surprising to identify the transformation from couples with self-interested orientation into the ones with other-directed orientation.

The same episode provides another example concerning the handling of conjugal relationships. In that episode, Bree sees George at the supermarket. George tells her a lie that Rex has been boasting of how he likes hardcore sex. Afterwards, Bree and Rex discuss this topic and Rex denies his wife's accusations against him. During their heated argument, Rex suffers from a heart-attack. Bree helps him put on her coat and tells him to wait for her downstairs. Just then, Danielle sees her father having a heart-attack and she asks her father why her mother is not there to take him to the hospital. Putting his head on stair rails and suffering from pain, Rex replies: "That's a good question". Danielle goes upstairs in a hurry to look for her mother and she sees her mother calmly making the bed. Bree responds her by saying that she is going to take her husband to the hospital when she finished the bed and adds that she never leaves her house with an unmade bed. Though Bree hesitates to get help and is

involved in making the bed very slowly, she then drives him to the hospital. Bree is observed in this scene not afraid of putting her husband's life at risk in spite of their marriage of many years. Her manners and stance during this scene hints at the fact that, by acting so, she in fact takes revenge from her husband and this state of mind makes her act fearlessly and not think about the consequences of her decision making in this emergency case.

In the Turkish remake, while Behçet is having a heart attack, Nermin is seen not believing her husband, thinking that he is faking in order to make her forget his betrayal. However, as soon as Behçet falls to the ground and faints, Nermin is seen getting into a panic and rushing to help. Unlike her American counterpart, there is no hints of hesitation on Nermin's facial expressions, demeanour and on her overall attitude about helping her husband. As different from the US culture where individuals largely focus on the self and independent behaviours are encouraged, Turkish individuals are encouraged to feel lifelong and unconditional loyalty to their family and endangering it is deemed as one of the worst things an individual can do. Regarding this, the notable omission of Bree's hesitation in the Turkish remake is not an unexpected outcome. It can be suggested that if Nermin had been portrayed as a woman who prioritizes her individual feelings and inner motives and hesitates to help her husband at risk of death, it would most likely have clashed with Turkish viewers' sentiments about family values and the idealized view of Turkish family.

The examples given throughout 5.4. have revealed that the focus of *Desperate Housewives* is mostly on families whose dynamics play a crucial role in unfolding the series's main storylines. Yet, as the analysis of remake strategies used in the Turkish remake suggests, the Turkish production team has both given more weight to the theme of family and also framed it in utterly different ways, which is most probably motivated by "the deep family focus of traditional Turkish culture" (Zabriskie, Aslan and Williamson, 2018: 23). It has turned out that, in this thematic interpretant category, the Turkish remake has only deployed indigenizing remake strategies. These strategies have helped it comply with target culture conventions and disregard the traces of the source culture in the matter of family dynamics. That is, the Turkish remake has tried to avoid foreign influences to penetrate into the Turkish context.

The Turkish team has first expanded the number of family members in the Turkish remake by means of a range of additions. By doing this, they have emphasized the traditional family values and familial interdependence whereby there has appeared very little or no interpersonal distance among closely knit selves in the family. Secondly, the Turkish remake, employing the strategy of substitution, mostly furnished its family portrayals with various behavioral constraints and a range of societal values, which are not voiced and written down. Lastly, through the use of omissions, many family dynamics represented in the source show, in which a lot of life images concerning the family have been presented, have been omitted most probably because they would clash with the norms and conventions which have been specified by the Turkish context. As a result, in tune with the Turkish culture's strong ties to collectivism, the family dynamics in the Turkish remake have revolved around collectivist ideals, producing a fused system of relationships and high levels of mutual support, yet restricted independence and autonomy (Olson and DeFrain, 2000). This strong traditional focus on the family has reflected in the Turkish remake's narrative treatment of, among others, family ties, modes of parenting, the respect for marriage and the family as an institution.

5.5. CONCLUSIONS

Concentrating on the dominant three themes in *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, which are "Women and Femininity", "Sexuality" and "Family Dynamics", this chapter investigated how indigenizing and confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake were used, highlighting the reasons behind and the effects of their employment by problematizing the public debates that surround the selected themes in the Turkish context.

The first part of this chapter cross-culturally compared *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake in terms of women and femininity thematic interpretant. My examination showed that the US media and several scholarly publications on *Desperate Housewives* referred to its feminist content, which is not the case for the Turkish remake. Nevertheless, it appeared that, similarly to its source material, the Turkish remake dealt with the actual state of women's lives in its own context. The

selection of *Desperate Housewives* as a source for the Turkish remake turned out to have great significance in that it mainly stresses diverse states of womanhood and thus opens for debate the multifaced problems of women on Turkish television. It was shown in this chapter that the Turkish remake thoroughly recontextualized the source show. For instance, by means of indigenizing remake strategies, Turkish counterparts of the female leads in *Desperate Housewives* were depicted as accustomed to being perceived as subordinate in the patriarchal society and holding to the established norms disciplining women in Turkey. Docile and unconfident women images in the Turkish remake, contributing to the perpetuation of the firmly established women representations in the Turkish television series repertoire, appeared to be related to the Turkish remake's overreliance on the melodrama genre, which favors patriarchal thinking relegating women to a secondary role to men. Such women representations made easier to reproduce idealized female characters generally granted with positive characteristics in the repertoire of Turkish television series. It was revealed that the instances where indigenizing remake strategies were benefited from were indicators of the remake process's creative interpretation and the subordination of fidelity.

This chapter further revealed that there are many instances in which the Turkish remake drew inspiration from its source text and used it in handling women issues through the use of confrontational remake strategies. It can be suggested that, through the confrontational remake strategies of continuation and repetition by toning down, non-local women images and representations, mostly foreign to the Turkish television series repertoire, have become visible to some extent. And they have usually provided the basis for criticizing the patriarchal ideals imposed on women in Turkish society, emphasizing how the remake process gave rise to the introduction of alternative options, which confront the traditional narrative formulas, images and representations pervasive in the Turkish television series repertoire. The introduction of many alternative images and representations of women as options to the target culture further worked to question the traditional understanding of women and femininity in the Turkish context and therefore enriched the established conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire in varying aspects. When overall analysis on this theme is considered, it can be suggested that the Turkish remake intended to pursue the balance between conforming to the source show and making a range of concessions to the local

parameters by selectively incorporating indigenous and non-indigenous cultural elements.

As for the second thematic interpretant of sexuality, this chapter demonstrated that the Turkish remake often omitted and toned down sexuality-related scenes and thereby contributed to reinforcing the largely established repertoire while at the same time confronting the underrepresentration of sexuality in the Turkish television series repertoire. My examination revealed that, in this interpretant category, the Turkish remake made the maximum effort to abide by local viewers' sensibilities and other local parameters. It become evident in the Turkish remake that the representation of sexuality was often wiped out through omissions and additions and, occasionally, it was softened by substitutions. The use of indigenizing remake strategies enabled the Turkish remake to address the issue of sexuality in compliance with the parameters prevalent in the Turkish television series repertoire which pays special regard to traditional family values, religious discourse and cultural conservatism. As for confrontational remake strategies, they presented a good many sexuality-oriented dialogues and images which can be viewed as going beyond the limits of the representation of sexuality on Turkish television. The introduction of new ways of perceiving sexuality as options to the target viewers made more apparent the relationship between the source show and its Turkish remake, enriching the repertoire of Turkish television series. It might be suggested that the Turkish remake displayed alternative representations and portrayals in the matter of sexuality through the use of "repetition by toning down", which provided the basis for proliferating non-indigenous ideas and images in the Turkish television series repertoire.

This chapter also showed that, as compared to the other two thematic interpretants, the Turkish remake was particularly unwilling to adopt alternative images and representations provided by its source material in the thematic interpretant of family dynamics. In this category, the Turkish remake appeared to display its local attributes at the most. My textual analysis revealed that the Turkish remake placed higher importance to the family dynamics, reflecting the understanding of family as the basis of traditional Turkish culture and Turkish television. This thematic interpretant category turned out to be thoroughly remade by the Turkish production team by means of indigenizing remake strategies, which prevented foreign influences

from challenging the Turkish television series repertoire. This can be explicated with the remake's generic transformation into the melodrama genre, which serves to retain conservative family values. The Turkish culture's strong ties to collectivism also accounted for the divergent treatment of family dynamics in the remake. Moreover, pro-family legislations with regard to Turkish television made the Turkish remake narrate the concept of family much more properly than it was treated in the source show. Overall, the indigenizing remake strategies of addition, substitution and omission enabled the strong traditional focus on the family to rise to prominence in the Turkish remake, highlighting the idealized view of family, diverse forms of parenting, the respect for marriage and so on.

CONCLUSION

Audiovisual translation is inherently marked by interdisciplinarity. However, as my survey of the literature points out, it has thus far made use of only a few theoretical and methodological frameworks. AVT is also in need of expanding its repertory of research materials, in turn substantially contributing to the widening of this subfield of translation studies. Considering that adaptations and remakes are neglected as a form of translation in translation studies, where more conventional forms such as dubbing and subtitling are rather granted privilege, the present doctoral research has set out to explore and problematize the role and position of television remakes within the Turkish television repertoire, with utmost emphasis on whether interference has taken place in the course of remaking and, if any, what (conservative/innovative) role(s) remakes have played in the culture repertoire. To this end, this research has employed polysystem theory as a general theoretical framework to examine television remakes from a sociocultural perspective. More critically, inspired by the model developed by Venuti, it has developed a methodological framework in order to investigate the production and reception processes of intra-medial transcultural remakes. Moreover, this study represents the first complete survey that presents the amount of intra-medial transcultural remakes having aired on Turkish networks from 2001, when the forerunners of television remakes in Turkish television history were put on the air, to 2020. I, therefore, hope that, this study, investigating intra-medial transcultural remakes, will on the one hand methodologically contribute to the existing research on AVT from the perspective of translation studies and on the other provide researchers with invaluable data on intra-medial transcultural remakes on Turkish television, thus opening up new avenues of research in AVT.

Applying polysystem theory to the research on translated television series, this research initially investigated the Turkish television repertoire between 1968, when the public broadcaster TRT was launched, and the period until 2020 in order to probe the role of translation and the position of translated television series in the history of Turkish television. I found out that translations have offered ways of building the Turkish television repertoire and they have played a conspicuous role particularly in the shaping of the Turkish television repertoire. I have argued that translation has played changing roles in time, namely formative, productive and enriching roles within

the repertoire of television series, from the establishment of Turkish television in 1968 until now. These series, to varying amounts, have provided Turkish viewers with alternative options in the forms of dubbing, subtitling and, lately, remaking. The perpetual existence of translations and their unceasing appearance in diverse forms indicates the stable and integral role of the practice of translation in the history of television series in Turkey.

Largely benefiting from the secondary sources provided by researchers on the history of Turkish television, my research recognized and then inspected three disparate yet interrelated periods of Turkish television. These periods are i) the phase of TRT's public service monopoly (1968-1990), ii) commercial broadcasting in the early 1990s and iii) the 2000s. It was revealed that imported television series markedly outnumbered indigenous television series between the years of 1968 and 1990. Given that TRT was in the process of being established and thus its repertoire was restricted, translation turned out to be the most fundamental means of filling its broadcast hours with imported foreign programs. Thus, it became evident that translated television series were an integral part of the Turkish culture repertoire throughout TRT's monopoly. In the second era of Turkish television, however, there occurred a dramatic drop in the number of imports and, accordingly, the conspicuous role of translation within the Turkish television series repertoire. As a result of this apparent decrease, imported television series no longer assumed a central position, thereby losing the stunning influence that they had had on the making of the Turkish television series repertoire in the first era.

This research further demonstrated that, in the beginning of the 21st century, the third phase of Turkish television, translations (subtitled and dubbed) ostensibly occupied a peripheral position and had no conspicuous influence on the repertoire of Turkish television series. Nevertheless, the corpus of intra-medial transcultural television remakes that I built for this research unearthed that the early 2000s hosted another form of imported television series, the intra-medial transcultural television remake, which began with the turn of the millennium and had a good run since then. That is, I recognized that intra-medial transcultural television remakes have been constituting new and alternative ways of introducing options to the repertoire of Turkish television series for some time, thus becoming the pillars of television

program production in Turkey. My corpus showed that ninety-nine acknowledged and unacknowledged remakes have been aired on Turkish television networks starting from the 2000s in order to supply and sustain the program content in Turkey.

In this research, television remakes are identified as cultural goods with foreign-language sources, remade for the Turkish audience within the circumstances of the Turkish sociocultural context by a wide variety of agents including, among others, television networks, producers and scriptwriters. In this regard, I claim that these non-indigenous television series have facilitated the sustainability of the firmly established conventions within the Turkish television series repertoire on the one hand and, on the other, led to their breach, which has brought with it a sense of foreignness and enrichment within the repertoire. Thus, in order to prove the theoretical assumptions that explain the presence and function of intra-medial transcultural television remakes in the Turkish television industry, I have offered a comprehensive methodological framework in order to examine multiple dimensions of the remake process. This methodology led me to generate meaningful data about intra-medial transcultural television remakes by undertaking a case study (the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*) and delving into the similarities and divergences emanating from a critical comparative analysis of *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (2011-2014). Depending on my analysis of the source and target shows, I argued that the simultaneous interplay of consolidating the home repertoire and resisting against it took place in each constitutive component of a given television remake with different intensities and in diverse manners. Overall, my research clearly showed that, even though research on television remakes appears to remain limited in quantity, remakes are a form of translation and they are likely to spark and develop many peculiar lines of research inquiry from the perspective of translation studies, just like more conventional forms of AVT such as dubbing and subtitling.

In this light, in Chapter One, I conducted a literature review of the selected scholarly works on adaptations and remakes with the intention of interrogating how studies on these cultural practices have evolved from past to present, and what they problematize. My analysis of the literature showed that a wide array of scholars from various disciplines, including adaptation studies, film studies, media studies, television studies and translation studies, have carried out critical works on adaptations and

remakes. The selected corpus of academic works included in this chapter embodies multiple theoretical, methodological, thematic, historical and critical standpoints. It appears that, in the 2000s, the number of books, academic journals and articles on adaptations and remakes grew noticeably and several conferences were held on these topics. My literature review further showed that adaptations and remakes were seldom questioned within the scope of translation studies, while research on these forms of translation has arisen as a subfield of research in translation studies only over the last five to ten years.

Chapter One contained four comprehensive subsections. The first one delved into the evolutionary phases of research on adaptations and remakes in adaptation studies. This part opened a discussion of the fundamental issues that have been matters of debate in adaptation studies over the years. It was revealed that adaptation scholars such as James Naremore, John Bryant, Julie Sanders, Linda Hutcheon, Thomas Leitch and Robert Stam pointed to some common topics including (i) the fundamental question of fidelity, (ii) the tendency towards the incorporation of a broader variety of cultural goods as research objects beyond the conventional novel-to-film relationship and (iii) a wider contextualization in adaptation research. For the first topic, my research demonstrated that even though comparative textual analysis dominates most of the research on adaptations and remakes and it is suggestive of the questioning of fidelity between texts, recent scholarly works have employed the notion of fidelity in such a way as to spark further debates within the larger intertextual social, cultural and ideological dynamics instead of being carried out in the form of recognizing deviations and making value-ridden comments on these textual deviations. For the second topic, it appeared that recent research started to distance itself from the conventional canonical cultural goods to investigate the adaptation of popular products such as songs and computer games. The shift from literary adaptations to non-literary ones has redefined what kind of adaptive practices deserve consideration for adaptation research. Moreover, concerning the third topic, which is the tendency towards contextualization, it became evident that adaptation scholars have endeavored to acquire more contextual information to incorporate into their research by dealing with numerous factors (such as industrial logics and viewing habits) that shape the modes of adaptation as well as their production and reception. As a result, as my survey

demonstrated, a broader contextualization of adaptations, that is, their multi-layered negotiation, turned out to be prevalent and inevitable in adaptation studies.

The second primary part of this chapter critically evaluated some previous theoretical and methodological approaches to adaptations and remakes in media and film studies. The examination that was made in this part revealed that research on adaptations and remakes by media and film scholars went beyond the conventional fidelity discourse. These scholarly works either adopted a taxonomic model and examined diverse ways of producing culturally adapted, local-language versions of cultural goods, or they thoroughly discussed the wide-ranging concerns and agents that take part in the process of adaptation/remake. Many of the selected scholarly works appeared to engage with the multifarious and dynamic nature of adaptations and remakes. Mostly based on case studies, where comparative analysis is prevalent, these academic studies referred to (dis)similarities between a source text and its target text(s) and they tied these similarities and differences in to a broader-level context in which the given adaptation/remake is embedded. Nevertheless, they fell short of providing comprehensive theoretical and methodological models for rigorous exploration that would reveal the complexities of the process in question. Moreover, they appeared unable to offer sufficient concepts and tools in order to map out the phases that are gone through in this process. The other point that these scholarly works were unable to resolve is the investigation of the process of reception, which intimately bears on the whole process of adaptations and remakes.

The next subsection of Chapter One presented the contributions of television studies scholars to research on television adaptations and remakes. My survey demonstrated that, compared to research on adaptations and remakes in the other disciplines examined, television studies provided relatively more definite theoretical and methodological frameworks that enable extended negotiation of multiple attributes of television adaptations and remakes. Many studies in this academic field of inquiry problematized and critically handled a wide variety of questions that allow for elucidating and evaluating research problems that television studies scholars have raised for discussion. Albert Moran's (2009b) tripartite scheme, which is suggestive for further attempts of developing a methodological framework for carrying out cross-cultural research on transnational television remakes, seems to be the most

comprehensive one (2009b: 42). According to Moran, the process of adaptation/remake can be divided into and inspected in light of three broad levels of textual coding, which include "linguistic-codes", "intertextual-codes" and "cultural-codes", fluctuating between the simpler and the more complex levels of text (46). Even though this tripartite scheme overlooks the matter of human agency, which is of crucial importance to consider during the remake process, it is notable in that it is one of the small number of models that provides a systematic methodology and enables extensive engagement with the adaptation/remake process by bringing to light diverse considerations such as viewing habits, political outlooks and generic attributes, among others. As for the selected case studies that were surveyed in this subsection, they demonstrated that research on adaptations and remakes in the area of television studies dealt with a wide range of conditions at macro, meso and micro levels, having considerable effects on the process of adaptation/remake. Nevertheless, my survey showed that most of these studies failed to take a holistic approach to the process of adaptation/remake, passing over one significant attribute or another during their investigations, and they further failed to provide thorough theoretical insights.

The last subsection of Chapter One exclusively showcased leading research on adaptations and remakes in translation studies. This part of the chapter demonstrated that the number of scholarly works on adaptations and remakes from the perspective of translation studies is very small. When it comes to the academic works specifically based on intra-medial transcultural television remakes, the focus of this doctoral research, this number is even lower within the scope of translation studies. The selected scholarly works showed that translation studies scholars have largely addressed the affinities between translation studies and adaptation studies, suggesting that the process of adaptation/remake, similarly to that of translation, involves an act of communication between the source text and its target version(s) as well as a variety of concerns that relate to their production context and the moment of reception.

