



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES

**FROM TELEVISION TO INTERNET:
CONVERGENCE IN TELEVISION SERIES IN TURKEY**

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MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, MAY, 2019

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Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the Department of Communication Studies under the Program of New Media.

ISTANBUL, MAY, 2019

I, NEVAL TURHALLI;

Hereby declare that this Master's Thesis I have prepared is entirely my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources in accordance with the rules.

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

TURHALLI, NEVAL. *FROM TELEVISION TO INTERNET: CONVERGENCE IN TELEVISION SERIES IN TURKEY*, MASTER'S THESIS, Istanbul, 2019

THIS STUDY AIMS TO UNDERSTAND THE CONVERGENCE OF TELEVISION SERIES IN TURKEY AS DISTRIBUTION PLATFORMS MOVE FROM TELEVISION TO INTERNET. IT ADOPTS QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS WHERE A NUMBER OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH PRODUCERS, DIRECTORS, SCRIPT WRITERS, CONTENT MANAGERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNET-DISTRIBUTED TELEVISION PLATFORMS WORKING IN BOTH MAINSTREAM TELEVISION AND WEB SERIES. THE STUDY DISCUSSES TECHNOLOGICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONVERGENCE IN TELEVISION SERIES IN TURKEY IN TERMS OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VIDEO ON DEMAND AND MAINSTREAM TELEVISION. THEREFORE, ORIGINAL WEB SERIES OF BLU TV, PUHU TV AND NETFLIX ARE COMPARED WITH MAINSTREAM TELEVISION SERIES IN TERMS OF THEIR PRODUCTION PROCESSES. THE FINDINGS INDICATE THAT CONVERGENCE IS EVIDENT IN THE CASE OF SERIES IN TURKEY. CONSIDERABLE TENDENCY TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION OF AN ORIENTALIST PERSPECTIVE IS OBSERVED IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE SERIES ESPECIALLY DUE TO NETFLIX EFFECTS AND DYNAMICS OF MEDIA GLOBALIZATION.

Keywords: television, internet, series, convergence, video on demand

ÖZET

TURHALLI, NEVAL. *TELEVİZYONDAN İNTERNETE: TÜRKİYE TELEVİZYON DİZİLERİNDE YAKINSAMA*, YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2019.

BU ÇALIŞMA, TÜRKİYE'DE İNTERNET YAYIN PLATFORMLARININ ORTAYA ÇIKMASIYLA BİRLİKTE TELEVİZYON DİZİLERİNDE YAKINSAMA (CONVERGENCE) ODAĞINDA DİZİ YARATICILARININ DENEYİMLERİNİ KEŞFETMEYİ AMAÇLAMİŞTİR. KALİTATİF ARAŞTIRMA YÖNTEMLERİNİ BENİMSEYEN BU ARAŞTIRMA İÇİN YAPIMCI, YÖNETMEN VE SENARYO YAZARLARININ YANI SIRA İNTERNET DİZİ PLATFORMU İÇERİK YÖNETİCİLERİ VE TEMSİLCİLERİ İLE DERİNLEMESİNE GÖRÜŞMELER YAPILMIŞTIR. KATILIMCILAR, HEM ANA AKIM HEM İNTERNET TELEVİZYONU DİZİLERİNİN YAPIMINDA ÇALIŞMIŞ KİŞİLER ARASINDAN SEÇİLMİŞTİR. BU ÇALIŞMANIN SONUCUNDA TÜRKİYE TELEVİZYON DİZİLERİNDE YAKINSAMA, TEKNOLOJİK, KÜLTÜREL VE EKONOMİK OLMAK ÜZERE OLARAK ELE ALINIP ANA AKIM TELEVİZYON İLE İSTEK ÜZERİNE VİDEO (VİDEO ON DEMAND) ARASINDAKİ BENZERLİK VE FARKLILIKLAR ORTAYA KOYULMUŞTUR. BU ANLAMDA BLU TV, PUHU TV VE NETFLİX GİBİ İÇERİK SAĞLAYICI PLATFORMLARIN ORİJİNAL DİZİ YAPIM SÜREÇLERİNİN GELENEKSEL TELEVİZYON DİZİSİ YAPIM SÜREÇLERİNDEN NE BAĞLAMDA FARKLILAŞTIĞI TARTIŞILMIŞTIR. BU ÇALIŞMANIN SONUÇLARI DİZİLERDE YAKINSAMA OLDUĞUNA İŞARET ETMEKTEDİR. AYRICA KÜRESELLEŞME VE NETFLİX ETKİSİ İLE BİRLİKTE TÜRKİYE'DEKİ DİZİLERİN ÜRETİM SÜREÇLERİNDE AZIMSANMAYACAK BİR ORYANTALİST BAKIŞ AÇISININ BULUNDUĞU DA GÖZLEMLENMİŞTİR.

Anahtar Sözcükler: yakinsama, internet dizileri, televizyon, internet

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my advisor, Assoc. Prof. Eylem Yanardağođlu, for her continuous support, and guidance. I also appreciate participants of this study for generously sharing their insights about the transformations in the industry through their personal experiences. Finally, I am grateful to my family and friends for giving me inspiration and encouragement.





To my grandmother

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FROM TRADITIONAL MEDIA TO NEW MEDIA

Evolution of traditional media to new media can be seen in the fact that many traditional media has moved to new media platforms. Similarly, television also adopted to this trend with the rise of online distribution platforms. After the digitalization of the content, it was a lot easier to provide compatibility with internet in the case of television broadcast. Therefore emergence online video on demand platforms was inevitable. Therefore, online television streaming platforms made the issue of non-linear streaming become prominent, liberating audience from the curated television broadcast.

When all these changes were happening, Turkey also kept up with this trend. Firstly, traditional television channels launched their websites in which they broadcasted live programs and also streamed their original television series. At first, this was a great source for the television audience who missed to watch their favorite show or series broadcasted on television. In other words, internet was used as a substitute for television. In addition, these web pages would stream uncensored versions of television shows and series online. In this situation internet was used as an escape platform to stream content that could not be broadcasted on mainstream television. Shortly after, online video on demand platforms were established and the need for original web series came into prominence. Emergence video on demand platforms disrupted television and transformed it greatly in the last few years. Throughout this paper, the issue of how internet transformed the production process of (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2004) television series in Turkey will be discussed. Doing so, how creators respond to the changes in the industry and what their experiences are will be explored.

1.2 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The main focus of the present study is television series that are produced for online video on demand (VOD) platforms in Turkey. This study tries to investigate how convergence of series occurred from the creators' perspective while the broadcast platforms move from

television to internet. In order to understand the issue better, firstly the development of television and television series in Turkey is presented briefly. Later convergence of television and internet, and the emergence online video on demand platforms around the world and in Turkey are discussed. Doing so production processes, audiences, regulation policies, and advertisement strategies have been taken into consideration. Finally, the data retrieved from the participants of this study is analyzed and discussed in relation with three dimensions of convergence which are technological, economic and cultural convergence.

Due to the fact that emergence of internet television is fairly new in Turkey, this study would be one of the pioneers to examine the issue. The main focus of the present study is how production of television dramas in Turkey have been transformed in relation with economic, technological and cultural convergence and how do the creators- writers, producers, directors – respond to these changes. Doing so, detailed interviews were administered to comprehend the experiences these creators about their perceptions of the changes in production process, adaptation to digitalization and future expectations from the industry. In addition to the primary sources, desktop searches, news articles, journals and conference proceedings are used as secondary sources for the present study.

The research question guiding the present study is to what extend convergence of mainstream television and internet television is evident in terms of series production in Turkey. Therefore the transformation process of series are explored through the experiences of creators who worked for production of both television and internet series focusing on similarities and differences between production of series in traditional television and online video on demand platforms . In order to understand the issues better present study seeks to answer the following questions:

- What are the similarities and differences between production process of television and internet series?
- How has the internet transformed the television series production industry?
- How are internet series different from television series in terms of content?

- Comparing television and internet series what are the differences in terms of working style of creators?
- What are the expectations of creators from video on demand platforms?

Analysis made from the outcomes of face-to face interviews is supported with reports from panels and conferences about new media transformation of television series as well as newspaper articles and academic journals. In addition, the notions of video on demand platform managers and representatives are also consulted in order to better explore the issue.



2. DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION AND TELEVISION SERIES IN TURKEY

2.1 EARLY YEARS

In order to have an insight of what is happening in the industry today, it is important to revisit what the past of television has been in Turkey. The history of television in Turkey is rather late compared to Western countries. After the World War II, television was used extensively in the West as the medium for news, entertainment and advertisement (Gerbner et al, 1986). Starting from 1950s and stretching to 1960s. Turkey also followed this trend establishing first national television channel. TRT founded by Turkish Radio and Television Corporation had been only airing radio since 1964 when it broadcasted first television program in 1968. TRT was the first and the only channel which reigned more than 20 years without alternative until first privately owned channel Star TV started broadcasting in 1990. Since then TV has become a major component of daily life in Turkey being in the center of news, entertainment and advertisement.

In year 2000, first digital television Digitürk was founded in Turkey. Digitalization of the content brought many advantages such as providing high quality video and audio, expanding the capacity of broadcast channels, compatibility with internet and enabling interactivity (Eralp, 2010). This innovation also made it possible for people to pause, and-re-watch the content whenever they want to creating the first steps for video on demand services. Eventually, development of online streaming platforms started a totally new era for the television broadcasting both for the world and for Turkey.

