DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION IN MEDIA & SOCIETY

Editors
Ayşen AKKOR GÜL, Yıldız Dilek ERTÜRK, Paul ELMER

İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY PRESS

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INTRODUCTION: DIGITALIZATION, NETWORK SOCIETY AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOCIAL LIFE

Ayşen AKKOR GÜL, Yıldız Dilek ERTÜRK, Paul ELMER

Digitalization (or digitization) is the name given to the process of organizing information of all kinds–images, sounds, written documents and signals–into electronically transmittable and storable binary bits. Beginning with the development of transistor technology in the late 1940s, the process of digitalization demanded much time, effort, and ingenuity. When the digital representation of information in binary bits had at last been achieved, the new era of the digital age was ushered in. Gradually information technology replaced the long-established gains of the industrial revolution with more easily-shared and accessed digital innovation. However this was not just an innovation in data processing, storage and transmission: as time passed it was realized that digitalization was also transforming every aspect of life: habits, economies, politics, societies, education, media, health, habits and mindsets. However the most notable change was in society. The "Wired Society" of the 1970s identified by scholars like James Martin as being intimately associated with mass media and telecommunication networks has since become a globally interconnected society through the progress of digitalization.

The term network society gained currency from the early 1990s, and was used to describe this highly technological environment, with its twin emphasis on digitized practices and connectivity. Manuel Castells signalled the coming primacy of networks, both social and technological, in his emblematic book *The Rise of Network Society: The Information Age: Economy Society and Culture*. The ambitious nature of his vision was that "networks have become the basic units of modern society" (2000, p. 469). For Castells, technology alone was insufficient to define this networked society, because the condition of a person in society is informed by multiple factors; culture and upbringing, religion, political beliefs and affiliations, social status and position, among others, and the ways that we are shaped as individuals and groups is subject to multiple forces and practices. His vision of a changed society was technologically inflected, technologically inspired, but strived, nevertheless, to embrace emerging social experiences and practices. As Jan Van Dijk later observed, in his influential

account of *The Network Society*, it is the "combination of social and media networks… (that) shapes the nervous system" of such a society (2006, p. 28).

As new formulations emerged, they did so hand in hand with new understandings, forged at the meeting point of technologies and persons. Under this broad sweep of enquiry the body, as a locus of technology, is a recurrent theme and the network, as a locus for social life, engagement and even identity, also achieved prominence; writers in this volume touch on these key debates. Such debates progressed along parallel paths, rather than convergent ones. As authors, we could not have anticipated how world events would conspire to bring together such issues so suddenly and unexpectedly when, in December 2019, the world witnessed a Coronavirus outbreak that spread from Wuhan, China, to become a global pandemic.

From the first day, it became possible to observe our network society in a condition of some maturity, its technologies, its practices and its influence, as it rapidly demonstrated the stage of its evolution. It was possible to monitor, in real time, the progress of Covid-19 in countries around the world. Whole populations, otherwise apparently disconnected from each other, were able to compare successes and failures, restrictions on behaviour, medical and social precautions, but also worries, hopes and personal narratives. Clinicians were of course able to share data, and public health experts were able to access a wide base of information to aid their decisions. More broadly, whole nations were thrust, by a combination of enforced restrictions on work and social life, to encounter, succumb to, and create, a network society that claimed a central place in their social, economic, political and familial experiences and practices.

Looking out at the end of the second decade of the 21st century, it seems obvious that the ongoing digital transformation is shaping societies not just in ways that we can see but also in ways that we can't even guess at and that this process will continue as long as digital technology remains productive. One question that bothers minds is concerned with the quality of this transformation: "Is everything getting better with digitalization?" For the time being, we appear to have acquiesced to the sometimes irksome impositions of digital technology as being acceptable remedies for the current crisis. That acquiescence however will not last long however if the benefits of digitalization are substantially outweighed by the risks that it poses, for example, to health if such risks are realized as a significant uptick in deaths and worldwide mortality. The best we can say as of this moment is that predicting the future of digitalization is going to need a lot more time and research. One thing we can guess is that a century from now, our descendants will be referring to these years as the early stage of the Digital Era.

The Organization of the Book

This book presents examples of digital transformation as they have unfolded in different fields and in different countries. Thus it is designed to be a situation analysis in which some chapters share research results and others are essays written to contribute to the ongoing debate. The book consists of two parts, the first being "Transformation in Television, Radio, Film and Games" and the second being "Transformation in Social Life, Economy and Education". Individual chapters' authors address different issues related to the digitalization of games, post-production, radio transmission, education, marketing, payment systems, fandom, social media, artificial intelligence, democracy, and intellectual creativity. Three questions to be kept in mind as you read each chapter are "What is happening in the particular field as a result of digital transformation?", "Is it a real transformation?", and "What are the benefits and drawbacks of the transformation?"

Chapter One focuses on new trends in television-viewing practices and considers how digitalization empowers TV series' fans. The chapter draws attention to the popularity of Turkish television series in Latin America and argues that digitalization has transformed the habits and attitudes of Latin American viewers: through the spread of Turkish television series, Turkish culture and values are also promoted. Chapter Two consists of a case study that sheds light on whether technological developments will transform the image of women in online games. In-depth interviews with female users of massively multiplayer online role-playing games and a game producer reveal that although technology gives women players a chance to be whatever they want, they prefer to create gendered characters. Thus women's participation in digital technology has not transformed the representation of gender in online games just yet. Chapter Three focuses on "vertical editing" techniques as an outcome of the digital transformation of post-production methods. Exploring the limitations of these techniques through a documentary film called *Kamilet*, the chapter raises the ethical issues inherent in vertical editing owing to its ability to manipulate information through image formation. Chapter Four analyses the transformation of the body in fiction and shows how the development of science and technology affects our understanding of metamorphosis in movies ranging from fantastic classics to science-fiction. The chapter concludes that human beings embrace their individuality firmly and will not abandon their self-image for that of a robot, an android, a digital avatar, or even a clone of oneself. Chapter Five examines podcasts as an outcome of transformation of digital data processing. Presenting a sample of Turkish radio broadcasts, it argues that podcasting is just a complementary application rather than a new form of radio.

Chapter Six compares the recent digitalization of "public education" in two European countries–Hungary and Turkey. It reveals both the achievements and the shortcomings of ICT and compares and contrasts digital educational competencies in these countries. One of the striking findings of this chapter is that in both countries, digital content and the digital literacy levels of teachers are unsatisfactorily below expectations. Chapter Seven sheds light on the virtual "socialization practices" of digital culture in closed groups. It defines the characteristics of "field", "doxa" and "social capital" in digital habitus as constructed on Facebook and tries to understand the digital transformation of habitus based on Bourdieu's theory. Chapter Eight draws attention to digital transformation in marketing techniques such as "kid influencer marketing". It introduces "toy unboxing videos" on YouTube as one of the new ways in which brands reach consumers. It asserts that although toy unboxing videos allow more interaction when compared to traditional methods, they are no less innocent. Chapter Nine takes a brief look at social media and how artificial intelligence, social media, and fake news represent a danger to democracy while revealing also how AI can be used to safeguard democracy. The chapter concludes with food for thought as to what a future might look like where AI potentially dominates politics. Chapter Ten presents an example of the digital transformation of payment systems and describes existing mobile money systems, with particular attention being given to their untapped potential in Turkey. It concludes with a socioeconomic image of what effective mobile money systems in Turkey would look like and offers key directions for future development and deployment of mobile money in Turkey in pursuit of the country's national agenda of becoming cashless by 2023.

PART 1

TRANSFORMATION IN TELEVISION, RADIO, FILM, AND GAMES

CHAPTER 1

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION IN TELEVISION SERIES AS A POPULAR CULTURE PRODUCT: A STUDY ON TRANSNATIONAL FANDOM OF TURKISH TELEVISION SERIES

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ABSTRACT

Turkey has become the world's second exporter of television series after the United States. At the same time, fandom related to Turkish television series has expanded in scale, and changed in nature. This chapter offers an in-depth analysis of these changes as they relate to contemporary fandom. It accounts for the emergence of devoted fans of Turkish television series all over the world, a group that offers important insight for the future development of Turkish television series.

Keywords: Television series, popular culture, fandom

Introduction

Despite the development of communication technology, television remains the leader in mass communication and this explains why exporting television series is of great importance for a country in terms of culture, intercultural communication and soft power. Thanks to the communicative processes which television series have started and still maintain, many types of impact such as familiarity, appreciation, and admiration can be created on people from different countries. For instance, Turkish television series abroad can easily help break stereotypes regarding Turkey, Turkish culture and the Turkish nation in different parts of the world while raising awareness and creating interest that would surely affect Turkey's country branding, tourism, cultural products, economy and soft power.

This study intends to deal with the fandom of Turkish television series through an in- depth analysis. Turkish television series have been remarkably successful in many parts of the world breaking viewership records and this has resulted in devoted Turkish television fans who access Turkish television content via different channels. Meanwhile, they are also creating a lot of content regarding Turkish television, Turkish series and celebrities mostly based on voluntary work. The level of their fandom is to be understood via the current situation of fandom in Latin America, the area of the world that is nearly the furthest point that Turkish series could conquer. Understanding the current situation is valuable since it could help us consider the possible roadmap on how to plan, implement, evaluate, and hopefully manage the sustainability of this success of Turkish television series abroad.

Television Series as Popular Culture Products

The world presented by television to the audience affects how the latter make meaning of the world with its fictional reality, representative nature and dramatic representation; in a nutshell, television "cultivates consciousness" and affects our future choices, uses and attitudes (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 190). While creating an economic benefit for the industry, there is also a cultural and rather more subtle benefit of television programmes which are created on behalf of the individual, society, and the nation into which they are born. In this sense, "Television programmes are both commodities and cultural products" (Bielby, Harrington, & Bielby, 1999, p. 35). One of the most dominant means of this cultural benefit and effect is surely the television series. A simple literature review on television series would show that there are many different terms related to series such as serials, soap operas, dramas, telenovelas etc. This study focuses on the concept as series since the word series is the exact equivalent of Turkish word "dizi," the main focal point of this chapter.

Series have many common points: they are broadcast on a periodical basis (mostly weekly, in some cases daily), they are open narratives and they constantly change to keep the audience's attention alive. Furthermore, they include many references to the social reality and history of the country they are produced in. Hence, in a globalizing world, television series have also an international impact which naturally makes them worth in-depth study within the context of soft power. According to Martin-Barbero, the fact that soap operas have unique features and they are attractive to many different segments in society is the key to their success (Martin-Barbero; 1991, p. 277). Although they are looked upon most of time, many people watch series and soap operas even though they deny doing so. Slade and Beckenham claim that they have become the opium of the masses as of the end of the twentieth century (Slade & Beckenham, 2005, p. 337). They speak and more importantly appeal to different classes and age groups in the society. It is quite recent that the audience of television series has started to become even more heterogeneous with internet technologies and the way they bring an end to the barriers of time and space. Through the internet, television programmes which are broadcast in a specific country, at a certain time, and most importantly in a specific language can be seen in different parts of the world. The audience is constantly changing and television programmes, mostly television series, are crossing the national or cultural borders and becoming an active carrier of cultural values and creating a space of cultural and national promotion in an international arena. According to Mattelard, "the world is in search of a global culture" (Mattelard, 2001, p. 104) and this search results in the creation of a single image market. The creation of this market is concerned with the content of creative cultural industries as well as communication technologies. Dworkin states that cultural understanding and cultural products in the new world order is a part of the "unique language we share" (Dworkin, 1985, p. 231). The continuity of this language requires a common ground for interaction and that is the point where popular culture comes into play.

This unique language and the understanding of the world that comes along with it is mostly shaped by the American media industry. Since there is a global circulation of American programmes all over the world, the long-term result is that we see the world through American eyes. As Jenkins explains, 'Western economic dominance of global entertainment both expresses and extends America's status as a superpower" which means "almost no agency to the receiving culture' (Jenkins, 2004, p. 118). Globalization has succeeded thanks to new technology that supports the circulation of American cultural products while also giving way to alternative cultural movements. There are new actors in the global circulation of culture instead of the one-way communication activities and cultural impact that used to come mostly

from the West; a new cultural flow is on the rise (Biltereyst & Meers, 2000, p. 394). American cultural products are not the only ones on the market anymoe, there is place for contra-flows that have surprisingly succeeded in having a considerable success and have gradually created alternatives to the long-time leaders' products. For instance, in cinema there are popular examples from Iran, India, or the Far East. When it comes to cartoon and animation, Japan is also considered to constitute a cultural flow. Likewise, "the success of Turkish television series can be assessed within the framework of the international cultural flow" (Arısoy, 2016, p. 36). As Sarvaes calls it "a television program is a process of legitimizing cultural meanings, global expansion and production, distribution, media consumption within the framework of concepts such as local presentation of a global product" (Servaes, 2008, p. 42) and Turkish television series serve as an example of this legitimization process generating remarkable content on behalf of Turkey and the Turkish people. In the global circulation of Turkish television series, some of the main actors are fans who act as mediators and more importantly producers of the Turkish television content.

Fandom of Television Series Today

Thanks to recent developments in technology, the way popular culture is generated is changing with the active participation of the target groups that should be reconsidered within the scope of intermediality and interactivity. "The first consequence of the advent of the Internet, digitalization, and new social media could be described as the empowerment of audiences" (Galuszka, 2015, p. 27). This results in a certain rise in the level of engagement and the sense of belonging that lead to a participatory culture. Participatory culture is directly related to the change in the way we consume: Consumers "do not consume things without changing them; they cannot 'consume' a good without it becoming them and them becoming it; they cannot 'consume' services without engaging in a dance with the service provider, where the dance becomes the service. Participatory culture is everywhere" (Cova, Kozinets, & Shankar, 2012). This is a concept that is also underlined by Jenkins. He suggests that in today's world, we need to mention a convergence culture where the audience is also a producer just like the companies. Jenkins summarizes the change of the way we consume culture comparatively: "In the old days, the ideal consumer watched television, bought products, and didn't talk back. Today, the ideal consumer talks up the program and spreads word about the brand. The old ideal might have been the couch potato; the new ideal is almost certainly a fan" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 361). Hence, it would not be wrong to state that the protagonist of the convergence culture is the fan. A fan is not the audience. There is a certain difference in

terms of involvement: The distinction between a television viewer and a television fan is an important one. “To ‘view’ television is to engage in a relatively private behavior. To be a ‘fan’, however, is to participate in a range of activities that extend beyond the private act of viewing and reflects an enhanced emotional involvement with a television narrative” (Bielby et al., 1999, p. 35). In other words, this involvement is the source of the feeling of need that would result in active participation and the creation of convergence culture.

The rise of this new understanding of culture was surely possible through the digitalization and globalization of communication. This development changed the way we communicate and transfer our cultural values in addition to the way we admire cultural products: “The digital revolution has had a profound impact upon fandom, empowering and disempowering, blurring the lines between producers and consumers, creating symbiotic relationships between powerful corporations and individual fans, and giving rise to new forms of cultural production” (Pearson, 2010, p. 84). Today’s fandom is quite active compared to fans of the recent past. People who are fans of a cultural product can easily get together and participate in an interactive production regarding that cultural product. The content they create is very visible and easy to evaluate for the producers. In other words, today’s fans have more voice. “Intermediality is of course also produced and encouraged by fan groups. Individual fans are encouraged to use various media to express their fandom and build their fan status” (Nikunen, 2007, p. 124). Jenkins signals at a consciousness created among today’s fans. “There is a new kind of cultural power emerging as fans bond together within larger knowledge communities, pool their information, shape each other’s opinions, and develop a greater self- consciousness about their shared agendas and common interests” (Jenkins, 2007, p. 363). This consciousness gives the fans the power to be involved in the production of cultural material: “The fan is not merely a ‘viewer’ but also an active and knowledgeable producer of ‘cultural capital.’” (Soukup, 2006, p. 323).

How do people who watch television series regularly become producers of cultural capital? “This process begins with an investment of time, but for some viewers it expands into a commitment to acquire additional information about the characters and the fictional world they inhabit” (Bielby et al., 1999, p. 36). As Bielby et al. explain, the very first investment of the viewer who watches a television series without losing an episode is time. Then comes the need to talk more of the television series with the people who share this passion. At this point, there may also be a certain feeling of identification with the characters which explains the celebrity fandom that co-rises with the series fandom. According to Soukup, digital technology has increased the cultural importance of fandom and celebrities: “The

complex identification processes of celebrity and fandom are at the intersection of a number of compelling contemporary communication processes including media production, reception, public discourse, identity, and community development" (Soukup, 2006, p. 334). Today, celebrity fandom is very visible in social media accounts that play a crucial role in fans' active participation in the global circulation of cultural products.