An analysis of theoretical studies displayed that Cattrysse's suggestion based on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Toury's descriptive approach to translation offered essential tools for a coherent and systematic theory for providing greater understanding of the process of adaptation/remake. Making use of these two prominent scholars' approaches to translation and providing a common working definition of

translation and adaptation, Cattrysse suggested the examination of large corpora of adaptations/remakes and he enabled the problematizing of the (conservative/innovative) function of these cultural goods. Yet, he recognized that his proposal failed in providing analytical tools for a comparative textual analysis of adaptations/remakes and problematizing the reception process, which has a lot to say about how the cultural goods in question function within a given context. Venuti's suggestion also advanced the interrogation of adaptations/remakes and it introduced a more rigorous methodological framework for investigating them. Having benefited from a hermeneutic perspective, Venuti offered the concept of the interpretant supplying analytical tools to establish the systematicity in research on adaptations/remakes from the perspective of translation studies. Concisely, his theoretical and methodological proposal provided fruitful insights about describing and evaluating a great variety of changes in the adaptation/remake process, driven by numerous concerns and agents. As my literature review further revealed, Perdikaki also proposes a model for problematizing adaptations/remakes and, just like the previous suggestions, her framework is supported by the affinities between translation and adaptation and conceptualizes adaptation as a modality of translation. Her model consists of a descriptive component, which helps explore adaptation shifts in plot structure, narrative techniques, characterization and setting, as well as an interpretive component, which helps evaluate the driving forces behind the shifts detected in a given case. Yet, I have suggested that her model is formulated for an intralingual intersemiotic adaptation, or, in other words, novel-to-film in the same language, and I think its applicability to the interlingual adaptation/remake process poses some problems while analyzing the multiple dimensions and complexities of this process.

My analysis of case studies in translation studies has shown that these studies, largely conducted in the last five years, are mostly restricted to film adaptations and remakes, disregarding other types of adaptation/remake, one of which is television remakes. Critical comparative analysis based on similarities and divergences in the two (or more) texts constitutes an indispensable research method in this group of studies. It also appeared that many case studies mostly moved beyond a linguistic-oriented approach, viewing them as cultural goods, embedded within a particular sociocultural, historical and industrial context. Yet, only a limited amount of research

has dealt with the many integral components of the process of television remakes so as to ensure a holistic analysis of these complicated semiotic forms, and those works usually did not conduct an investigation regarding how television remakes are received by their target audiences. Furthermore, none of them sought to problematize how television remakes operate on a broader level, in which television remakes, indigenous productions and a number of sociocultural, political and industrial considerations that pertain to the television industry come into play. That is, they failed to critically elaborate the position and function of television remakes within a larger sociocultural context.

Following the survey of existing research around the world, it became evident that, in the Turkish context, there is not much interest in research on intra-medial transcultural television remakes from the perspective of translation studies. Even though my research has shown that television remakes have existed on Turkish television since the beginning of the 2000s, research on this topic has not captured the attention of translation studies scholars in Turkey, with the exception of Okyayuz's scholarly works. Providing a concise overview of the phenomenon of remake as an area of research in several disciplines, Okyayuz considers remake as a form of translation and her research paves the way for investigating television remakes from the perspective of translation studies in Turkey. Her textual analysis on television remakes provides only a general examination of the changes detected in the source television series and their Turkish remakes, since she does not draw on a comprehensive methodology in order to thoroughly analyze remakes by investigating macro level and micro level changes and what these changes tell us about, among others, sociocultural dynamics, industrial mechanisms and viewing moods in a given context at a broader level. Given that Okyayuz's research on television remakes rather seeks to introduce them as new and rich research material within the scope of translation studies, she does not problematize the position of Turkish television remakes in the history of Turkish television. In conformity with her purpose of providing an overall approach to the television remake process as a recently emerging line of research, the matter of agency concerning television remakes and the issue of reception are not thoroughly probed in her research, either. In Turkey, the other studies on television remakes in several disciplines other than translation studies are, similar

to works in other countries, product-oriented and based on comparative analysis. Though they discuss television remakes within the broader perspective of the sociocultural and industrial environment of the period, the interrogation of how television remakes operate on the whole television repertoire is missing in these works.

In this light, Chapter One suggested that the most evident reason for this lack of attention may be the fact that, compared to film remakes, it is exhaustive and labor-intensive work to collect, classify and evaluate data in the case of television remakes. This is because an average film is about two hours long whereas television series are usually broadcast once a week during a particular time slot and they are most often formulated as open-ended, without a pre-defined number of episodes, each of which ranges from twenty minutes to more than two hours. Therefore, it is challenging to pursue the narrative parity between a given television series and its target version(s). Additionally, due to the time span, the sociocultural, ideological, historical and economic dynamics that surround the production and broadcasting of television series are more multi-layered and complicated than those that are at play in the production process and release of films.

In Chapter Two, I introduced my theoretical and methodological framework. Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and his concepts of "culture repertoire", "import", "transfer", "option", "market", "institution", and "agent" served as the theoretical framework of this research (Even-Zohar 2002a, 2005, 2010). I also employed the concept of "interference" as introduced by Even-Zohar and later developed by Sela-Sheffy (Even-Zohar, 1990; Sela-Sheffy, 2017b). The theoretical and methodological framework outlined in Chapter Two helped me to investigate my corpus of television remakes within a descriptive, analytical, explanatory and interpretative framework. I compared and critically analyzed the position of indigenous and imported television series in the history of Turkish television in order to gain a better insight into the integral role of translation in Turkish television throughout the years. I thus analyzed remakes as a new form of translation introduced in the 2000s to the television repertoire in Turkey, and this form turned out to be a recognizable supplementary means of content production in Turkey. Moreover, I made use of the concepts of market, institution and agent in analyzing the roles of agents in the Turkish television industry who make decisions about the television programs to

be purchased, developed and broadcast. I suggested that these agents assume the role of either a market or an institution in terms of their scope of authority in the process of selecting, financing, producing and airing Turkish television series. Finally, I also described and analyzed viewers as important agents in the production process of remaking. All in all, Even-Zohar's approach enabled me to question the presentation and the motivations behind the television series remade within the television repertoire in Turkey. Moreover, I critically described and analyzed the complex dynamics of the process wherein television series, imported from foreign television markets into the Turkish television industry, are remade in the Turkish context and have a significant role to play in the domestic cultural setting.

Later in Chapter Two, I presented my data collection process and methodological framework. In collecting data on imported television series, I made use of secondary sources such as books by researchers on the history of Turkish television. Based on newspapers, magazines, academic studies, websites and the opening/closing credits of television remakes, I compiled a list of Turkish television remakes with foreign sources and examined it thoroughly. Thus, I benefited greatly from paratextual materials to contextualize the detailed comparative analysis conducted in Chapters Four and Five. Genette's concept of "paratext" enabled me to analyze a variety of both peritextual materials such as trailers and opening/closing credits and epitextual materials such as blogs, websites, newspapers and online forums in order to make my corpus. Paratextual materials also helped me provide information about source cultures, producers, scriptwriters, the status of a given remake (acknowledged/unacknowledged) and the way Turkish television remakes are conceptualized in their screen credits. In addition to these sources, I conducted interviews with television professionals engaged directly and/or indirectly with the development and production process of television remakes. The interviews provided information as to the development and production phases of television remakes, the role of agents in this process and the primary drivers behind the practice of remaking.

Lastly, I benefited from Venuti's methodological tool, based on the concept of the interpretant, so as to question what kind of interference occurred during the remake process. Venuti's methodology enabled me to address and delve into the multiple dimensions of the remake process and its complexities in consideration of a number of

components, including, among others, televisual norms, genre conventions and viewing habits and tastes. By means of the application of this methodology, I was able to critically examine an extensive set of parameters that concerned the remake process. In order to adopt a holistic approach to the analysis of television remakes, I offered new categories of interpretants in addition to Venuti's two comprehensive categories of interpretants (formal and thematic) and broadened their scope. I suggested five categories as a methodological framework: (i) compositional interpretants, (ii) media-systemic interpretants, (iii) social interpretants, (iv) intertextual interpretants and (v) thematic interpretants (taken from Venuti). I also added new subcategories within these five categories of interpretants. The critical analysis of the first four interpretant categories constituted the macro analysis of my case study. Alongside those four categories, I utilized Venuti's category of "thematic interpretant", and this category helped me describe and classify the prominent themes and evaluate the resemblances and divergences in their treatment by illustrating with examples obtained from a comparative textual analysis of the source show and its remake. This part was referred to as the micro analysis of my research. My micro analysis revealed a set of "indigenizing remake strategies" that occur in the remake process, namely substitution, omission and addition. These strategies illustrated the tendency of a given television remake to adhere to target culture parameters and mask the traces of its source. At the same time, I also found "confrontational remake strategies", including continuation and repetition by toning down. These strategies I suggest seem to enable television remakes to find ways of challenging established conventions and sociocultural constructs by means of offering alternative representations, images and models and going beyond the firm and restrictive frontiers of a target television repertoire.

Chapter Three consisted of two primary parts. In the first part, in order to provide additional insight into the context surrounding television remake production, I examined the history of Turkish television from its beginning in 1968 up to the present. Moreover, I provided background information about the debates revolving around Turkish television, television series, imported television series and the sociocultural and political dynamics of the time as well as media-systemic mechanisms throughout the years. My research on the history of Turkish television was completely

rested on the secondary sources produced by scholars mostly of television and film studies. My analysis demonstrated that, since its inception, Turkish television has gone through three eras, with the first being the era of public broadcaster TRT (public television channel) (1968-1990), the second one being commercial broadcasting in the 1990s and the third era constituting the 2000s. My analysis showed that translation has played formative, productive and flourishing roles in each phase of Turkish television. It also became apparent that translated television series were presented to Turkish viewers in the forms of dubbing, subtitling and, lastly, remaking. In this light, it can be argued that the incessant flow of imports and the presence of these different forms of translation display translation's integral role, its interference, in the history of television series in Turkey.

Concerning the first era of Turkish television, I found out that translations contributed to the making of the repertoire of Turkish television series and they played a notable role in the shaping of the repertoire of TRT through the introduction of foreign programs as options by means of dubbing and (sporadically) subtitling between the years of 1968 and 1990. Even though TRT had had restricted program content and viewership early on, it gained strength starting from its establishment in 1968 and the number of television viewers then rose steadily. As pointed out by Ömer Serim, TRT was projected to serve as the sole public service for two decades, aimed at providing education to the audience and foregrounding cultural content in consideration of its public broadcasting. Nevertheless, researchers concentrating on the first era of Turkish television history such as Aysel Aziz, Özden Cankaya and Ömer Serim assert that Turkish television was closely bound up with the political outlooks and cultural politics of the period in which it was launched and turned out to be an indispensable part of Turkish social life. That is, it was strongly influenced by the unfavorable concerns of Turkish politics in the 1970s since, back then, Turkey was about to go through remarkable social conflicts and politicians tried to control TRT. As a result, TRT's autonomous structuring was weakened and it became sensitive to political affairs and various sanctions with regard to program production, management and the use of its financial resources. In those times, entertainment shows lacking cultural and educational content dominated the television screen in Turkey. Among them, popular television series, particularly from the US, took the lead in terms of the

amount of time they occupied on Turkish television. Several decision makers or intellectuals of the time such as Anıl Çeçen, Cem İpekçi, Rıza Akdemir and Semih Tuğrul voiced their criticisms of such imported television series as *Dallas* and *The Love Boat* on the grounds that the images and lifestyles presented by them contradicted with the traditions and values of Turkish society and the first generation of Turkish viewers were distracted and fooled with such frivolous topics as betrayal and romance that these shows mostly revolved around.

The examination of Cankaya's (1986) list of all television programs broadcast on TRT between the years of 1968 and 1985 brought to light that US-origin programs accounted for almost three-quarters of the whole imported program repertoire in Turkey. Of course, as always, quantitative lists are hard to fully complete, and thus I made use of Volkan Yücel's (2014) research, which includes another list of television series aired on Turkish channels until 2009. Complementary to Cankaya's database, Yücel's list demonstrated that the number of imported television series was almost double the number of domestic productions between 1968 and 1990. Benefiting from these findings, I argued that imported television series, largely supplied from other national television systems such as those of the US, the UK and France, were introduced to Turkish viewers as options in TRT's early years when its own repertoire was yet to be created. The case of TRT supports Even-Zohar's hypothesis that, young systems' repertoires may be limited and this situation may lead them to be more receptive to other available systems, which were television industries in my case. That is to say, translation became one of the primary means of filling the lack in TRT's then emerging repertoire. In this regard, I also proposed that there occurred a willingness to consume those imported programs among the first generation of Turkish viewers back then. An investigation of the first era of Turkish television also showed that the introduction of purchased television series by TRT paved the way for various life images, which served as a contributor of potential models of life in the scarcity of locally-produced products.

As far as the second phase of Turkish television (1990-1999) is concerned, I found that, in the 1990s, Turkish television channels became more engaged in producing their own domestic series, pointing to the growing power of the local industry. Researchers such as Emre Kongar and Mine Gencel Bek highlight the

implementation of neoliberal politics in the 1980s, resulting in the launch and the rapid proliferation of private broadcast networks in the 1990s. The execution of parliamentary democracy in 1983 and the era of Prime Minister Turgut Özal also triggered the consumer- and client-oriented tendencies of the media industry. As a result of these developments, as my research unveiled, the media market appeared to be less under state control than the control of consumers of media products and the involvement of advertising agencies, which was an indicator of the primacy of commercial interests in broadcasting. For the purposes of my research, benefiting from Yücel's database, I found out that the shift from state monopoly to commercial network broadcasting seemed to have resulted in the loss of the central position of translation in the making of the Turkish television series repertoire. The number of imports (233) was about half the number of domestic productions (465). Thus, the dominant role of translations was seized by domestic productions. During this phase, Turkish television stations broadcast an increasing number of domestic television series, alongside the imported ones, which moved from primetime to daytime or late-night schedules and therefore pulled in conspicuously fewer viewers.

Nevertheless, my research revealed that, despite the loss of the imported series' central position within the repertoire in the 1990s, their three-decades existence seems to have enabled translated products to become a crucial part of the Turkish television repertoire. In Even-Zohar's terms, an integrated importation, that is transfer, of the genre of television series took place. In this sense, it turned out that imported television series integrated their semiotic model into the Turkish television repertoire and the emerging need to produce television series gave rise to the consolidation of the series genre in the Turkish television repertoire. So, it can be argued that purchased television series of the first era of Turkish television resulted in the creation of domestic products by serving as examples to be traced by the agents in charge of the production process. In addition to these, this era was identified by the end of TRT's public service monopoly, during which the program content was majorly monitored by TRT as an institutional agent empowered by the state.

The first part of Chapter Three also illuminated the third phase of Turkish television, the main focus of my research. The third era is the period from the early 2000s until the present day. My survey revealed that, in this era, the substantial supply

of domestic television series resulted in their supremacy in the prime-time slots of mainstream television networks. In comparison to previous phases of Turkish television, the rate of domestic television series production saw a stunning increase in the 2000s. Furthermore, locally-produced Turkish television series captured worldwide interest. The increasing amount of exports to other countries, ranging from the Middle East and the Balkans to East European and Asian countries, enabled Turkish television to come to be known as an exporter of content. This notable export performance of local television series is a testament to a major transformation in the Turkish television industry in the beginning of the 21st century.

I explored the ways in which the third era, the 2000s, harbored a wealth of translations in the Turkish television repertoire and how translation became a tool of enrichment in this period, concurrently embracing diverse forms of translated series. Yet, the third era witnessed the halt of subtitled and dubbed forms ("finished" foreign television series) on mainstream television networks. From a polysystemic perspective, it can be suggested that translations (subtitled and dubbed) seemingly assumed a peripheral position, having no noticeable impact on the repertoire of Turkish television series in this era. These programs appeared on encrypted networks, several open access thematic channels and digital satellite television platforms such as Digiturk and D-Smart, all of which, as asserted by Tanrıöver, appeal to very small group of viewers in Turkey. At the same time, the 2000s, pioneered a new form of translation, remade television series, involving adaptations of foreign scripts in conformity with local parameters. My research revealed that Turkish remakes of foreign television series have considerably risen in number and have become a recognizable alternative way of producing content in Turkey, significantly contributing to the television series repertoire. As pointed out earlier, the corpus of Turkish television remakes that I compiled for this doctoral research constituted ninety-nine (acknowledged and unacknowledged) remakes that have aired on Turkish television channels as of the 2000s. My research unveiled that, in compliance with the recent upward momentum in the amount of South Korean drama remakes in Turkey, overall remake production has significantly increased as of 2013. It was also found out that almost 90% of all Turkish television remakes had US or South Korean origins, while the remaining source cultures included Japan, Australia, the UK, Italy, Denmark,

Spain, Canada and Argentina. As the Turkish producer and director Fatih Aksoy emphasized, *The Nanny*'s Turkish remake was the first Turkish remake and it became the forerunner of the remaking tradition from American television dramas around the world.

I propose that Even-Zohar's hypothesis suggesting that even cultures with an extensive and multiform repertoire are likely to experience a deadlock as a result of the clogging of all alternative options held true for the case of Turkish television in the 2000s, since it reached a saturation point at which it become incapable of producing the range necessary for feeding off itself. Therefore, I suggest that the introduction of television remakes turned out to be a strategy to meet the need for increased options and work through this deadlock. In this regard, I further assert that the purchase and production of television series from foreign sources in Turkey during the 2000s reflected the ultimate phase of cross-cultural interference suggested by Sela-Sheffy, where similar cultural goods are produced in conformity with local conditions in another territory with the intention of attracting target viewers. That is, Turkish television remakes, initially purchased from their source cultures and then produced in consideration of the cultural particularities and industrial norms of the Turkish context, indicated "a clear case of interference" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming). In this sense, this research has viewed Turkish television remakes as cultural goods with foreign-language sources, remade in compliance with the Turkish sociocultural context, informed by a range of televisual norms and regulatory institutions as well as produced by a whole range of agents, such as the executives of television channels, producers, scriptwriters and directors.

Following the in-depth examination of the three phases that Turkish television has experienced thus far, the second part of Chapter Three revealed that the practice of remaking having become a tradition was acknowledged by all interviewees, including scriptwriters Hatice Meryem, Makbule Kosif and Yiğit Değer Bengi; an anonymous television content producer with the pseudonym "ranini"; director Müge Uğurlar; and reporter Birsen Altuntaş. The interviewees applied different terms to the recent ubiquity of this cultural practice. The descriptions given to the rapid proliferation of remaking television series to enhance their appeal in a particular territory elsewhere in the world included "tradition", "trend" and "cycle". As for the

underlying motives behind the prevalence of this practice, the assumption that remakes, which have been market-tested and proven abroad, minimize the risk of failure was in the lead for the case of the Turkish television industry. It appeared that the first reason for remaking is closely related to economic considerations and, accordingly, risk aversion aspects of the practice. This drive behind the remake process accounts for its increasing global appeal and it confirms the industry motto that suggests that a good idea can be supplied from anywhere. The other economic reason for remaking is these cultural goods' potential sale in different outlets. Another reason for the popularity of this phenomenon in the Turkish context concerned the previous absence of and indifference to the protection of intellectual property rights, which has been becoming more of an issue lately. In the case of the Turkish television repertoire, the lack of creativity, that is, creative philistinism, is among the top most leading causes of this cultural production. When available stories are depleted in a television series repertoire and a television system is unable to come up with creative and original ideas to produce new television series, it becomes usual to look at what is going on in other television systems. In addition to these points, one of the most common motivations behind this practice turns out to be television viewers' desire to watch television programs that are as akin to them as possible in many ways such as language, cultural attributes, historical references, shared knowledge, genre conventions and viewing habits, among others. My research explicated this motivation in terms of Joseph D. Straubhaar's concept of "cultural proximity" (1991). Alongside these drivers of remake, the particular attributes of Turkish television series, namely the average episode length, which is considerably long, and the high number of episodes per television season, enabled me to add one new reason for the propensity for remaking in the Turkish context. Based on the interview that I conducted with Meryem, my research suggested that, due to the abovementioned characteristics of television series production in Turkey, Turkish producers need to keep plenty of stories in stock in order not to hamper the flow of production. Given that the economic aspect of remaking is of utmost importance, the idea that a whole range of motivations behind remake production intend to minimize risk and secure profits seems reasonable.