2.2 TELEVISION SERIES

In Turkey the history of television series is almost parallel to the history of television itself. The first series which broadcasted on TRT was “Kaynanalar” in 1974. The series became very popular for the television audience and boosted a new culture of series watching. This phenomena continued with importing American then Latin American TV series in the following years. However, serials made in Turkey have always been in the prior choice of the audience, making the industry one of the biggest in the world in the later years.

Turkish TV series became a global trend especially after *Gümüş* (Nour) was broadcasted on MBC satellite television which was owned by Saudi Arabia in 2008 (Yanardagoglu & Karam, 2013). Due to the issues like cultural resemblances and soft power the series were broadcasted in many Arab countries which later spread among Balkan and Latin American countries bringing tremendous fame for Turkish actors and actresses. In 2017, Turkey was named the second in the world after USA to export TV series reaching out 142 countries and a total of 350 million dollars export rate in 2016 (“Türk Dizileri”, 2017).

In 2016 Netflix entered series production market in Turkey, streaming their original content with Turkish subtitles. In 2018 Netflix launched their first original series which is *Hakan: Muhafız/ The Protector*. Meanwhile first examples of local online video on demand platforms which are Blu TV and Puhu TV already started broadcasting movies and series. While Blu TV included international content, Puhu focused on their own productions which were previously broadcasted on mainstream television working under the same conglomerate. Later both these platforms created their original series to be streamed online. Meanwhile, YouTube became a popular streaming platform for low budget online serials. However, as it will be discussed later, YouTube trend did not last long as the bigger budget productions started to take place on video on demand platforms. In order to thoroughly understand the rise of video on demand in Turkey, it is important to examine how the phenomena spread around the world and how it expanded to Turkey with discussing the issue in terms of media convergence.

3. EMERGENCE OF ONLINE TELEVISION

3.1 CONVERGENCE OF TELEVISION AND INTERNET

Convergence is defined by Jenkins as “flow of content on multiple media platforms” (Jenkins, 2006). The term points out blending rather than replacement of one media form by the other. Therefore it refers to an interaction between old and new media through blurring the lines between previously separate platforms. (Meikle & Young, 2012). As Roger Fidler explained before the term convergence was coined, the changes in the media through computerization and digitization could be seen as metamorphosis (Fidler, 1997). Considering this definition, the present study focuses on the transformation experienced in the production of television series taking into account convergence between traditional television and internet television which are video on demand services. Therefore, it is important to re-examine the concept of convergence especially in case of Turkey.

New media is related with the flow of information through distribution channels in relation with technical developments (Castells, 2010). Considering what Castells suggested, information is the main product of our society today. Manovich states our culture going under computerization where general characteristics of new media are identified with numerical representation, modularity, automation, variability, and transcoding. These aspects stand for the computer layer of new media which is not that distinct from the cultural layer, and in other words they shape the culture (Manovich, 2001). However, these explanations are important but not enough thinking the complexity of the new media in terms of convergence. Trevor Barr takes this notion a bit further by saying convergence is blurring the line between media, telecommunications and technology. In other words, going back to Jenkin’s explanation: “Convergence alters the relationship between existing technologies, industries, markets, genres and audiences” (Jenkins, 2006).

As Jenkins predicted, new media reduces expenses of production and distribution while broadening the options of actively engaging with and re-disseminating content; on the other side, the traditional media has been dangerously accumulated around a small proportion of media moguls. According to him these two supposedly contradictory situations were shaping

the media environment then. Now similarly, Turkey has been going through a similar phase concerning both aspects of the media change. Firstly, people do benefit from means of new media in terms of content production and distribution. This can be seen in the case production of low budget internet series becoming very popular.

Secondly, as Jenkins suggests, traditional media concentrates around powerful media conglomerates making it hard for diversity of ideas to be represented including of those who have less economic power. In the case of Turkey, on top of this issue there is one more thing to consider: not only media moguls dominate the mainstream media but they also concentrate around the governing party which sets the agenda for most of the mainstream media. Therefore it can be said that the conditions shaping the media convergence suggested by Jenkins also true for the case of Turkey also with existence of some political exceptions.

As it is stated, the three dimensions of convergence which are technological, economic and cultural set the theoretical background for the present study. Technological convergence refers to “coming together of all forms of mediated communications in an electronic, digital form, driven by computers” (Pavlik, 1996). Economic convergence underlies the conglomerates in terms of one business being active on multiple industries (Aaron et al, 2002). Finally, cultural convergence refers to the globalization process of media content (Pavlik & MacIntosh, 2004). All these dimensions, of convergence trigger change in organization, type, content, use, distribution, audience, profession of media and also changes in attitudes and values (Pavlik & MacIntosh, 2004). This paper aims to explore these three elements of convergence in regards to the changes they bring to industry of television series in Turkey from the perspectives of creators. Before, that, it is important to revisit differences between traditional television and online video on demand platforms with a respect to literature which are; audiences, regulation policies and advertisement.

3.1.1 Audiences

In terms of the audience of television, there has been a great deal of literature suggesting a distinction between the audiences of traditional television and online television. Literature

focuses on the audience of internet series, saying that internet series have a fairly young audience which could be considered as digital natives. As it is suggested in 2001, digital natives are referred as the generation that was born into the world with digital technological improvement. This generation covers the youngsters that were born after the year 2000 and usually referred as “Millennials” (Prensky, 2001). It is thought that the production of internet series will grow rapidly in the future, but the audience will consist of this young generation that is referred as millennials, however the older generation which could be referred a “digital immigrants” will continue to watch series on television and they will stick to the series that are made solely for mainstream television (Erguney, 2017).

The assumed distinction between digital natives and digital immigrant is important because this audience of older generation is thought to be shaping the content and the form of series in traditional television. On the other hand online television’s content is thought to be made for digital natives. Therefore a distinction between the audiences of two platforms also creates a distinction between their form and content of these platforms. However, It is stated by a former study that content is not the explanation for audience to prefer internet distributed television. Therefore user experience is a much more explanatory concept needing more attention (Lotz, et al., 2018). In other words, the reason why the audience prefers to watch online television is more about their watching habit than the content of online television. This brings another angle to the issue of digital natives and immigrants. In addition to the issue of audiences, there are also two factors shaping the structure of television series in terms of both form and content. First, is the regulation system, strictly controls what should or should not be on television screen, especially in the case of television series. Second is advertisement, meaning that advertisers also have a say on the content of the serials, otherwise they clearly do not finance them.

3.1.2 Regulation Policies

Another important thing to mention is the regulation policies. Traditional television is mainly regulated by RTUK (Radio and Television Supreme Council) in Turkey. As it could be

imagined, there are very strict rules in the making process of television series. The scenes that include lovemaking, profanity and even smoking is now prohibited by the council. Therefore there is a great advantage of internet series in terms of freedom of content as internet is not as strictly controlled as television. There are many examples where the same episode is streamed differently on internet then it is broadcasted on television. As it was stated in the Conference of New Approaches to New Media:

Today serials, have become the most popular genre of Turkish television programs. But in recent years severe sanctions are applied to national channels by RTÜK for this serials. This situation is inconsistent with "freedom of speech". The impact of this problem, national channels have begun to broadcast "uncensored" versions of serials using their own websites. Thus, the internet has become an area of freedom for television channels. (Baykal, 2015)

Therefore internet becomes an alternative for traditional television to avoid restrictions of RTUK. Online televisions seems to explore this freedom a lot more as they are not obliged yet to follow instructions of RTUK. However the new regulations announced in 2018 suggest intention of the council towards controlling of internet platforms. The details of the new regulation scheme will be discussed in more detail later in the following chapters.

3.1.3 Advertisement

Advertisement is a major factor concerning the making of both television and internet series in Turkey. Television series have always been a great attraction for advertisers to promote their product, service etc. However, this has turned television series into some kind of commercial platforms only. Therefore, television series, now extending to almost 140 minutes for one episode have become the main platform of advertisers. This attracts the national television a lot because they only pay for one content extending to more than two hours which provides a lot of room for advertisement.

Long episodes on television series also serve an international purpose for producers. As it is known for a fact Turkish TV series have been dominating the Middle Eastern, Balkan and Latin American television for almost two decades. After the great success of Gümüş / Silver

(2008) in the Arab satellite, Turkish producers turned their faces to these markets in terms of series production (Yanardagoglu & Karam, 2013). Because now they could sell their series to the world with dividing one episode into more episodes suitable for the format of named countries. For example one episode, which is around 140 minutes in Turkey, is divided into smaller episodes and sold to the world as daily episodes broadcasted throughout one week.

These practices have been in the center of arguments concerning work conditions and wage gap between the cast and the crew of television series. Additionally, the condition about the length of television series is another motivation for internet-series makers in terms being distinct from television, as the internet series have a lot shorter episodes and seasons. So far, for internet series 1 season is around 8-13 episodes and one episode is around 40-60 minutes long (Erguney, 2017).

For online television, advertisement works differently than television. Some platforms being subscription based platforms, do not fully depend on advertisement financially but still apply some product placement in the content. Some platforms on the other hand, both apply product placement and also have commercial breaks when streaming content online. No matter what the financial strategy is, online video on demand platforms seem to have differences with traditional television in terms of regulatory systems and their relationship with advertisement industry.