According to Bielby et al, fandom leads to a feeling of ownership among the devoted series fans: "The on-going, open-ended narrative of soap operas requires fans to make substantial cognitive and affective investments to derive value from the product, and fans' participation in public sites for discussion and criticism in effect make them co-authors or co- producers of the narrative" (Bielby et al., 1999, p. 47). Discussion and criticism is one of the main roles fandom plays and the content that fans produce regarding their favourite television show is remarkable. As is easily seen in social media accounts, fans can be somewhat harsh on the cultural products or celebrities they admire. This may be related to the feeling of ownership that fans may have as the "co-authors" of the narration. The content they produce is valuable for the circulation of the television series, which in consequence means more attention and coverage.

Another type of content produced by fandom is fan translation. Lee states that fan translation is a question mark due for many reasons (Lee, 2011, p. 1143):

> Fan-translation and distribution, as a participatory media fandom, exist on the growing contrast and disjoint between different forces in the global mediascape: the incongruence between the ownership of copyrights of cultural products and that of technical means to copy and share; the blurred distinction between copyrighted contents and free knowledge; and gaps between the territorially bounded distribution of foreign cultural products and the transnationality and immediacy of consumer desire.

Fan translation is valuable to fans of alternative cultural products since alternatives created along the contraflow of cultural circulation are mostly not in English. This hardens the reachability of the product. The movie, the song, or the series are to be translated by fandom and this usually relies on voluntary work which creates a grey space in terms of copyright and quality.

Transnational Fandom of Turkish Television Series

This section includes the study of Turkish television series in different parts of the world with a focus on Latin American fandom. It aims to analyze the current situation as a case study while addressing the ways fandom solves problems such as physical and cultural distance.

Turkish television series have had a notable success in many parts of the world. Apart from

the Arab world and the Balkan countries where this success is explicable due to historical and physical proximity, Turkish series are also broadcast in Africa, America and Europe. Since their adventure began as of 2001, they have been among the top-rated programmes in the countries they were broadcast. This success has been studied in many different regions and countries such as Middle East (Yörük & Vatikiodis, 2013; Kraidy & Al-Ghazzi, 2013) or the Balkans (Panjeta, 2014) and in many different contexts such as foreign policy (Constantinou & Tziarras, 2018), content creation (Öztürkmen, 2018) or even taboos (Yalkin & Veer, 2018).

Besides the regions where the success of Turkish television series is not surprising at all, there are also some other countries and regions that could be considered unexpected. One of these regions where Turkish television series have had a great success with some cultural, economic, and social implications is Latin America. Actually, thanks to the recent success in Latin America, Turkish TV series have become one of the main actors of cultural flow in different parts of the world. The success and possible contribution of Hispanic fandom probably caused the spread of Turkish television series to the United States and Europe where the craze has already started from Spain as of 2019.

The adventure of Turkish television series in Latin America began when the Chilean television channel Mega began to broadcast the series *1001 Nights* in 2014. After this series created a great sensation when the first episodes gradually rose to the top, Turkish series started to be broadcast in different channels and began to regularly come up among the most watched programmes of the day, week and even the year. They broke rating records and the protagonists became quite famous in Chile. For example, Halit Ergenç (protagonist of *1001 Nights*) is a real celebrity in Chile and he is one of the most admired and followed actors in the country.

Today, this craze is not limited to Chile. A wide range of Turkish TV series have been broadcast in many different Latin American countries from Uruguay to Mexico, Cuba to Peru. In Latin American countries, Turkish TV series are mostly broadcast on national television channels. Whenever you turn on the television, it is likely you will see a Turkish series and they are almost always among the most popular programmes of the day with high ratings. Numerous Turkish series are dubbed and broadcast in both national and cable television channels and there are devoted fans who watch the series with great interest.

In addition, the Latin American audience also follows the Turkish series on various web pages and forums. What is more interesting, Turkish series can be seen live via You Tube in recent years, and the fact that people from many different countries see them in Turkish despite the time difference and language barrier is also worth noting.

One of the key concepts of the success of Turkish television series in Chile and, more generally, in Latin America, is the spread of internet technologies. Internet makes it easier to reach the most up-to-date content regarding Turkish television series. The fandom of Turkish television series in Latin America is quite active in terms of fan production. They produce content in Spanish in two main areas: by translating series and by producing content regarding television series, celebrities, and Turkey and both activities are possible with internet technology.

The internet is the key point for Turkish television series fans worldwide and Latin America due to the physical and cultural distance. The time difference and language barrier make fans have a hard time reaching the Turkish television content and, to a degree, the internet offers a solution to these problems. However, the hard work of the Latin American fandom of Turkish television series is also worth analysis. Although many Turkish television series are broadcast on national television channels in Latin America, loyal fans of Turkish television series aim to reach the most up-to-date content. As a solution, many fans watch the latest episodes via the internet since they want to be familiar with the latest episodes as soon as possible. This means that they live according to Turkish television time. They are online at prime time of Turkish television watching Turkish series with the Turkish audience. They watch series in Turkish, a language they are completely unaware of. This means every week they watch four to four and a half hours of their favourite Turkish television show without understanding what the characters say. They base their ideas on the music and famous glances of Turkish series. There is also help from "live translators" who translate (or rather summarize) each scene by means of comments on a Facebook post in a Facebook group called the television show. In this case, the internet is used to access the Turkish television series and its translation at the same time.

Translation of the online Turkish television content is totally based on voluntary work. Turkish series that are longingly looked forward to are translated by voluntary translators who happen to be fans themselves. They usually have limited Turkish which raises a question regarding the quality of the content they create. Translated episodes are uploaded to websites and announced on fan pages. Today, many Turkish series are already seen and liked in many parts of the world including Latin America before national or cable television channels begin broadcasting them. For instance, Spanish subtitled versions of the Turkish series have been watched by millions on platforms like You Tube or social media. In this circulation, the fandom regarding Turkish TV series has a great effect since they create awareness and interest in the possible audience along with the existing Turkish television fans.

The process of bringing the Turkish content into Spanish is also based on volunteerism. Many volunteers translate all the content that is Turkish into Spanish including the news about television series, news about celebrities and Turkish media industry. This content production and translation is quite up-to-date. A person who would follow Turkish television content and the Spanish version of it could see that they are nearly the same. This means fandom is very active in content production since they again aim to have the latest news as soon as possible. This means the fandom in Latin America follows social media accounts of Turkish television series, Turkish celebrities and media. Recently, this resulted in the production of Spanish content by Turkish celebrities or producers as they feel the need to interact with the Hispanic admirers. Another indicator that fandom in Latin America is quite active in content production is that social media accounts have high numbers of followers. For instance, as of September 2019, the Turkish Spanish group on Facebook has 42,000 followers whereas another page with the same name has 45.000 followers. Every day, they post many threads regarding Turkish television, celebrities, and even Turkey. They talk about different Turkish television series creating an open space for people who would like to refer to their favourite television show or actor. In another example, the Facebook page for the series Turcas has 112,000 followers as of September 2019. There are posts about the Turkish television series that have never been broadcast in Latin America and yet have a huge fandom. This is an important indicator of the level of interest Turkish television series have created in Latin America. All web pages, Facebook pages, and Twitter accounts are administered by volunteers who devote time and effort to these social media accounts creating valuable content.

Discussion and Conclusion

According to Bilbassy-Charters (2010), Turkey and the Turkish government should be grateful to the Turkish television series stars who have conquered the hearts and minds of the people in various parts of the world on behalf of Turkey. When it comes to Latin America, there are other actors playing a crucial role and producing positive results on behalf of Turkish television: Latin American fans who have no relation to Turkey apart from the television shows that have been imported quite recently and become a part of the daily life since then. Turkish television series have become so successful in Latin American countries that they have changed the theory and practice of television tradition which is well established and internalized in Latin America. This success is greatly thanks to the effort made by Latin American fandom which has translated and uploaded Turkish series making it accessible to the Hispanic community. They have also created Spanish content for Latin American fans regarding Turkish media

and celebrities contributing to the sustainability of the success of Turkish television series in Latin American countries. Thanks to their voluntary work, fandom in Latin America is gradually getting bigger. All in all, it is possible to say that Turkish television series fans in Latin America contribute to the spread of Turkish media, culture, and values by translating Turkish content and producing new content regarding Turkish television. Since they make use of internet technology in both reaching, producing, and distributing content Turkish television series they doubtlessly serve as good examples of the digital transformation of fandom.

Besides the questions that can be raised on copyrights and the quality of the content produced, the contribution they make in terms of cultural distribution and Turkey's contra-flow against the cultural hegemony is valuable as well as in terms of the sustainability of the success of Turkish television series worldwide. Further study regarding unique cases on web pages, social media accounts or content created regarding Turkish television series could be fruitful to see the short, middle and long term effects on Turkish series fandom as well as their future with newer forms technology.

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CHAPTER 2

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OR NOT? THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN ONLINE GAMES

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ABSTRACT

While cyber feminists suggest that technological developments will lead to greater equality of women, there remains a gap between men's and women's access to the internet. The uses and gratifications they gain from technology also remain gendered, and this chapter contributes to ongoing concerns about consumption that transfigures sexualized images of women in ways that objectify and commodify them. In this study, a one-month participant observation and in-depth interviews were conducted with users of massive multiplayer online role-playing games. *World of Warcraft* and *Second Life* were chosen as examples. Female subjects recognized and preferred images that were both feminized and objectified, emphasising the ways that female engagement with this technology supports, rather than disrupts, established gendered power roles.

Keywords: Hyper-gender, MMORPG, online games

Introduction

How the development of information technologies affects gender relations and women's self-identity has become one of the most important issues in terms of social and cultural studies. In this context, this study examines the self-representation of women in virtual worlds and more specifically massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPG). In the new media environment and virtual worlds, do women question the traditional image of women or on the reproduction contrary, do they maintain the patriarchal body images? This study mainly focuses on this question.

Since one of the first cyber feminists - Shulamith Firestone - suggested a cybernetic communism, in which she asserts that cybernetic claims will lead to economic independence and equality of women and men (Nappi, 2015, p. 90), many cyber-feminists have argued that new technologies create a better environment for equality between women and men. Most important ideas regarding cyber feminism were suggested in the 1980's and the 1990's. In the 1990's, a view which claims that women's participation in technology and, especially, the Internet will transform gender became apparent (Ferreira, 2015, p. 202). By following this movement, theorists such as Donna Haraway and Sadie Plant argued that, the new media environment would transform the current representation of women and create space for minorities to reach the masses. In this sense, new media technologies are perceived as an opportunity for society.

Haraway, who questions the singular identity of woman, argues that technologically active women will create a transformation in terms of equality. Haraway (2013, pp. 177, 181) suggests that cyborgs can eliminate discrimination against women, people of color, nature, workers and animals. Plant also regards technology as emancipation. She symbolizes ones as men and zeros as women and suggests that it's "no longer a world of ones and not-ones, or something and nothing, thing and gap, but rather not-holes and holes, not-nothing and nothing, gap and not-gap" (Plant, 1997, p. 57). Although, Plant suggests that technology will transform the male-dominated world order and Haraway argues that human-machine mix cyborgs will transform the traditional woman's image, women's existence in new media platforms is doubtful.

Scholars criticize cyber feminism for several reasons, but mainly, people who are suspicious about cyber feminism criticize their technological determinist view. Paul Virilio, who criticizes theorists like Haraway and Plant, is one of those scholars. According to Virilio those cyber-feminists are wrong by believing the absolute power of technology (Armitage,

2000). Apart from the scholars who suggest that technology is not a solution to the inequality between women and men, some other theorists dwell on on-going inequality in terms of access to new technology.

Discussions about the status of women are related to the general characteristics of the existing society. For Jameson (1984, p. 79) today, we live in a society that is capitalist. For him, communicational and computer networks are representations of present-day multinational capitalism. Technology is not something which transforms society, and rather it is a medium to maintain the status quo. For Jameson (1984, p. 88), today's world -what we have been calling postmodern space- is a third expansion of capitalism around the globe and all cultural products are parts of this capitalist system. Castells (2000, pp. 160-161) also suggests that today's economy is capitalist. Furthermore, for the first time in history, global capitalist networks turned the whole planet into capitalist or dependent on its connections. The information technology industry which is organized around the Internet creates network-based globalization. So, both for Jameson and Castells, technology sustains inequality.

Although it seems to be narrowing, there is still a gap between men and women's access to the Internet, so the Internet and technology may not constitute a space for equality. "For some, the Internet economy reproduces oppressive workplace hierarchies that are rooted in a global political economy" (Daniels, 2009, p. 118). Furthermore, "there are inevitable limitations to women's likely impact as consumers of technology, however skilled or informed, because most women are very remote from the design process. The gains are thus invariably small-scale improvements, because "choice" is always constrained by what technologies are currently in use" (Faulkner, 2001, p. 91). And those currently used technologies are constructed by men. Therefore, technology is gendered. For Faulkner (2001, p. 8), technology is gendered because primarily men take key decisions that shape technologies and men have generally had greater success in claiming skilled status, especially technical competence.

Also theorists such as Susan Luckman, criticizes the view which argues that technology will give power to women. For Luckman (1999, p. 36), "Cyberspace cannot escape the social construction of gender because it was constructed by gendered individuals, and because gendered individuals access it in ways that reinforce the subjugation of women."

There are studies that focus mainly on women's existence in social media environments. A study that analyzes Facebook in terms of women's use, suggests that "Facebook also reinforces and intensifies many aspects of patriarchy that occur offline, particularly the creation of the hypermasculine consumer who must always "like" corporations and be a

"friend" of big business" (Fahs & Gohr, 2012, p. 15). Besides, "in Facebook, you don't merely create a self; your self is made by others, within a patriarchal lens, always with a clear sense of power embedded in each action (Fahs & Gohr, 2012, p. 17). In this respect, other social media platforms are similar, as they also reinforce male-dominance. Although anonymous identities seem like eliminating gender differences, women are still subordinated in the digital age. In the digital environment, women themselves are not opposed to the traditional woman's image, which is itself the product of male domination. Moreover, they are reproducing this image in new media environments.

Cyber feminists who claim that technology will empower women, ignore the fact that women reproduce the already existing culture of gendered roles, hate speech and bullying against women as well as technology's marginalization and objectification roles. Although activists can use social media platforms and other technologies to promote equality, technology also has a dark side which strengthens already existing forms of male domination, especially the constitution of the body as an object of pleasure.

According to Fredrickson and Roberts's objectification theory, women are treated as objects and women who internalize this begin to self-objectify. Media also promotes this by saying about women "that if they engage in substance use, they will be hot, sexy, and both admired and desired by men" (Szymanski et al., 2010, p. 16). New media technologies and virtual worlds also urge women to self-objectify. Women are more concerned with their sexual appearances than before. Therefore, new media produces new forms of objectification.

Women learn to select Facebook photos to present their best image carefully and people rate their comments and photos and this further objectifies women (Fahs & Gohr, 2012, p. 16). All image sharing social media platforms encourage women to look perfect. But unfortunately, this perfect look does not exist in reality. Technology is that which creates this look and forces women to resemble it.

The decision of Essena O'Neill (an Australian teenager who was an Instagram celebrity), to quit Instagram also reflects this self-objectification role of technology. While posting "stomach sucked in, strategic pose, pushed up boobs" photographs she was self-objectifying. And now she wants "younger girls to know that this isn't candid life, or cool or inspirational. It's contrived perfection made to get attention" ("Essena O'Neill…," 2015). O'Neill is only one of those millions of woman who desperately wants attention for their self-created images.

Technology and especially new media platforms seem to be strengthening Fredrickson and Roberts's objectification theory even more. Nevertheless, Fredrickson and Roberts suggest

that women can still resist and subvert this objectification culture. It is possible for women to resist by changing their body presentations by ranging from wearing comfortable shoes and loose-fitting clothing, to not removing unwanted body hair and not wearing cosmetics (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p. 197).

There are several studies that focus on gender in online games. Many of these studies demonstrate that online games are gendered spaces (Yee, 2008; Ko et al., 2005; Wang & Wang, 2008a; Brehm, 2013; Ivory, 2006; Williams et al., 2009; Norris, 2004; Waddell et al., 2014). For Consalvo and Harper (2009, p. 98), women prefer gendered characters that appeal to men. Moreover, women play online games for more hours than men, and female and male players have different motivations for playing online games (Yee, 2008; Wang & Wang, 2008b; Liu, 2016). For example, according to Wang and Wang (2008, p. 344), male players seek friendship of the opposite sex more than female players.