In the second part of Chapter Three, I presented the corpus of Turkish television remakes between the early 2000s and 2020. I analyzed this corpus under six headings

in order to explore the Turkish television remakes' (a) source texts, (b) generic features, (c) source cultures, (d) production companies, (e) social agents and (f) presentation in paratexts. As my overall examination of the source products demonstrated, the introduction of television remakes into the Turkish television repertoire started in 2001 with the authorized remakes of *The Nanny* and *The Jeffersons* and this finding was acknowledged by researchers Sevilay Çelenk and Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver as well as television columnist Yüksel Aytuğ. My examination further revealed that almost half of the remakes in my corpus consisted of productions based on ideas obtained from foreign television series without any licensing agreement and cases of unacknowledged imitations of foreign television series appeared to be common in the Turkish television industry, though more sporadically in recent years. Whether they are acknowledged or unacknowledged, it appeared that it had become commonplace for television remakes to remarkably diverge from the basic tenets of their source texts and turn into a distinct entity with new plotlines after some time. I also recognized that sitcom remakes such as the Turkish remakes of *The Nanny*, *The Jeffersons*, *Who's the Boss?* and *Yes Minister* dominated the initial years of the remaking tradition in the Turkish television industry, although sitcoms and comedies are rarely remade in other cultures due to the varying sense of humor across the globe. However, as this tradition gained ground, a variety of other genres entered the television repertoire, such as thrillers and musical dramas. Concerning this issue, it also became apparent that, despite the supremacy of the blending of multiple generic attributes, the melodramatic modality has been prevalent in the remakes. My research has shown that the melodrama genre became habitual in the Turkish television repertoire due to Turkish television's incessant interactions with melodramatic narratives in soap operas and telenovelas imported from other television industries and its long-lasting dialogue with melodramatic Turkish cinema of the 1960s.

As for the source cultures that supplied resources for Turkish television remakes, the US and South Korea constitute the primary resources, whereas British, Japanese, Australian, Italian, Danish, Spanish, Canadian and Argentine cultures represent a smaller part in terms of the procurement of stories for Turkish television remakes. My list showed that the number of remakes has substantially risen since 2013 and this notable rise overlapped with the remarkably increasing amount of remake

productions based on South Korean television dramas. At this point, however, it is important to add that, although Turkish remakes from South Korean dramas overtook the rate of television remakes of US sources, the highest percentage of source culture for Turkish television remakes still belonged to the US until 2011, corresponding to 90 % of television remake production in Turkey. By then, out of 23 remakes in the repertoire of Turkish television series, 21 remakes were of US origins. According to the figures in my corpus, the US and South Korea now have similar market shares in remake production on Turkish television. Yet the remake tradition in the Turkish television industry started with the exploitation of American cultural resources. My examination suggested several reasons for the high percentage of the US-based television remakes in the Turkish television repertoire. These are: (i) the global superiority of US television, (ii) its long-term role as a chief creator and distributor of television content (iii) the long-lasting and sustained supremacy of US television series in the Turkish television repertoire, and (iv) the formation of the Turkish audience's viewing tastes in compliance with the domination of US television in the Turkish television repertoire.

The other major source culture that has contributed to the proliferation of television remakes in the Turkish television repertoire is South Korea. My research listed the underlying motivations behind the introduction of South Korean dramas as options for remake production and the list included the following driving forces: (i) the worldwide rise in the South Korean cultural economy, (ii) the prospering television industry in South Korea, (iii) technological breakthroughs and their impact on the formation of network media technologies serving as sites of communication and sociability, (iv) the growing power of fans and online communities as cultural agents and, perhaps most significantly (v) the cultural proximity of South Korean culture and the Turkish cultural sphere. Alongside these source cultures that provide resources for remakes in the Turkish context, my research also witnessed the use of steadily growing numbers of Japanese dramas as the base for Turkish television remakes. In particular, the Turkish remakes of female-centric Japanese dramas *The Mother*, *Anne* (2016-2017) and *Woman*, *Kadın* (2017-2020), earned spectacular ratings in their days of broadcasting and turned into mega hits.

My research also explored the distribution of the production companies as per their production of Turkish television remakes between the years of 2000 and 2020. As it was revealed, Medyapim is the leading content producer in the remake market in Turkey, with twenty-one remakes produced over the years. MF Yapim, notable for its specialization in television remakes of South Korean origin, goes after it with its production of thirteen remakes. Compared with these two major production companies generating 30% of all remake production, the rest of the production companies such as Endemol Shine, Ay Yapim, TMC and No Dokuz have a notably low market share in the repertoire of Turkish television remakes.

The subsequent primary part of Chapter Three focused on the matter of human agency in order to provide an overall picture of the remake process in Turkey. Benefiting from the interviews I carried out, it can be suggested that the development and production process of Turkish remakes points to collaborative work that entails the full interaction of a range of social agents. Among those agents, television series producers and scriptwriters come to the fore in terms of their scope of authority in the remake process and the larger roles they play in the end product. In this respect, benefiting from previous studies and the interviews I conducted, it can be argued that the role of producers is paramount, particularly in several regards. These agents are those who have extensive background knowledge and insight about the television landscape at home and abroad; attend international trade fairs where television format owners showcase their products; anticipate the expectations of broadcasters and potential audiences, have an intuitive sense of the audience' viewing taste; follow local political, economic and cultural trends; and control a group of scriptwriters. When it comes to scriptwriters, it becomes evident that their scope of authority is not as comprehensive as that of producers since they most often work under the command of producers and broadcasters who have the largest portion of profit in this process. Given that television remakes are by nature exposed to ongoing negotiations, similarly to the meaning invested in them, it can be suggested that scriptwriters manage a multilayered and continuous process. My examination of the interviews with several scriptwriters revealed that, despite differing in their workflow in the process of remaking, all of the scriptwriters I interviewed shared the fact that they usually keep the main theme, fundamental conflicts and basic narrative premises of the source text and view the

source television series as a template for the end product. Moreover, the outcomes of the paratextual examination of the opening and closing credits of Turkish remakes, serving as peritextual materials, enabled me to conclude that Turkish scriptwriters often adopt a teamwork approach. That is, they work in groups where the number of members generally ranges from two to over ten scriptwriters. Given the incessant changes within scriptwriting teams in the Turkish television industry, it can also be suggested that the writing phase of Turkish television remakes is apparently unsteady, which is in line with the overall instability of the Turkish television industry.

In the last part of Chapter Three, I examined many paratextual sources, such as newspapers, television magazines and Internet-based platforms, in order to unearth how Turkish television remakes were presented to the Turkish audience and what kind of reactions viewers had to these remakes in these platforms. My examination revealed that Turkish television remakes are most often referred to as an "adaptation" [uyarlama] in the Turkish media landscape. In parallel with their presentation as an adaptation in the media, the analysis of opening/closing credits and trailers of Turkish television remakes disclosed that "adaptation" is a much more popular naming for these cultural goods than several other alternative labels, very limited in use, such as "localization" [lokalizasyon] or "to Turkify" [Türkiyelileştirmek] . Yet, it appeared that the use of the terminology to denote television remakes is most often applied randomly, without paying attention to the differences among kindred cultural goods that might take different forms according to the shift of medium, narrative, genre and source material while moving from one culture to another. As for the viewers' reactions, it became apparent that just as no consensus has been formed among authorities and researchers on what label is to be used, it is also debatable whether Turkish television remakes are supposed to be remade in such a way as to abide by the home repertoire or need to embrace extraneous models and confront them.

In Chapter Four, I started the first phase of the case study, the macro analysis, in which I conducted a detailed comparative analysis. Given that my ultimate aim is to answer the question of in what ways interference has engendered following the introduction of television remakes to the Turkish television series repertoire, I performed a comparative textual analysis between *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012) and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* (2011-2014) through the use of Venuti's methodological

suggestion (formal and thematic interpretants), which I expanded with additional interpretants: (i) compositional interpretants, (ii) media-systemic interpretants, (iii) social interpretants, (iv) intertextual interpretants and (v) thematic interpretants. In this light, I carried out the critical analysis of the first four interpretant categories in Chapter Four, which illustrated a macro analysis of my case study.

The pair of television series and remake that constitutes my case study largely revolves around the mysterious suicide of one housewife and how her friends discover the underlying reason for the incident, with particular emphasis on the domestic struggles of four housewives. In both television shows, female protagonists express a lack of satisfaction in their lives and sink into desperation for fairly similar reasons, yet in different aspects and with varying severity. Even though both shows dwell on similar issues in a broader sense, the sets of considerations (such as viewing habits, censorship requirements, generic modifications and industrial rules) that they are driven by and dependent on, give rise to the interplay of differences and continuities during the remake process. In Chapter Four, I conducted an overall examination of this interplay based on four categories of interpretants.

In the first interpretant category, entitled "Compositional Interpretants", I identified and evaluated the basic constituents of both shows in light of two groups of compositional elements, with the first being "plot structure" and the second, "setting". As for their plot structures, *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake center on a similar basic sequence of events, the efforts of four female protagonists to figure out why their friend has committed suicide. Yet, the treatment of main plot points of both shows differs remarkably in the details. For instance, Gabrielle's secret love affair and sexual intimacy with a man other than her husband, constituting one of the most prominent points of the main storyline of *Desperate Housewives*, is treated quite differently in the Turkish remake in consideration of the cultural and institutional intolerance towards women's infidelity in the Turkish context. In the Turkish remake, the one who commits the act of infidelity is a man and, even more significantly, this issue is handled in such a way as to trivialize men's infidelity by narrating it as a simple act that stems from the uncontrollable male sex drive. In addition to such changes, the addition of new characters and the replacement of scenes with no dialogue by scenes with dialogue seem prevalent in the Turkish remake. These changes in the plot

structure extend the Turkish remake's length, which is suggestive of the remake's abiding by one of the established conventions of the Turkish television repertoire, namely the slow narrative flow and long duration of Turkish television series. Furthermore, taking a look at the bigger picture, it became apparent that *Desperate Housewives* seems to set a model of a storyline formula to be emulated by subsequent local productions in the Turkish television industry. The intertextuality between the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives* and several indigenous television series, such as *Gönül İşleri* (2014-2015)*, Evli ve Öfkeli* (2015-2016) and *Ufak Tefek Cinayetler* (2017-2018), can be interpreted that these women-led Turkish television series might have been inspired by *Desperate Housewives* and/or its Turkish remake in terms of their main plot structures that primarily draw on several female protagonists and largely depict what goes on in their lives. In this sense, it might be argued that, in terms of plot structure, the Turkish television series repertoire experienced interference with the Turkish remake of *Desperate Housewives*, which has provided the repertoire with a new option of women-led plotlines.

As far as the second compositional interpretant, setting, is concerned, the shift of setting, where the local production team can readily generate recognition with the Turkish remake by providing a credible image of Turkish society, presents far more differences than the first compositional interpretant entails. Given that the cultural contexts in which the two series are embedded are notably different, it appears that the local character of the Turkish remake is provided by means of references to typical Turkish habits, religious festivals, customs, classic Turkish-language names and culinary specialties. In this light, it can be argued that this subcategory of compositional interpretants is not likely to provide new and alternative images, models and/or any other attributes that would confront the dominant conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire. Rather, it contributes to the consolidation of the prevailing images of life in the Turkish context.

The second broad interpretant category, media-systemic interpretants, was divided into two subcategories, one examining the type of television networks that the two shows aired on and their audience profiles, while the other dealt with the matter of scheduling. As my examination showed, both television shows were on the air on mainstream television stations, which are often recognized for their tendency of

appealing to the largest portion of viewers as possible and their operation under certain prescribed conditions that are generally very limiting and strict. Given that both *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake had to handle the then-rising conservatism and authoritarianism in their respective media contexts and the growing consent to censorship within the television industry, both shows were obliged to follow the rules of institutional agents and they were fined by those agents on the grounds of exceeding the prescribed limits and airing nonconformist content. Yet, as I further explored, the two shows diverge in the extent to which they abided by the restrictions they faced, with the source show acting far more freely in its particular context. As for the second media-systemic interpretant, scheduling, it became evident that both shows were scheduled to be broadcast on Sundays in prime-time slots so as to capture female viewers, while men often watch football games and prefer sport channels on that day of the week. Nevertheless, in spite of the Turkish remake's rationale behind abiding by the scheduling decision of its source, it turned out that inconsistent scheduling arrangements, arising from fierce competition in the Turkish television industry, led the Turkish remake to appear on several different days of the broadcasting week. In addition to this, although the Turkish remake initially adhered to the already firmly established conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire in terms of duration per episode, its second television station, Fox TV, aired it two days a week in hour-long episodes. This can be interpreted as providing the Turkish television series repertoire with an alternative viewing mode inspired by US television industry's hour-long broadcasting mode, thereby confronting Turkish viewers' viewing habits. Overall, the fact that the Turkish remake was modeled in consideration of its source with regard to the mode of scheduling by curtailing its episodes by almost half indicated a particular case of interference in media-systemic traits between *Desperate Housewives* and its remake, whereby Turkish viewers were provided with an alternative viewing mode that was exceptional during the television season of 2013-2014.

The third category of interpretant examined in Chapter Four is social interpretants, that is, the factor of human agency. For the purposes of this research, I delved into two types of social interpretants, one of which concerned the role of scriptwriters during the remake process and the other the viewers and their reception.

In this regard, my examination unearthed that Marc Cherry and Hatice Meryem, the respective heads of the writing teams of *Desperate Housewives* and *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*, set out their scriptwriting processes on the basis of their observations about the real-life stories of ordinary woman they had close ties with. However, it appeared that, in the course of writing, Cherry focused his attention on the incidents and feelings that push women's limits and lead them to deviate from normative understanding of femininity, motherhood and housewifery, whereas Meryem was often focused on women's daily routines and conversations, avoiding depictions of the darker aspects of the female protagonists. The interview that I conducted with her revealed that, compared with Cherry, who is the writer, creator and executive producer of the source show, Meryem, limited in her scope of authority as solely a scriptwriter, was less free to realize what she envisaged in the process of remaking. This is because she had to negotiate with her producer, who acted in the capacity of her "employer" and had the right to order decisions to be put into practice. Moreover, this part of the research showed that Cherry's position as a self-proclaimed gay man and that of Meryem as a feminist woman influenced the writing processes that they carried out and enabled both the source show and its Turkish remake to deal with subversive topics, albeit in different aspects and to varying degrees.

The other sub-category of social interpretants explored how *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake were received by their viewers, emphasizing the viewers' interpretations of the Turkish remake's role in either sustaining the continuity of the established television repertoire or in instilling alternative images, models of life and viewpoints that worked to interrogate it. As for the source show, it became evident that although the show achieved big success in the ratings, it incited a struggle among its viewers and critics. Its polarized reception is related to the show's fluctuation between retaining conventional norms and values and violating them in such a way as to confront the prevailing social order in the US at the time. When it comes to the Turkish remake, my examination of viewers' reactions on Twitter, Ekşisözlük and YouTube revealed the viewers' polarized receptions. This is because the Turkish audience was engaged with a remake based on a foreign source, which requires a twofold negotiation, the first of which is watching the Turkish remake as a local

television series and the second is viewing it as a Turkish version of the foreign-language television series.

My analysis of the online comments about the Turkish remake uncovered that the Turkish remaking agents creatively reinterpreted the source show by making use of indigenizing remake strategies such as omission, addition and substitution. Most of the comments examined pointed to the tendency of domestication in the Turkish remake. In this regard, it can be suggested that the Turkish remake fostered the perpetuation of established conventions, images and representations in consideration of Turkish culture's sociocultural viewpoints, the cultural politics of television and media-specific components. The fact that there appeared almost no harsh criticism against the remake in the Turkish popular media can be evaluated as signaling the local production team's vigorous efforts to tailor the source script in conformity with the perceived cultural sensibilities and various local parameters. Yet, it was also revealed that the powerful tendency of indigenization resulted in a polarized reception discourse, where Turkish viewers evaluated it either positively, as suiting the Turkish context in many ways, or negatively on the grounds that it led to the loss of the source material's traces and a range of new images, representations and models that could be introduced into the Turkish television series repertoire and evolve it.

My analysis also demonstrated that a considerable amount of the representations, characters and storylines that appeared in the Turkish remake were evaluated by the Turkish audience as evident reflections of confrontational remake strategies. According to this view, the parts of the Turkish remake where confrontational remake strategies were employed served as contributors of potential models of life and introduced alternative life images into the Turkish television repertoire. Even though this reception discourse is less prevalent than the former one, it enabled me to recognize where the Turkish remake aroused a sense of novelty in the repertoire of Turkish television series, thereby disclosing a clear case of interference that occurred in the remaking process. As my examination pointed out, a large range of Turkish viewers acknowledged that the Turkish remake provided its viewers with new images of life, messages or models by undermining and blurring cultural boundaries. The presence of sexually loaded images, alternative representations of romantic relationships, unconventional portrayals of women and the existence of many

more funny storylines in the remake than in the then-popular Turkish television series were among the points that the Turkish audience referred to as indicators of the evolutionary potential of the Turkish remake. Nevertheless, similarly to the polarized reactions that indigenizing remake strategies generated, the use of confrontational remake strategies was either received positively, as working to question established prejudices, life images and assumptions, or was condemned, as overthrowing them. Pointing to the prevalence of non-local images, new representations and alternative themes, that is, the tendency of Turkish remake to confront local conventions, the Turkish viewers' reception of this remake helped me to more accurately demonstrate the innovative role that the Turkish remake played in the Turkish television series repertoire.

The fourth branch of interpretants that I investigated in this chapter constituted intertextual interpretants. The only intertextual interpretant that was analyzed within this category has to do with the particular genre of *Desperate Housewives* and its resonance in its Turkish remake. As this research demonstrated, taking into account that genre conventions are most likely to undergo substantial changes in different cultural settings and television industries and that they bear the traces of distinctive social affairs, intellectual viewpoints and ideological outlooks, it is of capital importance to critically compare and contrast genre attributes while investigating the intramedial transcultural television remake process, particularly paying attention to their sociocultural, historical and ideological context as well as the traditional artistic domains (literary works and films) that precede a particular genre within their contexts. My examination revealed that the source show exhibits the blending of several generic forms and conventions such as comedy, drama, thriller, soap opera and melodrama. Among these genres, I proposed that the source show predominantly fits in with the genre conventions of dramedy, i.e., a generic fusion of drama and comedy, in which drama and comedy are balanced on an almost equal basis.

As far as the generic form of the Turkish remake is concerned, it appeared that the show adopted numerous narrative conventions and expressive techniques typical of the genre of melodrama, the primary drive of which is to enable the sustainability of moral codes and ethical imperatives with the purpose of purging the social order. That is, I explored how the remake process of *Desperate Housewives* into the Turkish

context led to a considerable generic transformation, arising from the Turkish remake's adoption of narrative mechanisms and expressive techniques peculiar to the genre of melodrama. As was made evident in my research, as far as the intertextual category of generic conventions is concerned, the Turkish production team appeared to be much more predisposed to act in consideration of the "patterns of production […] inscribed by the local repertoire" (Sela-Sheffy, forthcoming). My examination of the relevance of the melodrama genre in Turkish literature, cinema and television showed that the extensive and long-lasting permeation of melodrama into the Turkish context particularly resides in and is closely related to its different forms of appearances in Turkish literature in the mid-19th century and Turkish cinema of the 1960s, which resulted in its transformation into a traditional type of narration in the Turkish culture repertoire. It became apparent that Yeşilçam movies, imitations of classical Hollywood movies, informed the repertoire of Turkish television series in terms of their semiotic models, narratives and dramatic conflicts, and Turkish television producers, following in the footsteps of these models, created their own models and generated Turkish television series. Consequently, it turned out that, in each phase of Turkish television, the genre of melodrama appeared in most of the Turkish television series in its purest form and it also influenced the other genres partially with its principal conventions, techniques and aesthetics. Yet, as my research argued, the introduction of the melodrama genre into the Turkish culture repertoire as an option and its subsequent transfer took place without critical and historical introspection. Rather, it was employed as a way of sustaining cultural production via imitation, taking the easy way out and, as a result, commercially profiting since the understanding of mass consumption-oriented production has been prevalent in the Turkish television series industry. Moreover, I found out that several pivotal and groundbreaking moments and traditions of Turkish culture account for the incessant recourse to melodrama in many indigenous and remade Turkish television series. For instance, as my research pointed out, the traditions of Turkish oral literature (such as tales and the tradition of public storytelling), Islamic mysticism and "Tanzimat" as the first conscious modernization process firmly triggered the melodrama genre to make its way in the Turkish context. Overall, it can be suggested that the Turkish remake's overemphasis on melodrama was largely inspired by the repertoire of Turkish

television series in which melodrama has assumed a central position and has had a major effect on Turkish viewers' local television tastes and modes of watching.