3.2 VIDEO ON DEMAND SERVICES IN THE WORLD

Amanda Lotz describes internet television as all online platforms where series are produced with same professional standards of television industry are distributed (Lotz, et al., 2018). Over the top media services are platforms that can stream online without any need for multiple system operators. Even though the term is used to refer especially to subscription based video on demand services, there are three subdivisions of video on demand media services. These are; SVOD (Subscription-based video on demand) services, AVOD (Advertisement-supported video on demand) services and TVOD (Transactional video on demand) services. To give examples, while Netflix and Amazon set examples for SVOD

platforms, Tubi is an AVOD platform, finally, iTunes and Google Play are TVOD platforms. This study primarily focuses on SVOD and AVOD platforms as these are the ones producing original series for online streaming in Turkey.

3.2.1 Subscription Video on Demand (SVOD)

Advertisement became so dominant in television industry that it started to manipulate content of the medium. Due to the fact that the advertisers wanted to reach out general audience and would not be happy with profanity, and sexual content, televisions started to restrict serials and other forms in order to be suitable for advertisers' demands. This triggered a situation in which the audience turned their faces to the online platforms in order to find what they want to watch.

Therefore, it can be said that the main purpose of subscription based video on demand has been defined as creating a platform where the audience sponsors the content in order to watch what they demand. Due to the fact that traditional media depends heavily on advertisement in terms of content production, this affects both the content and the form of the content produced among the world. Even though advertisers do not determine the content, they still exist in internet serials with techniques of active and passive product placement. However, ideally, they do not interfere with what the content should be.

3.2.2 Advertisement Based Video on Demand (AVOD)

Unlike SVOD platforms, AVOD's prior source for finance is advertisement. Today one of the biggest platform operating as an SVOD service can be seen as YouTube. Some other major platforms applying advertising-based revenue model in the world are Tubi and Crackle. AVOD Platforms depend on advertisement for their financial strategy, so even though there is not payment to consume the content, there are commercial breaks as the audiences view the content. In addition, just like SVOD platforms, AVOD services also apply active and passive product placement in the content.

3.3 ONLINE STREAMING PLATFORMS IN TURKEY

As the change continued in the world, Turkey also followed up the trend of video-on-demand. At first it was through, illegal websites, including content from all around the world. However, later some internet distributed television platform started to appear. Dramatic spread of video on demand services has transformed the perception and the expectation of the audience about series. In Turkey, the change occurred step by step, firstly people went after watching TV series on the internet, on websites of specific TV channels or on YouTube. Later, making series to be released only on YouTube became a trend. Otisabi (2013) was the first of these series. This trend continued and made possible for Sıfır Bir – Zero One, (2016) to become a major hit on YouTube. There was a big change when Netflix started broadcasting in Turkey at the beginning of 2016. This triggered first local online streaming platforms like Blu TV and Puhu TV to emerge. This study will focus on three online streaming platforms in the focus of internet series production in Turkey which are Netflix Turkey, Blu TV and Puhu TV.

3.3.1 Netflix

As the company enhances launching branches around the world, Netflix entered Turkey in 2016. Firstly, the platform streamed Netflix content from all around the world, such as La Casa de Papel and Black Mirror with options of Turkish subtitles and dubbing. Then in 2018 the company launched the first Netflix Turkey original series called Hakan: Muhafız /The Protector. Seems like Netflix has found a solid ground in Turkey, as series had more than ten million views all around the world, and so the company announced two more series to come soon, which are “Ottoman Rising” and “Atiye” (NTV, 2019). Just like The Protector, both these series include star actors and actresses whose fame have spread out of Turkey, reaching out the Middle East, Balkans and Latin America. The content of Netflix will be discussed in terms of orientalism later in this paper with respect to the Netflix effect in Turkey.

3.3.2 Blu TV

The pioneer of SVOD in Turkey is Blu TV, which uses the same strategy as Netflix, both of which are subscription based video on demand platforms. Blu TV is an online streaming platform that used to be a part of Doğan Digital of Doğan Medya, owned by a former media mogul Aydın Doğan. Later, Doğan Medya was sold to Demirören Holding, however, Blu TV was kept separate from this transfer, remaining with Doğan Holding. In 2017 Blu TV announced their first original project Masum/ Innocent (2017). It was a big budget web serial and included some very famous actors and was produced by D productions which was the major production company for Doğan Medya. However after release of Masum/ Innocent, Doğan Medya was sold to Demirören Holding. This situation left Blu TV without the support of D Productions. Since then the platform aimed low-budget, genuine content in terms their original productions. Blu TV is right now the most active streaming platform in terms of original series production. They have produced total of twelve original series from the establishment of the platform.

In the meantime, YouTube trend started to die off especially when Sıfır Bir (2016) changed its platform to Blu TV. This brought a lot of new subscribers to the platforms. After this transfer, from the perspectives of creators, as one of the screenwriters participated in the present study explained, the distinction between Blu TV and Puhu TV was clear. If they had low-budget production cost with non-famous players but with lots of impact due to the uniqueness of the content, then the address was Blu TV. On the other hand, if the content required big budget with well-known actors / actresses, then they would present it to Puhu TV.

3.3.3 Puhu TV

Puhu TV is the biggest representor of AVOD which depends heavily on advertising similar to YouTube. Puhu was found in 2016 by Dogus Media Group which is another media conglomeration in Turkey. They first started streaming series, initially made for traditional television, online but then they created their original internet series. Puhu TV released their

first originals, *Fi -Phi* (2017), which was an all-stars project featuring some of the most famous TV-series celebrities. Later *Şahsiyet / Persona* was released bringing a lot of attention. Puhu TV's last streamed originals was called *Dip /The Bottom*. Even though their last project did not create the publicity as the first two series, it still reached a good amount of people.

The distinction between Puhu TV and other video on demand platforms in Turkey is not only the fact that Puhu TV is an advertisement supported VOD service, and Blu TV and Netflix are subscriber supported VOD platforms. The difference lies in the mentality of these platforms when they were first formed other than their business model. To clarify, Puhu TV was established as a platform where the originals were produced to be both for streaming on the internet and broadcasting on television. The idea was to stream unregulated content on internet and then censored version on television where both platforms working under the conglomerate of Doğuş Medya could benefit. However things did not go as predicted for Puhu TV for three reasons; firstly, the regulation package announced by RTUK also intended to internet content. Second, their big hit *Fi/Phi* did not get attention from the television audience. Finally, Doğuş Medya had some financial troubles over the last year. It is not known which of these reasons are more dominant but the final situation is that Puhu TV has not launched or announced to stream new original series for almost one year.

All of these platforms, including the ones serving worldwide, do stream feature films, documentaries and television programs and other types of content beside the serials. However, because the focus of the present study is television series, throughout this paper, only content in focus is the original productions of these online video-on demand platforms.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 PURPOSE

Purpose of this study is to understand convergence of television series as distribution platforms move from traditional television to internet. Doing so the perceptions and experiences of the people working in the production of both television series and internet series were explored in order to get a detailed insight about the issue. Therefore, qualitative research was applied and interviews were used for data collection. Before explaining how the study was carried, it is important to point out what certain terminology refers to. Hence, the definitions should be stated clearly in order to avoid complications.

4.2 DEFINITIONS

In order to better address the issues, it is important to make operational definitions concepts. Firstly, in the present study traditional media and mainstream media refers to free-to-air, cable, satellite television whereas the new media platforms refer to online distribution of television content. Therefore, concepts like “internet television, internet distributed television, online television, digital television, web television, and video on demand are all used as synonyms in order to describe internet streaming platforms for television content (Lotz, et al., 2018). Similarly for this study, internet television refers to the SVOD and AVOD services that are currently active in Turkey. This is because these are the only form of video on demand platforms that actively produce original series for internet. Finally, SVOD platforms consist of Blu TV and Netflix, while AVOD refers to Puhu TV.

In addition, convergence as it is explained detailed in the introduction refers to the blending of previously distinct media technologies and media forms (Meikle & Young, 2012), due to digitization and computer networking. As Jenkins defines it, convergence refers to the stream of content on multiple media industries with interrelation of media convergence, participatory culture and collective intellect (Jenkins, 2006). As convergence theory sets the theoretical framework for the present study, participants are selected considering convergence of television series. Therefore, creators which are producers, directors,

scriptwriters and crew members who have worked for both in making of television series and internet series participated in the present study.

4.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research design was administered with inductive approach for the present study. Doing so, interpretivist epistemological view and constructionist ontological view have been implemented. The reason for adapting this research method was to get detailed insight about the transformation of television series with focusing more on the process rather than outcomes, in order to explore the phenomena better. For data collection, face-to-face interviews were carried out with twelve participants, eight of whom working both for traditional television and online television. In addition to primary sources for data collection, the analysis in the present study was done with the inclusion of secondary sources like desktop research and newspaper articles as well as conference reports. Finally, data irrelevant from the topic of the study is eliminated in the analysis process. For the sake of explaining the methodology, it is significant to examine the participants, in depth interviews and analysis process with more detail.

4.3.1 Participants

The participants of this study consisted of eleven adults mostly reside in Istanbul and eight of them have worked for making of both television series and internet series. The participants were selected from people who worked in the creative part of serial production as producer, director, scriptwriter, crew member. The participants were firstly identified using IMDB and Sinematürk websites in order to ensure they are eligible for the sample, meeting the requirement of having worked for both traditional television series and online television series. After participants were shortlisted, then came the longest process of the present research which was reaching out to them through their acquaintances or social media accounts, personal e-mails or mobile numbers and convincing them to take part in the research.