Gender-swapping is also analyzed in studies which are related with MMORPG's. Hussain and Griffiths (2008, p. 47) found that 57% of gamers had engaged in gender swapping, female characters have positive attributes in a male-oriented space. In his study, Marciano makes reference to a transgendered user who has "two separate worlds that do not complete each other: While she lives as a man in the online world, she has been living as a woman in the online world for already 14 years. For her, cyberspace is not a preliminary sphere as well, since she has no intention to transfer her online experiences to the online world" (Marciano, 2014, p. 831). When considered from this point of view, virtual worlds can be seen as non-gendered spaces. But other studies have claimed that users prefer gender-swapping to gain practical benefits (Song & Jung, 2015, p. 444). So, gender swapping user's gaming worlds provide a context that may reproduce a kind of male chauvinism" (Song & Jung, 2015, p. 444). So, virtual worlds are far from being non-gendered spaces.

Many studies, which analyze gender roles and woman characters in virtual worlds, found that virtual worlds are gendered-spaces. Behm-Morawitz and Mastro (2009, pp. 820-821) found that female video game characters would result in less favorable attitudes toward women. Another study which focused on women's self-objectification in virtual worlds, suggests that women continue to be portrayed as interactive sex objects in those virtual environments and women playing virtual games may subsequently self-objectify, and that this may in turn lead to generalized negative attitudes toward women in the form of endorsing rape myths (Fox et al., 2014, p. 359).

Aim and Methodology

This study examines the massively multiplayer online role-playing games. In-depth interviews were conducted with a game producer and ten MMORPG users and participant observation was also conducted for a month. Participant observation was chosen as a methodology, in order to briefly express the thoughts of users. Two MMORPG's, namely *Second Life* and *World of Warcraft*, were chosen as samples because of their popularity and numerous players. Players of these online games answered our questions about the self-representation of women in virtual worlds. To conduct interviews, we created a virtual character within both games and conducted interviews virtually. All the participants were women because conducting interviews with women was the primary purpose of this study. The nicknames used by users in these games have not been disclosed within this study to protect users' privacy rights. For this reason, in this article the *Second Life* players are named "Slplayerone", "Slplayertwo" and so on, and the *World of Warcraft* players are named "Wowplayerone" and "Wowplayertwo" and so on.

MMORPG's were chosen as samples because users can create their avatars without revealing their names or identities in virtual worlds. This seems like an emancipated environment where users can create content. As these platforms give an opportunity for communication, participation and interaction, they are classified as social media platforms. But are these platforms really emancipated environments for women? Many studies reveal that the subordination of women exists in digital environments. There are several studies that focus on equality of women in virtual spaces. However, the originality of this work, is that it focuses on the self-representation of women. The gendered roles. When we are talking about technology and Internet, we should also place emphasis on social media platforms, because technology manifests itself through those platforms. Social media platforms are places which enable self-expression and interaction. But do these platforms really constitute a space for women's self-expression outside of the patriarchy? Other sub-questions of the study are as follows: Within MMORPG's such as Second Life - a virtual world which has a large resemblance to the real world - can users perform real life activities? Do MMORPG's give women an opportunity to create their characters freely?

Findings

Within this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with a game producer and MMORPG users. Although it does not serve for the main purpose of the study, an in-depth interview with a game producer was conducted, to reveal the ideas behind the creation process. MMORPG

players can decide on their own characters, but there are certain types of looks that they should choose in the first place. While some games give the opportunity to change these looks completely, some games have standard body sizes and types that cannot be changed. For example, in World of Warcraft, users can not play an ungendered character. So, a game producer's process of designing is essential. The game producer which we interviewed explained the designing process of characters. He emphasized that although it is the artist who creates the characters, the producer and the company are the ones who decide on specific aspects. He said:

> Gaming is dominated by men. Everything that is designed according to fantasies of men. It is not about the producers; it is about the players. Producers think about the players, producers think in terms of who will be the audience. Women are not playing much. Our audience is money. That's so bad.

He stated that they are creating what they think their audience wants because online game companies care about money. And it is easy to sell with this fantasy-woman image because natural does not sell. For him, designing characters and producing games are simply a business for the game industry, and they don't want to lose billions. As their audience is mainly men, they are trying to fulfil their desires. More than just fulfilling the desires of men, it is related to the economic system.

The game producer that we interviewed had emphasized that the gaming industry is just a part of big business that sells this fantasy-woman image:

> Let's blame the media industry first, because they objectify people. Cosmetic companies, they project that kind of persona on TV 24/7. People want that. So when you make a game and a regular person, it will not work for the audience. We are thinking about how to please our audience. It is such a big industry, that changes are not very easy. It is a billion-dollar industry. People are projecting that image so badly. For them, that is necessary.

For him, an ordinary person cannot fight against the companies, at least in this economy. Therefore, the online gaming industry is just a part of the capitalist system, in which woman's image is objectified. The unreal woman's image is something to sell.

Many scholars argue that in the online gaming industry, there are blurred lines between paid work and unpaid leisure which empowers capitalism (Fuchs, 2010; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Gregg, 2011). And the fantasy-woman image is something to sell within this system. According to the game producer that we interviewed, the gaming industry exaggerates this objectified woman image even more: "Game industry just exaggerates, there is a certain reality that people can do and in the game you can exceed that reality. Whatever in my head is in the game. There are certain limitations in real life. There are certain limitations that a girl

can twist her body. But it is not in the game. We have already been brainwashed. We see those images every day. Girls want to be that, boys desire that." As the game producer whom we interviewed stated, today women want to be that fantasy image. Many people do not want to look ordinary. Everybody has this superwoman-super-sexualized-fantasy woman idea. Online games are an escape from reality. People are forgetting their problems in the fantasy world. And the fantasy woman is a part of that world. It seems significant to note that the game producer stated that he never produced an un-gendered character:

> I never produced a game without genders. There might be games out there without genders, I am not sure. Even animals have gender in kids' games. A gender-neutral game is something which we don't think about because we are basic humans; we know about gender.

Besides the in-depth interview with a game producer, interviews were also conducted with MMORPG players. For this, two MMORPG's namely *Second Life* and *World of Warcraft* were chosen as samples because large numbers of players play those games. *Second Life*, which has been an active virtual world for twelve years, was chosen as a sample because of its unique structure. Unlike other MMORPG's, *Second Life* has no levels or duties. It is an imitation of the real world.

Another MMORPG which was chosen as an example is *World of Warcraft*. It is also one of the oldest MMORPG's because it dates to 2004. It is also known as the most popular MMORPG. Unlike *Second Life*, *World of Warcraft* has levels and duties. Players are fighting with enemies in order to succeed. So, it is not much like the real world, rather it is a fantasy world consisting of forests, castles and kingdoms. Players can create avatars which are not human. Instead, their avatars can be dwarves, elves, trolls, orcs or other creatures.

Second Life and *World of Warcraft* players answered our questions about the self-representation of women in virtual worlds. In-depth interviews were conducted with ten players. We created a virtual character within both games and conducted interviews virtually. All the participants were women because conducting interviews with women was the primary purpose of this study. Another technique which was used in this study is participant observation. The below mentioned findings which are related to women's image in virtual worlds are discussed on the basis of the data achieved through these techniques.

Perceptibly, *Second Life* has more women players in contrast to *World of Warcraft*. Male characters are high in number, but more importantly, male characters are also more powerful because their roles are more essential. *World of Warcraft* player Wowplayerone highlights this by saying:

> In the lore women probably have more power here than the real world. But quite a few major characters are female and rule their people. Jaina, Sylvana et al… Not that well read on the lore overall though.

*World of Warcraf*t player Wowplayertwo agreed with Wowplayerone: "Lots of women play *World of Warcraft*, but they are fewer than male players. I've met lots of women over the years. Male players are more common, but I've not seen women treated poorly. Unless 12-year- old boys count." *World of Warcraf*t player Wowplayerthree also thinks similarly: "Male characters are more powerful. They have more power."

Both *World of Warcraft* and *Second Life* let people choose how to look. *Second Life* player Slplayerone who defines her virtual identity as "warm friendly, sensual, all wrapped up in a well-balanced package", suggests that *Second Life* lets women be whatever they want: "Most women want to look good and different from the next woman. It's like going to a party, you want to look great but don't want to show up in the same dress (laughs)... but here it is varied. From unique to just plain strange. I think *Second Life* provides an outlet for women to let them be whatever they want to be. To try new things without judgement." Although women players can be whatever they want, their images do not look like the cyborgs that Haraway imagined. Women players generally want to create gendered characters.

Both MMORPG platforms support these gendered avatars. At the first stage of creating an avatar, *World of Warcraft* players must make a gender choice, which is either male or female. Whether they are dwarfs, gnomes, trolls, orcs or elves, they should still be female or male. Even characters which are called "pandaren" and "worgen" that resemble animals should have a gender. *Second Life* players also choose their genders at first. Designing their avatars is the second stage.

What is more, women players generally create avatars which are different than their real images. They try to look like models and want to be sexier. At first, *Second Life* player, Slplayertwo tried to create an avatar which looks like her real image but when she could not do that, she decided to create an avatar which she liked. Although Slplayertwo's first choice was to create an avatar which is similar to her real image, other players also expressed that they created avatars which do not reflect their real images. Slplayerthree states that "to some I'm sure sexual image is important in *Second Life*. Both genders are more open in *Second Life*. They can hide, so they are courageous."

Slplayertwo expressed her feelings about looking good by saying:

> I want to look good in *Second Life*. Good looking means looking sexy and beautiful for me. Everybody has similar understandings of beauty here. Look around, all girls have great bodies, long legs, and beautiful faces. I never see an ugly girl here, it's impossible. This is a need. I want to be like this in my real life.

For Slplayertwo, it's easier in *Second Life* to have the image she wants. She cannot afford cosmetic surgery in real life. And she also stated that she is too scared of such a change in real life. But it's free in *Second Life*, so she wants to try having that image. She also expressed that guys pay more attention when she looks like that. Although meeting people and dating is not her priority in the virtual world, still, she likes getting attention.

The main purpose of *World of Warcraft* women players while creating their avatars is to create extraordinary, but still good-looking characters. Wowplayerfour's opinions also reflect this:

> How we look is not that important in *World of Warcraft*. I am playing the game to have fun, not to impress someone. But of course, I want to look good everywhere. In my real life, in photographs and in games too. How can a game change my idea about looking good? I wanted to create a fantastic and of course beautiful character in the first place. I can describe beauty as, models and celebrities. They look nice.

Wowplayerfour doesn't want to be one of these models, but it would be great for her if she looked like them. Although she is not overweight or ugly in real life, she wants to look better. For her, a mixture of model-hero- fantasy is the best look and you should look like that in *World of Warcraft*.

While *World of Warcraft* players creates fantastic but still gendered characters, *Second Life* players create images which satisfy men's desires. Slplayerfive said that a man created an image for her in the first place and he changes her image every day. For her this is a way to forget real-life issues: "This is pretty degrading. I would never agree to this in real life. It takes me away from real life issues. It's having no control whatsoever that I am finding hard to swallow." Her image is a reflection of a man's desire. Although not all women characters are created by men, still it can be observed that they are images that reflect the desires of the male-dominated world. Another *Second Life* player Slplayerfour proves this by saying: "No woman dresses for herself. I think women have a lot of love for men and it gives more strength to men."

Second Life player Slplayerfive described the virtual world as a men's world: "...a lot of nudity. I am a great example. It is for better visual stimulation; it is steered to please the male gender." Although all the in-depth interviews reflect this view, nearly all the women players of *Second Life* also demonstrate this view. Visuality is an essential part of *Second Life*. Of course, not only women, men also try to look best. Slplayertwo states this by saying: "Look

around, all the men are 2,5 m tall, and all the women have head-sized boobs. I am pretty sure that's not how they really look like. *Second Life* is a place to play with pixel dollies." So, men want to highlight their masculinity and women want to highlight their femininity. Visuality is also crucial in *World of Warcraft*.

Wowplayerfive states this by saying: "Men prefer pretty characters over ugly characters. So how women look is important in *World of Warcraft*."

Visuality is very important both in *Second Life* and *World of Warcraft*. Women players are reproducing the existing woman image. Although Fredrickson and Roberts suggest that women can resist the objectification culture by changing their body presentations, MMORPG's women players are doing the opposite. Indeed, they are self- objectifying. And their self-objectified images are their self-representations.

In terms of harassment, MMORPG's are not much different than the real world. The Internet is a place where everybody can disturb others without revealing their identities. *Second Life* player Slplayerone explains this by saying:

> You come into it with innocence and are bewitched by the magic of what it has to offer. Then you learn not to trust all you see and to walk the path carefully. Not believing all you see... Because there are some lovely wonderful people and then some very mean people. Perverts are just perverts (laughs) It is a choice of rp...

Slplayerone expresses that in *Second Life*, there are some mean people who want to hurt others, especially the needy ones and these mean people are also lying, cheating and bullying. Slplayertwo also thinks similarly: "...well this is the internet, there are a lot of random perverts. Woman players are disturbed more, so women are less advantageous." *World of Warcraft* is not much different than *Second Life*. Wowplayerfour said:

> I would say female players are not preferential in *World of Warcraft* over men. Usually due to sexual reasons: flirting etc. Then again they have to put up with poor treatment by some people too. Women characters are disturbed more. When I only wanted to play the game, I met people who want to flirt with me. And this is not cool.

So, in terms of harassment and disturbance, the Internet does not constitute a better place for women.

Discussion and Conclusion

The interviews and observations within these MMORPG's demonstrate that women in these environments do not question the traditional image of women in spite of the fact that

there are opportunities to do so. And moreover, they are maintaining the patriarchal body image. Donna Haraway (2013) and Sadie Plant (1997) argued that, digital environment transforms the current representation of women. Unlike Haraway and plant, this study supports the ideas of Luckman. Susan Luckman's (1999: 36) view is suitable for MMORPG's: "cyberspace cannot escape the social construction of gender because it was constructed by gendered individuals and because gendered individuals access it, in ways that reinforce the subjugation of women." Producers and people who are behind the decision process, who are creating what they think their audience want, are generally men, and women are far from the design process. MMORPG players are also usually men. So, mostly men are shaping, designing and deciding in the online gaming industry.

Virilio who suggests that technology is not a solution for inequality between women and men (Armitage, 2000), and Jameson (1984, p. 79) who suggests that computer networks are representations of present-day multinational capitalism were also proved to be right in this study. This is because in the first phase, game producers are creating an environment in which the sexualized/fantasized woman image is encouraged. The game industry is mainly doing this to sell their product, reach more people and gain profit. In this sense, the objectified woman's image is something to sell. Furthermore, in the online gaming industry, this created woman's image is even more exaggerated, as women prefer hyper-gendered characters. When considered from this point of view, the online game industry is also a part of the capitalist system outlined by Jameson as we mentioned above.

Although anonymity can eliminate gender differences, women prefer to create gendered characters. Players have the freedom to create their characters within MMORPG's but still they are sustaining the same woman's image. Although women players can be whatever they want, their images do not look like the un-gendered or gender-free cyborgs that Haraway imagined. So, women's participation in technology and the Internet is not transforming gender. Women players generally want to create gendered characters. And these characters are not only gendered, but they are hyper-gendered characters, which means that they are highly exaggerated characters. Women are creating fantastic-sexual-hero images. By so doing, women prefer to create images that satisfy men. It is observed that women are not resisting the objectification culture. Indeed, MMORPG's women players are doing the opposite. They are self-objectifying, and their self-objectified images are their self-representations.

Although cyber feminists claim that technology will empower women, there is still a gap between men and women's access to the Internet and that, moreover, technology has a dark side which weakens women. While activists use social media platforms and other technologies

to promote equality, the sexualized woman's image is turning women into commodities. This image has a sale value. And also, in terms of harassment, MMORPG's are not much different than the real world. The Internet is a place where everybody can meddle with others without revealing their identities, but in this cyberspace, women are less advantageous than men.

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CHAPTER 3

TRANSFORMATION OF THE BODY FROM PHANTASY TO DIGITAL

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ABSTRACT

The study demonstrates the ways that scientific and technological developments have enabled artists to re-imagine the transformation of the body. Such a re-imaging reaches back to mythology, literature and cinema throughout the ages. With this broad aim, this chapter presents a historical framework using a descriptive approach, supported by typical and representative examples. This reveals how, under the influence of digitalization and scientific and technological developments, new concepts become describable in works of art. These include abstract concepts including embodiment and vitality, along with concepts of transformation such as mind uploading, biohacking, mind, self, AI and machine learning.