My comparative textual analysis identified that the Turkish remake made maximum use of melodramatic elements and expressive techniques, including, among others, heightened sentimentalization, polarized representations, and the tendency of establishing social order, as a result of which the tone of comedy was lowered, much unlike its prevalence in the source show. My analysis further disclosed that the overemphasis of the melodrama genre enabled the Turkish remake to represent its female protagonists as positioning in secondary roles in comparison to men, being stuck in the private sphere and acting in conformity with the conventionally established roles disciplining femininity and the female body. It was also revealed that the underrepresentation of sexuality in the Turkish remake is closely interrelated with the inclination of the melodrama genre in preserving the sanctity of moralistic conservative family values and rendering matters of sexuality invisible. As my analysis demonstrated, the other point in which the reliance on melodrama in the Turkish remake makes itself manifest is the frequent use of scenes amplifying the heightened dramatic effect by means of the use of songs, which is inherent to this genre's very existence. By any means, it can be concluded that the Turkish remake largely abided by local generic conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire, but at the same time it made use of comedy elements, though to a lesser extent, and thereby incited a sense of novelty in the target culture.

Following the macro level textual analysis conducted through the four broad interpretant branches, in Chapter Five, I benefited from Venuti's category of "thematic interpretant" and carried out a micro analysis in order to show how the process of interference took place on the textual level. In this light, this chapter attempted to explore how and why indigenizing remake strategies (addition, omission and substitution) and confrontational ones (continuation and repetition by toning down) were employed in the Turkish remaking process. The inquiry in this chapter was concentrated on the most dominant thematic concerns that the two shows revolve around. These themes included (i) women and femininity, (ii) sexuality, and (iii) family dynamics. It was revealed that, although the two shows address almost identical

themes, they often diverge in their contextualization and interpretation of the themes in question.

The first thematic interpretant analyzed in Chapter Five (5.2.) provided a comprehensive picture of the two shows in terms of "women and femininity" by cross-culturally comparing *Desperate Housewives* and its Turkish remake. The first impression that my examination disclosed was that the female characters' lifestyle in the source show can be evaluated as the evident repercussions of post-feminist thinking, which broadly suggests the accomplishment of the fundamental goals of feminism and the advent of an era in which women have the power to achieve whatever they want as long as they make sufficient effort. My research showed that this progressive aspect of the show also permeated the US media and several academic studies, wherein *Desperate Housewives* was evaluated as challenging binary gender roles and the traditional standards of femininity. As far as the Turkish remake is concerned, there appears to have been no discussion of the show's feminist content in the popular Turkish media. Yet, much like its source text, the Turkish remake addresses the actual state of modern women's lives within the Turkish context. In this regard, I suggested that the choice of *Desperate Housewives* as a source for the Turkish remake indicates the Turkish remakers' will to call attention to women's identities and their immediate encounters in everyday experience, whereby it makes way for debating a range of facets of women's estate on Turkish television.

My examination demonstrated that, like the American female leads who are also unable to abstain from the prevailing ideals of femininity defined in their cultural context at all, the female characters in the Turkish remake appear to willingly abide by norms concerning conventional standards of femininity. It is revealed that the issues of women and femininity are considerably recontextualized at the same time as the source show is remade in the Turkish context. Regarding this thematic interpretant, I identified a number of instances from the Turkish remake that reveal that, by means of indigenizing remake strategies, Turkish female characters are portrayed as openly displaying self-pity, habituated to being perceived as subordinate in the male-dominated society, embracing the regulatory norms disciplining femininity and frequently expressing their sensitive emotions through tears and gestures. The considerably high prevalence of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake

is suggestive of the Turkish remake's recontextualization in conformity with the target culture parameters and its functioning within the Turkish context without being considered a remake at all.

The appearance of submissive and unconfident female images in the Turkish remake, contributing to the perpetuation and consolidation of the firmly established representations of women in the Turkish television series repertoire, is accounted for by the Turkish remake's overreliance on melodrama, a generic form in favor of patriarchal thinking relegating women to a secondary role to men, associating them with the private domestic realm, and endeavoring to take control of their manners. Pursuant to the melodramatic feature of easy identification of characters lacking interior depth, the Turkish remake is revealed to offer its viewers simplistic female characters whose manners and feelings can be readily judged as either good or bad regardless of the gray areas in between. As is typical of the melodrama genre, Turkish female leads, depicted as morally elevated versions of their American counterparts, appear to announce their purity and moral viewpoints frequently and such representations of women help the reproduction of idealized female characters largely endowed with positive characteristics in the repertoire of Turkish television series. In light of these points, I have suggested that the instances in which indigenizing remake strategies are used in fact point to the remake process's creative interpretation, demonstrating how fidelity is subordinated and replaced by recreation in the process of remaking. The addition of scenes in which social stigma surrounds divorced women in the Turkish context and the traditional concept of honor in Turkish culture places a heavy burden on women is a manifestation of how the act of creativity becomes central to the process of intra-medial transcultural remake in the Turkish context.

As my comparative textual analysis further revealed, there are a significant amount of instances in which the Turkish remake benefits from the source show as a source of inspiration while addressing issues of femininity by having recourse to confrontational remake strategies. In those instances, the Turkish remakers seem to be trying to find a balance between adhering to the source material and tailoring it in consideration of the local parameters by selectively incorporating foreign and local cultural elements. A number of non-local images and representations that can be considered foreign to the repertoire of female characters in the Turkish television series

repertoire show up by means of the remake strategies of continuation and repetition by toning down. In this light, it can be suggested that the instances in which the Turkish remake appears to develop from its source provide a critique of the patriarchal ideals imposed on women in the Turkish context and they demonstrate how the remake process leads to new cultural formations involving both inclusion and exclusion of the conventional narrative formulas, storylines, and messages prevalent in the Turkish television series repertoire. It appears that confrontational remake strategies in the Turkish remake confront and thereby modify the established conventions of the Turkish television series repertoire to varying degrees by introducing alternative depictions and representations of women as options to the target culture. My examination of Turkish viewers' reception in Chapter Four also confirmed the incorporation of alternative portrayals of women in the Turkish remake, which worked to interrogate the traditional understanding of women and femininity in the Turkish context.

As for the second thematic interpretant (5.3.), the topic of "sexuality", my research illustrated that the Turkish remakers mostly omitted and/or toned down sexuality-related parts. I suggested that these strategies served a purpose of consolidating the home repertoire while at the same time confronting the underrepresentation of sexuality in the Turkish television series repertoire. My comparative textual analysis showed that the Turkish remake's tendency of adhering to local viewers' sensibilities and other local parameters considerably overweighted its tendency of confronting the Turkish television series repertoire. It becomes apparent in my analysis that, in the Turkish remake, the representation of sexuality is often completely eliminated by means of omissions and additions and, in some cases, it is toned down by substitutions. Taking into account the low level of tolerance towards the topic of sexuality in the public sphere in Turkey, it can be considered inevitable for the Turkish remakers to be less engaged with the topic of sexuality and to significantly diverge in its treatment from the source show. As my research also demonstrated, American television is likely to broadcast much more sexual content than Turkish television, thereby offering more freedom to its television series repertoire. Overall, through the use of indigenizing remake strategies, this thematic interpretant appeared to be handled in conformity with the parameters dominating the

Turkish television series repertoire where the content production takes place with regard to the understanding of traditional family, religious discourse and cultural conservatism.

As different from indigenizing remake strategies, confrontational remake strategies are revealed to make accessible what rarely appears and is widely liable to repression in the Turkish television series repertoire by bringing it to public attention. The fact that the Turkish remake presented a range of sexuality-oriented dialogues and images that would expand the boundaries of the representation of sexuality on Turkish television was also acknowledged by my examination of the Turkish viewers' responses. Given the repressive televisual environment in Turkey, the spread of alternative representations and the questions that those representations evoke in viewers' minds through the use of confrontational remake strategies are notable. It can be suggested that the introduction of alternative and assertive ways of approaching sexuality as options for the Turkish television series repertoire makes the Turkish remake's relationship with its source more evident. In this way, it enriches the repertoire of Turkish television series by providing new ways of conceptualizing and perceiving sexuality. My analysis further finds out that, in this interpretant category, the Turkish remake does not make use of the strategy of continuation, which suggests the retention of the ideas and images in the source material in as nearly the same way as possible. I explored how the Turkish remake embraces alternative representations and depictions in the matter of sexuality through the use of "repetition by toning down", a remake strategy that might enable the Turkish remake to proliferate ideas and images as similar to those provided in the source as possible.

As far as the last thematic interpretant (5.4.), "family dynamics", is concerned, in comparison to the other two thematic interpretants, the Turkish remake masks its source and exhibits its indigenous attributes the most. As my research made evident, even though the source show mainly revolves around family-related concerns and it provides diverse patterns of interactions among family members, my comparative textual analysis showed that the Turkish remakers attached even greater importance to the theme of family. My analysis revealed that this thematic interpretant category was entirely handled by the Turkish production team through the use of indigenizing remake strategies, which, on the one hand, facilitated the resonance of target culture

sensibilities and other local parameters in the Turkish remake and, on the other, enabled the remake to avoid foreign influences that might confront the Turkish television series repertoire. The overemphasis on family dynamics in the Turkish remake is also accounted for by the remake's generic transformation into the melodrama genre, one of the ultimate purposes of which is to preserve conservative family values. Besides this, the distinction between the Turkish culture's strong ties to collectivism and American culture's tendency towards individualism explains the divergent treatment of family dynamics in the source show, where independence and autonomy in family dynamics are salient, and in the Turkish remake which focuses on collectivist ideals, resulting in close-knit relationships and high levels of mutual support. Pro-family legislations concerning Turkish television also value the concept of family and its proper functioning, which is another underlying reason for the use of indigenizing remake strategies in the Turkish remake. Overall, it can be suggested that these strategies serve as a means of fostering the sanctity of family values and mitigating confrontational representations and images in the source show that might contradict this sanctity

In this light, it appears that the first indigenizing remake strategy, addition, enabled the Turkish remake to expand the number of family members in the Turkish remake and thereby highlighted the traditional Turkish family, family members' sensitivity to each other, and close-knit family relationships and so on. The other indigenizing remake strategy, substitution, helped the Turkish remake provide local family representations in which such unwritten societal norms and behavioral constraints as generational hierarchy, deference to elders and authoritative parenting styles come to light. The last indigenizing remake strategy that the Turkish remake often resorts to in this interpretant category is omission. It is shown that, through the use of omission, a range of touchy family-oriented issues in the source show, which are at odds with the presumed sensibilities of Turkish viewers and the idealized view of Turkish family, were erased in the Turkish remake. As a result, indigenizing remake strategies that consodilate the strong traditional focus on the family in the Turkish remake are reflected in its narrative treatment of, among others, the idealized view of family, modes of parenting and respect for marriage and family as institutions.

Taking into account all of these points, when the two television series are thematically compared, it can be argued that *Desperate Housewives* is a subversive television show in terms of addressing assertive themes, whereas its Turkish remake cannot be viewed straightforwardly as subversive. Yet, featuring a primarily female cast and describing the complexities of their characters' lives by providing new images and alternative representations of women that confront the Turkish television series repertoire to varying degrees can be evaluated as evident signs of evolution in the repertoire of Turkish television series in terms of the narrative treatment.

In light of the historical overview of the three phases of Turkish television and the critical comparative analysis of the case study, it can be asserted that Turkish television series remakes were introduced as options to Turkish viewers in the early 2000s and have settled into place as a new form of program provision in the Turkish television repertoire mostly after advanced market testing in the source country. This new way of program provision is also an indicator of an alternative form of translation that has a more free and less predictable relationship with its source text in comparison to more conventional forms of AVT. As my research found out, Turkish television remakes have been produced by Turkish local production teams that are given a good deal of autonomy in the remake process and largely abide by local cultural sensibilities and local viewing tastes. Yet, my research also disclosed that, in spite of the high degree of indigenization, Turkish television series remakes also usher in the evolution of the firmly established conventions within the Turkish television series repertoire and push the boundaries of the prevailing sociocultural constructs by offering some alternatives in return for them.

Thus, I have claimed that Turkish television series remakes indicate a clear case of interference within the Turkish television series repertoire, involving remakes of foreign scripts for local circumstances and making progressive contributions to the television series repertoire in Turkey. They have played both conservative and innovative roles in the culture repertoire, and the effects of these roles within a broader context have varied in each category of interpretant and within their subcategories. By any means, Turkish remakes of foreign origins, having swiftly reached a notable quantity and having become an additional means of producing content in Turkey, continue to be characterized by their simultaneous recourse to indigenizing and

confrontational remake strategies, or, in other words, by their urge to indigenize and confront the Turkish television series repertoire concurrently. Accordingly, this research has revealed that, even though intra-medial transcultural remakes most often indicate the naturalization of foreign-origin television shows through indigenization, they also have great capacity for unveiling their origins, thereby revealing the potential for confronting the firmly established conventions within a given television repertoire and enriching that repertoire.

Alongside this, I hope that the theoretical (Even-Zohar, Sela-Sheffy and Toury) and methodological tools (paratextual materials, interviews, online blogs and trailers) used in the present study to illuminate the position and function of intra-medial transcultural remakes within the Turkish television repertoire will stimulate further research on intra-medial transcultural remakes from a broader sociocultural perspective. Complementing Venuti's suggestion of interpretants, the textual analytical tools offered in this research will further enable an overall view of the development, production and reception processes of television remaking. These new interpretants with indigenizing and confronting remaking strategies will provide an opportunity for examining the multiple ways through which a television series is remade in different languages and cultural milieus. I also think that the corpus of intra-medial transcultural remakes built for this present research will provide researchers with a useful dataset and encourage them to carry out diverse studies on intra-medial transcultural remakes on Turkish television.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Corpus of Intra-Medial Transcultural Television Remakes in Turkey (2001-2020)

Year (of Broadcasting in Turkey)	Target Title	Source Title	Source Culture	Production Company	Legal Status	Concept (used in the opening/closing credits to define the Turkish remake)	Scriptwriter/ Scriptwriting Team
2001	*Dadı*	*The Nanny*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Türkçe adaptasyon (lit.,Turkish adaptation)	Ülkü Tamer
2001	*Tatlı Hayat*	*The Jeffersons*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Türkçe adaptasyon (lit.,Turkish adaptation)	Haluk Özen Bora Tekay
2001	*Cinlerle Periler*	*Charlie's Angels*	American	Yağmur Ajans	Unauthorized	—	Nuran Devres
2002	*Aslı ile Kerem*	*Dharma Greg*	American	MEDYAPIM	Unauthorized	—	Haluk Özenç Hüseyin Kaya Saygın Delibaş Fethi Kantarcı
2002	*Koçum Benim*	*The White Shadow*	American	Replik Ajans	Unauthorized	—	Yonca Akasya Melek Gençoğlu Ece Yörenç
2003	*Patron Kim?*	*Who's the Boss?*	American	Cansu Akbel	Authorized	Türkçe adaptasyon (lit.,Turkish adaptation)	Murat Dişli
2004	*Evli ve Çocuklu*	*Married with Children*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Yılmaz Öztürk
2004	*Metro Palas*	*Sex and the City*	American	Base Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Sergin Akyaz
2004	*Sayın Bakanım*	*Yes Minister*	British	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Haluk Özenç
2005	*Belalı Baldız*	*Hope and Faith*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	özgün formatı….aittir. (lit., its original format belongs to…)	Haluk Özenç Engin Altun Osman Altun
2005	*Çat Kapı*	*Three's Company*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Yüksel Yokolma

2005	*Düşler ve Gerçekler*	*Rich Man, Poor Man*	American	D Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Barış Pirhasan Senaryo Stüdyosu
2005	*Sensiz Olmuyor*	*Ugly Betty*	American	Rain Production	Unauthorized	—	Hayal Tacirleri
2006	*Acemi Cadı*	*Sabrina*	American	D Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Haluk Özenç
2006	*Doktorlar*	*Grey's Anatomy*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	…dizisinden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from...)	3 KALEM
2006	*Arka Sokaklar*	*CSI*	American	Erler Film	Unauthorized	—	Ahmet Yurdakul Ozan Yurdakul Türker İnanoğlu
2006	*Fırtınalı Aşk*	*Storm of Love*	German	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo adaptasyon (lit., script adaptation)	Tolga Küçük Kaan Koç Zeynep Kıymet Özcanlı
2007	*Parmaklıklar Ardında*	*Hinter Gittern - Der Frauenknast*	German	Ayşe Durukan/Uğur Başaran	Unauthorized	—	Feride Çiçekoğlu
2007	*Kavak Yelleri*	*Dawson's Creek*	German	TIMS	Unauthorized	—	Yiğit Güralp Nükhet Bıçakçı Pınar Ordu Yılmaz Şahin Ekin Atalar
2007	*Hakkını Helal Et*	*My Name is Earl*	American	Samanyolu	Unauthorized	—	Eflatun Şirket-i Hayriye Aslı Arıcı

2008	*Bir Kadın Bir Erkek*	*Un Gars, Une Fille*	Canadian	Altınoklar/Bando Yapım	Authorized	Adaptasyon (lit., adaptation)	Meriç Acemi Utku Gürtunca Zeki Enes Akkan Sadık Bigat Levent Pala Pelin Yılmaz
2009	*Altın Kızlar*	*The Golden Girls*	American	Play Prodüksiyon	Authorized	Senaryo adaptasyon (lit., script adaptation)	Cenk Sönmezsoy Şebnem Çıtak Feride Çiçekoğlu
2010	*Mükemmel Çift*	*The Succesfull Mr. and Mrs. Pells*	Argentine	Tims Productions	Unauthorized	—	Ahmet Saatçioğlu
2010	*Cuma'ya Kalsa*	*According to Jim*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo adaptasyon (lit., script adaptation)	Erol Hızarcı
2010	*Kanıt*	*CSI*	American	Ans Productions	Unauthorized	—	Selin Atasoy Ahmet Saatçioğlu
2010	*Küçük Sırlar*	*Gossip Girl*	American	Tims Productions	Unauthorized	—	Gökçe Durat Bal Nükhet Bıçakçı
2011	*Artı 18*	*Friends*	American	Zodyak Productions	Unauthorized	—	Haluk Özenç
2011	*Kuzey Güney*	*Rich Man, Poor Man*	American	Ay Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Melek Gençoğlu Ece Yörenç
2011	*Karakol*	*The Shield*	American	NTC Medya	Unauthorized	—	Özge Efendioğlu Ali Can Yaraş
2011	*Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*	*Desperate Housewives*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Meryem Gür

2011	*Beni Affet*	*Temptation of an Angel*	Korean	Focus Film	Unauthorized	—	Merve Ateşoğlu Vural Balıkçı Diğdem Şenyücel Baran Yıldırım Ayşem Özge Yoldaş
2011	*Yamak Ahmet*	*Dae j-Jang Geum*	Korean	Okur Film	Unauthorized	—	Ramazan Demirli Eda Tezcan
2012	*Muck*	*Glee*	American	Plato Film Production	Unauthorized	—	Meriç Acemi Can Sarcan
2012	*Emir'in Yolu*	*The Man from Nowhere*	Korean	MEDYAPIM	Unauthorized	—	Melis Civelek Sırma Yanık
2013	*İntikam*	*Revenge*	American	InDhouse	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Meriç Acemi Berkun Oya
2013	*Galip Derviş*	*Monk*	American	Barakuda Film	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Cenk Aksoyer Yasemin Aykurt Eren Danışman Aylin Doğan Algı Eke Alper Emin Azime GÜÇ Dogu GÜLEÇ Barış Pirhasan Ahmet Saatçioğlu
2013	*Medcezir*	*The O.C.*	American	Ay Yapım	Authorized	…dizisinden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from...)	Ece Yörenç Pelin Taran Cura Burcu Gorgun Toptaş Melek Gençoğlu
2013	*Görüş Günü Kadınları*	*Prisoners' Wives*	British	NTC Medya	Unauthorized	—	Özgür Evren Heptürk