As it is stated one way of reaching out the participants was contacting them through their social media accounts, such as Facebook and Instagram. To be honest, this was a quite productive process as many of the people responded back positively. Another way to reach the participants was attending panels and conferences carried out especially about digital transformation and online television. During this period firstly the panel titled “Televizyon Yayınıcılığında Dijital Dönüşüm / Digital Conversion in Television Broadcasting” at Galatasaray University was attended where one of the participants was contacted. Later, Beyond 24 Istanbul Conferences held at Kadir Has University was attended to meet people working in the industry. Finally Meetings on the Bridge panel titled “Dizilerin Dijitale Dönüşümü/ Transformation of Series to Digital” was attended to reach out certain producers, directors, screenwriters. All these events both provided chance to reach out the participants and also contributed to the present study in terms of providing some fresh information about the changing industry. Therefore, even though some speakers were not interviewed personally, their perspectives they pointed out at the panels are also included to the present study.

After reaching out some possible sample, and conducting interviews with the ones interested, snowball sampling technique was applied to get in touch with the rest of the participants. During the interviews voice recorder was used besides taking notes. The semi structured interview was conducted while adding some probing and questions. All interviews were carried out face-to-face with obtaining informed consent from participants. In addition, ethical guidelines of Kadir Has University Ethics Committee were followed carefully as the study included human factor. The whole process of interviewing took around three months starting in February 2019 to May 2019.

At the end, the participants consisted of three people from production team (one producer, two production managers), four people from directing team (three directors, one second director), and two screenwriters. Participants reported to have been working for the industry for an average of ten years. It should be noted that participants have worked interchangeably in their jobs. In other words, they have worked under varying job titles. For example, a participant who had worked for production team later worked in directing team or vice versa.

Similarly some participants also had multi-titles meaning a director working also as a producer. In addition to the creative team, one content manager from Blu TV and one representative from Netflix were also interviewed. It should be noted that the anonymity is used for confidentiality so the participants were addressed not by their names but with their work title in the digital platform they worked for.

Three online video on demand platforms operating in Turkey which are, Netflix Turkey, Blu TV and Puhu TV are included in the present study. As it is stated, a content manager from Blu TV and one representative from Netflix were also interviewed in order to better understand these platforms. However, managers from Puhu TV could not be reached throughout the period the present study was conducted. The serials from Blu TV consisted of “Bozkır”, “7Yüz” , “Dudullu Postası”, In addition, “Dip” from Puhu TV and “Hakan: Muhafız” from Netflix also consisted of serial projects participants have worked for. Apart from web serials, participants also had worked for serials broadcasted on varying range of mainstream television channels to like; Kanal D, TRT, ATV, Fox TV and so on.

One of the drawbacks faced while reaching out the sample was the fact that they consisted of people who were in a rather busier job compared to other industries. Many people turned down interviews merely because they did not have time. Another drawback was the fact that minority of participants, directors, have taken part in production of internet series but not television series. In other words, they have been in making of feature films, documentary films and commercials but stayed away from television for varying reasons. However, it is important to mention majority of serial directors have been selected by online television platforms for their non-television drama background. Finally, even though these directors did not take part in television series, they still had detailed information about the working conditions of traditional television.

Last but not the least, because the number of internet series is thin on the ground, it was very hard to balance the number of people working for each VOD platform equal in terms of proportion of participants. Therefore, the number of people who worked in original productions of Blu TV outnumbered the others. However, this makes sense especially

considering Netflix only launched one original series, Puhu TV launched three; while Blu TV launched around twelve original series in the last two years.

4.3.2 In-Depth Interviews

Semi-Structured interview was used for data collection. Semi structured interviews lead the conversation also letting the interviewees give information that is significant to them but not mentioned in the interview questions (Seidman, 1998). Twenty questions in the semi-structured interview covered the issues of how internet transformed the making series in Turkey. The questions sought to understand perceptions of creators about the transformations in the industry while getting detailed insight about experiences of participants about the transformation. The interview is used as a data collection method in the present study in order to comprehend the participants' perspectives let their opinions heard through qualitative methodology while answering the research question.

Firstly, the participants were asked how long they had been working in the industry and which series projects they had worked in. Later participants were asked about regulation policies, digital marketing, international market and expectations about the industry with applying probing questions. Participants compared and contrasted their experiences of producing for traditional television and producing for digital platforms. Some questions with no or low response rate were later eliminated and were not included in the analysis. Ten of the interviews were carried out face to face in rather quiet environment, where the participants can fully focus on the process. The interviews were recorded obtaining informed consent from the participants. In addition to the voice records, the researcher also took notes on while conducting the interviews. Therefore, repetitive patterns occurred in each interview were noted. In addition, one interview was conducted through emailing as one of the participants whose notions were extremely important to this study, lived in Amsterdam at the time and had no plans of coming to Istanbul. The analysis is made with assuming the data retrieved from the participants are trusted.

4.3.3 Analysis

As it is pointed out before in this paper in depth interviews are used as primary sources for the present study. In addition to interviews there are secondary sources which are desktop search, academic journal examinations and outcome of conference participation. Desktop search included newspaper articles, blogs and many trusted internet content related with the data. In addition, academic articles and books were obtained through Kadir Has University Library and online database, online academic journals Therefore, for this study, analysis is made through conjunction of the data gathered from both primary sources and the secondary sources.

For the interviews firstly, the audio-recorded interviews were documented into words. Then the data was categorized thematically from the participants' answers. Researcher's notes taken during the interviews were also utilized in this process. However, note-taking did not structure the basis for the data as the researcher had to focus on the process of asking questions and carrying out the interviews, so the recording process was more significant. Data from interviews were then integrated with the data provided through newspaper articles, blogs and academic journals. Analysis was made with regards to the data from both primary and secondary sources in the light of the literature in the field.

Constant comparative approach was used while analyzing the data. The analysis through the constant comparative method is about "process of taking information from data collection and comparing it to emerging categories" (Cresswell, 1998). In addition, constant comparative method is also defined as the researcher coming up "with a particular incident from an interview, field notes, or document" and comparing with "another incident in the same set of data or in another set" (Merriam, 1998). These comparisons carry on during the data collection processes in order to collect more data. Meaning that, through analyzing data researcher revisits interview questions and asks probing questions when needed, concentrating on responses that are comparable to circumstances depicted by participants. Constant comparative method is also referred as data analysis "comparing research sites, doing theoretical sampling, and testing emergent concepts with additional fieldwork" (Patton, 2002). The present study is exploratory research, in which the focus is on

understanding fairly unexplored field of study in order to contribute to the literature for further studies (Cresswell, 1998) utilizing the constant comparative method of data analysis.



5. RESULTS

This part contains analysis of data obtained through conjunction of primary sources which are detailed interviews and secondary sources which are desktop search and article examination and .conference/ panel impressions. The results of the present study pointed out that transformation of the industry while television moves to online platforms, are divided into three parts. Firstly, changes in the production process are discussed with regards to work conditions, and production companies and the measurement of data from both television and internet series. Secondly, changes in the content are pointed out referring to narration, narrative and regulation Finally, the issue of content interchange is discussed in terms of content traffic between traditional television and video on demand services.

5.1 CHANGES IN PRODUCTION

One of the most important characteristics of internet series was found to be the fact that most of the creative titles were imported from either cinema or advertisement industry. As it was mentioned before in the participants section, the target participants for this study consisted of people who have worked for in the production both television series and web-series. It was very difficult to reach out people also because the creators' previous jobs did not include traditional television series. For example, most of the directors were selected from people who directed feature films, documentaries and mostly commercials. Similarly, production executives also consisted of people who mainly work for feature films, advertisement. However, none of these crew members had history of working for traditional television A possible explanation for this could be the characteristics of production companies, digital platforms has chosen to collaborate with. Therefore it is important to discuss the types of production companies

Blu TV used to be a sub-branch of Doğan Digital and produced their first originals with D Productions which was the main series production company for Doğan Medya. However, after the media company was sold, they have since mainly worked with small scale production companies or freelance producers, whose profession are feature films and

sometimes documentaries. For example, “Birfilm”, the company produced 7Yüz series is responsible from the distribution of festival films in Turkey. Similarly Bartu Ben / I am Bartu was produced by an independent film producer.

On the other hand, Netflix has chosen a different path working with companies who have international base. For example, “O3 Production Services” produced Hakan: Muhafız / The Protector and “Karga7” is working on “Ottoman Rising” new series to be streamed on Netflix. O3 Production Services is partners with Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC), an organization which is focuses on the success of Turkish television series in the Middle East and the world. In addition, Karga7 is a multinational company whose headquarters is based in Los Angeles. Both these companies who worked with Netflix, share the advantage of being international cooperation. One way or the other SVOD platforms in Turkey have not yet worked with major production companies that have been producing series for traditional television for almost two decades.

Puhu TV, operating as AVOD platform chose to produce its web series with major production companies, who have dominated the industry in the production of series for traditional television. For example, Puhu TV’s first two hits which are Fi/Phi and Şahsiyet/Persona were produced by “Ay Yapım”, the company that produced most high rated television dramas in Turkey. Another company, they worked with for the production of Dip / The Bottom was “TMC”, which is a major production company for music, television series and for more than twenty years. Both these companies also produce television series for mainstream channels owned by Doğuş Medya. However, the status of Puhu TV, which will be discussed later in this paper seems a bit unsteady for now.