Keywords: Metamorphose, body, digitalization

Introduction

The body emerges as a theme in the study field of almost every discipline. Our perception of the body is undoubtedly shaped in accordance with cultural construction. We have a vast literature that ranges from Descartes' Cartesian approach to Foucault's views on domination and biopolitics with a large number of followers and traces Bourdieu's thoughts on the social body. The use of the metaphor of the body and/or political representation as a means of undertaking sociocultural and ideological criticism is the conventional tendency of art. In the works of art, the transformation of the body has been an attractive theme both in terms of aesthetics and semiology.

We think of our self and body as inseparable. This approach has gone so far that the body is seen as an indicator of avoiding aging, that is, our mortality, with a large market share in consumer culture. The impulse in all purchased anti-aging cures and aesthetic operations is to be/seem too young to be close to death. Not being able to overcome mortality and ontological ignorance can only be overcome in imagination and these fictions are primarily addressed in the fields of literature and movies and series. Our imaginations regarding the transformation of the body generally aim to transcend the limits. This is the starting point of this study.

The transformation of the body clearly indicates that there is always a tendency to transcend the limits. The fiction is influenced by cultural accumulation of its time, by the scientific and technological developments, in other words, the zeitgeist of the age shape our imagination. This commentary is to address the development of bodily transformation directly in human imagination in this context.

The theme of physical transformation has been extensively studied in literature, movies and series in fantasy and science-fiction genres. The visible distinction in cinema is observed in sci-fi and fantasy films. Even if the film is a comedy or a drama, it is important for the subject of the study whether physical transformation is a fiction or fantasy based on scientific basis. In this context, we see that scientific explanations are brought to the physical transformations of the characters in the field of fantasy in current approaches. As stated by Eyüboğlu (2007, p. 33):

> In human thought, the "supernatural one" does not have a certain limit, there is a myth of the " supernatural one" of the ages. The ages also carry the myths with them. The development of science and the advancement of civilization can not save one from being a "mythical existence." Mythos, in a sense, is the being created by the insatiable passions of people.

Over time, the characters and subjects of fantasy are now merging with science, and the physical transformation of fantasy characters is designed via a scientific approach. The study addresses the question of how digitalization, scientific and technological developments have affected the imagination of physical transformation and includes the films and series from the mainstream cinema, which are exemplary and widely known, as examples. Although it is a pioneer in terms of subject, anime and manga are excluded from the limitations of the study because they fundamentally differ from mainstream dominant cinema.

The aim of this study is to examine the changes in the transformation of the body. For this purpose, the transformation of the body in mythology, literature and cinema has been handled as historical and thematic throughout the ages. The limitation of page and the quantitative plurality of samples have thematically required inclusion of limited samples and/or stereotypes selected from mainstream movies and series. With this design, a descriptive approach is chosen. The study primarily focuses on how the development of science and technology affects our envisagement of metamorphosis. In this article, the transformation of the body is not studied in detail through certain films. Instead, it presents a historical framework that summarizes bodily transformation.

Fantasy

The mythology of origin, it has been imagined that the body of the universe consisted of soil and water, leading to the thinking of human beings in theology. In mythology and the major religions with holy books, the idea that the world was created from earth and water in origin myths has continued with the creation of man from the dust of the ground, the world from the dust and water, or the body of the god. Just as the earthly originates from God, the breath blown by God in connection with the belief in the soul is also of its essence.[1] In theology, the existence of man is defined by bodily existence, and philosophical dimension does not even stand as fairy tale today as the body is the universal fertilizer against what is defined as the breath of God and the concept of consciousness and self is still being debated. The argument that it is not possible to reduce human existence to memory is one of the main

1 The creation myth of Pan-ku in China provides a complete example of this. According to the Inca belief, the God Pachamac, the half-brother of the Sun God's son, kills and buries parts of his body in the ground and people eat the plants and trees formed (Krickeberg & Walter, 2000, *Inca and Mayan Legends* [A. Kırımlı, Trans.] [p. 198] Istanbul, Turkey: Okyanus Publishing House). Indians emulate animals and the force of nature. In Inca and Aztec/Toltec myths creative death often takes place. For detailed reading, see. Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God Volume 4: Creative Mythology*, Penguin, 1991; Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'historie des religions*, Payot, 1949; Mircea Eliade, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses*, *Volume 1: De l'âge de la pierre aux mystères d'Eleusis*, Payot, 1976; Donna Rosenberg, *World Mythology*, McGraw-Hill, 1994; Walter Krickeberg, *Märchen der Azteken und Inkaperuaner*, Maya und Muisca, Diederichs, 1984; Walter Krickeberg, *Las Antiguas Culturas Mexicanas*, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1977.

subjects of contemporary art, especially in scientific fiction. The definition of the physical existence of theology has intervened in sociology by radically determining gender inequality due to its taboo character and it is observed to have an impact even in today's technological developments. Both origin myths and theology define the human body with a view to nature -with soil and water, and some with the divine essence- while the divine universe has been shaped with a view to man.

The gods were designed zoomorphic and later anthropomorphic. In mythology neither demigods nor half human, half animal creatures were seen as abnormal. The bull-headed human bodied Minotauros, tailed Satyrs with a human shape on the upper part of the body and a horse or goat on the lower part of the body, winged Seirens (Sirens) with female bodies and fascinating melodies, female-faced and breasted, lion-footed and tailed Sphinx (Erhat, 1999, pp. 206-207, 268-269, 277) are the most widely known examples of these creatures. We can trace the zoomorphic design also to Egypt, like Anubis, the jackal-headed god…. The gods can turn a human into an animal or a plant, and they can turn into other beings, mostly animals. Metamorphoses in Greek mythology have a purposeful function. This is a justification such as getting out of a difficult situation, punishing, escaping from the rape of God, deceiving the other, and winning a war (Homeros, *Odysseia*, Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*). Ovidius' *Metamorphoses* is a compilation of metamorphoses in mythology. One of the most well-known examples is the transformation of the god Loki from Scandinavian mythology. The Indian God Vishnu, whose incarnations also resonate with bodily transfer, can be embodied in different ways. As Eliade simply explains, primitive hunters believed that man could become an animal or an animal could become a man, that the souls of the dead could enter an animal body, and that there could be a mysterious connection between a particular person and a particular animal (2003, p. 21).

Evil and infernal are defined by ugliness and expressed physically just as beauty is defined by the body. The Dark world offers a more voluminous content in terms of bodily metamorphoses (Eco, 2009, pp. 73-125), Dante's Inferno is sufficient for the horrendous instances of bodily metamorphoses in itself. In addition, it is common practice to place the sculptures of intimidating hybrid beings in graves or buildings, and the purpose is to protect that space from malicious attacks by intimidation.

Humans have maintained their form in robots and androids, just as the ancient gods were thought to be in human form. Although a great deal of it is adaptation, the imagination of the body in cinema is generally directed towards transcending human physical limits. Werewolves, vampires, zombies, mutants, superheroes, androids appear as cliché movie

characters. In the end, we see that humans stick to their own image. Ordinary individuals cannot overcome mortality yet, but they still seek longevity and want to keep their appearance forever young with all aesthetic interventions, cosmetics, sports and nutrition regimens. At least, he presents a younger, weaker, more beautiful appearance via digital interventions on his virtual image. The reasons and results in the field of virtual identity are clear enough and are beyond our scope.

Fantasized Body

The cliché characters that are physically transformed in the field of fantasy are werewolves, zombies, vampires and superheroes. In this section, the meaning and the rationale of the physical metamorphoses of these stereotyped characters are examined.

One of the first stereotypical characters that come to mind is the werewolf. The most important feature is that it invests in the libidinal rather than primitive and subclass representation. It points to our shadow as defined by Jung, which in social life is repressed and strengthened as it is suppressed. The general explanation is that the process of adaptation to the changing nature of adolescence and conflict arising from the contradiction of nature with the rules of social life exist. Physical transformation bears a symbolic meaning and causes a tragic character. The transformation of the werewolf which was not in his hands has allowed the opening of both psychology and sociology (*The Company of Wolves*, Neil Jordan, 1984; *Ginger Snaps*, John Fawcett, 2000; *The Wolf Man*, George Waggner, 1941).

In the movies *Cat People* (Jacques Tourneur, 1942; Paul Schrader, 1982), as an example of being an animal other than a werewolf, transformation into a panther is used as a metaphor with the unstable social position of the other and the contradictions in which they lived, primarily with their gay and foreign identities. The physical transformation entirely belongs to the symbolic world of fantasy.

Zombie movies are considered to be a subgenre of horror. Zombies, another cliché character, are a metaphorical representation of black US slaves that were made to work in sugar fields by Americans after invading Haiti and the refugees who go through unconscious consumers of capitalism, and militarism and are not seen as human beings, just like black people. People that are given substances that have toxic effects by Haiti's voodoo shamans seem unconscious or dead for up to a few days. When awakened, they are like the walking dead, unconscious and without free will under the influence of the shaman. The zombie figure, thought to be influential in this cult, first appeared in cinema as a criticism of the US

employment of black slaves in the fields in Haiti. The first zombie film was *White Zombie* (directed by Victor Halperin, Bela Lugosi as Legendre), shot in 1932. The reason George Romero is known as the father of zombie genre is that he gave the current character to the zombie. Romero's trilogy (*Night of the Living Dead*, 1968, *Dawn of the Dead*, 1978, *Day of the Dead*, 1985) was followed by three films (*Land of the Dead*, 2005, *Diary of the Dead*, 2007, *Survival of the Dead*, 2009) Zombies, which cannot use their minds, lack free will and have no consciousness, are fed by living human flesh, and are also called the living dead. Due to their unconsciousness and the nature of their existence, they can transform even the closest ones into themselves. Zombies' inability to think, speak, or having very limited speech and lack of free will clearly show a relationship with slavery. Romero shot *Night of the Living Dead* after the assassination of Kennedy, during the Cold War, at a time of the Vietnam War, when security concerns were at their peak. Probably because of radioactivity, the theme of becoming a zombie places the zombie as a more frightening figure than fantastic horror characters. Romero includes themes such as family unity and racism in the documentary atmosphere, and as a result, the film, which lays the foundation of the genre, criticizes the system heavily, paves the way for independent productions, and enables the zombies to be acknowledged. Romero not only criticizes the system, but also criticizes society, because we live as numb individuals and cannot walk away from our personal ambitions. This metaphoric character of the zombie figure is still preserved in movies and series (*The Serpent and the Rainbow*, Wes Craven, 1988; *The Walking Dead* (2010 -); *28 Days Later*, Danny Boyle, 2002). Returning from the dead, the character that has been severed from all worldly ties gradually expands his field to refugee representation. As Oxana Timofeeva clearly summarizes (2017, p. 443):

> The machine, the animal, the monster, the insect, the reptile, the doll, the corpse and other archetypal Others reveal themselves in the form of the oppressed, charting the difficult path from life to consciousness, which cannot be traced by any man, for this path lies through the Goethean 'absolute lord' -- death. First they come to life and begin to move, and then to feel, think, and act against the system that does not recognize them as forms of the free citizen, the human being, the subject.

In my opinion, the most popular transformation in literature, cinema and series is the transformation of man to vampire. Looking at the cultural origin of the vampire character, it is the horrible creature coming out of its grave and haunting the living. This creature is shaped by ghoulish belief and the fear that the soul of the deceased will attract the remaining relatives. One of the popular characters of movies and series, vampires have gained new features over time. They can turn into bats and have strong ties to animals, even to wolves, which are described as "children of the night" that serve the vampire in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Popular

vampire novel writers such as Anne Rice have expanded their superhuman strengths: they can move faster than the human eye can perceive, read minds, close their minds to others, influence and direct the person they want and gain stamina as time goes on. The figure, an ideological metaphor serving the criticism of the aristocracy in the beginning, has undergone significant changes in the process. It is a hybrid dhampir born of the merger of vampire and man, destined to be a vampire hunter capable of detecting innate vampire. In films such as *Underworld* (Len Wiseman, 2003), class conflict appears primarily between vampires and werewolves, and their hierarchy is based on the power of knowledge (Er Pasin, 2013). Mythology has superior powers arising from the combination of half-human, half- animal or demigod beings, or dhampir-like vampire and werewolf. Changes such as investigating the biological functioning of vampirism, the business of synthetic blood production by vampires, being dangerous test animals for science are not considered off-margin within the genre (*Nosferatu*, F. W. Murnau, 1922; *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht*, Werner Herzog, 1979; *Dracula*, Tod Browning, 1931; *Vampyr*, Carl Theodor Dreyer, 1932; *The Hunger*, Tony Scott, 1983; *Valerie a týden divů*, Jaromil Jires, 1970; *Underworld*, Len Wiseman, 2003; *Perfect Creature*, Glenn Strandring, 2004; *Hemlock Grove* (2013-2015), *The Passage* (2019 -), *The Strain* (2014-2017).

Just as in mythology, we often come across such figures as half-god, half-human figures in cinema. For example, the Devil's human born child (*Rosemary's Baby*, Roman Polanski, 1968), Siamese twins that are separated but one of whom lives like a freak (*Basket Case*, Frank Henenlotter, 1982), dhampir (*Blade*, Stephen Norrington, 1998), and hybrids that are born from vampire and werewolf (*Underworld*). Usually these characters have supernatural powers and abilities.

Mutants and superheroes are another cliché that has supernatural / superhuman power and goes through bodily transformation. Mutants first came to light as a result of the influence of nuclear studies conducted during the Cold War years. Of course, the theme has continued to diversify with the studies in the field of genetics. Due to radioactivity, transformation has been mostly addressed in creature films. The first examples have also been classics: *Them!* (Gordon Douglas, 1954), *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (Eugène Lourié, 1953), *It Came from Beneath the Sea* (Robert Gordon, 1955). *Gojira* (Ishiro Honda, 1954), on the other hand, goes beyond the representation of the beast in the classical approach regarding the Other, and undertakes the Japanese's own internal feud. Like zombie movies, it carries a message that warns humanity against their ambition. The reason why the figure whose name was turned into Godzilla in the West is the nuclear threat intensely felt at that time.

Superheroes who gain superhuman strength, skill and talent as a result of the mutation

they encounter, appear in fantastic movies. Superheroes have come to the forefront in popular culture primarily with comics. The superhero, which still has a significant place in both comics and movies and games, emerged before the end of the 1920 Great Depression and in the tense years of the pre-World War II era. Just like that, the fact that the creators, Joe Shuster and Jerry Siegel, of *Superman* (1938), who appeared at such a time, were Jewish, marked the social function of Superman, a refugee who was born from another planet, like Jews who migrated to the United States. In today's digital world, superhero stories correspond to the folk narratives of oral culture, the heroism of mythology, the people whose works are told - gods, demigods, and people. The fantastic universe to which they belong offers fertile soil for narratives that will take place in different media, just like in mythology. We can give examples such as the members of the *Fantastic Four* who were exposed to cosmic radiation, and most mutant members of the *X-Men* family, such as Magneto and Wolverine, who retained their ideological and sociocultural representation functions, but who acquired superhuman abilities as a result of mutation. Magneto, who describes mutants as supersapien, was subjected to medical experiments in the Nazi concentration camp during his childhood. The origins of the stories are based on such historical, theological and mythological background, but in the ideological process their functions changed from the savior who reassured Americans during the war and economic crisis to the superman of America as their characterization which evolved from Stan Lee's broad vision has been shaped by current policies.

From the mutated creatures that were reflected in cinema with the fear of nuclear danger during the Cold War years and with the studies carried out in the field of genetics and the advancement of science and technology, new figures ranging from mutants to clones, cyborgs, androids emerge. With the articulation of studies in fields such as artificial intelligence and machine learning, the transition from the field of eclectic genres such as science fiction-mystery-fantasy to science fiction takes place with a sharp distinction, or a thematic shift to scientific fiction occurs while cliché characters of fantastic are maintained.

Science fiction with fantasy or sometimes science fiction with fantasy and mystery can be the case, as said above. A fun example is Spiderman, who gets superpowers from a radioactive spider bite. David Cronenberg's *The Fly* (1986) is in the sci-fi category.