2013	*Altındağlı*	*The Sopranos*	American	Süreç Film	Authorized	Uyarlama (lit., adaptation)	Ahmet Saatçioğlu Elif Karakevik Bahar Feyzan
2013	*Sana Bir Sır Vereceğim*	*Los Protegidos*	Spanish	Scor Films	Authorized	Orijinal Hikaye (lit., original story)	Ebru Hacıoğlu Ethem Özışık Hilal Yıldız
2013	*Osmanlı Tokadı*	*Rooftop Prince*	Korean	Duka Film	Unauthorized	—	Resul Ertaş Necati Şahin
2013	*Hıyanet Sarmalı*	*Giant*	Korean	Ser Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Serkan Birlik
2013	*Bir Aşk Hikayesi*	*I'm Sorry, I Love You*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Cemal Şan
2013	*Güneşi Beklerken*	*Boys over Flowers*	Korean	D Productions	Unauthorized	—	Ayşin Akbulut Ekin Atalar Cüneyt Bolak Aksel Bonfil Deniz Dargı Gökhan Horzum
2013	*Aşk, Ekmek, Hayaller*	*Bread, Love and Dreams*	Korean	Ans Productions	Unauthorized	—	alperZ Meriç Acemi
2014	*Cinayet*	*Forbrydelsen*	Danish	Akbel Film&Adam Film	Authorized	…dizisinden uyarlanmıştır (lit., adapted from...)	Sema Ali Erol Gülden Çakır Mahir Erol Kemal Kocatürk
2014	*Şeref Meselesi*	*L'Onore e il Rispetto*	İtalian	D Productions	Authorized	orijinal yapımından uyarlanmıştır… (lit., adapted from its original production)	Mahinur Ergun Seray Şahiner Melih Çam
2014	*Ulan İstanbul*	*Leverage*	American	D Productions	Unauthorized	—	Uğraş Güneş Işıl Sönmez Sarhan Can Yücel
2014	*Paramparça*	*Autumn Tale*	Korean	Endemol Shine Turkey	Authorized	…dizisinden esinlenilerek yazılmıştır. (lit., (written by inspiration of…)	Yıldız Tunç

2014	*Kocamın Ailesi*	*My Husband Got a Family*	Korean	Mia Yapım	Authorized	yurtdışı format yazarı (lit., (its original format/scriptwriter)	Şeyda Delibaşı Versa Pars Nuray Uslu
2014	*Günahkar*	*Nice Guy*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Makbule Kosif Gürsev Karagöz Nalan Merter Savaş Zafer Özer Çetinel
2014	*Kiraz Mevsimi*	*A Gentleman's Dignity*	Korean	Süreç Film	Unauthorized	—	Gökhan Horzum Aksel Bonfil Hakan Bonomo Pinar Bahar Aksakalli Gülsev Karagöz Makbule Kosif Özer Zafer Çetinel Fikret Bekler Kerim Ceylan Aysen Günsu Teker Irmak Bahçeci Engin Elgün Ferhat Ergün Melisa Kesmez Saygın Delibaş Fethi Kantarcı
2015	*Bana Baba Dedi*	*Baby Daddy*	American	TV8 İç Yapımlar	Authorized	In association with...	Haluk Özenç
2015	*Tatlı Küçük Yalancılar*	*Pretty Little Liars*	American	O3 Medya	Authorized	…esinlenilerek geliştirilmiştir. (lit., developed by inspiration of)	Elif Usman

2015	*Hayat Mucizelere Gebe*	*Jane The Virgin*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Meryem Gül
2015	*İlişki Durumu Karışık*	*Full House*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt Volkan Yazıcı Ayşin Akbulut Emre Bülbül Tükenmez Kalem Gani Müjde Seçil Çömlekçi
2015	*Mayıs Kraliçesi*	*May Queen*	Korean	Mint Film Yapımcılık	Authorized	uyarlama senaryo (lit., adapted script)	Emre Kavuk
2015	*Eve Dönüş*	*Birth of Beauty*	Korean	Yapım Atölyesi	Unauthorized	—	Ahmet Saatçioğlu Gülsev Karagöz Özer Çetinel Melis Veziroğlu Yılmaz
2015	*Beyaz Yalan*	*Bride of the Century*	Korean	NTC Medya	Unauthorized	—	Hayriye Ersöz
2015	*Baba Candır*	*What Happens to My Family*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	…esinlenilerek uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted by inspiration of…)	Tayfun Güneyer
2015	*Kiralık Aşk*	*Can Love Become Money*	Korean	Ortaks Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Meriç Acemi İlker Barış
2015	*Çilek Kokusu*	*The Heirs*	Korean	Gold Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Banu Zengin Tak Aslı Zengin
2015	*Acı Aşk*	*Cruel Love*	Korean	TMC	Authorized	…adlı diziden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the TV series...)	Kerem Deren

2015	*Maral: En Güzel Hikayem*	*Panda and Hedgehog*	Korean	TV8 İç Yapımlar	Unauthorized	—	Yazı Odası Gökhan Horzum Korcan Derinsu Caner Yalçın Hazar Kozice Serpe Yener
2015	*Acil Servis*	*ER – Emergency Room*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Sinan Sülün
2016	*46 Yok Olan*	*Breaking Bad*	American	Nunova	Unauthorized	—	Ercan Mehmet Erdem
2016	*Hayat Şarkısı*	*Flames of Desire*	Korean	Most Production	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Melih Cam Mahinur Ergun Ipek Kadılar Halide Meriç
2016	*Aile İşi*	*Fake Family Service*	Korean	NTC Medya	Authorized	…adlı diziden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the TV series...)	Özgür Evren Heptürk Ferhat Ergün
2016	*Tatlı İntikam*	*Get Karl Oh Soo Joong*	Korean	D Productions	Unauthorized	—	İlker Arslan Pınar Ordu
2016	*Kış Güneşi*	*Resurrection*	Korean	Endemol Shine Turkey	Authorized	…dizisinden uyarlanarak yazılmıştır. (lit., rewritten based on an adaptation)	Ayça Mutlugil Alev Toprakoglu Uzma Hale Çalap Erkan ÇIplak
2016	*Aşk Yalanı Sever*	*My Girl*	Korean	Mia Yapım	Authorized	…diziden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the TV series...)	Şeyda Delibaşı Verda Pars
2016	*Rüzgarın Kalbi*	*Summer Scent*	Korean	Filmevi Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Özge Efendioğlu

2016	*Seviyor Sevmiyor*	*She was Pretty*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	…eserinden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the work...)	Aksel Bonfil Hakan Bonomo
2016	*Gülümse Yeter*	*Smile, Honey*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt
2016	*No:309*	*Fated to Love You*	Korean	Gold Yapım	Unauthorized	—	Banu Zengin Tak Aslı Zengin
2016	*Yüksek Sosyete*	*High Society*	Korean	Bi Yapım	Authorized	format sahibi (lit., its format owner...)	Cansu Çoban Yazı Odası Ayça Üzüm
2016	*Anne*	*The Mother*	Japanese	MEDYAPIM&MF Yapım	Authorized	..based on…	Deniz Gürlek Melih Özyılmaz Melek Seven Uygar Şirin Berfu Ergenekon
2017	*Bizim Hikaye*	*Shameless*	British	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Elif Asılkefeli Yeter Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt Hatice Meryem Ebru Hacıoğlu Verda Pars Seray Şahiner
2017	*Babamın Günahları*	*Two Weeks*	Korean	Ans Productions	Unauthorized	—	Ahmet Saatçioğlu
2017	*Hayat Sırları*	*My Father is Strange*	Korean	Most Production	Authorized	…adlı diziden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the TV series...)	Mahinur Ergun Halide Meriç Melih Cam
2017	*Aslan Ailem*	*Oyakgyo Brothers*	Korean	ES Film	Authorized	…adlı eserinden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the work...)	Ayça Mutlugil Nuray Uslu
2017	*Cennetin Gözyaşları*	*Tears of Heaven*	Korean	Süreç Film	Authorized	…uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from...)	Yekta Torun

2017	*Kalp Atışı*	*Doctors*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	…uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from...)	Makbule Kosif Eda Tezcan Melis Veziroglu Yılmaz Ahmet Ruhan Arca Meryem Demili Gülsev Karagöz Özer Zafer Çetinel Ebru Hacıoğlu Verda Pars
2017	*Meryem*	*Secret Love*	Korean	TMC	Authorized	…uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from...)	Meryem Gültabak İlke Gürsoy Emre Özdür
2017	*Dolunay*	*My Secret Romance*	Korean	No Dokuz Productions	Unauthorized	—	Fikret Bekler Elif Ozsut Aysen Günsu Teker Kerim Ceylan Zeynep Arslanpay
2017	*Kadın*	*Woman*	Japanese	MEDYAPIM&MF Yapım	Authorized	…based on…	Hande Altaylı
2017	*Avlu*	*Wentworth*	Australian	Limon Film	Authorized	Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Özge Aras Mehmet Güzelbeyoğlu Caner Yalçın Ahmet Yurdakul Cafer Özgül Ayça Üzüm
2017	*Tehlikeli Karım*	*My Dangerous Wife*	Japanese	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Nalan Merter Savaş Vilmer Özçınar

2017	*Komşular*	*Neighbours*	Australian	No Dokuz Productions	Authorized	…adlı diziden uyarlanmıştır. (lit., adapted from the TV series...)	Zehra Çelenk
2018	*Bir Litre Gözyaşı*	*One Liter of Tears*	Korean	MEDYAPIM&MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Gül Meriç Özen Sertaç Ergin Neşe Şen Peri Oruç
2018	*Kızım*	*My Lady Fair*	Korean	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Banu Kiremitçi Irmak Bahçeci Emre Erkan
2018	*Elimi Bırakma*	*Shining Inheriance*	Korean	Üs Yapım	Authorized	Format (lit., format)	Nilüfer Aydın Serap Özgür
2019	*Bir Aile Hikayesi*	*This is us*	American	MEDYAPIM	Authorized	Uyarlama Senaryo (lit., adapted script) Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Deniz Madanoğlu
2019	*Mucize Doktor*	*Good Doctor*	Korean	MF Yapım	Authorized	Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Pınar Bulut Onur Koralp
2019	*Aşk Ağlatır*	*Love That Makes You Cry*	Japanese	MF Yapım	Authorized	Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Esen Ali Bilen Merve Engin
2019	*Hekimoğlu*	*House M.D.*	American	KargaSeven Pictures	Authorized	Uyarlama Senaryo (lit., adapted script) Orijinal Senaryo (lit., original script)	Banu Kiremitçi Bozkurt
2020	*Öğretmen*	*Homeroom*	Japanese	MEDYAPIM&MF Yapım	Authorized	Senaryo uyarlama (lit., script adaptation)	Merve Girgin Aytekin
2020	*Hizmetçiler*	*Ellas son La Alegria Del Hogar*	Mexican	Fabrika Yapım	Authorized	Orijinal Format (lit., original format)	Makbule Kosif Gülsev Karagöz Zafer Özer Çetinel Ruhan Arca Alper Alpozgen Nezihe Dikilitaş
2020	*(forthcoming)*	*Is Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon?*	Indian				

Appendix 2: The amount of all domestic and foreign television series, cartoons, animations as well as children and youth television programs having aired on Turkish networks until 2009.

EK 1

YERLİ/YABANCI DİZİ (1970-2009)
VE YERLİ/YABANCI ÇOCUK, GENÇLİK VE ANİMASYON DİZİ (1971-2009)
VE YERLİ FİLM (1914-2009) SAYILARI

Kanal değiştirenler dâhil, dizilerin "İLK" YAYIN tarihleri ve yabancı dizilerin GÖSTERİM adları dikkate alınmış (gösterim ve orijinal adları aynı olanlar, sırf orijinal yayın yılı; olmayanlar orijinal yayın adı ve yılıyla verilmiş), aynı yayın-isimliler ya da yıllar içinde içerik değiştiren yapımlar Türkiye yayın yılları eklenerek yazılmıştır. Orijinal adı aynı olanlar tekrar belirtilmemiştir. Belgesel dramalar sayılmış; çocuk/gençlik, çizgi, animasyon ve kukla diziler "birlikte" sayılmış; (*Milliyet* ve *Cumhuriyet*'e göre) reality/tek kişilik "show", yarışma ve tek bölümlü oyun ya da "SÜREKLİ bir öykü ya da karakter" içermeyen programlar ya da yayımlanmamış diziler atlanmıştır. 2006-2009 arası çekilen film sayısı belirsiz olduğundan dizinlenip sayılmış ve sayıma Türkiye (ortak) yapımcılı film ve belgeseller dâhil edilmiştir (1914-2005 arası film dizini için ayrıca bkz. Özgüç 1997, s. 100 ve E. Tunç 2006, s. 118).

Yıl	Yerli dizi sayısı	Yerli çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yabancı dizi sayısı	Yerli çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yerli film sayısı	Yıl	Yerli dizi sayısı	Yerli çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yabancı dizi sayısı	Yabancı çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yerli film sayısı
1914	0	0	0	0	1	1962	0	0	0	0	131
1915	0	0	0	0	0	1963	0	0	0	0	117
1916	0	0	0	0	2	1964	0	0	0	0	181
1917	0	0	0	0	3	1965	0	0	0	0	215
1918	0	0	0	0	1	1966	0	0	0	0	241
1919	0	0	0	0	5	1967	0	0	0	0	209
1920	0	0	0	0	0	1968	0	0	0	0	177
1921	0	0	0	0	3	1969	0	0	0	0	231
1922	0	0	0	0	3	1970	0	0	1	0	224
1923	0	0	0	0	3	1971	0	0	0	2	265
1924	0	0	0	0	1	1972	0	0	2	4	300
1925	0	0	0	0	0	1973	0	1	4	0	209
1926	0	0	0	0	0	1974	7	0	7	8	189
1927	0	0	0	0	0	1975	13	0	15	5	225
1928	0	0	0	0	2	1976	1	0	23	7	164
1929	0	0	0	0	1	1977	15	1	24	9	124
1930	0	0	0	0	0	1978	8	0	23	10	126
1931	0	0	0	0	1	1979	15	0	20	8	193
1932	0	0	0	0	1	1980	13	0	13	2	68
1933	0	0	0	0	7	1981	11	0	18	6	71
1934	0	0	0	0	3	1982	10	0	18	6	72
1935	0	0	0	0	0	1983	7	0	19	2	78
1936	0	0	0	0	0	1984	9	0	28	13	126

Source: Yücel, V. (2014). *Kahramanın yolculuğu: Mitik erkeklik ve suç draması*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Yıl	Yerli dizi sayısı	Yerli çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yabancı dizi sayısı	Yerli çocuk, gençlik, animasyon dizi sayısı	Yerli film sayısı
1937	0	0	0	0	1
1938	0	0	0	0	1
1939	0	0	0	0	4
1940	0	0	0	0	4
1941	0	0	0	0	2
1942	0	0	0	0	4
1943	0	0	0	0	2
1944	0	0	0	0	4
1945	0	0	0	0	2
1946	0	0	0	0	6
1947	0	0	0	0	12
1948	0	0	0	0	18
1949	0	0	0	0	19
1950	0	0	0	0	22
1951	0	0	0	0	36
1952	0	0	0	0	56
1953	0	0	0	0	42
1954	0	0	0	0	51
1955	0	0	0	0	62
1956	0	0	0	0	51
1957	0	0	0	0	60
1958	0	0	0	0	81
1959	0	0	0	0	79
1960	0	0	0	0	85
1961	0	0	0	0	123
1985	17	1	29	12	123
1986	21	2	44	16	184
1987	20	3	50	25	186
1988	34	6	41	17	117
1989	35	5	47	23	99
1990	29	4	82	27	74
1991	35	3	61	39	33
1992	55	1	29	67	39
1993	72	4	10	58	83
1994	46	1	15	55	78
1995	45	1	5	25	35
1996	52	0	7	20	37
1997	47	0	5	30	25
1998	52	0	8	28	23
1999	32	0	11	11	21
2000	61	0	7	10	19
2001	48	0	16	13	20
2002	72	0	31	11	56
2003	63	1	21	17	57
2004	95	0	30	10	77
2005	107 •	1	52	17	71
2006	93	0	64	21	53
2007	116	0	63	32	61
2008	110	1	139	59	64
2009	89	1	81	75	113
	1.555	37	1.163	800	6.578

Toplam yerli dizi (1973-2009): 1.592

Toplam yabancı dizi (1970-2009): 1.963

Tüm diziler toplamı (1970-2009): 3.555

Source: Yücel, V. (2014). *Kahramanın yolculuğu: Mitik erkeklik ve suç draması*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Appendix 3: Interview with “ranini.tv” (12.03.2018)

Mehmet Erguvan (M): Öncelikle doktora tezim için tüm uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizileri listeleyip bütünce oluşturdum. Ancak bu listenin içinde "yasal olan" ve "yasal hakları alınmayan" uyarlama/yeniden çevrim diziler var. Bunları nasıl ayrıştırabilirim?

Ranini.tv. (R): Yasal uyarlamaların hepsi jenerikte belirtilir. Dolayısıyla jenerik bakmanız gerekir. Aynı zamanda “RaniniTv”'deki "yerli diziler" sekmesinden aratarak künye bakabilirsiniz.

M: Neden uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilere ihtiyaç duyuyoruz? Birçoğunun daha en başından Türk dizisinden farksız hale geldiğini düşündüğümüzde buna gerek var mı?

R: Edebiyat uyarlamaları bir televizyon trendiydi, geçti bitti. Yasal re-make (yeniden çevrim) yapmak ise tamamen ticari bir seçim. Çok tutmuş işlerin sinerjisinden yararlanmak için tüm dünyada uygulanan bir yöntem

M: Bu dizileri kimler uyarlıyor? Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde hikâye/senaryo vs. baştan mı yazılıyor?

R: Senaristler uyarlıyor. Dünyada da olduğu gibi hikâyenin özü korunarak lokal değerlere uyarlanıyor.

M: Dizileri uyarlayan kişiler, yani senaristler, orijinal dizilerin hangi bölümlerini ne derece değiştireceklerine, hangi karakterleri çıkarıp çıkarmayacaklarına kendileri mi karar veriyor? Bu türden karar alma süreçleri nasıl işliyor?

R: Bu durumda içeriğin asıl sahibinin şartları geçerlidir. Kore'den alınan içeriklerde uyarlama kuralları yoktur, ne isterseniz yaparsınız. Diğer ülkelerde uyarlama senaryo için onay almanız gerekir.

Appendix 4: Interview with Hatice Meryem (31.01.2019)

Mehmet Erguvan (M): Türk televizyonunda bir süredir "uyarlama/yeniden çevrim" diziler yayınlanmakta. Bu dizilerin dizi üretimi açısından bir geleneğe dönüştüğünü düşünüyor musunuz?

Hatice Meryem (H): Evet böyle bir geleneğin oluştuğundan söz edebiliriz.

M: Bu gelenek ya da akımın olası sebepleri nedir?