Therefore it can be said that there is a diversity of production companies in terms of producing internet series. It is not known whether, it is correlated with working with different companies, or choosing directors with rather new-faces, but the fact is the narration of storytelling is also changing in the case of internet series produced for digital platforms. Both the theme and the style of storytelling seems to have gone under some changes as new series emerged on digital platforms. As this is a significant aspect of web-series, it is important to discuss the changes in content with more detail.

5.1.1 Working Conditions

One of the biggest issues in the making of traditional television series was poor working conditions. Episodes stretching to 140 minutes are hard to complete in only one week surely for every crew member working television series. The working hours were stretched to sixteen hours per day and sometimes even more according to unofficial sources. This situation created poor work conditions and workplace deficiencies for both cast and the crew. In addition, as all of the participants mentioned in the making of internet series, one of the main changes was about the length of episodes which is around 40-60 minutes. Another change was the fact that episodes were finished and the season was completed before the streaming date (Bağdatlıoğlu, 2019). Meaning that, the crew did not rush to complete episodes weekly; therefore, cast and the crew were more lenient in terms of working hours. In many cases the working hours were determined by the Cinema and Television Union, which is twelve hours per day.

As there were examples of improvements in the work conditions, there are also examples of incompatibility with the working conditions of web-series. As some of the participants said they heard other series applied new working conditions, but they failed to do so due to some technical issues. In the making of Blu TV original Dudullu Postası (Dudullu Post) and Puhu TV production Dip (The Bottom) the crew started with working hour schedule determined by the union, but later had to change it because they needed to hurry up to finish the season. Therefore as creators of these series mentioned, they almost ended up with same working conditions as making of the mainstream television series.

Even though there are problems, production of web series seems to be attempt trial and error method in terms of changing work conditions. The circumstances are not yet finalized but it is important to explore the experiences of creators with the changes in the work conditions. In terms of the attitudes of the creators towards the work conditions, they mentioned, working less hours made them more creative in the field they work as they had more time to think about how to contribute to the story. Both participants of present study and also the speakers of panels stated they were more satisfied of their job. One of the directors who produced content for Blu TV mentioned, even if they were paid less because of shorter working hours,

they were more attached to their work and felt more fulfilled, because they were happy with what they were producing.

5.1.2 Data versus Rating

One of the major differences between traditional media and new media is the fact that new media actively uses the data analytics retrieved from users. In other words, while traditional television series depend on ratings in terms of audiences' data; internet serials depend on data analytics for audience measurement. For SVOD platforms, not only the click rate, but also how much time the audience spends on the platform is also crucial. Especially churn rate is important to identify audience's behavior in terms of how many subscribers watch a particular the content, how many people watch the content till the end what other content do the subscribers watch beside that particular content.

Television content rating system works differently compared to the data analytics. The system primarily measures the content in terms of compatibility of the viewer's age and defining period of time suitable for that certain content. This is to understand how much the content is viewed by audiences. Secondly, to decide whether the content is proper for which age group, therefore the appropriate time of the day for each content is determined. For example, "prime time" refers to the time period which is the highest rated so the content should be proper for general audience.

On the contrary, for online video on demand platforms use of data is a defining characteristic as these platforms highly prioritize their audience's behavior and the feedback obtained through data. Through this way platforms create personalized interface for their customers which is a distinctive feature of online video on demand platforms while ensuring non-linearity. In addition, the platforms also get information about their audience's preferences in terms of what type of content to include, their demographic information and so on. Netflix is especially famous for using the data from audience even for digital marketing. Meaning that viewers with different personality gets to watch different trailers of the same series on

their social media newsfeed (Bağdatlıoğlu, 2019). Therefore even the commercials are customized through the analysis of the data obtained from the audience.

Digital platforms, on top of providing information about what the subscriber behavior within an episode is, the data also provides information inter-episodes (Kalfaoğlu, 2019). Meaning the information can be obtained about what audience does during one episode, it also compares the information between episodes. For example, there is analytical information about demographics of subscribers who watch a certain episode. There is also information about what other series a certain subscriber enjoys watching. This is important for the SVOD platforms as they can use AI effectively in order to suggest content to the subscribers which works as a booster for the platforms as they reach out more solid users.

In addition to helping understand the characteristics of the audience, data analytics also works as a great tool for advertisement as they can easily reach out their target audience. For example, an advertiser who wants to give advertisement to a platform can easily get the demographic information and watching habits of the targeted audience. Digital platforms relations with algorithms and AI are not only used for statistics but also for marketing strategies.

5.1.3 Digital Marketing Strategies

From the interviews with Blu TV content manager and Netflix representation it is understood that there is no certain formula or strategy that is applied to the marketing presentations of the content. They mentioned the genre, the target audience, the target group of the campaign is different according to the goal they want to reach. Therefore, there are many different components in mind while marketing content online. It is important to point out digital platforms mentioned to work with social media agents and PR agencies for digital marketing campaigns considering all these components.

As it has been mentioned, one of the most prominent distinction of online video-on demand platforms is that they use algorithms and AI to provide personalized content. As it was mentioned, Netflix's this one of the biggest strengths of the platforms and its biggest contribution to video-on-demand industry is customization. Netflix provides tailor made streaming for the viewers. Similarly, Blu TV also reported to use the data from the audience to create personalized content. Both these platforms also apply SEO (Search Engine Optimization) techniques in order to effectively appear on the web. SEO refers to application of AI algorithms to boost the views and interactivity on search engines. Frequently used by businesses for marketing purposes, SEO is also used by online video on demand platforms. However, as there is a team of computer engineers working in their departments, participants of the study did not have any further information about the usage of SEO.

Social media, being one of the strongest digital marketing tools, has not been reported to be used effectively for digital marketing of the series. In the case of the present study there is not enough data for the use of social media for digital marketing. Distribution platforms reported to work with social media team, but they did not provide further information about applying any kind of strategies. Except for one of the series streamed on Blu TV which is *7Yüz /7Faces*. These series were intentionally named by the distributing platform in order to get solid interaction rate from the audience. Meaning that, the number and the words were written attached, on purpose. With this way, the platform intended to keep track on hashtags, searches, mentions and all kinds of social media interactions without complications from other content with similar names. Finally, in contrast to online platforms little efforts of managing social media, traditional television series have been using these platforms frequently to interact with the audiences and boost ratings.

5.2 CHANGES IN THE CONTENT

5.2.1 Narrative Changes

Before explaining the changes in the content as television series move to digital platforms, it is important to understand how the digital televisions in Turkey manifest themselves. As Blu

TV puts it, their prior concern is to create or include content that could not be found in traditional television (Kalfaoğlu, 2019). In other words, web series are expected to be distinct from the television series, in terms of their storytelling and plot. The directors, and the screenwriters participated the present study all emphasized these changes in the narrative. In other words, in the way the story is different on video on demand platforms compared to the mainstream television. Therefore the elements of narrative which are cinematography, script, editing, sound and so on are used differently.

Firstly talking about the differences in story, as it was mentioned internet series focus on telling different stories that could not be found on traditional television. As one of the scriptwriters of Puhu TV who participated in this study mentioned, the stories on traditional television are very similar and sometimes the same. The typical melodramatic mode could be found in every single television serial. The main plot which is a love story seems to dominate traditional television series. However, internet series seems to challenge this notion with inclusion of many more stories with distinctive characters. For example, Hakan: Muhafız/ The Protector tells the story of a superhero who is assigned to protect Istanbul from evil. Similarly Bozkır / Steppe focuses on the story of two detectives who work in homicide department. The narrative differences in the perspective of screenwriters is significant to mention here. According to the participants of the present study, traditional television tends to tell more family drama while internet series focus on non-family stories. Meaning that online video on demand platforms gives more opportunities to portray the stories of anti-heroes and wicked plots.

Talking about superheroes and detectives, it is evident that changes in narrative goes along with changes in genre. Meaning that the storytelling in web-series follows some codes and conventions peculiar to the genre of the series. Therefore, the cinematographic elements and editing techniques are apparently different in internet series. For example usage of dramatic lighting, applying unorthodox camera angles more possible in internet series than traditional television series which generally apply the formula of wide-angle shot and two close shots in every single scene with extremely bright lighting. As it is stated previously in this paper, this is more a result of time restriction rather than an artistic choice for the case of traditional

television series. For the case of online video on demand platforms, the shooting style should also be discussed in terms of technological convergence. It is suggested that internet search done on smartphones suppressed the search done on desktop for the first time in 2016 (Gibbs, 2016). Today most of the watching of web series is done through smartphones and tablets. Therefore, cinematographic elements also change accordingly with technological convergence. To be precise, the participants who were directors, reported to utilize more convenient shots considering the content would be viewed on small-screens.

5.2.2 Regulatory Differences

Despite there are conflicting arguments about whether internet distribution can be regulated, Lotz et al suggest that in fact that it can be regulated. It is stated that authoritarian governments do interfere with the content in contrast to what is expected. (Lotz, et al., 2018). As it is discussed in the previous chapters, sexual content and profanity are most likely to be regulated from traditional television. As all the creators pointed out, this was one of the biggest changes internet series brought with it. Scriptwriters, for example, said they felt a lot more comfortable creating deeper characters and real-life situations than they did for television series. However, digital platforms insist that these two factors are not the only determinants for creating different content. They emphasize the importance of the story and stylistic aspects to be more significant.