Science Fiction / Science Fiction with Fantasy

In the transition from fantasy to science fiction, the mythological and religious stories were replaced by fiction based on scientific curiosity and science in the age of enlightenment and in later eras. The interest in physical anomaly between the late 15th Century and 18th

centuries, freak shows attracting all people from all segments, the attraction of the beast left the area of religion in the shadow of enlightenment and losing its position of interest, was replaced by a fascination with science (Jean-Jacques Courtine, 2008, pp. 301-305). Neither Tod Browning's *Freaks* (1932), which offered such a show, nor Wim Wenders's (*Der Himmel über Berlin*, 1987), angels who want to turn into human beings inspire curiosity though they are still admired in terms of aesthetics. In science fiction, fantastic characters are replaced by cyborg, bionic men or androids or find themselves exposed to a scientific approach.

Spider Man acquires superhuman powers by the bite of a radioactive spider, and in David Cronenberg's *The Fly* (1986), we encounter science fiction based on genetics. The hero of the film is transformed due to the presence of the DNA of a fly in the cabin while teleporting himself from one cabin to another. In fact, in almost all Cronenberg's filmography, thematic expansions of writing are fundamental. His movies, which can be seen as palimpsest texts, present the creation of new flesh.

The major themes of science fiction (Baudou, 2005, pp. 68-119) are closely related to human existence. For example, in H. G. Wells' novels, the constant and fundamental thematic problem is the question of 'what is human?' and whether man has a distinctive character from an android with artificial intelligence. It is possible to consider Stanislav Lem's *Solaris* (1961) in a similar thematic framework with the focus on memory. In this context, he is a researcher on human nature and the effect of science / technology on human existence, the coexistence of organic and inorganic, memory, mind, self, impulse, error and intuition, and the distinction between human and android. Although these themes are certainly valid for contemporary works, in the early examples, interrogations in the same context come to the fore. One of the most well-known examples, *Frankenstein or The Modern Prometheus* (Mary Shelley, 1818), contains themes that have been traced in contemporary works, and it is contemporary precisely for that reason. Victor Frankenstein's efforts maintains its contemporaneity and importance in terms of addressing basic issues such as ethical problems stemming from the consequences of performing the role attributed to God. Today, this mission is undertaken by global governments, universities, legal entities and private institutions. It is known that Shelley was fascinated with early experiments with electricity and Galvanism. Sylvia A. Pamboukian examines the scientist's role as monster-maker. 19th century's Victorian monster texts such as *The Invisible Man* (H. G. Wells), *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (H. G. Wells), *The Strange Case of Dr. Jeykll and Mr. Hyde* (Robert Louis Stevenson), *Frankenstein* (Mary Shelley) are preoccupied with the monster's scientific creation and the scientist's status. These scientists use scientific methods of their day to create a monster. Pamboukian states that in

this era the monster and the doctor are intimately connected and may even be one, as seen in the figure of *Dr. Jeykll and Mr. Hyde*. As stated by Pamboukian (2008, p. 236):

> Odysseus and Beowulf do not create the Cyclops and Grendel and are not responsible for the monster's conduct; on the contrary, the heroes must eliminate the monsters to restore order as these enemies embody the opposite of the hero's values. In Victorian texts, the doctor produces the monster and, often, also destroys him, both instigating disorder and restoring order. Because of this, there is an overlap of culpability between manufacturer, monster and hero, so the monster's destruction at the end of the text hardly restores the status quo. (...) A glamorous figure, the doctor-as-monster-maker revels in science's epistemological power and, I suggest, creates a new kind of heroism, which resides in drawing boundaries rather than merely defending or restoring them.

Unlike mainstream cinema, especially science fiction and horror films are able to predict a future or contain warnings. The inevitable reference to Fritz Lang's Metropolis (1927) is that it has a founding function in terms of production relations, class consciousness, futuristic urban design, and sociopolitical criticism. H. G. Wells was harsh in his criticism of the Metropolis in the New York Times in 1927:

> I have recently seen the silliest film.
>
> I do not believe it would be possible to make one sillier.
>
> ...
>
> It gives in one eddying concentration almost every possible foolishness, cliché, platitude, and muddlement about mechanical progress and progress in general served up with a sauce of sentimentality that is all its own.
>
> ...
>
> Capek's Robots have been lifted without apology, and that soulless mechanical monster of Mary Shelley's, who has fathered so many German inventions, breeds once more in this confusion.
>
> Originality there is none. Independent thought, none.
>
> Where nobody has imagined for them the authors have simply fallen back on contemporary things.
>
> ...
>
> Then comes the crowning absurdity of the film, the conversion of the Robot into the likeness of Mary. (...) Mary has to be trapped, put into a machine like a translucent cocktail shaker, and undergo all sorts of pyrotechnic treatment in order that her likeness may be transferred to the Robot. The possibility of Rotwang just simply making a Robot like her, evidently never entered the gifted producer's head. The Robot is enveloped in wavering haloes, the premises seem to be struck by lightning repeatedly, the contents of a number of flasks and carboys

> are violently agitated, there are minor explosions and discharges. Rotwang conducts the operations with a manifest lack of assurance, and finally, to his evident relief, the likeness is taken and things calm down. The false Mary then winks darkly at the audience and sails off to raise the workers. And so forth and so on.

It is necessary to note that literature is ahead of cinema in the field of sci-fi. In terms of movies and series, *Metropolis* has a founding function especially in the design of urban planning and class relations. Shelley's monster comes to life through neurochemicals and electricity applied to the cadaver. In *Metropolis*, Maria is transferred to the robot because the robot must be exactly like Maria and is called a "false Maria." Today, transformation of Maria to the robot may seem quite naive, but the themes are basically within the same framework, such as loading memories of a human into a machine with artificial intelligence, teaching clones and androids to become human. The luddism/machine admiration of the early 1800s appears in the current movies and series as technophilia/technophobia, which is not necessarily a different approach and inevitably is mainly about artificial intelligence and human transformation that penetrates production and everyday life. Today, even if we are mentally ready to accelerate technological progress and prepare robots' rights laws, the desperation of consuming the resources of the world in practice and knowing that life on other planets will be possible for a few people opens the way for technophobia in content as well as dystopian fiction.

For example, the *Altered Carbon* series does not deviate from the fundamental trajectory of the corpus. The vertical structure has been moved above the clouds, and this urban design has a great deal of mythological connotations and references to Christianity. As long as the disk in which the data in the brain is recorded is not destroyed, it is possible for the lucky minority to live in a different body or in their own cloned bodies. The memory of the body is also emphasized. It is a painful darkness in which the re-incarnate arrives in the series in which money can buy better bodies, and the spirit is preserved in the series. Transplantation has been replaced by body replacement, of course, with the control of the state, the privileged minority or the mafia. The body is a physical asset that can only be transferred to another body as long as the disk in which the memory is stored is intact.

In one episode of the technophobic series *Black Mirror* the fairgrounds where freaks were exhibited in Paris or just outside London were replaced by a museum called the "Black Museum" where early examples of the embodied minds and digital avatars are exhibited (S04E06, "Black Museum").

Adapted from Philip K. Dick's *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep* (1968), *Blade Runner* (Ridley Scott, 1982) ends with the implication that the replicant hunter himself is a replicant. The main problem in Philip K. Dick's works is the distinction between a human and an android. The jolt of learning that all of his memories are data recorded on an implant placed in the brain reminds us of Frankenstein's creation and his being released to the world.

William Gibson is the father of cyberpunk just as Romero is the father of zombie genre. Cyber space design is based on the existence of a parallel net universe that leads Baulrillard to the concept of simulation. Beyond his success with *Neuromancer* (1984), he also had a founding function in the literature. In *Johnny Mnemonic* (1995), where states are weakened, corporations and the mafia are strong, and which has the cyberpunk cliché universe in which data wars are normally welcomed, human couriers carry data with discs implanted in their brains. More will come with *The Matrix* movies.

Science/technology provide answers to old questions about exceeding the boundaries of the body, such as human interaction with an interface and his presence in the virtual universe. Films such as *Minority Report* (Steven Spielberg, 2002), *Equilibrium* (Kurt Wimmer, 2002), *Code 46* (Michael Winterbottom, 2003) present designs for social structuring, while *The Thirteenth Floor* (Josef Rusnak, 1999), *Dark City* (Alex Proyas, 1998) and *The Matrix* (Lana Wachowski, Lilly Wachowski as The Wachowski Brothers, 1999), *Abre Los Ojos* (Alejandro Amenábar, 1997) focus on the relationship of virtual reality, mind, body, consciousness and self. Especially in *The Thirteenth Floor*, the fact that the virtual universes created by artificial intelligence are multilayered is an idea that is discussed in the probability calculation today. What distinguishes the film from others is that the self in the virtual universe can be embedded in the body in the other universe. *Abre Los Ojos*, on the other hand, focuses on the awakening of the mind in the virtual universe after entering cryonic suspension.[2]

The themes addressed by these early examples are still current. New findings from scientific progress are added to these themes to broaden / deepen the problematic. The most well-known and clear examples are *Westworld* (2016-), the popular series *Fringe* (2008-2013), *Dark* (2017-) and the cult movie *Donnie Darko* (Richard Kelly, 2001). These series and films discuss time travel and augmentation of parallel universes previously included in *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985). In the works in this theme, the character encounters his / her double in the parallel universe and the approach to the parallel universe through time travel results in the interaction of the characters' childhood, old age and youth with each other.

2 Cryonics Institute, https://www.cryonics.org/

Edward Page Mitchell, in *The Clock That Went Backward* (1881), one of the first time travel stories, examines the ability of people to make conscious choices about the journey between parallel worlds as well as the nature of time. Hegelian professor's statements at the end of the story as below can clearly be seen in the plotlines of today's movies and series like *Donnie Darko*, *Interstellar* (Christopher Nolan, 2014), *Fringe*, *Dark*, etc.:

> No philosopher, as far as I am aware, has studied the influence of the nineteenth century upon the sixteenth. If cause produces effect, does effect never induce cause? Does the law of heredity, unlike all other laws of this universe of mind and matter, operate in one direction only? Does the descendant owe everything to the ancestor and the ancestor nothing to the descendant?
>
> Does destiny, which may seize upon our existence, and for its own purposes bear us far into the future, never carry us back into the past?

Today's questions and developments include Dark Matter, Dark Energy, the first image of the event horizon of the black hole, the discovery of the Higgs boson, theories of the nature of time, Hartle-Hawking's theory of the multiple universe model and of course, singularity and they shape the theme.

Particles that constitute Dark Matter is named as WIMPs (Weakly Interacting Massive Particles) and is different from the known (visible matter). The nature of this elusive matter is still being examined. The finding of Higgs Field/Higgs Boson is one of the outcomes of CERN experiments which points out how matter gains mass. As stated in CERN's homepage, "Elementary particles gain their mass from a fundamental field associated with the Higgs boson". In the Hartle-Hawking theory, the fact that a model with universes similar to each other is proposed is undoubtedly beneficial for the producers.

Dark per se is an example of how scientific developments shape the subject; the opening of the passage to the parallel universe by energizing dark matter is the backbone of the subject. In the parallel universes, the characters may encounter their own or others' infancy, childhood, old age, and even interfere with the functioning of reality, as Edward Page Mitchell said.

Westworld, on the other hand, is a more complicated example in terms of its approach to existence. It is intended to teach androids to close the gaps between themselves and people. When trying methods on countless clones to save the original person, man may have to wait desperately. The point of science and technology is brought to the agenda with ethical questions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Witches clearly show how the Dark ages read the body. A mole or a spot on the body were considered as a sign of witchcraft. At the same time, the sanctity of the body is a broad subject that ranges from the king's body to the relics of saints. These approaches certainly found an important place in cinema. In this respect, witches appeared especially in horror movies from the 1960s and 1970s, as well as *Stigmata* (Rupert Wainwright, 1999) which raises a question about the Council of Nicaea and various movies about exorcism regarded the body as a text in which symptoms are observed and read.

The cliché movie figures such as superheroes, monsters, mutants, vampires, cyborgs and androids exceed the bodily boundaries, have supernatural abilities and are considered as immortal thanks to their physical endurance. These are ordinary characteristics acquired through the transformation.

With the intensification of themes such as artificial intelligence, virtual universes, machine learning and parallel universes, the vampire turned into a helpless monster which was studied (*The Passage*, 2019) the robot became less and less existent. Now it's time for the androids to design virtual universes. The questions of philosophy and science fiction about matter and the universe are still plentiful. The existence of the soul was already open to discussion, and now the concepts of memory, mind, consciousness, self and individuality are being questioned through androids and machine learning.

In *L'Homme Machine*, Mettrie regards the human as a machine organization as its name implies (1980, p. 55):

> The human body is a machine that establishes its own springs on its own and is the living symbol of continuous movement (p. 22); I constantly use the word imagination, because in my opinion everything is imagined, and all the abilities of the soul can be reduced to imagination that creates all of them (p. 36); If all the abilities of the soul depend on the organization of the brain and the whole body, so if these abilities are obviously this organization itself, then we are faced with a well-enlightened machine. (...) then the soul is a blank word that we have no idea about and that a wise person should only use to indicate the thinking part of us.

It is possible to acquire superhuman abilities with the findings of the Human Genome Project. And also Elon Musk, the pop star of the day, started a project named Neuralink to build implants that connect human brains with computer interfaces via artificial intelligence: this is the brain-machine interface system (BMI). "Over time I think we will probably see a closer

merger of biological intelligence and digital intelligence," said Musk, "It's mostly about the bandwidth, the speed of the connection between your brain and the digital version of yourself, particularly output" (Hitti, 22 July 2019). The aim of the project is to upload/download thoughts via cortical interface, and with the power of thought we will control any wireless device beside its benefits to people who suffer from paralysis, Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, epilepsy, etc. After particular successes such as "deep brain stimulation for Parkinson" (1997), "first major demonstration of closed- loop brain-machine interfacing in monkeys" (2002) which means that a monkey has already managed to control a computer with its brain, "BrainGate2 academic consortium" (2009) and "responsive neurostimulation for epilepsy" (2013), Neuralink finally aims to manage the "first-in-human clinical s in 2020. Musk suggests "a new kind of communication", "conceptual telepathy" will take place. Humans will merge with artificial intelligence with high bandwidth BMI (The Presentation of Neuralink).

While CERN is conducting research on what is matter, tachyons, hypothetical subatomic particles which are faster than light and have an imaginary rest mass take place in the playground of mathematics.

Everything aside, humanity is obsessed with singularity. Therefore, parallel universes, doublets, multiverse, androids or clones with memory implants will be the main issues of every genre. Given that scientists have already implanted artificial memory in mice (Vetere et al., 2019, pp. 933-940), it will be no surprise that all genres may ground on these issues, not only science fiction, cyberpunk or technophobic thrillers.

Androids/clones are in the tragic state of Frankenstein. But humans hold on to individuality and will not leave off his image, no matter what the subject is, a robot, an android, a clone of our own or a digital avatar. We are caught up in our own image, as if we all developed Stendhal syndrome. We were content to put wings on the angels and now we are super intelligent beings combined with artificial intelligence and can transfer our memory into a chip. However, we are willing to achieve it without losing our body even if it's not necessary. We want immortality not just as a (embodied) mind / self, but as a living creature. We do not seem ready to accept that the stage of our senses is our mind. We are also not ready to become a being composed of absolute consciousness. Humans always linger on themselves. Today, wings are just seen as accessories. Today's ordinary fiction still seeks immortality through themes like mind uploading, biohacking, big data and security, transhumanism, machine learning, multiverse, etc. which are the facts of life or contemporary theories of cosmology. Contemporary scientific fiction does not foresee, but is trying to keep up with current scientific / technological advances. Science fiction is not fictitious any more.

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CHAPTER 4

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS APPROACH TO VERTICAL IMAGE EDITING IN DOCUMENTARY FILM AFTER DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION: *KAMILET*

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ABSTRACT

This chapter illustrates the process of vertical manipulation in the post-production process of the documentary *Kamilet*, and discusses the persuasive power of vertical editing in this example of the documentary genre. In order to reveal the vertical editing manipulations in *Kamilet*, all vertical editing methods used in the documentary are presented in the form of data, and then the study addresses the reasons why these methods are used. On the basis of methods and reasons. The study unveils whether the vertical intervention to the first reality witnessed is only an aesthetic concern.

Keywords: Post-production, editing, manipulation

Introduction

The editing technique created by the effort to tell stories in cinema has been the first basis of the separation from documentary films and in a sense the separation of genres. This ironic situation, which transformed the documentary into a "non-fiction film" format, has obviously disappeared with the incorporation of the documentary film form into editing techniques and created new areas of discussion for documentary filmmakers, theorists and thinkers. The concepts of reality and ethics are the main topics of this discussion.