H: Neden uyarlama dizileri tercih ediyor yapımcılar? Dizi sektörünün ayakları var. Birincisi emekçiler, çalışanlar. Yani senarist, yönetmen, ışıkçı, oyuncular. Bunun dışında yapımcılar var. Bu dizileri gerçekleştirip kanallara satanlar. Ayrıca kanallar var. Üçüncü ayak kanallar. Bir de dördüncü ayak var. O da reklamverenler. Dört ayaklı bir sektör burası. Bizler bu dört ayağın birincisine aitiz. Emekçiler yani çalışanlar kısmında kalıyoruz. Ben yapımcılarla da çalıştım. Yani senarist olarak çalışmanın yanı sıra şirketlerde senaryo danışmanlığı da yaptım. Patronlar bunlar, yani tırnak içinde yapımcılar. Bunlar şöyle diyorlar: "Biz otuz dokuz bölüm dizi yapacağız". Türk senaristlerini yaratıcı bulmama gibi bir durum söz konusu değil. Fakat Türkiye'de dizi üretim koşullarını göz önüne aldığımızda -isterse Amin Maalouf gelsin, isterse Margaret Atwood gelsin- bir dizi dokuzuncu bölümde tıkanır. *Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü*'nü romandan diziye uyarladılar. Dokuz-on bölüm çıktı bir romandan. O dokuz-on bölümünde ortası çökük mesela. Beşinci bölümden sonra çöküyor. Bir süre sonra izleyicinin ilgisi, merakı azalıyor. Bu uzun dizi süreleri senaristler için imkânsız bir şeyi gündeme getiriyor. Yani altın yumurtlayan tavuk olsan her hafta o kadar çok hikâye bulamazsın. Bu çok zor. Yapımcılar da bunu biliyor. Durum böyleyken Türk senaristlere kızmaya gerek yok. Mesela *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*. Amerika'da sekiz sezon devam etmiş bir iş. Bunu alalım. Elimizde hazır bol bol hikâye olsun. Oradan yürüyelim. Bunu alıp bizim kültürümüze uyarlayalım. Yani yaratıcılık eksikliği diyebiliriz. Sonuçta yapımların amacı kültüre, sanata, topluma hizmet etmek değil. Öyle bir dertleri yok. Bu da anlaşılır bir durum esasen. Sonuçta onlar kanallarla anlaşıyor. Kanallar da reklamverenlerle. Yani girdikleri işler sağlam olmalı. Maliyetler de çok yüksek. Onlar da uyarlama yapıyor. Böylece ellerinde 50-100 bölüm hazır bulunuyor. Kendilerini hikâye anlamında rahat hissetmek istiyorlar. Hem maliyet hem dizi süreleri yüzünden kendilerini garanti altına almak istiyorlar. Satın aldıkları

uyarlama senaryoyu da tamamen kullanmıyorlar zaten. Yani bunun aynısını yapmak değil dertleri. O diziler sana düşünme fırsatı sunuyor. Ben de bunun şu türlüsünü yaparım diye düşünüyorlar. Ben seviyorum uyarlama işini. Ama gençlerle karşılaştığımda şöyle tepkiler alıyorum: "Siz kendiniz uydurup yazamıyor musunuz? Hikâyecisiniz, edebiyatçısınız siz de". Ben de diyorum ki, öncelikle uyarlama bir iştir hem de kıymetli bir iştir. Bunu da iyi yapanlar ve kötü yapanlar var. Ben elimden geldiği kadar iyisini yapmaya çalışıyorum.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerin kaynak kültürlerinin dağılımı ve zaman içerisindeki dönüşümü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

H: Kore, Uzak Asya dizileri ya da filmleri önceden beri entelektüel camianın sevdiği bir dünyaydı. O dönemler erkeklerin özellikle dövüş sanatına ilgisinden dolayı sevdikleri bir ortamdı. Daha sonra Güney Kore bu konuda dünya çapında atak yaptı. Çok büyük bir yatırım yaptı. Onlar son üç-beş yılda bu sektörü dünya çapında acayip şekilde büyüttükleri için bizimkiler de özellikle romantik komedileri, dramaları oradan ithal ettiler. Ondan önce daha ziyade Amerika'ydı kaynak kültür. Yani Güney Kore kendini geliştirdi. Yapımcılar senede birkaç kere dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde –Cannes başta olmak üzere- toplanıyorlar. Dizi film yapımcıları, televizyon kanalları falan. Orada ilişkiler kuruluyor. Firmalar kendi dizilerini pazarlamaya çalışıyor. Aynı kitap fuarlarında olduğu gibi. Hepsi kendi standında kendi yapımlarını teşhir ediyorlar.

M: Uyarlanacak/yeniden çevrilecek bir dizinin seçimi nasıl gerçekleşiyor? Dizi seçiminde rol oynayan faktörler nedir?

H: Uyarlanacak dizilerin seçimiyle ilgili kendi deneyimlerimden örnek verebilirim. Çoğu yapımcının tercih ettiği dizi türleri var. Örneğin Fatih Aksoy son on yıldır kadın odaklı diziler yapıyor. Bunu seviyor ve yapmak istiyor. Kimisi doğu kültürü temalı diziler yapıyor. Kendi inisiyatiflerinde. Türkiye konjonktürünü takip ediyorlar. Hangi tür ön planda ise ya da nerede bir eksik varsa onu takip ediyorlar. Mesela, "Geçen sene çok sitcom (durum komedisi) üretildi, bu sene drama yapalım," diyorlar.

M: Bir dizinin uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecindeki iş akışını nasıl özetleyebilirsiniz?

H: *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* projesinden önce ben dizi yazmıyordum. Yazmak istiyordum çünkü bir yazarın para kazanabileceği çok alan yok. Eğer bir Ahmet Ümit,

Elif Şafak değilsen kendini geçindirecek parayı bile zor kazanıyorsun. Senaristleri tanıyorum ben. Kimse çok zengin olacağını düşünerek işe girmiyor. Kemal Tahirler, Orhan Kemaller hep Yeşilçam için senaryo yazmış yazarlar. Edebiyattan bu sektöre geçiş çok da şaşırtıcı değil aslında. Senaryo yazarlığı da yazarlığın bir türü, teknik bir türü. Edebiyatta özgürsündür, rahat rahat at koşturabilirsin. Sınırları çok da belli değildir. İstediğini yazabilirsin. Konu, tema, anlatım dili, atmosfer vb. sana bağlı. Marquis de Sade onu yaptı diye ben de onu yapabilirim. *Damızlık Kızın Öyküsü* yazıldı diye ben de uçabilirim. Edebiyatta uçmak serbestken dizide öyle bir durum söz konusu değil. Sen izleyiciye 140 dakika dizi sunacaksın. Bunun elbette ki yaptırımları olacak. Hiç de dışarıdan göründüğü gibi 140 dakikayı bakışmalarla doldurmak gibi düşünceleri yok. Hiçbir yapımcı bunu istemiyor. En kötü yapımcının bile böyle bir eğilimi yok. Ama bir şekilde bu hale geliyor. Haftada 140 dakika dizi yapıyorsan her şey istediğin gibi olmayabiliyor yani. Armağan Çağlayan yıllar önce *Sinek Kadar Kocam Olsun Başımda Bulunsun* adlı kitabımı okumuş ve çok sevmiş. *İnsan Kısım Kısım Yer Damar Damar* da çıkmıştı o sırada. Onu da okuyup sevmiş. Ardından beni aradı. Dedi ki, "Meryemcim senaryo yazarlığı yapmak ister misin?". Ben de "olabilir" dedim. "Bir düşüneyim nasıl olur diye. Yapabilir miyim? Hiç bilmediğim bir mecra. Eğitimini almadım". Dramaturji (dramanın temel elementlerinin sahnede sunumu, yani bir metnin sahneye çıkmasına kadar geçen süreç) konusunda çok yeterli bir bilgim olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Nahid Sırrı Örik'i buldum. Edebiyatçı olduğum için biraz şanslıydım bu sektörde. Yani senarist olarak değil yazar olarak girdim. Bu nedenle biraz ihtimam da gördüğümü söyleyebilirim. Hatta biraz değil çok ihtimam gördüm ben. Yapımcılar benimle hep daha temkinli ve saygılı konuşurlar. Yani bir edebiyatçı ile karşı karşıya olduklarını bilerek. Nahid Sırrı Örik'in *Eve Düşen Yıldırım* romanı var. Ben ilk onu yazdım aslında. Romanı senaryolaştırdım. Bunu denedim. Onlar çok beğendiler. Aslında hiç bilmeden yazdım. Ama onlar çok beğendi. O sıralarda onlar Fransa'ya gittiler. Oradan Armağan Çağlayan tekrar aradı beni. Dedi ki, "Biz Walt Disney Company yetkilileriyle bir aradayız. *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* diye bir dizi var". Biliyoruz zaten. Dizinin orijinali Türkiye'de gösteriliyordu o dönem. "Bunu düşündük biz. Türkiye'de sen yaparsın," dediler. Ben, "yapamam" desem de onlar benim Türkiye'de kadın meselesini çok iyi okuduğumu düşündüklerini söylediler. Bu nedenle de en azından denememi istediler. "Olur," dedim ben de. Oturdum. Bu proje

için 53 sayfalık kısa bir senaryo yazdım. Yanıma da senaryo bilen bir arkadaş aldım. Yani piyasada bu işi gerçekten yapan, bu işten para kazanan bir kadın senarist arkadaşımı aldım yanıma. Yelda Eroğlu. Hala da ara ara birlikte çalışırız onunla. Sağ olsun, o da çok güzel çalıştı. Ben de aynı şekilde. O şekilde *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*'nı yaptık birlikte.

Umutsuz Ev Kadınları bağlamında düşünecek olursak, önce baktım orijinal dizide dört tane kadın var. Ben İzmit'te geçirdim genç kızlığımı. O benim için bir avantaj oldu. Taşrada annem gün yapardı, kadınlar gelirdi, eğlenirlerdi. Edepli edepsiz fıkralar. Sonra baktım orijinal senaryoyu yazan Marc Sherry de annesinin mahalle arkadaşlarının yaşadıklarından çıkardıklarını senaryolaştırmış aslında. Bir röportajında öyle diyordu. Bu da benim için bulunmaz nimetti. Önce yapamam demiştim ama sonra bir baktım ki Bree karakteri benim tanıdığım bir karakter aslında. Bana kalsa ben Bree'yi Emine Beder gibi bir kadın gibi sunmak isterdim. Kafasında bonesi falan. Bizde nasıl olur mükemmel kadın. Mutfakta mantı çimdirir. Salonu pırıl pırıldır. Çocuklara disiplini öğretir. Ayakkabılar çıkacak, toz mu var kıl mı var üzerinde diyecek. Özetle titizlik hastası bir kadın. Biz bu kadını tanımıyor muyuz? Türkiye'de de var o kadın. Mesela *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* bazı Latin Amerika ülkelerinde de uyarlanmış. Ama birebir kopyalamışlar. Çeviri gibi. O yüzden de tutmamış zaten. Milyon dolarlar yatırmışlar, büyük setler kurmuşlar ama sonuç hüsran. Çünkü karakterleri bile birebir alıp aynısını koymaya çalışmışlar. Üstelik fizik olarak da benzerlerini bulmuşlar. Buna rağmen tutmamış. Bence uyarlama bir dizinin tutması için yaşadığınız ülkenin sosyolojisine az çok hâkim olmanız gerekiyor. Orijinal dizideki kadının kendi ülkenizdeki karşılığını biliyorsanız o işte vakıf olabilirsiniz.

Ben Bree'yi kafasında boneli bir kadın gibi düşünmüştüm hep. Bizim ülkede muhafazakâr seçmeni temsil eden parti AKP ise AKP'li bir kadın olsun isterdim. Yani kadını politik yapmak gibi bir dedim yoktu tabii ama o yaşam tarzını göstermek istedim. Ama onu yapımcı tercih etmedi. "Meryemcim şimdi hiç politik meselelere girmeyelim," dedi. Çünkü dizinin yayınlandığı zaman diliminde AKP'lisi de, CHP'lisi de, MHP'lisi de, HDP'lisi de ekran başında. Yani bütün partilerin seçmenleri izleyecek o diziyi. O yüzden ben o kadını kapalı yapabilecekken yapmadım. O da yapımcının tercihiydi. Evlerini daha yoksul yapabilirdim. Belki dizi bugünün şartlarında yapılsaydı her şey farklı olabilirdi tabii. Belki o da daha acemiydi o dönem. Öyle yaptı

sonuçta. Bugün daha hakikatli işler yapıyor. *Anne* gibi. *Kadın* dizisi gibi. Tabii 2010 yılından bahsediyoruz. O dönemde siyasi cenaplar arasında çatışma çok saha sertti. Bugün görece biraz daha anlayışlı insanlar birbirine karşı. Ki hala devam ediyor sıkıntılar. Ama o dönem çok daha sertti. Bir yapımcının bunu göze almak istemeyişi bana o zaman makul gelmişti. Sonuçta televizyona "entertainment" yani eğlence yapılıyor. Siyaset yapmak istese gider meclise orada yapar.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim süreci nasıl işliyor?

H: Önce şu diziyi uyarlar mısın diye soruyorlar. Ben de yapıp yapamayacağıma karar veriyorum. Bir projeyi tercih ederse kabul eder senarist. Yapmak istemediğim çok dizi de oldu. Temasını sevmediğim işlerdi onlar. Ben ilk senaryo yazmaya başladığımda televizyonlarda iki tür dizi gözlemliyordum. Ya *Kurtlar Vadisi* gibi mafyöz hikâyelerin anlatıldığı erkek dizileri vardı. Ya da kadınların tamamen nesneleştirildiği, tamamen gözyaşı döktüğü diziler vardı. *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*'nı görünce çok hoşuma gitti. Çünkü kadınların mutfaktaki halleri, çocuklarıyla kurduğu ilişkiler, komşularıyla kurduğu ilişkiler, birbirleriyle kurduğu ilişkiler ve dayanışma vardı esasında. Dört kadının dayanışması. Ben feministim nihayetinde. O yüzden bu dizi beni çektiği için işin içine girdim. İşi kabul edince de oturup yazma aşamasına başlar. Özetle böyle oluyor.

Ben önce karakterlerden başlarım. *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*'nda da karakterlerden başladım. Orada dört tip kadın vardı benim için. "Susan" yani "Yasemin" adlı karakter çocuk kadındı benim için. Kediden korkar, sakar. Genelde erkeklerinde en çok sevdiği kadın tipi. Kendi ayakları üzerinde durmaktan aciz veyahut ayakları üstünde zar zor durabilen. Yetileri yetersiz falan. Anne olmuş ama anne olamıyor. "Lynette" yani "Elif" ise anne kadın. Üç tane çocuğu var. Adam yine de çocuk istiyor. Çocuklarla uğraşıyordu. "Gabrielle" yani "Zeliş" de seksi kadındı. *Femma fatale* kadın. Bizde bu tür kadınlara Cihangir'de, Nişantaşı'nda ya da Etiler'de rastlayabilirsin. Bizde mahallelerde böyle kadınlar yoktur. Bizde Ayvalık güzeli seçilmiş ve geçmişe özlem duyan bir karakter var. Manken, oyuncu, artist olamamış ve içinde ukde kalmış kadın var. Son olarak "Bree" yani "Nermin" mükemmel kadını temsil ediyordu. Ben bu kadınların bir günü nasıl geçer, bu kadınlar ne yer ne içer diye düşünüp aklıma gelenleri yazarım öncelikle. Çevreme, anneme, kendi arkadaşlarıma bakarım ve

incelerim. İkinci olarak hikâyeye bakarım. Çok seks barındıran, uyuşturucu barındıran bir hikâye bizde kabul görmez. *Bizim Hikâye*'nin uyarlamasıyla ilgili şikayetler var. Orijinal dizideki kadın karakterin bizde bir karşılığı yok. Böyle yaşayan bir kadın bizim toplumumuzda madden ya da manen öldürülür. Benim bunu görmezden gelip bir dizi senaryosu yazmaya kalkışmam mümkün değil. Bunu nasıl bekleyebilirler ki. Sen nerede yaşıyorsun. Türkiye'desin sonuçta. Amsterdam değil ki ben öyle bir hikâye yazayım. Bakıyorum hikâyeye ve ana temayı alıyorum. Esas meseleye bakıyorum. Zavallı bir kadının bütün aile mensuplarından sorumlu olduğu bir hikâye. Fatih Aksoy bu diziyi almak istediğinde ben gerek olmadığını söylemiştim. Ekşisözlük yorumcularının ya da sosyal medyada yazanların yaptığı yorumları ben de yapmıştım ilk başta. Bunu almaya gerek yok. Bunun alametifarikası seks ve uyuşturucu. Ben Kasımpaşa'da, Sultantepe'de, Sancaktepe'de geçen, İzmir'in bir kenar mahallesinde geçen, altı kardeşle berduş babasına bakmak zorunda olan bir genç kızın hikâyesini yazabileceğimi söyledim. Ama yine de almak istedi. "Bizim hikâye eninde sonunda tıkanır, elimizde hikâye olsun," dedi Fatih Bey. En yaratıcı en parlak senaristler bile tıkanıyorlar. Dizi süreleri çok uzun çünkü. Bazen beş bölüm hiç orijinal hikâyeye bakmadığımız oluyor. Maksat sana kılavuzluk etmesi. Büyük tankerlere eşlik eden küçük gemiler vardır. Uyarlama dizilerin olayı da bu. Birebir diyalog çevirisi yapmak değil dert. Maksat zihniyeti Türkiye'ye uyarlamak. O da bir yeti bir maharet sonuçta. Onu da iyi yapan var, yapamayan var. Bazen diyalogları da alıyorum ben. Daha iyi bir diyalog yazamayacaksam onu olduğu gibi kullanıyorum. Burada çalma, çırpma ya da bir hırsızlık olayı yok ki. Parasını verip telifini alıyor. Bunun bilgisini jeneriğe koyuyor. Bu kadar. O dönem *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* çok izleniyordu. 23 bölüm zirvedeydi. O dönem *Var mısın Yok musun?* programına Adriana Lima konuk olmuştu. Ama biz onu geçtik. Buna çok sevinmiştik. Bir küçük azınlık var. Sadece yabancı dizi izleyen, Türk dizilerine burun kıvıran küçük bir azınlık var. Onlara yapılmıyor bu diziler sadece. Ekonomik olarak sınırda yaşayan, sokağa çıkıp bir film izleme, bir kadeh bir şey içme ya da çay içme olanağı bulunmayan insanlar var. Hiç değilse bunlar dizi izleyip eğlensin, kendini sorgulasın. Mesela benim kitaplarım beş-on bin satıyor. Kaç insana ulaşabiliyorsun. İşte bu kadar. Oysa iyi izlenen bir dizi on milyon insana ulaşıyor. Ben de elimde böyle bir fırsat varken bazen kendi görüşmelerimi yansıtacak bölümler yazarak insanlara ulaşmaya çalışıyorum. Sol tandanslı bir bakış açım

olduğunu söyleyebilirim. Nadiren de olsa kendi görüşlerim doğrultusunda senaryoya eklemeler yapmak bir fırsat benim için. Benim burun kıvırma lüksüm yok. Daha geniş perspektiften bakmak lazım. Ben kendi evimde oturup entellik yapmak istemiyorum. Ben zekamı göstermekten hoşlanan biriyim. *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları*'nı bu yüzden yaptım. O kadınların aslında hep bir umudu vardı aslında. *Anne*'yi de yaptım. 39 bölüm yaptım. Belki yarısı çöptü ama 15 bölümü çok iyiydi. Türk dizilerine burun kıvıranların bile farklı diyaloglara rastlayacağı, yenilik bulacağı bir işti *Anne*. O dizide kadın meselesine derinlemesine daldık. Anne kız meselesine.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim bir projede en çok hangi öğe(ler) göz önünde bulundurularak hareket ediliyor? Seyircinin talepleri ve hassasiyetleri mi? Yapımcının talepleri mi? Kanal mı? Dizinin başka ülkelere satış ihtimali mi? Sansür kuruluşları mı?