Despite the regulatory differences between television and internet, the latest attempts of RTUK targeting internet distributed content is worrying. The latest “Regulation on the presentation of radio broadcasts on the internet” entered into force not only requiring license from video on demand platforms but also demanding these platforms to share data information of users with RTUK (Ucar, 2018) However, the regulation got lots of criticism and was revised, lifting the part concerning user data. Despite the supporters of regulation claimed that the regulation was carried out in accordance with the regulations recently adopted by the European Union internet publications, many people criticized the regulations in the sense that it is found to be vague and open to interpretation (Köker, 2018) Even though

the council stepped back this time, it is not clear what their next motivation would be concerning coming years.

5.2.3 Interchangeability of the Content

In the case of web-originals, there are two circumstances of interchangeability: Firstly, if content is aimed to be broadcasted on traditional television it is predicted not be successful on digital platforms or vice versa. There seems to be interchange of content between the local SVOD platforms and global SVOD platforms. As it is stated in the analysis part there is an interplay between the original productions of Blu TV and Netflix Turkey. Meaning that one platform streams the other's content on their platform. Another example which was explained in detail in the analysis is the situation of Sıfır Bir in Blu TV. Previously YouTube content complied with Blu TV as a distribution platform and it was a great success. This also complies with the fact that digital platforms have their own codes and conventions, and apparently these codes are coherent with each other in the context of local and global online video on demand platforms at least for the case of Turkey.

As it was mentioned, internet series had trouble when they broadcasted on traditional television. Similarly as analysis of the interviews also showed that serial projects that are mainly prepared to be broadcasted on traditional television were not successful on digital platforms. One of the original series by Blu TV, “Dudullu Postası (Dudullu Post)” is originally a comic serial intended to be adapted as television series. Producers initially created the series to be broadcasted on television, but then signed the contract with Blu TV and things started to change. The characters and the main plot were firstly designed for a 120 minute television episode. However script writers were asked to adopt the content to digital platform so they created shorter episodes from the original script. The process, of course created some troubles in terms of storytelling. Then the genre of the serials changed after the stream of fifth episode. The serial which was designed to be comedy, started to get darker after the 6th episode and became a fantastic-thriller. It is not known whether this transformation was done due to the changes in narration stated in the present study, but the

decision came from an agreement between the creators and the streaming platform. Similarly, two of the most- watched internet serials, “Masum (Innocent)” from Blu TV and the “Fi (Phi)” from Puhu TV were later broadcasted on television, and they did not get expected attraction from the audience.

A possible explanation to especially Masum’s and Fi’s failure on traditional television could be the differences in the regulation of two platforms. Due to their content, Masum was broadcasted very late at night, and Fi was strictly regulated to fit the terms of traditional television. Meaning that love scenes were cut, and all of the swearing was muted. After these changes, the remaining content might have not appealed to the audience of traditional television. Secondly, differences in narration could also be another explanation to this situation. Masum and Fi were initially made for the audience of internet. Therefore, the storytelling style is formed as distinct as possible from the narration of traditional television. Hence, at the end, it was not so appealing to the audience of traditional television. Before making a conclusion it should be considered that the audience who were interested in these series had already watched them online before they were broadcasted on television.

Similarly, Dudullu Postası was created for the audience of traditional television, meaning the main plot and the development of characters were designed for the taste of traditional television audience. Therefore, it did not attract the audience of internet. In the light of the information here the distinction between the audiences of internet and television are emphasized through these examples. It is not clear whether a concrete distinction like digital natives and digital immigrants can be pointed out, but it is evident that there is a difference between to platforms’ audiences.

Before making a conclusion there is a final equally reasonable explanation to this non-transitivity between traditional television and online television which is the deception of rating system. As it was mentioned in this paper, the rating system intended to measure data for traditional television while calculating which content is watched by how many people in a given time. However, in terms of data the rating system relies on around 3000 decoders which are placed in the mid-Anatolian parts of Turkey. Therefore, the rating system might be failing to represent the mass-audience focusing greatly on rural television audience.

Therefore, it could be said that these serials actually interested the audience, but this audience was not represented in the rating system which depends on only a few decoders in the rural residences. As producers also suggest the problems on the rating system also makes digital native vs digital immigrant discussion questionable.

One last issue to discuss here is the ambiguous status of Puhu TV. As it was mentioned before in this paper Puhu TV is an AVOD platform, meaning that most of their income depends on advertisement. This platform, as it was also stated, has worked with major production companies who have been producing traditional television series for around two decades. Therefore it could be said that strategically, this digital platforms has aimed to move their traditional television format on a digital platform applying the codes of traditional television. However, the main issue with this digital platform is the fact that they have not produced any new content after the release of Dip/The Bottom in March 2018. The fact is the content manager of Puhu TV resigned in April 2018, and the new content manager taking his place also resigned two weeks after him (Arslanoğlu, 2018). Moreover, the platform has not released or announced any new series for almost a year now. It is not clear whether this unsteadiness is caused by the financial problems or internal troubles from headquarters of Dogus Medya, but the future of Puhu TV as an online television seems quite ambiguous.

In the light of information provided above, it can be concluded for varying reasons, the content transitivity doesn't exist between traditional television and online television. Meaning that, content created initially for traditional television does not appeal to internet audience. Similarly, content primarily produced for online television does not attract the audience of traditional television. However, in the contrary, there seems to be coherent transitivity between two digital platforms. For example, in the case of "Sıfır Bir" serial which was initially created for YouTube, the content was perfectly adapted to Blu TV after the platform strike the deal with the creators. Not only, the serial perfectly accustomed to its new platform, it also brought thousands of new subscribers to it. Therefore, it can be concluded that the transitivity between AVOD and SVOD platforms is more likely than between VOD platforms and traditional television. Therefore talking about the cultural dimension of

convergence, it seems that, online television is transforming the cultural codes of media industries.



6. THE NETFLIX EFFECT IN TURKEY

Netflix as a game changer has affected the industry creating a business model through application of new media technologies. This has transformed many things from the viewer's watching habits to implementation of AI technologies for creating personalized content (McDonald & Smith-Rowsey, 2018). This of course had an effect upon other online video on demand platforms around the world streaming web-series, films and so on. The intrusion of Netflix in television industry both as a producer and a distributor has changed a lot of things for many countries. After the stream of Hakan Muhafiz (The Protector) in Turkey, there have been many contradicting ideas about what the outcome of Netflix operating in Turkey would be. Therefore it was very important to get insight about what the creators' attitudes towards Netflix are. The majority of the participants were positive towards Netflix entering the industry for them it would have beneficial outcomes.

Firstly, it is important to examine why participants thought Netflix working in Turkey would be beneficial. The main interest of the producers is the fact that there are more platforms, meaning more customers where they could distribute their serials to. Directors focused more on the artistic features of the series. In addition, Local distribution platforms mentioned the competition between the online distribution platforms would be beneficial for all parties. Even though they mention the competitive aspects of Netflix in Turkey, there is also the issue of Netflix buying original content from these local distribution platforms. For example Masum / Innocent (2017) which was an original production of Blu TV was later sold to Netflix (Birgün, 2019). This brings a totally new aspect to existence of Netflix in Turkey, meaning that local distribution platforms also work as production companies for Netflix when it comes to streaming content to the globe. This is an important aspect which will be revisited again, but before that, it is important to examine what the circumstances are for web series in the international market.

On the other hand, the positive perspectives of the creators are of course not parallel with how the nation-states perceives Netflix, for them the company's arrival to their country is unauthorized for many ways. In other words, it is concerning for them that the global flow of Netflix is not bound with national sanctions (Lobato, 2019). This can be seen as a thread

to the local companies to some extent, but it is also stated that local video on demand platforms as they have to compete with a company with less boundaries with nation-states, but there is also the issue that local video on demand platforms work with differently, and still stay appealing to the local audiences (Lobato, 2019). In order to understand the Netflix effect in Turkey, it is important to examine the company with concepts like internationality, globalism and orientalism.

6.1 INTERNATIONALITY

Traditional Turkish television series have long been experiencing international fame especially in the Middle East, Balkans and, Latin America. This situation as it was pointed out many times in the present study Turkey is one of the biggest content exporter when it comes to television series. It is still early to foresee internationality in the case of internet series, but there are some indicators needs attention. Firstly, the first season of Netflix's Hakan: Muhafız/ The Protector was viewed more than 10 million times around the world and %85 percent of this rate is from outside Turkey (NTV, 2019). Secondly, Blu TV original 7Yüz was sold to an Australian online video on demand platform (Gazeteduvar, 2019). Similarly Fi/Phi is the first Turkish Drama to be broadcasted on South Korean television.

Accordingly, the participants of the study also revealed the importance of going international for the case of internet series. Many stated their expectation from the producers, and digital distribution platforms in terms of being visionary and open to distinctive ideas. The producers on the other hand, stated that there are many parameters included in case of web series going international, finance being the most important would be the determining factor for series that are successful in the globe. Therefore, there is need for more money.

As it was stated before when it comes to internationality local distribution platforms work with international ones. As it was stated the streaming of originally Blu TV production Masum/Innocent on Netflix brings another perspective to the issue of internationality. In which, there is flow of content between local and global SVOD services. This could be seen as a similar path when local television series' broadcast on satellite in order to reach broader

audience. However, it should be noted that this association between the local and global platforms works both ways. For instance, Netflix also cooperated with Digitürk for streaming of their originals “House of Cards” prior to their break into the market in Turkey.