Editing has always been at the center of debates on reality and, therefore, ethics, with the possibilities of manipulation that it always holds. For example, André Bazin, who opposes this manipulation and meaning-making power of editing, emphasizes that the editings of Eisenstein and Kuleshov, who construct the narrative language on editing, do not indicate but imply an event (2000, p. 34). His approach to editing techniques in *Citizen Kane* (1941) is also remarkable. He states that the purpose of time and space tricks of Orson Welles' editing techniques is not to deceive us (2000, p. 51). The concept of "deceiving" in this view put forward through a fictional film, is likely to lead to more heated debates regarding reality if the documentary is the genre in question. This is because at first glance, and in the eyes of the audience, the documentary film plays the role of "showing the truth." It is unacceptable that tricks are involved in this role. However, although this concept of "deception "is problematic because it does not correspond to implication and direction, it is wrong to impose the form of "deception" on the editing process. As a matter of fact, Pascal Bonitzer criticizes Bazin's mise-en-scene form based on plan-sequence and depth of field against the power of implication and manipulation of editing, saying that the place of the camera in the field is editing from the beginning because the camera cuts off a part of the visual space (2006, p. 88). Regardless of the genre, it would be a healthy approach to accept that the whole production and post-production processes of a film are open to manipulation. Therefore, it is fundamentally wrong to separate the documentary from the fictional film because documentary film is essentially storytelling.

The documentary is an embodied storytelling that, while a narrativizing of reality in images and sounds, engages us with the actions and feelings of social actors, like characters in fiction (Cowie, 2011, p. 3). From this point of view, the relationship between documentary and editing is more intense because the originality of the documentary film lies in the filming or video of the world we live in, not the world the director imagines. Especially in this aspect, it differs from fiction. For this reason, the documentary differs from the controlled structure of the fiction and the one-to-one follow-up of the previously finalized scenario. Therefore, the

editing process and story structure of the documentary are more open to radical revolutions such as the relocation of scenes and sequences. Wilma de Jong discusses the design and production of the documentary in one of his articles and includes the quotes by film editor of the documentary called *Deep Water* (2006) (2008, p. 147):

> The unique chemistry of making a great documentary takes place in the edit ... however well you're prepared, it's there that you create this cocktail of the film, that you mix the ingredients, and you shape it. Whereas in fiction, it takes place with the writer. Because, once you get into the edit with drama, you can only change a small amount. Whereas in documentary, you can go, part five, let's bring that to the front. Let's reshape the story.

In addition to these words, which refer to the creative role of editing in the documentary, David MacDougall mentions that the vividness and intensity of raw shots disappeared during the editing process of the documentary. He states that separating the qualified parts of the shoots and the creation of certain meanings from these separated parts firstly cause losses in the context of width, context and historicality (1998, pp. 215, 216). Jean-Louis Comolli makes an inclusive inferential deduction on the process of cinematography and editing in the documentary (Cowie, 2011, p.19):

> From the moment they become film and are placed in a cinematic perspective, all film-documents and every recording of a raw event take on a filmic reality which either adds to or subtracts from their particular initial reality (i.e., their "experienced" value), un-realizing or sur-realizing it, but in both cases slightly falsifying and drawing it to the side of fiction.

These arguments about the relationship between cinematography and the use of fiction tools and reality are about the horizontal process of fiction, the determination of the in and out points of the shootings and the relationship of these shootings with each other. As a matter of fact, Kuleshov, Pudovkin and Eisenstein theorized all these horizontal manipulation works of editing even in the period of silent movies. However, the post-production process is a process that includes not only this relationship of the shots but also the vertical relationship, in other words, any kind of post-intervention (color, effect, text, graphics, animation, multi-layer and sound). It is noteworthy that the film, a leading and one of the most important masterpieces of all aspects of editing, is a documentary. In the documentary *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), Dziga Vertov transferred all horizontal but especially vertical technics known to date into filmic reality. Vertov reconstructed the reality that he took out of life with his camera in editing. In addition to the editing rhythm in which each scene of the film is linked to the theme, the editing tempo based on the duration of the shots on the screen reveals *Man with a Movie Camera* to be an exemplary and pioneering editing work in the context of horizontal

editing. However, by combining different shots in layers, new compositions created on a desk make *Man with a Movie Camera* a very important example in the context of vertical editing. Regarding this vertical editing understanding, Eisenstein was the first to make the theoretical reference to this, in other words, shot itself or to the layer relation of shots or sounds.[1] Eisenstein first described the relationship between sound and image as vertical thinking after the introduction of music and then sound technology into the cinema, as opposed to traditional horizontal editing (1984, p. 73).

Today's editing systems have stepped into limitlessness with their vertical editing capabilities. For example, *Man with a Movie Camera* is the purest form of editing without any editing table and with a triple of magnifying glass, scissors and tape. This analog form is in some way a limitation, but these limits are lost with digital transformation. Digital editing has brought new and profound dimensions to the discussion of realism, which is the center of traditional documentary discussions with this limitlessness brought by the filmmaker in addition to facilitating the production style. Walter Murch, one of the most well-known editors of world cinema, said: "Most of the time it is not even possible to notice these effects. This gives the editor or director the freedom to say, "I don't like this sky" or "It should look like winter, let's get those leaves out of sight" (2005, p. 101). Bill Nichols states that "with digitally produced images there may be no camera and nothing that ever comes before it, even if the resulting image bears an extraordinary fidelity to familiar people, places, and things" and emphasized the usual suspicious position of the post-production process in the digital context (2001, p. xii). In furtherance, new media theorist Lev Manovich describes digital cinema in the following manner: "Consequently, cinema can no longer be clearly distinguished from animation. It is no longer an indexical media technology but, rather, a sub-genre of painting" (1995, p. 3). Manovich also regards digital vertical editing technics as the increaser of the "reality effect". Via vertical editing technics the shot looks as if it took place in real physical space and was filmed by a real film camera (2001, p. 131).

The concept of "reality effect" defines the relationship between image and reality after digital transformation, particularly in relation to the post-production process. While digital transformation has not become common in post-production studios or computers, Brian Winston has demonstrated his paranoia on the relationship between image and reality (1995, p. 6):

> It seems to be likely that the implications of this technology [for digital image manipulation] will be decades working themselves through the culture. However, it is also clear that these

1 See İlkay Nişancı's article "Up-to-date Problematic of Editing: Evolution of Eisenstein's Vertical Editing" http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/iuifd/article/view/1019015519

> technological developments, whatever else they portend, will have a profound and perhaps fatal impact on the documentary film. It is not hard to imagine that every documentarist will shortly (that is, in the next fifty years) have to hand, in the form of a desktop personal video-image-manipulating computer, the wherewithal for complete fakery. What can or will be left of the relationship between image and reality?

The reason why Winston feels nervous lies in the fact that the image can consist of many different layers or effects, and that we cannot realize it. In order to realize, the layers of manipulation applied must be revealed. In the literature review, there seems to be insufficent studies related to this type of structural analysis. This study is original in that it introduces a structural vertical editing analysis method through a sample film.

Aim and Methodology

This study is going to demonstrate the manipulation power of vertical editing, which constitutes the reasons for this skeptical approach, in stages through the post-production process experienced with the documentary film *Kamilet*.[2] In order to reveal the vertical editing manipulations used in the *Kamilet*, all kinds of vertical editing methods used for manipulation is to be presented in the form of data and then the study will address the reason or reasons why these methods are used.

Aim

The aim of this study is to illustrate the whole process of vertical manipulation in the post-production process of the documentary *Kamilet* which was performed in the studios of the Faculty of Communication at İstanbul University and to discuss the manipulation power of vertical editing. The study will reveal how the interventions are performed regarding the shots of the first reality that came out of the camera with vertical editing together with the reasons and the deviation of the information presented to the audience through these interventions will be observed especially in the spatial context. The study will determine whether the vertical intervention to the first reality witnessed is only an aesthetic concern on the basis of methods and reasons. In this context the study will focus on the following questions:

1. In which scenes are vertical editing technics used to manipulate raw shot's spatial form?
2. What are the reasons for vertical editing manipulation?
3. Does vertical manipulation lead to misinformation?

2 *Kamilet*, Documentary Film - Duration: 30min. - Director-Camera: İlkay Nişancı - Editing: İlkay Nişancı - Duygu Nişancı - Color Editing: İlkay Nişancı - Digital Compositing: Kaan Zeybek - Tamer Yağmur
Link: https://www.blutv.com.tr/belgesel/yerli/kamilet

Thus, the possibilities of the digital revolution and the required limitations of vertical editing, which have unlimited freedom of form, will be discussed. In addition, the study intends that the analysis titles put forward by this study create an option for the structural analysis of the vertical editing process of documentary cinema.

Methodology

General vertical editing analysis needs the five basic methods of vertical editing, namely repair, retouch, frame transformation, color correction (color grading) and compositing to be taken into consideration.

The repair method involves reducing or eliminating shooting problems caused by technical equipment capacity limitations, insufficiencies or user errors. Noise reduction, sensor / shutter errors reduction, shake reduction, the correction of digital coding and compression error, sharpening enhancement, lens distortion correction are the most commonly used tools in this method. These tools and plug-ins are used to repair image defects, not manipulation.[3] It is an improvement rather than a transformation of composition. Therefore, the repair method was not included in the study.

The retouch method, unlike the repair method, is to manipulate certain unwanted parts of the recorded elements within the composition depending on certain concerns. In the repair method, a technical error during the image recording process has intervened. In the retouching method, the tools are often used to intervene with the problematic part of the item or elements within the image that is technically smoothly recorded. Cloning[4] is the most commonly used tool. The retouching method is highly manipulative and will be included in the study.

The frame transformation method is to change the frame's original size, axes and angle, sometimes in a fixed or sometimes animated way. It has become one of the most used methods of digital vertical editing with high-definition video. Since moving frame transformations are similar to camera movements, the use of virtual cameras, which is a more advanced technique, can also be included in the digital compositing method. The frame transformation method will be included in the study because it has the power of manipulation.

3 The details of the technical errors that lead to the use of repair tools can be found in *The Film Maker's Hand Book*, co-authored by Steven Ascher and Edward Pincus. Readings are possible to be carried out in chapters 1.Introduction to Digital and Film System, 3. The Video Camcorder, and 5. The Video Image in the 5th edition of the the book, published by Penguin Group in 2013.

4 It is the process of replicating pixels in a certain part of the same or different image to the desired area. There are many cloning techniques such as wire removing, healing brush etc. However, they all function with the main logic of cloning. Therefore, they were not included in the study.

The color correction method has stages such as basic color correction, color matching of shots, secondary color correction and creating atmosphere.[5] Basic color correction includes tools used to correct image defects such as exposure and white balance. It is possible to consider it as a correction process rather than manipulation, but it is a method that has the power of manipulation as it offers the possibility to change the atmosphere in technically correct images. It has the power of manipulation in terms of changing the color of a specific area in color correction; for example, turning green lawns into brown, making changes in seasons, changing the whole atmosphere; or turning day into night, and therefore will be involved in the study.

Digital merging is the process of merging or replacing certain parts of the image with another image. It is possible to use stock images as well as the original images taken during this process. Particles, light, text, graphics, and various animations are likely to be added to the image in relation to digital effects. This method with high manipulation power will be included in the study.

In addition to these methods, it is possible to regard the masking technique as a separate method. However, since every tool in today's editing software now has its own masking feature; masking is seen as an auxiliary tool rather than a method. The five main methods in the study have a large number of vertical editing tools that can be divided into subheadings with a large number of different extensions. However, at this point, it shall be confusing to list the add-ons of each of the different softwares produced by the companies and the numerous tools produced by the add-on companies that can work with them. The right thing to do is to know the structure and content of the four main methods included in the scope of the study, excluding the repair method and to conduct research accordingly.

The second stage of the research method is to determine the reasons for using the four main methods to be determined. These reasons are grouped under five main headings: continuity, form harmony, information, conceptual editing, and cinematography aesthetics.

The reason for continuity is based on the basic editing principles of classical narrative cinema. These principles aim to provide a logical harmony between the shots by softening the discontinuity inherent in the shots. Angle/counter angle (180-degree rule), motion, action, color / lighting and shooting scale (30 degree rule) are the criteria for compliance.[6]

5 *The Color Correction For Video* book by Steve Hullfish and Jaime Fowler, published by Focal Press, is one of the main sources of color editing.

6 For detailed reading, see Ken Dancyger, *The Technique of Film and Video Editing* 4th Edition, 5th Publication, America, Focal Press, 2007, p.361

The rationale for form harmony is to switch from a shot with a specific shape, color, or size, also known as graphic fit, to a shot with a matching shape, color, or size. It is more preferred for transitions between scenes. Such transitions are often predetermined at the pre-production stage because the visual elements to match require an accurate composition and screen orientation approach.[7] Although the nature of the documentary shooting style makes this method hard to use, the possibilities of digital editing make these transitions more possible.

The rationale for information includes the addition of missing visual information in the shot, and the removal of information that appears to be unnecessary, incorrect or incompatible. Deleting graffiti which is thought to be distracting in the composition, the incompatibility of the clock that appears in the composition with the clock in the filmic time, and the incorrect values of indicators of a machine shot in a scientific film can all be considered examples of this.

Conceptual editing is a form of taking two dissimilar shots of different contents and implying a meaning that is not clearly said through the arrangement of these visual elements in the story at a particular time. It is exactly the answer to Bazin's suggestion that "the editings of Kuleshov and Eistenstein do not represent an event but imply… they were constructing selected elements of reality" (2000, p.34). This form of editing is especially planned in the fictional film by the director at the beginning of the film development process. The director already knows that when he brings the two shots together at a certain point in the story, he will convey a mood, give dramatic emphasis, and create an abstract idea in the minds of the audience. In documentary film, this process is mostly experienced after shooting. Shots with conceptual editing potential can be transformed with digital fiction tools to fit the format.

The scope of the cinematographic aesthetic title is the creation of cinematographic aesthetics with vertical editing tools, especially in the uncontrolled shooting of documentaries based on observation. In general, re-framing, creating virtual camera movements, changing depth of field, and sky interventions for the manipulation of dynamic range or contrast are the most commonly used forms.

In order to reveal the structure of the vertical image editing of the documentary *Kamilet*, the study employed a five-headed table format depending on the analysis method mentioned above. Variables are numbers, relevant time intervals, vertical editing method, tools and rationale. The number of vertical editing interventions will be revealed with the title of the

7 In *2001: A Space Odyssey* by Stanley Kubrick, the match cut of spaceship caused with a bone thrown to the sky by a primate is one of the most famous and well-known transitions of form harmony in the history of cinema.

numbers. The relevant time interval is for the reader to find the image interval in question while watching the movie from the specified link. In the vertical editing method used, four methods as mentioned above are taken into consideration and the tools in the methods used are written under a separate title. The five main rationales for the vertical editing method used are given under the title of rationales. In the paragraphs following the table, a descriptive analysis of the method used with reference to the number headings is given.

Findings

Number	Relevant time interval	Vertical editing method	Tool	Rationale
1	01:34 – 01:42	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Aesthetics of Cinematography
2	01:50 – 01:55	Digital Compositing	Blending with stock image	Continuity, conceptual editing
3	02:01 – 02:06	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Aesthetics of Cinematography
4	02:13 – 02:18	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Aesthetics of Cinematography
5	03:08 – 03:15	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Aesthetics of Cinematography
6	03:40 – 03:48	Retouch	Cloning	Information
7	04:43 – 05:06	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Continuity, conceptual editing
8	12:20 – 12:26	Color correction	Color balance	Information
9	12:27 – 12:36	Color correction	Color balance	Information
10	12:37 – 12:40	Color correction	Color balance	Information
11	16:51 – 16:57	Frame Transformation	Changing the frame size	Information, Form Harmony
12	17:23 – 17:28	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Information
13	18:27 – 18:33	Retouch	Deleting with mask	Information
14	22:00 – 22:02	Retouch	Deleting with mask	Information
15	22:56 – 23:00	Frame Transformation	Mirror effect	Continuity
16	24:02 – 24:08	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Aesthetics of Cinematography
17	24:28 – 24:48	Frame Transformation	Mirror effect	Continuity, conceptual editing
18	26:00 – 27:00	Digital Compositing	Multi-layer collation	Conceptual editing
19	27:05 – 27:09	Frame Transformation	2D virtual camera movement	Continuity

1: There is no camera movement in the original shot. However, after it is decided to write the name of the film on this shot, it is decided that the raindrop and the writing in the composition create crowds. As soon as the text appears, the image is approached digitally to ensure that the ground is flat and the perception is completely focused on the name of the film, and with the appearance of the text, the original frame is reached from the image with a virtual camera. Giving text or motion at the same time in the composition has made the virtual camera movement better. As a matter of fact, in such a macro shot; it is quite difficult because the focus area is extremely limited.