H: Tüm unsurları göz önünde tutarak yazmaya çalışıyoruz. Önce seyirciye bakıyorum. Neticede yapımcıyla biz aynı taraftayız. Senaryoyu yazdıktan sonra yapımcıyla haftada iki-üç gün oturup senaryonun üzerinden geçiyoruz. Yapımcı, şirket çalışanları, dramaturglar. Hep beraber oturup bu öyküyü daha iyi nasıl anlatabileceğimizi tartışıyoruz.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde senaryoda en büyük değişikliğe sebep olan tema/konu nedir?

H: Madde kullanımı ve cinsellik. Bunlarda sansürümüz var. Çünkü ailece izleniyor. Çünkü 20.00'de yayınlanıyor bu işler. 23.00'ten sonra yayınlanan işler +16, +18 işler olabilir. Ama erken saatlerde bu mümkün değil. RTÜK var zaten, izin vermiyor. *Eve Düşen Yıldırım*'da iki kardeş aynı adama âşık oluyor. Biri diğerini öldürüyor. Diğeri hapse düşüyor. Bu kitapta olunca sorun yok ama televizyonda mümkün olmuyor. Mesela resmi mercilerden tepki aldı bu. Bazı yetkililer şirketi arayıp "Bunlar kardeş sayılırlar. Amca kızına âşık olmasınlar. Türkiye'de oluyor ama biz bunu örnek göstermeyelim," demiş. Kibarca uyarmışlar yani. Biz de ilişkiyi yaşayanları öz amca çocuğu değilmiş gibi gösterdik hemen. Farklı örnekler de var tabii. Mesela *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* dizisinin uyarlamasında cinsellik konusunda aslında yeni bir şey gösterdik. Zeliş kocasını genç bir delikanlıyla aldattı sayılır. Bu kabul gören bir şey değildi. Yaşlı kadın genç erkek yani. Biz 2010'da 30'larında bir kadınla üniversiteye

giden delikanlıyı yakınlaştırdık. Tabii daha çok delikanlı kadına aşık gibi gösterdik. Ama kadının ilgisini gösterdik mesela. Kocası ona bir çiçek bile almamış. Delikanlı ona alınca gönlü kayar gibi oldu. Sonradan kendini topladı. Bu tür bir meseleyi orijinal dizideki kadar özgür işleyemiyoruz. Çünkü Türkiye'de o denli özgür bir hayat yok ki. Ben de birebir yapmak isterim aslında. Ama ben istesem de seyirci bunu istemiyor. Bunu kabul etmiyor. Bizim kültürümüzde öyle bir şey yok. Kadın bugün rahat sevişemiyor. Rahat sevişmeyi bırak biriyle fazla bakıştı diye, veyahut hiçbir şey yapmasa bile yaptığı vehmedilerek, paranoyak erkekler tarafından çatır çatır öldürülüyor, kesiliyor, doğranıyor. Bir arkadaşıyla bir yerde çay içerken görüldüğü için öldürülüyor. Böyle bir ortamda sen nasıl böyle bir hikâye anlatabilirsin televizyonda.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde eklenen, çıkarılan ya da dönüştürülen noktalar nedir?

H: Aile meselesi mesela. Doğu toplumları, Akdeniz toplumlarında aile kurumu çok önemli. Hala evlenecek çiftlerin eşyalarını aile alıyor. Banyoda kullanılacak havludan, damadın bornozuna kadar aile alıyor. Kişisel sınırlar yok. Böyle bir kültürde yaşıyorsun. Aile halkası hayatların içine çok giriyor. Mesela gay karakterler. Biz bu diziyi yaptığımız dönem Ayşe Arman oğlu gay bir anneyle röportaj yapıyordu. Herkes onu konuştu. Türkiye'de eşcinsel çiftlerin yaşadığı bir sokağa milliyetçi adamlar gidip onları taciz etmeye, öldürmeye kalkışıyordu. Bu nedenle böyle çiftlerin yaşadığı bir sokağı dizide olduğu gibi yansıtamazsın. Seyirci seni reddeder. Belki iki nesil sonra olabilir. Ya da beş-on yıl sonra. Şu an olmuyor, olamıyor. Türkiye şu an buna hazır değil. Böyle konuşmak istemem ama durum bu. Edebiyatta özgürüz. Allahtan saf edebiyat en fazla sekiz-on bin satıyor. Orada özgürüz dedim ben. Kimsenin de o eserlerde yazanlardan haberi yok. Biz cesaret sınavından geçiyoruz orada. Onu göze alıyoruz. Benim *Beyefendi* adlı kitabım tehdit aldı mesela. Birileri çıkıp beni öldürebilir ama umurumda değil. Ben orada tek başımayım çünkü. Televizyonda öyle değil ama. Yapımcısı, kanalı, RTÜK'ü. Orası bir cesaret alanı değil yani. Eğlence sektörü orası. Çalışıyoruz ve paramızı kazanıyoruz.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerinin senaryosu genellikle grup olarak mı yazılıyor? Senaryo yazım sürecinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

H: Tek başına senaryo yazan insan sayısı çok az. Gülse Birsel belki. Onun da bir türü var. Onun dışında bu süreci minimum iki kişi yönetir. Altı-dokuz kişiye kadar çıkar bu sayı. Ben *Umutsuz Ev Kadınları* için düşündüm, yazdım çizdim. Ama sonra Yelda'yı çağırdım. Sonra üçüncü bir kişi eklendi. Şu anda yaptığım işte beş-altı kişi çalışıyoruz. Bir ekip başı oluyor tabii. Bu kişi yapımcıyla muhatap oluyor. Ama isimleri jenerikte yer alıyor. Jenerikte adı olmayanlar da var tabii. Kıdem sahibi olmayanlar, yeni başlayıp bu işi öğrenmek isteyenlerin amatörlük döneminde adı geçmiyor. Ama ben herkesin ismini koymaya çalışıyorum. Kimileri çıraklık dönemindeki senaristler için "Önce rüştünü ispat etsin, öyle adını geçirelim," diyor. Usta-çırak ilişkisi gibi. Aslında senaryo ortak akıl, grup işi. Tek başına da olur ama zor. Haftada yüz dakika- yüz kırk dakika tutarlı bir metin üretmek zor iş. Başı sonu ortası belli, güçlü hikâyeleri olan bir metin yazmak zor. Bir haftada yüz sayfa yazmak zor. Birlikten kuvvet doğar. Beraber oturup çalışıyoruz.

Appendix 5: Interview with Birsen Altuntaş (19.04.2019)

Mehmet Erguvan (M): Türk televizyonunda bir süredir "uyarlama/yeniden çevrim" diziler yayınlanmakta. Bu dizilerin dizi üretimi açısından bir geleneğe dönüştüğünü düşünüyor musunuz?

Birsen Altuntaş (B): Kesinlikle ve maalesef... Şu an sektörün en büyük sıkıntısı yaratıcı ve orijinal fikri olan senarist sayısının azlığı... Yapımcılar riske girmek yerine garantici olmayı tercih ediyor. Ya uyarlama, ya eski bir filmin ve dizinin remake'i (yeniden çevrim) ya da fikir intihali... Hepsi birden mevcut...

M: Bu gelenek ya da akımın olası sebepleri nedir? (Yaratıcılığın azalması, riski azaltması vb.)

B: Uyarlamanın geleneğe dönüşmesinin alt metninde kolaya kaçılması var. Kısayol artık herkesin mottosu halinde... Daha önce denenmiş ve iyi sonuç alınmış işi yeniden yapmak günümüzün hızlı tüketen toplum zihniyetine de çok uygun. Yapımcı ve kanal para kazanma garantisi üzerinden yol alıyor. Öte yandan yaratıcılığın tıkanması sorunu sadece dizi ve film piyasasının dramı değil. Günümüz insanlığının en büyük sorunu... Müzikte de edebiyatta da bu böyle... Eski yılların kalitesi ve yoğunluğunda eserler üretilemiyor artık... Çünkü insan kalitesi düştü. Samimiyet, gerçeklik, dürüstlük, emek gibi insanı yücelten şahsiyetli duygular değersizmiş gibi öteleniyor.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim diziler önceden Amerikan televizyonundan alınırken son zamanlarda Güney Kore, Japonya gibi farklı kültürler ön plana çıktı? Bu değişim hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

B: O hikâyeler çok tüketildi. Tekrar tekrar çekildi. Son yıllarda sektör ağırlıklı Kore ve Japon uyarlamalarına yöneldi. Doğu kültürü bize zaten yakın. Şimdi o pazar keşfedildi. Orayı kurutuyoruz. Ama zaten Yeşilçam'da benzer birçok film örneği de var.

M: Uyarlanacak dizinin seçimi nasıl gerçekleşiyor? Kim, hangi ölçütlere göre karar veriyor?

B: Mesela en son Meksika'dan bir dizi alındı. O dizi Amerika'da da uyarlandı ve büyük ilgi gördü. Alınan projeler genelde yurtdışı pazarında popüler olmaları üzerinden değerlendiriliyor. Sonuçta din, dil, ırk farklı olsa da insan her yerde insan.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde iş akışı nasıl işliyor? Yani bu süreçte yapımcı, yönetmen, senarist vb. gibi farklı aktörler sürece nasıl etkide bulunuyor?

B: Uyarlamanın yapıldığı eser sahiplerinin kontrolünde işler yürüyor. Proje denetleniyor. Bizim senaristler eseri ülke şartlarına göre yorumlayıp kaleme alıyor. Kanal ve yapımcı RTÜK kurallarına dikkat ediyor vs. Orijinal eserden yola çıkılarak yeni bir dünya yaratılıyor ama bu yazılan yeni dizi ya da film asıl eser sahibi tarafından onaylanıyor.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde senarist, yani diziyi Türk kültürüne uyarlayan kişi, öncelikle neyi çeviriyor? Karakterleri mi? Hikâyeyi mi? Olay örgüsünü mü? Bu süreçte asıl çevrilen/dönüştürülen ne?

B: Satın alınan şey orijinal hikâye. Her hikâyenin bir çatısı vardır. Ona göre yol alınıyor. Yani uyarlarken bazı karakterler atılabiliyor, bazı yeni karakterler ekleniyor. ASLOLAN HİKÂYE.

M: Uyarlamada, yani yeniden çevrim sürecinde, en çok hangi öğe göz önünde bulundurularak harekete geçiliyor? (Seyirci, yapımcı, kanal, farklı ülkelere ihraç edilme durumu, sansür vb.)

B: Uyarlama adı üstünde... En önemli öğe uyarlanan ülkeye uygun olmasına tabii ki. Hepsi önemli.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde en büyük değişikliğe sebep olan tema(lar) nedir? (Cinsellik, kadınlık, din vb.)

B: Hepsi

M: Yasal yollarla uyarlanmak/yeniden çevrilmek için satın alınan dizilerde anlaşma şartları uyarlama/yeniden çevrim süreci üzerinde ne kadar etkili? Yani dizinin haklarının satın alındığı kuruluş sözleşmede uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecine ilişkin önemli yaptırımlarda bulunuyor mu?

B: Uyarlamada her şey onay alınarak yapılıyor zaten.

M: Dizinin yayınlanacağı kanalın uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde bir etkisi oluyor mu? Söz gelimi, “Kanal D/ATV/Fox vs. için yapıyorsam daha temkinli ya da rahat olmalıyım” gibi bir ayrım var mı?

B: Her kanalın kendine göre bir yayın politikası var tabii ki.

Appendix 6: Interview with Makbule Kosif and Müge Uğurlar (22.4.2019)

Mehmet Erguvan (M): Türk televizyonunda bir süredir "uyarlama/yeniden çevrim" diziler yayınlanmakta. Bu dizilerin dizi üretimi açısından bir geleneğe dönüştüğünü düşünüyor musunuz?

Makbule Kosif (M.K.): Aslında gelenek değil de zorunluluk diyelim bence. Yaratımla ilgili bir şey bu. Kendi hikayenizi bitiriyorsunuz. Bu sadece Türkiye'ye özgü bir şey değil, tüm dünyada var. Ama bence dramada sıkıştığımız bir nokta var. Üretilmeyen. Ben ilk Kore dizisi uyarlamasını yapan insanım. Kore'yi keşfettikten en az yedi sene sonra ancak insanlar algılayabildiler. Ben her seferinde onlara Kore diye bir ülke var ve pek çok açıdan bize çok yakınlar dedim. Evlerine ayakkabılarını çıkarıp giriyorlar. Ahlak duruşları bize yakın. Hatta bizden çok daha fazla muhafazakârlar. Özde birleştiğimiz noktalar var diye diye 2012'de ikna oldular. Ve biz FOX TV'de *Bir Aşk Hikayesi* adında bir Kore dizisi uyarlaması yaptık. Benim asıl sebebim Kore'yi, kültürünü, Uzak Doğu'yu sevmemdi. Kendi hikâyenizi üretmiyorsunuz. Bu topraklardan çok da başka bir şey çıkmıyor. Sinemada da öyle, televizyonda da. Amerika da İngiltere de İspanya da yapıyor bunu. Bence bu bir döngü, gelenek değil. Kendi hikâyeniz bitince bakıyorsunuz öteki coğrafyada olan şey ne. Oradan siz de adapte etmeyi tercih ediyorsunuz. Bunu iyi yapan var, kötü yapan var. Kore bize hikâye, drama kurguları, karakteri açısından çok yakın olduğu için Kore dizisini uyarlamak daha kolay. Amerika çok daha zor. Ben *Grey's Anatomy*'nin Türkçe uyarlaması olan *Doktorlar* projesinin uyarlamasını yaptım. Amerika biraz daha uzak bize. Dramanın kodları belli. Karakterlerin de öyle. Dünyanın her yerinde aynı. Evrensel bir şey bu. Bizde adı başkadır. Ama ortak kodları kullanıp kendimize göre yapıyoruz.

M: Bu gelenek ya da akımın olası sebepleri nedir?

M.K.: Bence bu bir döngü, gelenek değil. Kendi hikâyeniz bitince bakıyorsunuz öteki coğrafyada olan şey ne.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerin kaynak kültürlerinin dağılımı ve zaman içerisindeki dönüşümü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Biz ilk Kore'yi alırken Koreliler telif haklarından haberdar değildi. Amerika şöyle diyor. Mesela Türk uyarlaması Arap ülkelerine satıldı. Tabii ki ben de oradan bir pay alacağım. Güney Kore bize çok yakın bir drama yapısına sahip.

Müge Uğurlar (M.U.): İnsan yapıları. Orada reyting alan işler bizde de çok reyting alıyor. Duygularımız, reflekslerimiz ve anti-reflekslerimiz aynı.

M.K.: Aşk, entrika, çatışmaları. Kore dizileri dublajlı olarak TRT'de de yayınlanıyordu. Dublaj aynı etkiyi yaratmıyor ama. Bu sezon Türkiye'de uyarlaması yayınlanacak *The Good Doctor* formatı aslen Kore'ye ait. Sonra Amerikalılar aldı onu Kore'den. İyi de reyting aldı. Yani iyi bir fikir, karakter ve çatışma varsa herkes alıyor. *Shameless* İngiltere'den Amerika'ya ve oradan da Türkiye'ye geldi. Mesela Hint dramaları da benzer. Yakındır yani. Kayınvalide gelinine aynı eziyetleri yapar. Benim de çok takip ettiğim bir kültür. Biz de bir format opsiyonluyorduk (satın almayı planlıyorduk). Bir baktık onu Kanal 7 dublajlı olarak günlük dizi şeklinde yayınladı. Baya da iyi reyting alıyor.

M: Uyarlanacak/yeniden çevrilecek bir dizinin seçimi nasıl gerçekleşiyor? Dizi seçiminde rol oynayan faktörler nedir?

M.K.: Fuarlara gidiyorlar. Yapımcılar dosyalar ve CD'lerle gelip burada bakıyorlar. Ben kendi adıma çok dizi izliyorum. Kendi çok izlediğim ve beğendiğim işleri öneriyorum. İçgüdüsel bir şey bu seçim. İyi cast, doğru kanal, doğru dünya… Her şey çok etkili.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim süreci nasıl işliyor?

Ben kendi deneyimlerimden bahsedeyim. Ben önce karakterlerden başlarım. Siz karakterleri sevdirirseniz izleyicinize bunun izlenmeme olasılığı çok az. Çok büyük hatalar yapmış olmanız gerek. Cast (oyuncu) seçimi ya da prodüksiyon gibi. Bana olaylar çok da önemli gelmiyor. *Bir Aşk Hikayesi* o anlamda çok güzeldi. Aslında hiç görmediğimiz bir Korkut Ali vardı. Bazen sahnelerden de etkileniyorum. Birebir yapanlar da var. Biz de sahne falan alıyoruz. Çatışmaları falan da alıyoruz.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim bir projede en çok hangi öğe(ler) göz önünde bulundurularak hareket ediliyor? Seyircinin talepleri ve hassasiyetleri mi? Yapımcının

talepleri mi? Kanal mı? Dizinin başka ülkelere satış ihtimali mi? Sansür kuruluşları mı?

M.K.: Tabii ki seyirci. Günün sonunda elinize bir karne veriyorlar. O da reyting. Her hafta sana başarılı mı başarısız mı olduğunu söylüyorlar reytinge bakarak. Biz de başka işler yapmak isteriz ama günün sonunda bir panel var. Seçilmiş denekler var. Ve onlardan çıkan izlenme oranı. Paneli oluşturanların kim olduğunu bilmiyoruz. Panel dediğiniz şey toplum. Tahminler üzerinden ilerliyoruz. Bazen Twitter üzerinden gelen yorumlara göre tahmin yürütüyoruz. En büyük söz sahibi ve müdahale eden kesim yapımcılar. Yapımcı en çok konuşan taraf. Bazen de kanal.

M: Oyuncuların bu süreçteki etkisi nedir?

M.U.: Oyuncuların çok da müdahalesi olmuyor. Elini verirsen kolunu kaptırırsın. Ama mesela Metin Akpınar gibi büyük oyuncuların söylediklerini dinliyorsun. Ama en sonunda "Patron sensin, ne istiyorsan onu yapalım," der.

M.K.: Bazen "Bu karakter bunu söylemez," diyebiliyorlar. Karakteri yaratanın ben olduğunu söylüyorum. Yine de itiraz edebiliyor.

M.U.: Mesela bir şey olduğunda ben senaristi ararım ondan izin alırım önce.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde senaryoda en büyük değişikliğe sebep olan tema/konu nedir?

M.K.: Birçok dönüşüm yaşanmak zorunda. Yüz seksen dakika dizi çekiyoruz. Nasıl dolduracağım ki. Dönüşüm konusunda sözleşmeler çok da sert yaptırımlar uygulamıyor. Özgür bırakıyorlar.

M.U.: Makbule'nin yazıp benim çektiğim son Kore uyarlamasının yapımcı, senarist ve yönetmenin bulunduğu bir toplantıda biz de bu konuyu, yani sözleşmelerde ne kadar bağlayıcı şartlar olduğunu, masaya yatırdık. Ana aksı alıyoruz aslında. Zaten dizi süreleri çok farklı. İki-üç bölümü alıp birleştiriyoruz. Tasarruflu gitmeye çalışılıyor tabii ki. Yaratıcı ekip ister istemez yan akslar ekliyor. Bir bölümden 180 dakika çıkamaz. Hiçbir şekilde bu çizgiden çıkamazsın gibi bir şart koşmuyorlar. Çünkü hem ön protokol ödemesi hem de opsiyon ödemesi var. Mesela Kore çok uzun formatlı işler yapan bir drama yapısına sahip değil. Ama mesela benim yaptığım işler

otuz-kırk bölüm sürüyor. Onlar daha kısa olsa da dizi devam ettiği sürece telif ödemeye devam ediyoruz. Onların on dokuz bölümü bizim altı-yedi bölüm falan.

M.K.: Zaten karakteri ve çatışmayı alıyorsunuz. Olmazsa olmaz bir şey değiştirmek. Belirli bir yüzdesi yok. Şu kadarını aldım bu kadarını aldım vs. yok. "Ben bu kadarını aldım," diyemezsiniz. Bazı olaylar ya da durumlar projenin bel kemiği. "Şunu aldım gerisini almayayım," diyemezsin ki.