In order to understand contra- flow between media companies, it is important to address the issue in terms of cultural dimension of convergence from the definition of Jenkins. Doing so, globalization should be taken into consideration in order to comprehend the issue better.

6.2 LOCAL VERSUS GLOBAL CONVERGENCE

Cultural convergence as a dimension of media convergence coined by Jenkins, refers to the globalization process of the convergence. In this view the globalization seems equal to Americanization including means of cultural imperialism in which the culture is transmitted one way, starting from Western societies spreading to the rest of the world. In the case of web series industry Netflix being a western company enters the industry in other countries, and their content also flows around the local distribution companies. In Turkey, distribution of Netflix content both on Digitürk and Blu TV can be seen as the examples of cultural convergence. However, the issue of Masum / Innocent which is an original production of Blu TV being streamed on Netflix tells something about the flow of the cultural convergence.

Coining the term “global mediography” Rantanen talks about how globalization is mediated through time and space (Rantanen, 2004). It is important to consider the role of online video on demand platforms in the case of globalization thinking the audience of Turkey has long been acquainted with the internet series around the world online long before these platforms started operating in Turkey. However, the process of globalization is not assumed to flow on one direction. There is a great amount of literature suggesting the contra-flow in different media industries. In the case of television series the global success of Colombian telenovela “Yo Soy Betty La Fea” which was broadcasted among seventy countries and later remade by Hollywood as “Ugly Betty” is solid example of contra-flow in the series production industry. Turkey’s television series reaching seventy-five countries in mid-2014 was also example of contra-flow (Alankuş & Yanardağoğlu, 2016). Therefore it can be said that the flow

suggested in cultural convergence does not occur as a one way US-led hegemonic flow, but rather in multiple flows (Thussu, 2007). Appadurai also emphasizes in the media; technology, and financial flows have developed in a multi-centric dispersional manner talking about five scapes which are; ethnoscaples, technoscaples, mediascaples, financescaples and ideoscaples (Appadurai, 1996).

Another issue to pay attention is beside the content, there is also flow of actors and actresses meaning the stars of the industry in case of Netflix Turkey. In other words, when Netflix enters the industry in Turkey, there is an already established star system which was formed in many years through television series. When entering the website of Netflix Turkey, in the page of Hakan: Muhafız / The Protector, there is an explanation part at the bottom of the trailer saying: “Başrollerde Çağatay Ulusoy, Hazar Ergüçlü (Medcezir), Okan Yalabık (Muhteşem Yüzyıl) ve Ayça Ayşin Turan (Meryem) var.” Translation would be “Starring Çağatay Ulusoy, Hazar Ergüçlü (Medcezir), Okan Yalabık (Magnificent Century) and Ayça Ayşin Turan (Meryem). This statement underlies the actors’ and actresses’ previous mainstream television works which are familiar to many audiences. These stars are famous all around the world where the Turkish television series are broadcasted. Therefore, entering the Turkish market, Netflix works with the actors / actresses that are well known in many regions of the world. Considering the flow of globalization, this is another dimension considering the contribution of the market. Meaning that Netflix borrows the stars of the Turkish market in order to reach a greater audience globally. Which again refers to international flows in terms of globalization referring to cultural convergence.

Therefore the issue can be handled neither global nor local view but, analyzed through the interdependence of these two phrases. In the case of Netflix, which is a global company does a lot of research before it enters a new region, they also use lots of feedback from the data they get from the audiences. The internationalization process is so delicate the company even tries its best to be user friendly even onscreen keyboard for new languages, for this they work with linguistics team.

A recent research conducted by Lotz et al examined internet-distributed television in a global perspective rather than seeing it within national frame. In their study, scholars aimed to add

Global Internet Television as a special part of Media Industries. In order to do that, they came up with seven concepts, which they identify as “provocations”. These provocations are stated as theory, comparison, market definition, historiography, regulation, user experience, and industry transformation. Doing so, scholars segmented online streaming platforms in terms of their geography, business model, linearity, ownership, library structure (Lotz, et al., 2018). The outcomes of the study firstly showed that internet distribution television depends on geography, meaning that the content of Netflix Turkey is different from Netflix Germany. This takes us to the examining Netflix Turkey content with a respect to global and local aspects and the notion of orientalism at the core of globalization debate.

6.3 ORIENTALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

It is stated that the content of Netflix is different depending on geography (Lotz, et al., 2018). When it comes to the region of Turkey, the historical themes come into prominence. For example, in the case of Hakan: Muhafiz / The Protector, Hakan finds out about his ancient connection with a secret unity for protecting Istanbul from the immortal enemy. Therefore there are lots of connotations with the cities ancient roots and many secrets to unveil. Of course, there are lots of footages from historical parts of Istanbul including Hagia Sophia and Grand Bazaar. Similarly, the series soon to be launched which are “Ottoman Rising” and “Atiye” also refer to the ancient roots and secrets to be solved with lots of magical events happening.

Edward Said suggests that orientalism is created when the hegemonic Western culture defines the East as the “other” (Said, 1978). Therefore, in which the East becomes the center of attraction for West open for occupation. Therefore, there is inequality created between West and the East which results in the domination of the West referring to the colonization of non-West. In the case of Netflix originals this latent orientalism is visible, in which the East is attributed with positive aspects, such as its untouched beauty, mystery which can be seen as unconscious associations of latent orientalism.

The issue of historicity, of course, is not new to the industry and or unique to Netflix Turkey, as traditional television has been using it frequently. Thinking of series like Muhteşem Yüzyıl /Magnificent Century, Diriliş: Ertuğrul / Resurrection: Ertuğrul which are historical dramas focusing roots of Turkey, the neo-Ottoman cool in the context of history has always been popular in the case of television dramas. Moreover, these cases were discussed in academic works, focusing on issues like “soft power” (However, it is important to see that Netflix is also interested in these genres. Especially considering that Magnificent Century and Resurrection: Ertuğrul were also streamed on Netflix before the company entered Turkey. These concepts should be the topic of another study and examined in detail in the future with a connection to concepts like orientalism, globalization and soft power.

7. CONCLUSION

Throughout the present study, the issue of convergence is examined in the transformation of television series while traditional television platforms move into online platforms. Therefore, the primary witnesses of this transformation, which are the creators of television series, were interviewed in order to explore their experiences. Therefore the present study focused on the similarities and differences between television and internet series from the perspective of creators of the series. In the light of the data retrieved from both primary and secondary sources, convergence is examined in the production of television series in Turkey. The aim of the study was to explore rather than make conclusions; therefore the insight of creators were examined about transformation of television series as they converge into internet. For the issue of to what extent convergence of mainstream television and internet television in terms of series production is evident is discussed in the light of the experiences of creators with regards to the technological, economic and cultural dimensions of convergence.

The results of the study explored the perspectives of the creators with a respect to technological convergence which is evident as the series are produced considering they will be watched on smart phones and tablets. In addition economic convergence which is important firstly to consider that both Blu TV and Puhu TV operate under the umbrella of conglomerates working in varying industries like construction and automotive and real estate. In addition, Netflix Turkey is a subdivision of Netflix which is a media conglomerate both producing and distributing content. Finally cultural convergence is witnessed in terms of globalization in the case of convergence of television series, with regards to the issues of contra-flows and orientalism. Finally, the findings of the present study indicate that convergence is evident in the case of series in turkey. Considerable tendency towards implementation of an orientalist perspective is observed in the production of the series especially due to Netflix effects and dynamics of media globalization.

Outcomes of the present study also supported the literature in the sense that online television platforms should not be seen an extension of traditional television, conversely, they have their own codes and conventions which are distinct can be different those of traditional television. Therefore the transformation of television serials primarily focuses on defining

the new codes for online television. Similarly, the academic terminologies describing mainstream television does not enclose video on demand parameters completely (Lobato, 2019). Therefore, more examples of video on demand should emerge and more studies should be conducted in the area.

It is also important to include the future predictions of participants regarding the future of mainstream television and video on demand. Throughout the interviews, there were two seemingly contradictory ideas about the future of traditional television. While majority of interviewees believed online video on demand platforms will be the end of traditional television, only one participant who was a producer supported that traditional television will not extinguish completely but have to renovate itself in terms of content production to survive in the industry that is dominated by online video on demand platforms. It was stated by directors, screenwriters and other crew members participated in the present study that audiences of traditional television and internet television are distinct from each other. The general idea was the former appeals to above forty-five year old, fairly uneducated mostly female housewife audiences, while the latter is thought to refer to a younger generation who is “fed up with” traditional television’s dead ends, hungry for new content and innovation. This brings the outcomes of this study to the distinction between digital natives and digital immigrants. Therefore, the assumptions about the audiences should be examined with further research.

There is some literature stating that traditional television is far from disappearing for some cultures. For Study conducted on African audiences in 2018 showed that television is unlikely to disappear as the viewing experience traditional television has created unique context peculiar to in African audiences (Dovey, 2018). Therefore as it is suggested by the literature, it can be said: “single device or web-based application offering multi-media attributes does not necessarily replace or displace traditional media usage. (Dupagne & Garrison, 2006). Hence, it is still very soon to conclude whether online television will be the end traditional television in Turkish context but the creators’ tendencies towards online video on demand platforms is significantly notable. Most of the creators reported to envision themselves to continue to work with online television in the future, and eager to be doing so,

due to the progress in the work conditions, less regulatory obligations, and flexibility in narrative and narration. In addition the access to the technology behind VOD platforms are not evenly distributed geographically in Turkey. Recent report shows that %26 of the population never used internet in their lives before (Konda, 2019). The discussion would be more concrete if the internet use spread as much as television. Therefore, there is still time to understand how the future of video on demand will be structured and how the future of traditional television will be accordingly.