2: In this fifth editing clip of the sequence, as a reference to Eisenstein's tonal editing, which formally describes the transformation of a drop into a creek, water drops splashing in the viewer's direction do not exist in the original shooting. Water drops on the transparent area, shot in a controlled studio environment, are purchased as stock images and blended with the original shot. Thus, the continuity of the shots that come before and after it becomes more fluent and serves the tonal editing.

3: In the original shot, the camera movement that slides to the right on the slider is also moved from top to bottom like a tilt-down in the post-production process. The most important factor that allows this is that the original frame ratio of the shot is 16:9. With the help of masks placed on top and bottom, the film is reduced to 2.35. Since the image under the mask is black; up and down digital movements on th**e** borders of the mask on the editing table will look like tilt movements. In this technic, such a technical opportunity is utilized to increase the aesthetics and power of the horizontally moving camera movement.

4: This is the same technic as in method 3.

5: This is the same technic as in method 3. However, there is no horizontal movement in this shot. The composition, which is crowded in the original shot, is made clearer by this virtual camera movement. The tilt motion, which is also in the original shot, is further extended, thus guiding perception from the old nature (there is a destroyed tree) to the young beekeeper.

6: The original shot contains some human names written in red paint on the rock at the top right of the frame. During editing, it is noticed that this area is distracting and since there is no meaning for this scene, the texts are deleted with the cloning technique. (see image 1)

Image 1

7: In the original shots of huts in this block, shooting and scale are fixed. As the information and continuity of the beekeeper going to the hut is not sufficient in the available shots due to difficult conditions, the Kuleshov method based on the perception of space experiments is used in order to achieve this effect. In parallel with the direction of the beekeeper's action, the fixed-scale shots of the hut are approached in 2 dimensions with a virtual camera to increase the direction and effect of the progress. In this way, more attention is drawn to the hut, some of which appears in a lush nature.

8: In the original shot it is not yet late in the evening. This effect is achieved by reducing exposure and dominating the blue color. It is the technique known as "day for night "in the cinema industry. (see image 2)

Image 2

9: It is the same technic as in number 8. The original connection of the shoot is the shots of the club on the scene that starts at 04.43. It is taken at noon from the only angle where the hut is seen. (see image 3)

Image 3

10: It is the same technic as in number 8. In addition, the nature seen from the hut is also colored with the mask technique. In this way, the yellow of the gas lamp is preserved and contrasts with the blue tones of nature.

11: Day and night transitions of cinema, which are always problematic are provided by the transition from moon to sun in this technic. Although the moon and sun shots used are close, the original editing overlay does not fully overlap. In the lunar shots, the moon and its surroundings are bright (because the other parts of the frame are black), in addition to the mask technique, the position of the moon is adapted to be equal to the sun.

12: In order to determine the destination of the beekeeper, the original fixed shot is approached by virtual camera movement. Thus, the audience attention is drawn to the black hives in the rocks via the emphasis placed on them.

13: In the original shot, there is the shooting crew in the black part, which is located at the bottom right of the frame (18:27). With the action camera attached to his head, the beekeeper naturally sees the shooting crew during his movements. The audience concentrates on the beekeeper's movements and the danger of the work, while the area where the shooting crew is visible is removed and darkened with the mask technique in order to prevent alienation (see image 4).

Image 4

14: In the original shot, the red recording light of the action camera that is attached to the beekeeper's head flashes. This warning light, which is intentionally left on by the shooting crew in order to keep track of the camera's recording, is removed with the mask technique in the thought that it might distract the audience's perception during the editing phase.

15: This shot is the rotated version with the mirror effect of the shot at 17:16. The angle and direction that is not shot on the return path is created by the mirror effect in order to establish the continuity bond of passing through the same space in the viewer on the way back from the black hive and to give the perception of return. The beekeeper walks towards the right side of the frame until he goes to the black hive and walks towards the left side of the frame. All shots on the way back are thus consistent (see image 5).

Image 5

16: It is exactly the same as the technic in method 3.

17: The ant and the beekeeper here are rotated with the mirror effect of the beekeeper in parallel editing. In this image shot on the way out to the valley, the left side is originally rocky; the right side is the cliff. However, since the beekeeper sets off on the return path in the previous shootings, the left side is suıpposed to be the cliff and the right side to be rocky. Otherwise, the audience will feel as if the beekeper is going back to the valley. The mirror effect is used because the only shot where the backpack is at the center of perception and composition is this shot on the way out. Thus, the essence of the film is given conceptually through the parallel editing of ant and beekeeper (see image 6).

Image 6

18: Approaching the eye of the trout, which is the connection part of the final sequence of the film, is achieved by combining layers of 5 compositions in the center of the fish, taken with different lenses and scales, and adding virtual camera movement to this composition. Because it is planned during shooting, digital compositing is achieved without losing the image quality of the shots. Besides it is unlikely to carry the camera equipment to make this shot possible in this kind of observation-based documentary forms in an already challenging environment. Therefore, the dead trout that we encounter during the filming is added to the film in this way. It is taken with the hidden camera technique and therefore, the shooting of the machines, which are below the general technical quality of the film, which we see the operation and destruction of the machines, became aesthetic thanks to this method.

19: The fish-eye sequence formed by the digital compositing found in the previous editing piece is shot on the edge of another stream. Therefore, the dead fish is not near the stream where the beekeeper walks. But it is required to create the unity of space for the film's sense of continuity. The shooting in which the beekeeper we see here walks towards the ruin is therefore supported by virtual camera movement. In the original one, this shot is fixed. However, its previous shot has a wide-opening virtual camera movement. In order to create

spatial bonding and continuity of these two shots, an obvious zoom out to wide-angle motion is created in the fixed shot in which the beekeeper walks to the ruins. In this way, the fact that the zoom out movement in the fish (supported by a slightly lower upward tilt motion) continues while the beekeeper is walking has led to a spatial link between the two shots.

Results and Discussion

Findings and data table demontrates all of the mentioned vertical editing methods are used in the film *Kamilet*. A total of 19 vertical editing manipulations are identified: 11 frame transformation, 3 retouching, 3 color correction and 2 digital compositing methods. Each of these manipulation methods is justified. It is required to discuss at this point whether these reasons are sufficient to sacrifice the first reality experienced. Competence is, of course, abstract, but at this point, it is possible to determine a number of limitations regarding the ethical context, and to hold discussions in the context of originality, especially for the documentary because every image transformed into digital codes steps into infinity and this is a significant problem for cinema and especially documentary of our age. Every manipulation is justified by the documentary's own aesthetic understanding. Aesthetic desire faces the limits of the capacity of the tool always used and the user in the analog world. To illustrate, there exists a physical limit to the ability to play a musical instrument. However, thanks to digital technology, you have the chance to have a speed that it is not possible to have as an analog in guitar software. The computer processor does this for you. This situation paves the way for anyone with the same software to create similar sensations with similar guitar sounds and leads to the problem of originality. The problem of originality in this context is based on the immediate access to the stock images resulting from the ease with which the digitalized image is circulated on the Internet in the first step for documentary cinema. The direct use of the stock image (eg. a tree, a leaf, a car, etc.) within the film is the field of horizontal editing. However, stock images can also be blended with the original images as layers. When used in this manner, that is, when they differentiate the composition from the first time experienced, they fall into the field of vertical editing. In the 2nd method of the film *Kamilet*, it is possible to see an example of this situation when the drops are directed towards the screen.

The use of stock images disrupts originality, one of the most important forces of the documentary, especially when the image is placed directly in the horizontal process[8] because you can see the same image in the same way as in another documentary. The digitized image

8 Archive images and stock images are supposed to be separately considered. Archive images distinguish themselves from stock images with historical document quality.

can be copied unlimitedly with the same quality. Color corrections and other actions are made to make the stock image special for your own documentary and to hide the stock. However, even the difference created in this way always bears an important problem. The documentaries that are shot in space-oriented building, geography, square and so on particularly act as historical documents, with or without awareness. It is recorded in the documentary about how a structure looks in the year it is shot in a documentary and how the surroundings of that structure are. So, what do we do if the image in question is a stock image? The increase in the speed of production brought about by the digital revolution and the elimination of image waste created by the digital revolution seem to be one of the most important problems of the new age. At this point, it will be the most ethically correct solution for the documentarist to state that he uses stock images. Although the technic in the film *Kamilet* has none of the abovementioned historical problems such as the definition of space, it carries a problem of originality due to the possibility that the same drops can be seen in another film. Without this technic, it was possible to easily achieve the desired tonal structure in horizontal editing.

Each vertical editing intervenes essentially with the information that the shooter offers to the viewer. Information is one of the most important reasons for the construction of editing. A new shot is always responsible for giving the viewer new information (Thompson & Bowen, 2009, p. 58). Every story told, every emotion that is aimed to be given is shaped by the information shown or announced. From this point of view, the question is: Has the manipulation left the viewer incomplete in the context of information? Or has it misled the audience?

The technics 8, 9, 10 in the film *Kamilet* are examples of information deletion and of misleading. In technic 6, the inscriptions deleted from the wall in order not to distract the viewer are subtracted from the information in the composition. However, this deletion does not create an ethical problem. If this film were a film about how humans pollutes the environment and that the inscription were removed from the rock and shown as if that rock were not polluted, it would not be ethical**.** It would also be ethically wrong if there were no inscription on the rock, but it was overlaid on a rock with digital editing.

Technics that turn day into night are examples of misleading information. However, this misleading information is not ethically problematic. The freedom of the film's lack of external voice and dialogue is clearly felt in these technics. If there was an external voice that gave clear information such as the "night in Kamilet shows itself with these shades of blue", these parts would be ethically problematic.[9] Likewise, in technic 8, if the atmosphere was not only

9 Researchers who will conduct similar studies should pay special attention to the vertical relationship of external sound and image.

changed, but trees were also added to the mountains we saw; misleading information about the altitude of the hut[10] would be given.

In technic 18, the composition of approaching the eye of the fish in practice should be regarded as completely remanufactured digital reality due to its form, although it consists of original shots. This reality turns out to be a surreal structure with the abnormalities seen in the eyes of the fish and by approaching these abnormalities at the very beginning of the composition, and thus, it remains outside the ethical problems. From the beginning, the audience is aware that this composition is not an experienced moment, it is fictional.

With the digital revolution, vertical editing has stepped into an infinity that is limited only to human dreams. Vertical editing methods which developed rapidly in the history of cinema have progressed in the context of making current methods easier and faster rather than new methods as a result of digital transformation. Besides speed and convenience, it is now possible to apply many vertical editing methods, even on a standard home computer. This prevalence of digital technology has increased the number of films produced at low cost, and has also brought many vertical editing technics that can meet the budget of a fictional film in the analogue period into the production process of the documentary film. We do not need to to stand against the progress of digital technology at the present time, but to be aware of the production process of the film as an audience and as a producer, we need to be competent in the narrative possibilities and dialectics of a film. Although the narrative form and manipulation power of the documentary film has always been discussed in the historical context by film theoreticians, the recent digital transformation has led audiences to question whether the films on TV or at the cinema are really shot or not. The basis for questioning this, as the study reveals in the film *Kamilet*, is how much and in which direction the vertical editing tools used especially manipulate the visual information. There is no technical limit to this manipulation. Therefore, as is true in all forms of art, the boundary that we must place in the boundaries of digital vertical editing in documentary film is “ethics “. There is no doubt that we are in the future in the proposal by Godard who quoted Lenin “Ethics is the aesthetics of the future”. After digital transformation, it would be wise to direct the center of the ethical discussion of vertical editing to how the formed image manipulates the information it provides. The structural analysis of vertical editing only makes it possible to demonstrate this manipulaton.

The increase in the skills of digital editing software has made it almost impossible to recognize especially color and digital compositing methods. Therefore, it is difficult to

10 As altitude increases, vegetation becomes sparse. Especially the number of trees decreases.

observe many technics of vertical editing. It is impossible for a researcher who makes vertical editing analysis to obtain data without the guidance and explanation of the director or editor if they do not have experience and practise in these technical processes. In order to make such an analysis, the selected film is supposed to be your own or if it is another person's film, it is required to discuss with the creative team through an appropriate research technique.[11]

All the details, form preferences and "secrets "of the post-production process can be easily revealed by the words and confessions of the director and editor of the film. In addition to this, it will be an important advantage for the researcher to have a formal analysis of the editing in the documentary and to have experienced the capacity of the technical tools in addition to the theoretical knowledge of the researcher in deconstruction. Knowing the formal functioning of the editing software is in a sense understanding the effect of the relationship of the layers to the form and hence to the content and narration.

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11 In the 31st issue of *The Italianist* in 2011, Guido Bonsaver's article "The aesthetics of documentary filmmaking and Giallo Milano: An interview with film director Sergio Basso and sociologist Daniele Cologna" (pp. 304-318) is an example that can be read in the context of an interview with the director on documentary and editing. David MacDougall also makes cinematography and editing reviews on his own documentary Photo Wallahs (1991) in his article "When Less is Less" in the book *Transcultural Cinema*.

CHAPTER 5

PODCASTING TRENDS OF RADIO STATIONS IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the concept of podcast broadcasting being a complementary application that brings new, useful features to radio broadcasting rather than adopting the idea of a new form of radio. In this context, according to radio listening research of RIAK in Turkey, NTV Radyo, Kral FM, Best FM, Power Türk Radyo, and TRT FM were selected as the most listened-to radio stations considering their categories. The general live broadcast contents and podcasts of these radio stations were subjected to descriptive analysis to determine their differences and similarities. The result of the study revealed that the related radio stations consider podcast broadcasting as an extension of traditional broadcasting.

Keywords: Radio broadcasting, podcasting, social media

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

The end of the 19th century, which coincided with the first years of the discovery of radio broadcasting technologies, is the period that opened up unlimited possibilities for broadcasting from a particular place to a wide audience with each of its new inventions. Welcomed and embraced by society with great enthusiasm, the radio has hosted many branches, from education to art, entertainment to literature, music to sports and has gradually increased its popularity and prevalence. The radio has been described as a mysterious box and takes its magic from the concept of being on the air with its 'at the moment' and 'one-to-one communication' feature. With the development of recording technologies, this feature of the radio began to change, and the contents being recorded enabled the radio to be archived. The development of digital data processing technologies and the podcast application, which is a kind of audio storage feature of the internet, began to change the radio at the beginning of the 2000s. This transformation has even brought up the allegation that podcast applications will replace the radio. Radio and podcast broadcasting has begun to be discussed conceptually again.

The radio was described as an invisible media and characterized by 'blindness' (Arnheim, 1936) in its early years, also known as the golden age of the radio. Early radio theorists argued that this feature of the radio should become increasingly visible and interactive. With the introduction of television into our lives as a family entertainment, the unique features of the radio became more prominent and the radio was able to regenerate itself with its cheap, mobile, reliable, sincere, individualistic, immediate, informative and interactive structure.

The radio, one of the most important carriers of oral culture, has caused cultural and social transformation and emphasized the value of 'sound' and 'word' for many years. The potential of sound contains values far beyond written texts as a narrative form in establishing the historical relationship between individual-society, society-society, and among individuals. With the growing popularity of podcasts and the diversification of content, especially with real-life stories in podcasts, this historical connection established with sound has become increasingly stronger.

Scannell's (1996, p. 23) definition based on traditional broadcast processes, builds the radio on a real-time flow relation between the audience and the radio. The feature of real-time flow makes a special connection between the radio and the audience and creates a sense of community. Scannell defines radio as 'the universal, communicative medium of everyday life'. Coyle argues (2006, p. 125) that the digital forms of the radio, and especially podcast broadcasting, open up a new alternative space to the radio both in terms of music and subject.

According to her, "podcast radio may present 'alternative' shows with musical material not available on existing radio services but may also provide different ways of hearing material". The flexible, accessible and inexpensive structure of podcast productions positions it as an important alternative medium.