M.U.: Özgürlükler, kısıtlamalar farklı. Türkiye'de RTÜK gibi bir kurum var. Amerikalı bir format buraya gelirken dönüştürülmek zorunda. *Shameless* mesela. Hepimizin ağzımız açık izlediği bir format. İçinde uyuşturucu var, seks var, alkol var. Bin bir türlü facia barındırıyor dizi. Onun Türkçe uyarlaması olan *Bizim Hikaye*'nin buraya kadar gelmesi bile büyük başarı. Bizde sadece ana çatı var.

M. K.: Ben bin yıl düşünsem *Shameless*'ı uyarlamak aklıma gelmez. *La Casa Del Papel* uyarlaması yapılacak diyorlar. Ancak yalan. Yapamazlar. Bir kere o dizinin temeli siyasi. Ana aksında siyasi bir duruş var. Sen o siyasi duruşu burada sergileyemezsin.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerinin senaryosu genellikle grup olarak mı yazılıyor? Senaryo yazım sürecinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

M.K.: Artık dizi süreleri çok uzun ve tek başına çalışmak imkânsız. Biz grup olarak hikâyeyi beraber konuşuyoruz. Sahneleri mutlaka tek tek konuşuyoruz. Sonra o sahneler diyalog yazan arkadaşlara iletiliyor. Sonra ben son okumayı yapıp teslim ediyorum. Benim için tretman önemli. Her sahneyi tek tek konuşup hemfikir olmak önemli. Ben öyle çalışıyorum. Bazıları karakter bölüyor, mekân bölüyor. Toplantılar yapılıyor. G-mail grubundan her şeyi yazıyoruz. Tretman yazılırken grup olarak hakaret edilir. Diyaloglar yalnızken yazılıyor. 1992'den beri bu işi yapıyorum ben. O zamanlar altmış dakika dizi yazılırdı.

M: Türk televizyon dizilerinin başka ülkelere satılması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Yurt dışına satış olasılığı senaryo yazım sürecini etkiliyor mu?

M.K.: *24* ve *20 Dakika* da kuzey ülkelerine satıldı. Bizden alıp *İstanbullu Gelin*'i uyarlayacaklar Lübnan'da Arap oyuncularla. Dramı yüksek, kadın izleyiciye hitap eden diziler satılıyor genelde. Telenovella kategorisindeyiz biz yurt dışında. Yazarken

yurt dışına da satılacağı ve Türkiye'de izleneceği göz önünde bulunduruluyor. Yurt dışı satışı oyuncu seçimiyle daha ilgili senaryodan ziyade. Komedide de yurt dışı satışında sıkıntı olur. Bizim güldüğümüze onlar gülmüyor sonuçta. Yurt dışına satılacak dizilerce İstanbul'un görünmesi de önemli bir faktör. Mesela İstanbul'un bol bol görünmesi isteniyor bizden dizi yazar ve çekerken.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde seyirci tepkileri sürece ne şekilde ve hangi oranda etki ediyor?

Seyirci kitlesini reklamcılar seçiyor. Ancak +45 kadınlar izliyorsa tamam. 13-17'ye hitap eden diziler daha çok romantik komediler. Ama kesin bir bilgi yok. Çok değişkenli bir denklem gibi bu. Birçok faktör var izleyici kitlesini etkileyen. Sosyo-ekonomik yapı gibi. Mesela Total grup denilen izleyici grubu aşağı yukarı tahmin edilebilir ama AB grubu konusunda kafa karışık. Eskiden tatile gidebilen AB grubu olarak görülürdü. Ama şimdi kredi taksitleriyle gidebiliyorum. Elimizdeki en büyük veri sosyal medya. Ama orası da çok karmaşık. Orayı iyi çözmemiş gerek. Yapımcılar umursamıyor gibi görünse de sosyal medyaya bakarak bana dönüt yapıyor. Biz şöyle yapmışız şu karaktere gibi şeyler söylüyor. Bir şekilde elimiz sosyal medyaya gidiyor. Orası çok yanıltıcı bir mecra ama. Oraya yaranmaya çalışırsanız işiniz zor. İyi eleştiri yapanlar da oluyor nadiren ama çoğunluk şuursuz.

M.U.: Klavye delikanlıları çok fazla. Bir süre sonra otosansür oluyor. Örneğin öpüşme bir kanalda evli çifti oynayan karakter için 3 saniye. Aynı kanalda çift evli değilse öpüşemiyor. Bazen RTÜK cezalarına göre senaryoyu revize ettiriyorlar. *Doktor* dizisi yapıyorum ama kan görüntüsü flu yapılıyor mesela. Senaryoda kavga var. Ama yönetmen olarak ben onu yüze değil alt tarafa uygulatıyorum. Sonradan görüntünün flu olarak verilmemesi için. Yönetmen senaryoya müdahale etmiş oluyor bu şekilde.

M: Format hakları satın alma süreci hakkında bilginiz var mı?

M.K.: Biz yazar olarak hiçbir para almıyoruz. Sözleşmeyle birlikte dizinin sonraki gösterimlerinde ya da alım-satımındaki tüm hakları devretmiş oluyoruz. Mesela Araplar bizim uyarlamamızı alır. Yasal hakları satın alınmayan çok dizi var. Ama ben böyle bir talep koydum. Gidip haklarını alırsanız ben de diziyi yazarım. Telifsiz bir şeyi yazmam. Bu *remake* (yeniden çevrim) olayının böyle bir avantajı da var. Güney

Amerika'dan sonra gelen liderlik durumu Türkiye'yi bu *remake* olayına itti dublaj yerine.

M.U.: Toplama yapanlar da var diziyi. Birkaç diziden fikir çalıp tek bir dizi üretiyorlar. Birkaç diziden çalıp ben ürettim diyorlar. MEDYAPIM ve MF Yapım hiç çalmıyorlar. MEDYAPIM ve Fatih Bey ilk uyarlamayı üreten yapım şirketi. *Dadı* ve *Doktorlar* gibi dizilerle. Ve birkaç yarışma programı. MF ile Kore'yi başlattık biz. Sonra Japonlarla devam ettiler.

M.K.: Mesela Müge bir yatak sahnesini kesiyor ama senarist olarak izleyici bana saldırıyor. Çok değişkenli bir mecra dizi yapımı.

Appendix 7: Interview with Yiğit Değer Bengi (23.4.2019)

Mehmet Erguvan (M): Türk televizyonunda bir süredir "uyarlama/yeniden çevrim" diziler yayınlanmakta. Bu dizilerin dizi üretimi açısından bir geleneğe dönüştüğünü düşünüyor musunuz? Bu tür dizilerin sayısındaki gözle görülür artışı neye bağlıyorsunuz?

Yiğit Değer Bengi (Y): Bir eseri alıp uyarlamak yaratıcılık ve öykünün tasarımı itibariyle aslında kendi öykünü yazmaktan çok da farklı değil. Uyarlama meselesini çeviri kavramı tam da karşılamıyor. Örneğin *Ezel* bir *Monte Kristo Kontu* uyarlamasıdır. *Monte Kristo Kontu* uzun formda bir roman. Onu yirmi birinci yüzyılda geçecek bir öyküye oturtmak için yine yazarın onun içinden kendi anlatmak istediğini bulması lazım. Öyküler birer konsepttir. Birer argümandır daha doğrusu. Öykü bir argümandır. Öykü bir zihnin bir problem karşısında verdiği cevapların desenidir. Bugün burada bu yazar söz konusu probleme nasıl cevap veririnin egzersizi olarak ben uyarlamayı bir yaratıcılık düşkünlüğü, bir ekonomik ihtiyaç olarak görmüyorum. Bunun sağlıklı bir şey olduğunu düşünüyorum ve önemli eserlerin de zaman zaman uyarlanması gerektiğini düşünüyorum zaten. Televizyonlarda da bu çok yapılıyor. Sadece biz yapmıyoruz ki. Kendim de yapıyorum. Mesela şu an Kore dizilerinden uyarlamalar çok meşhur. Eski Yunan mitolojilerinden, eski öykülerden, çizgi romanlardan. *Amerikan Tanrıları* gibi. Ya da *Westworld* eski bir filmden uyarlama. Türkiye'de şu var. Türkiye'de yapımcılar yeni öykü izleklerini tanıyamıyorlar. Drama eğitimleri eksik. Öykü teorileri eğitimi eksik olduğu için orijinal ama çok iyi bir fikir götürdüğün zaman bunu anlayacak kadar iyi bir drama müdürleri yok. Çok kötü işlere "evet" ya da iyi işlere "hayır" diyebiliyorlar. Uyarlama onlar için bir "safe zone" (güvenli bölge) oluyor. Çünkü zaten rüştünü ispatlamış, milyonlarca insanın sevip izlediği bir öykü izleği. Karakterleri ve temayı sen yaratıyorsun ama. Bir örnek verelim. Mesela *Monte Kristo Kontu*'nun ana teması düşmanlarından intikam almaksa *Ezel*'in alamaması. *Ezel*'in teması arkadaşlık, dostluk. İntikam alacağım kişiler arkadaşımsa diye düşünüp temayı bulmuş yazar. Yeni bir tema bulmuş. Uyarlama deyince öykü izleğini almak diyebiliriz. Ama bazı uyarlamalar var sahne sahne alıyorlar. O çeviriye daha yakın mesela. Uyarlamalar da kendi içinde çok çeşitli. Serbest uyarlamalar var. Sadece öykü izleğini alanlar. Bir de parasını ödeyip zaten çağdaş yabancı bir işi yalnızca karakter isimlerini, mekanları ve diyalogları çevirerek

yapanlar var. Uyarlama da esas öykü izleğini almaktır. Tabii ki baş karakteri ve temel meseleyi alıyorsun.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerin kaynak kültürlerinin dağılımı ve zaman içerisindeki dönüşümü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Y: Güney Kore kültür sanatını dışarı pazarlamaya çok kıymet veriyor. Sadece dizi ya da film değil, bilgisayar oyunları da. Güney Kore bu alandaki bütçesini gitgide büyütüyor ve bu nedenle giderek daha iyi televizyon dizileri, sinema filmleri ve bilgisayar oyunları yapmaları doğal. Oradaki yaratıcı insanların para kazanabileceği iyi, sağlıklı bir sektör var orada. Amaçları bunları satmak sonuçta. Özellikle İngilizce konuşan ülkere sattıklarında sonuç da güzel oluyor. Satıyorlar da. Türkiye'ye özel duruma gelecek olursak Kore'nin duygusallığıyla bizimki birbirine benziyor. Korelilerin duygusal bulduğu, ağlatan, yürek söken işler bizimkine biraz benziyor. Bugünlerde Kore uyarlamalarının artışının sebeplerinden biri bu. Bir de korku filmi yapılıyor. Kore olmasının sebebi Korelilerin bu işle çok uğraşıyor olmaları.

M: Genel olarak uyarlama/yeniden çevrim süreci nasıl işliyor? Bu süreçte en çok nelere dikkat ediliyor?

Önce uyarlama yapılacak hedef kitlenin iyi bir analizinin yapılması gerekiyor. Uyarlamayı yapacak olan senaristlerin teorilerinin iyi olması beklenir. Kaynak dizinin temel temalarının, sahnelerinin iyi analizini yapmak gerekir. Hem de "plot" yani olay örgüsünü ortaya çıkarmak lazım. Tüm bunların ortak noktası tema aslında. Bir de yapımcıya ne kadar serbest hareket edileceği sorulur genelde. Ekseriyetle telifleri ödenmiş oluyor bunların. Yapımcı da şuna karar veriyor: Ne kadar sadık olacağız? Ama ekseriyetle şöyle derler: "İstediğini kullanabilirsin, her şeyi de kullanmak zorunda değilsin". Yani serbest bir uyarlama oluyor genelde ve sen kendi öykünü yazıyorsun. Oradaki duygusal çatışmalar, oradaki temalar, oradaki iç-dış öykü seni ne heyecanlandırıyorsa öyle bir öykü oluşturuyorsun. İzlek, tema ve genel çatışmalar yazarın heyecanlandığı unsurlarla birleşip yeniden oluşturuluyor. Ama araştırma safhası uzun olur. Uyarlama eserin kendisinin de ilham aldığı, beslendiği ve benzediği kaynakları araştırmak lazım. Ya da mesela yirmi birinci yüzyılda ortaya çıkan bir eserse onun benzerleri bulunur ve her zaman yaptığımız gibi bir araştırma dosyası oluşturulur. Bu öykü parçasının da temasal, izleksel ve "genre" (tür) olarak, baş

karakterin çatışması olarak akraba olduğu başka eserler göz önüne alınır ve ilk araştırma böyle yapılır. Özetle temel olarak ana hikâye ve ana karakter, o hikâyenin öykü adımları ve oradan da temanın çıkarılması lazım.

Bütün öyküyü birleştiren şey tema zaten. Tema da aslında A hikayesinin, "bu problemin çözümüne yazarın verdiği cevap nedir," sorusuna verdiği cevap ya onu bulmak lazım önce. Öykünün çekirdeği o sonuçta. Öykünün yazılma sebebi bu.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim bir projede en çok hangi öğe(ler) göz önünde bulundurularak hareket ediliyor? Seyircinin talepleri ve hassasiyetleri mi? Yapımcının talepleri mi? Kanal mı? Dizinin başka ülkelere satış ihtimali mi? Sansür kuruluşları mı?

Y: Türkiye'de yapımcılar öykü teorisi açısından cahil. Çalıştırdıkları elemanlar da öyküden anlayan insanlar değil. Yazarın da muhatabı yapımcı. Birinci olarak işini verip paranı aldığın kişi yapımcı. Türkiye'de yazar izleyici kitlesini düşünerek yazamıyor. Ben isterim ki kendi izleyicimi düşünüp yazayım. Fakat izleyicinin ne düşüneceği konusunda yapımcıyla aynı fikirde olamayabiliyorsun. Yapımcıların çoğunlukla çok da cesur olamadığını söyleyebilirim. Yazarın kaygılarının dışında başka kaygıları olur genelde. Kayserili bir teyzenin de anlayabileceği işler yazılmasını isterler. Mümkün mertebe basit, derinliksiz, iki boyutlu olmasını ister yapımcılar. Sonuç olarak derinliği olmayan hikayelerde sürekli bir çatışma, kriz olması gerekiyor. Herkes birbirinden bir şey saklıyor, herkes diğerine bir şeyler yapıyor. Böyle bir inanç var yapımcılarda. İzleyiciler sürekli kriz seviyor diyorlar. O yüzden aslında biz metafizik bir inanca göre yazıyoruz. Aslında olması gereken ne kadar yapımcı baskısı olsa da öncelikle kendi yazmak istediğini yazmak. Ama sağlıklı bir ortamda olması gereken izleyicinin düşünülmesi tabii. Özetle, derinliksiz, üç boyutlu olamayan, yatay olarak genişleyen, sürekli birilerinin öldüğü, krizlerden oluşan öyküler ortaya çıkıyor. Hepsi böyle olmasa da anlayış bu.

M: Peki, Türk dizilerinin ayırt edici özellikleri olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Yani Türkiye'de üretilen bir diziyi başka bir ülkenin televizyonu için üretilen dizilerden ayırt eden temel özellikler nedir?

Y: Türk dizileri Brezilya dizileri ve onlardan etkilenen Amerikan pembe dizilerinden ortaya çıktı en çok. Bu diziler çok izlendi çünkü Türkiye'de. Bizim dizilerimizi yazmak çok zor. İyi yazıldığı zaman çok da iyi oluyor. Bir ara en büyük ihracat malımız dizilerdi. Bütün Balkanlar, Güney Amerika, Okyanusya ve Arap ülkeleri dizilerimizi satın almaya başlamıştı. Hatta Avrupa ülkelerinden ve Amerika'dan bile talep oldu. Türk dizileri çok uzun. Bir saatin üzerinde bölümler. Bu uzunlukta dizi yaza yaza adamların eli alışıyor tabii. Bizim dizilerin iyi olması için yükselen öykü adımları harmonisini iyi yapıyor olman lazım. Çok adımlı bir bölüm olması gerekiyor. Bu ayırt edici bir özellik. Özetle Türk dizilerinde çok fazla karakter ve çok fazla dramatik yük var. *Game of Thrones*'un son sezonu gibi. Bizde yabancılık ve mağduriyet çok işlenir ana karakter bazında. Ana karakterimiz kurbandır genelde.

M: Tekrar uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilere dönelim. Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim sürecinde senaryoda en büyük değişikliğe sebep olan tema/konu nedir? Bu süreçte eklenen, çıkarılan ya da dönüştürülen noktalar nedir?

Y: Bizde üç boyutlu karakter yapılmasını istemiyorlar. Ana karakterin yanlış yapmasını istemiyorlar. Ana karakter Türk halkının hassasiyetlerine yanlış bir şey yapıyorsa hemen aynı bölümde o yanlıştan dönüş yapılmasını bekliyorlar. Bu da yapıyı bozuyor ve iki boyutlu karakterler ortaya çıkıyor. Karakter korkunç bir şey yapınca hemen cezasını bulsun istiyorlar. Böyle olunca uyarlamalar da uyarlama gibi olmuyor. En büyük sansür bu zaten. Cinsellik vs. değil. Özetle, uyarlamaya kaynaklık eden diziden sadece fikir alınıyor ve arada hoşa giden sahneler alınıyor. *Shameless'*a bak mesela, sadece fakir bir aile eve çocuklar fikri alınmış. Bu sansür bu düzeyde değildi ama gitgide bunun altı çizildi ve demir bir kapıya dönüştü. Eskiden pazarlık yaparak istediklerimizi yaptırabiliyorduk. Türkiye'nin düşünce özgürlüğü sorunu çekmesi bunun sebebi. Bunun sonucunda da en çok bilim ve sanat etkileniyor. Hatta sanat ilk sırada diyebiliriz.

M: Uyarlama/yeniden çevrim dizilerinin senaryosu genellikle grup olarak mı yazılıyor? Senaryo yazım sürecinden bahsedebilir misiniz?

Y: Yüz elli dakikayı bir kişi yazamaz. Diziler pek çok senarist tarafından yazılıyor. Mini bir diziyi bir kişi yazabilir. Sekiz-on bölümlük bir işi yani. Ama bizim diziler yüz elli dakika ve prodüksiyonun her türlü baskısına maruz kaldığın için -şu bölüm şu

kadar izlendi şu sebepten ötürü gibi-. Mesela ilk etapta birkaç bölüm isteniyor senden. İzleyici tepkilerine göre sana müdahale ediyor. Senin öykü tasarlamana bile izin vermiyorlar. Kabataslak tasarlıyorsun ama izleyicinin tepkisine göre değişiyor. Bu çok büyük bir zorluk. Bu sebeple Türkiye'de dizi ekibi diye bir şey var. Birincisi hikayeci. Ana hikâyeyi bulan, karakterleri bulan ve karakterlerin ana çatışmalarını bulan kişi. İkincisi tretmancı –öykü arkının dramatik noktalarının tespitidir. Teknik bir elemandır ve her bölüm ve sezonun metrik yapısını tasarlayan kişidir. Çünkü sahne yazar. Daha genç bir ekiptir bu. Diyalog da yazar yani. Hikayeci, tretmancı ve diyalog yazarları. En az beş-altı kişi olur. Bizim dizilerde iki yüz sahne falan olur ortalama.

M: İzleyici tepkileri nasıl ölçülüyor peki?

Y: Bunun cevabı yok. Aslında olması gereken kontrol gruplarına izletip anket yaptırmaktır. Bu grupların da sürekli değişmesi ve onlardan çıkacak sonuçların raporlanıp dramadan anlayan kişilerle yorumlanması gerekiyor. Bizde de bunu yapan az sayıda şirket var. Ama yorumlamaları da doğru olmuyor. Bak şu yüzden reyting düştü gibi monologlara dönüşüyor.