7.1. FUTURE OF VOD IN TURKEY

Execution of the present study helps understand the complex underlying structures in the television series industry in Turkey. There are many dimensions needs examining when exploring the issues related. While studying convergence in the case of television series, this study focused on the transformation of series while the distribution platforms change from television to online platforms. As well as the linear television is disrupted with the model of video on demand services. The transformation is examined also though relations with advertisement industry, regulatory systems and the user experience. In addition the issue of globalization is also relevant to the transformation with regards to the concepts like contra-flows and orientalism.

For the media industry the year 2015 is considered a breakpoint in Turkey in terms of separation from mainstream media. Many participants pointed out that the production of series for traditional television came to a deadlock for the creators around this time. The duration of episodes were stretched, the working hours of the crew were extended, the plots were blocked and the regulation was tightened. Majority of the series did have the chance to broadcast a final episode as they were taken off air, due to low rating results. This situation was not unique to television series industry. As some of the very experienced journalists suggested in the panel “Tekelleşen Medyaya Karşı Bağımsız Medya (Independent Media Against Monopolized Media, 2019)”, 2015 was also a turning point for journalists to head towards online platforms as they could not proceed working for mainstream media due to

strict control mechanisms (Sozeri, 2019). Therefore, it could be said that in addition to factors like advertisement, content censorship and audiences, there is also issue of authoritarian government's control in Turkey. In this case Jenkins's suggestion about the centralization of media around conglomerates should be revisited with respect to its role in emergence of alternative internet platforms. In Turkey after the 2013 demonstrations, the mainstream media was continually regulated by the government leaving no space for alternative opinions. This situation created many independent platforms in many media industries. Series production industry can also be seen as one genre of these industries that sought possibilities in the online world in terms of freedom of expression.

Internet distributed television, which are online video on demand platforms in Turkey provided a breathing space for creators of the series. As it is expressed frequently in this paper, these platforms creators are less restricted with television obligations, however, there are still concerns. As it is pointed out throughout this paper online platforms did create a rather latitudinarian environment but there are some apprehensions needs mentioning. Firstly the ambiguous situation of regulation system is concerning. One of the directors making series for Blu TV resembled censorship to "Sword of Damocles". This is a situation where you can never know which content will be regulated in the future. Therefore, creating becomes a worry, as the series one produces has the risk of being regulated or even blocked in the future. The second issue is the fact that data analysis system has not been settled clearly. As it was discussed in this paper, a kind of rating system for web-series was the data retrieved from the audience. Therefore, the starting point for success in the case of web series are; how many new subscribers they attract, how many of them watch the content till the end and how many of these subscribers also watch other series on the platform. Pointed out by creators, these were the issues expressed the most while measuring the success of the series produced. It is true that online platforms provide freedom to creators to some extent, but these issues seems to structure the future projects. As it is stated throughout this paper, online platforms are still very young and there is still time to see what the future will bring.

Another issue about future concerns is the role of Netflix in the industry. All of the participants reacted positively to the entrance of Netflix Turkish industry. As it can be

anticipated, existence of Netflix is expected to heat up competition in the market. In addition, as Blu TV explains, this existence can also serve for the good of local online video on demand services. It is predicted that Netflix will also work as much as possible to promote itself in Turkey as a video on demand platform. This is expected to create more familiarity effect in the audience of Turkey towards online video on demand platforms in general. Therefore, as Blu TV content manager states it, this will also be for the benefit of all local video on demand services for the publicity. All these things look beneficial for the industry. But on the other hand, there is the issue of Netflix becoming the new mainstream for online video on demand platforms bringing its own codes and conventions. As it is discussed in the results of this study, the orientalist themes seem to come forward in Netflix Turkey content. At least this is the situation for now. However, this situation might jeopardize the variety of plots and genres in the future while creating the frames of Netflix and VOD in Turkey creating its own mainstream.

Talking about the outcomes of the present study it is also important to mention the limitations faced while collecting data. Firstly, the number of female and male participants were not equated. To be specific, male participants outnumbered female participants in a great deal it is not known if this is because women working in the industry are low in number or it could be the fact that number of women working in the web-series is low. There is no statistical data about women working in the field to explain this issue. In addition, the rate of women getting back for interview calls was lower than men, but again it might be because they are in a rather busier segments of the industry. There is no clear data to approve this either but at the end, out of twelve participants only two of them were female.

Similarly, people working for web-series of Blu TV outnumbered participants working in the production series for other video on demand platforms. Half of the participants consisted of creators who worked for Blu TV. However, it is important to mention that Blu TV existed in almost every panel and conference concerning digital transformation of series. Therefore, it was easier to make contacts with the people. That's why, snowball technique worked more efficiently with this group of people. Another reason, as it stated before, in period of time as

this study was carried out, Blu TV had streamed a lot more web-series than any other digital platform in Turkey.

Due to the methodology of the present study, there are also some limitations need mentioning. In order to get detailed insight about the topic, qualitative research design was administered with carrying out interviews. However, it should be noted that the data collected with this methodology would be inevitable subjective. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that, the data collected here reflects the personal experiences of the participants attended in present study. Therefore, the interpretivist approach should be implemented while making sense of the data. Finally, the methodology applied, the present study is low in generalizability. In other words, the findings of this study cannot be extended to the bigger population. This is because the present study focuses more on exploring process rather than the outcomes. However, still future studies should be aware of the disadvantages faced while conducting this research and should apply methods accordingly.

Finally, as it is stated in the methodology, number of web- series are still just a few. Therefore, it is hard to draw clear conclusions before there are more examples of internet series streamed. As it is pointed out by most of participants of the interviews, the transformation of television series is still in process and we still need time to make more accurate interpretation of this process. Therefore even the terminology to describe the functions of internet distributed television is not sufficient. According to Lobato, online platforms are similar to mainstream television for some aspects and very distinct from other aspects, but this is because the definitions we use are thought in the boundaries of traditional television. Yet, there are not enough terms describing the working model of online television. For example, in description Netflix works as a national, transnational and also as a global company where the company has a business model that fits in all these descriptions (Lobato, 2019). Hence, there is a need for more studies in the area in furtherance of understanding phenomena better.

Therefore the future studies should be aware of the limitations while conducting research about internet television. It is also important to make suggestions for the future studies: Firstly it is significant to include audiences' perspectives for broadening the scope of the research. This is extremely important especially to understand the experience of television watching done on computers, mobile phones and tablets. Similarly, the issue of digital natives and digital immigrants in the case of audiences could also be examined in the further research. Therefore it is important to examine the audience's experiences and watching habits in the case of television series and eventually incorporate both creator's and audiences' experiences of media convergence. The study on the audience should not be limited to Turkey and the experiences of Turkish speaking migrants around the globe should also be taken into consideration as well as the audience of other markets. As it was pointed out before, The Protector was viewed more than 10 million times around the world and majority of the views were outside of Turkey. Finally, players in the international were outside of Turkey. Finally, players in the international market should also be included in order to get an insight of the transformation in the global market. Considering the outcomes of the present study, this is very important to examine convergence in the global context.

Another prospective research could be carried out about whether internet television will be the end of traditional television. While conducting this present research, one of the most important questions was whether television will continue to carry on in the online world with its own conventions or will it die out eventually due to the new hegemonic video on demand age. The majority of the participants said they believed television is to be disappear soon just like any other traditional medium leaving its place to internet content. In the contrary, there is quite a literature suggesting television will prevail as it is for a long time in the near future keeping majority of its audiences and continue to be the major content creator especially in terms of series production (Erguney, 2017). There were also some participants suggesting traditional television has to renovate itself in order to coexist with online television platforms. This takes us back to Jenkin's explanation where he suggests convergence does not refer to a replacement, but rather an interaction between media forms (Jenkins, 2006). Therefore the issue concerning the fate of mainstream television should also be studied in the future studies.

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APPENDIX A

A.1 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Can I know you a little bit? How many years have you been working in this sector? What tasks did you do?
2. How many series have you worked on so far? What are their names?
3. Can you tell me about your experience of transitioning to the internet series?
4. How did the start of online television in Turkey affect your working style? What have you experienced?
5. In Turkey, media system and ownership structure has changed a lot, especially the last two years. How do you think this affects the sector?
6. Can you compare the TV and internet series production process? How do you think there are similarities / differences?
7. How did the internet as a broadcasting platform transform the series sector?
8. How much do media groups support the construction process?
9. Can you mention your subscription rates?
10. What kind of strategy do you pursue in terms of followers and memberships?
11. What is the place of your Internet series in the advertisement pie?
12. Can you compare TV and Internet in terms of content regulation to your own experience?
13. Can you tell us about your social media and SEO usage?
14. What are your digital marketing strategies?
15. Turkey is the 17th largest exporter after the United States series. What do you think the future will look like in both traditional and new platforms?
16. TV Series are shown on satellite in Middle East and Balkans. Can the Internet series capture such a trend? What are your expectations for video on demand?
17. What are your predictions about the entry of Turkey Netflix's market? How do you think this situation will affect the sector in the coming years?
18. What are your expectations for your own career?
19. Is there something you want to add?

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