In his study, Jauert (2018, p. 259) discusses how digital forms of radio such as social media, web radio, and podcasts affect the 'here and now"' feature of the radio, which is also one of its basic characteristics. Jauert seeks to answer the question of whether the radio's character has been reduced or not when listeners download and listen to radio programs from podcasts and similar applications that are independent of time and place.

In recent years, increasing interest in audio narrative forms around the world has led to the explosion of podcast applications and has attracted the attention of audiences, scholars and business practitioners. Due to its technological and content structure, podcasts have made radio and audio content accessible to transnational audiences (Hilmes & Lindgren, 2018, p. 312). Madsen (2018, p. 95), pointed out that "there is undeniably an international field in radio/audio non-fiction forms flourishing, new creativities in the podcast big bang and unprecedented audiences". According to her, these were unimaginable ten years ago.

Coyle (2006, p. 123) accounts for the debates around radio broadcasting, transforming into digital broadcasting forms, with three different reasons. The first being the manipulation of time and space through digitization. This affects the qualities of traditional radio broadcasting. Another is the feature of technology that enables both point-to-point and broadcast radio, and finally, the spatial presence of audiences, as revealed by the digital forms of the radio. What she points out here is that digital technologies overturn and intertwine local, regional, national and international concepts that exist in traditional broadcasting.

Sharon and John (2019, pp. 1-2) emphasize that the ephemeral nature of traditional radio broadcasting often leads audiences to listen to the radio while doing other things without prior decision, that traditional radio functions in the background of everyday life, but with the podcast, some of the features of this situation change. Unlike a radio listener, a podcast listener subscribes to a podcast channel, decides in advance, selects podcasts to his/her likings, downloads them, and listens to the content at any time. This process takes the podcast listener to a more active position than a traditional radio listener. The podcast is much more personal than traditional radio.

In the first articles written on podcasts, podcasting was seen as an extension of the radio (Berry, 2006; Madsen, 2009; Menduni, 2007). Rather than being an alternative distribution

channel to radio broadcasting, podcasting is the rebirth of a culture, a tradition, and a re-emphasis on the informative and alternative feature of the radio.

In her study in 2016, McHugh focused on understanding the structure of post-2014 podcast ecology. In this context, she consulted the views of five important editors who were in the landscape of contemporary podcasting, public broadcasting and audio storytelling from the US, UK, Germany, and Australia. As stated by McHugh (2016, p. 78):

> Based on the insights of five senior industry figures, this article has identified that 'podcasting' has come to mean much more than just a delivery mode for audio content. The term 'podcasting' functionally describes both the production and consumption of podcast content, which can be of infinite variety. In the podcast niche of audio storytelling, there is consensus that the American narrative style, described variously as 'hand-held', 'spoon-fed' and 'host-driven', is exerting a strong influence globally and undermining the popularity of the older 'European' or poetic style of crafted audio feature.

Podcasts have also provided for a large community gathered on the internet and for a new dialogue opportunity to share information, ideas, and impressions about what happened in the community (Picardi & Regina, 2008).

Podcasting is not only a convergent environment, but it is also a disruptive technology that changes the radio industry. It has forced the industry to reconsider the concepts of listener, production, consumption, and distribution. However, the early study of Berry still considers podcasting as an extension of the radio, with its differences (Berry, 2006, pp. 144, 155-156).

In the early years of podcasting on the BBC (UK), NPR (US) and ABC (Australia), podcasting was seen as an extension of traditional broadcasting, but media-specific content was also being produced (Berry, 2006, p. 150).

Cwynar (2015) demonstrates the idea that podcasting can be considered an extension of the radio through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's podcast applications. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's podcasting approach is to expand and make CBC's radio services more efficient. Cwynar also describes this as the first phase of podcasting, adding that it is still a widespread approach. For many broadcasting corporations, podcasting is still the technological extension of traditional broadcast content.

We can compare this approach to the rapidly increasing web radio applications with the broadening and cheapening of wideband internet facilities. Many radios have moved their contents to this new transmission medium and highlighted the first dimension of the concept of web radio. However, a web radio with original content and an independent podcast

environment reveal the fact that new digital distribution possibilities can also affect the content beyond being merely a technology.

The Journal of Radio Studies, which has published important articles in the field of radio studies since 1992, included the changing audio media in 2008 and was renamed *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*. Paying special attention to podcasting, the journal conceptualized the transformation of radio and began to publish articles that strengthened its relationship with technology theories (MacLennan, 2018). Podcast, considered as an audio media, has a structure that cannot be considered separately from radio studies. Although the process of producing a podcast content is in parallel with the process of producing a radio production, the close relationship of the podcast with new production and distribution technologies has led to the expansion of the boundaries of the radio and therefore of the audio media.

While major corporate broadcasters see podcasting as a new way to reach audiences, the main challenge for podcasting is its disruptive technology. Podcasting has its roots in open source technology and is widely used in the world of the written weblogs. Unlike traditional broadcasters, podcasters do not need studios, transmitters or licenses, and thus the hierarchical structure between the listener and the producer weakens (Berry, 2006, p. 151). According to Wrather (2019, p. 114), who stresses that the greatest challenge in the industrial history of podcasting is the ever-changing technology of podcasting, "podcasts are seemingly ubiquitous, yet dangerously ephemeral". Wrather reminds us that today, some podcast formats completely disappear.

Considering the prevalence and importance of podcasting all over the world, it is important to know what the current view in Turkey is. In this regard, this research was carried out on the largest, most listened-to national radio stations according to their category. The research aims to find clues on how podcasting is evaluated by traditional broadcasters.

Since 2004, when podcasts emerged, podcast contents have been produced and presented to audiences in many different fields. However, unlike widespread radio stations, podcasts have prioritized much more specific areas.

The Fields of Podcast Contents

Unlike widespread music-based radio stations, podcasts, due to their independent structure, have come into prominence in Turkey with their potential of broadcasting educational-cultural and informative content rather than entertainment content. Podcasts host content such as education, news, individual stories, dramas, and documentaries.

Madsen (2018, p. 84), who filtered the radio from the early years to the podcast era through radio documentaries, says that new forms have emerged in the production processes of radio, but the roots of all have been nourished by traditional radio broadcasting. Claiming that new features such as podcasts make the radio more audible and visible, Madsen says that the audience has changed and diversified. Within the genre of audio storytelling, the transnational nature of podcasting has great potential to interact with culturally diverse traditions, as producers around the world can listen, emulate and expand this new accessible sound aesthetics and content (McHugh, 2018, p. 125).

Bottomley (2015) emphasizes that radio dramas, whose most popular era was in the middle of the 20th century, have gained momentum again with podcast technology, and that the affordable digital production tools, the cheap distribution of content over the internet encourages this genre of podcasting. These new possibilities also remediated gaps in the old form of the radio. According to Bottomley, the new media always negotiates with the elements of the pre-existing media and participates in their formation; it also tries to minimize their relationship with the past and even erases all traces of mediation.

In the context of transmedia storytelling and transhumanism, Baelo-Allué (2019) analysed the world's most popular podcast, Serial, which has been downloaded more than 420 million times (Quah, 2018) since 2014. According to Baelo-Allué, Serial is not only a successful example of a podcast in the network community but also a successful way of integrating storytelling into the digital world. It shows how transmedia and transhumanism are closely linked, and that 'enhancement' is the key to understanding storytelling today. Serial's podcast environment is an open, unfinished, fluid, and sincere text presented in series. The auditory environment becomes multi-sensory by the use of both visual and auditory paratexts on the Serial website. Indeterminacy of the text, widespread availability of the documentation and audiovisual experience provided by the paratexts invite the active participation of the audience. In the digital age, storytelling has escaped the constraints and specificities of a single medium, and podcast has become one of the most important bearers of it.

Berry (2015) explains the importance of podcasting using the 'Serial' as an example. 'Serial', like the classic radio documentary show, 'This American Life', is produced in collaboration with WBEZ Chicago, and its first episode was aired on October 21, 2014. 'Serial', which began to be broadcasted 10 years after the advent of podcast technology, was adopted by a wide audience and broadcasted on SoundCloud and YouTube along with the classic RSS feed. This initiative brought serial podcasts to the agenda, making it visible on the mainstream media. Representing the rebirth of podcasts, 'Serial' brought podcasts back to the

agenda in terms of both content and technology. Originally presented as a potential competitor to the radio, podcasting then became a growing model for niche content and on-demand listening. Podcasts have become an opportunity instead of being a threat to mainstream or public radio broadcasters producing traditional content.

Another study highlighting the benefits of podcast applications in educational processes emphasizes that podcasting is a unique way of developing basic pedagogical approaches and of providing information processing and conceptual learning. A podcast allows students to listen to others or share ideas spontaneously, which draws their attention further and contributes to their long-term memory. Students can create their own audio podcasts that allow them to reflect their learning verbally. This strengthens the learning process and can facilitate the self-correction of ideas when students hear that they have expressed false ideas (Hargis et al., 2008, pp. 36-37).

The supportive aspect of podcasts in science education has attracted the attention of science festivals, science centres, and research institutes and they have decided to support their activities through podcasts. Besides, many researchers and young scientists who found ways to freely circulate their ideas in podcasts, have contributed to the public debate on science (Picardi and Regina, 2008: 2). Emphasizing the importance of podcasts in the educational processes of students, especially those identified as digital natives, Williams (2007) raises the question of which podcasts are appropriate for the students and gives some clues about the details of podcast usage. Suitability of podcasts to students' current study area, podcasts' adaptation with current lesson plan and enhancement capacity, whether the content and production standards of the podcasts meet school or community standards, podcasts being well organized and easy to follow, podcast content's success in attracting the audience's attention, compatibility of digital formats with classroom technology, reliability of the podcast source, whether podcasts are supported by additional online resources, and whether there are any right of use restrictions that restrict the broadcasting or distribution of podcast content are issues that need to be emphasized.

Just like on the radio, podcasts are very effective tools for language learning. Hearing-based language training, which has been realized only via traditional radio broadcasting in the past, offers more opportunities for audiences today, thanks to podcasts and multimedia. Language learners follow contents through podcasts and interact with teachers or other language learners by sharing what they have learned through podcasts, blogs, and social media accounts with them (see Şendağ, et al., 2017; Hasan and Hoon, 2013; Ashton-Hay & Brookes, 2011; O'Bryan & Hegelheimer, 2007; Radio Ambulante 'Lupa', 2019).

There are some important podcasting production companies that support radio-independent podcast production and produce content in a wide range of fields around the world. Some of these are Radiotopia, Audible, Wondery, Luminary, Radio Ambulante, and Gimlet. The podcasting environment in Turkey consists mainly of broadcasting the contents of mainstream radio in the web environment. However, different podcast options have gained momentum, especially in the last five years. With the initiatives of Medyascope, Medyapod, NewslabTurkey, Podiolab, Açık Radyo, NTV, TRT and individual initiatives through Spotify, iTunes, YouTube, SoundCloud, and Anchor, the podcast environment has been diversified and enriched.

The emergence of podcast with the presence of the internet and the impact of interactive options on the podcast have opened up a large and rich space for content production. The possibility of interaction, which has always been dominant in the production and consumption of podcasts, has brought along a participatory culture.

Social Media and the Participatory Nature of Podcast

When we look at the literature about podcasting, we find that in almost all sources, podcasting is a part of participatory culture. Podcasting differs from traditional widespread radio practices in terms of production and consumption processes. The cheap and flexible structure of podcast production and consumption stages, the sustainability of the podcast program or channel, has naturally made podcasting a part of the participatory culture among the participants. Podcasting is a customized reflection of community radio on digital media.

As of 2005, the existence of Facebook as a phenomenon and the necessity of engaging with the digital environment transformed by other social media applications such as Twitter and Instagram emerged as an important reality for journalists and broadcasters. With the idea that "you have to be present where the users are", broadcasters have had to move their broadcasts and additional applications to these platforms (Jauert, 2018, pp. 262-263).

The digital and social media network in which podcasts are placed creates countless ways for audience participation. Many of these podcasts have real-time chat rooms that accompany the stream, a strong presence on social media, and multiple avenues for listeners' feedback, including email, comment sections, and voice mail. Comments, often found in chat rooms or on Twitter, are added to discussions, providing the audience with a tool for synchronized interaction and participation. To varying degrees, these feedback channels, especially chat rooms, allow the audiences to be the speaker when they are online (Florini, 2015, p. 216).

Markman (2011, pp. 548-549) considers podcasts to be a part of the participatory culture because of their convergent nature. The blur of the link between production and consumption processes and the interactive structure of podcast environments, transform podcast applications into a participatory structure. The interactive ties of podcast producers with their consumers, the transnational structure of podcast production and technological simplicity are the factors that increase this participatory culture.

In a study conducted by Yavaşçalı and Birsen (2018) in Turkey, within a program broadcasted by the Power group, a mainstream radio corporation, it was highlighted how much the radio station cares about social media, website and podcast apps and how they encourage their listeners into these environments by putting forward their participation.

Convergent compatibility of audio can also make podcasting, which is mainly a sound media, compatible with many other areas. For this reason, there is a special place for podcasts in transmedia applications. There are areas affected by podcasts, as well as areas where podcasts are affected, and this can lead to a reciprocal transformation.

Podcasts are an important pillar of transmedia storytelling. Transmedia storytelling emerges on multiple media platforms and each medium contributes to the understanding of the story. The content is circulated through social media and a more participatory environment is created with the involvement of followers. Followers are not just consumers, they also form, transform, share and re-create content. A transmedia story is developed and understood by the characteristics of its medium. Each transmedia environment should serve the development of the story in the highest way. (Jenkins, 2006; Jenkins et al., 2013).

Thanks to podcasts, radio-on-demand services, and other digital distribution platforms, it appears that radio content interacts more with theatre, cinema, and gig venues. Social media, mobile apps, online videos, maps, tweets, blogs, forums, photos and interactive websites that mediate this interaction reinforce the interaction of the radio with other media. Researching the role of transmedia theories on radio, Edmond examined different cross-media radio projects between 2009-2013. As a result of this study, she found that the boundaries of the traditional storytelling role of the radio have expanded with the cross-media experiments, that production and consumption stages have become more flexible, that radio has become more participatory with new digital practices, and that it has an important role in commercial media strategies. Edmond emphasized that the more hybrid and transmedia-oriented projects become, the more radio becomes distant from its roots. However, the above-mentioned conventional features of the radio make a significant contribution to transmedia productions (Edmond, 2015).

Another important issue in podcasting is who the podcasters and podcast listeners are. There have been some basic research studies conducted in this area.

Podcasters and Audience Research Studies

A high number of podcast researches are aimed to identify podcast producers and listeners. Researchers have focused on understanding podcast listening motivations and podcast listening styles while attempting to determine the demographic characteristics of podcasters and listeners.

Although the first podcasters were amateur radio enthusiasts and bloggers, podcasting has been adopted by traditional broadcasters, educators and other professional groups. With the addition of podcasts to Apple Itunes in June 2015, the number of podcast listeners began to increase rapidly with more than 1 million subscriptions in the first two days. In 2006, 12 percent of adult internet users and in 2008, 19 percent of adult Internet users downloaded at least one podcast. In 2010, about 23 percent of Americans aged 12 and older reported listening to a podcast at least once (as cited in Markman, 2011, p. 548). More recent data from 2019 shows that 51% of Americans aged 12 or older have listened to a podcast at least once (Edison Research, 2019). Over the years, podcast broadcasting tools have diversified and interest in podcasting has increased.

In 2010, McClung and Johnson (2010) researched patterns of podcast users and motivation of podcast usage. The results of the research on 354 podcast fans revealed that the majority of podcast users are well-educated and affluent. Approximately 90 percent of users reported that they listened to the program they downloaded, and they tended to listen to podcasts via portable devices. Motivations for using podcasts included entertainment, timeshifting, library building, a favorable view of advertising, and the social aspect of podcasts that focus on discussing shows with other fans. Podcast fans' interactive participation on podcasts stands out as the most important social factor, and it has been found that heavy podcast users do not have a negative view on the advertisers who supported the podcasts. 62.1% of the participants are female and the ages of all participants are between 18-34. 92.2% of the respondents stated that they are a member of a fan group on Facebook, while only 6.5% stated that they are a member of a fan group on MySpace. These users download podcasts ranging from 1 to 50 per week. The results of this survey, which are related to education, income, and advertising perspectives, seem to be in line with the results of Webster's podcast consumption survey (2008). However, while the trend of listening to podcasts from desktop computers was higher in 2008, there was a shift to mobile devices in 2010. The research conducted by 'Edison

Research' in 2019 shows that the trend of listening to podcasts from portable media increased and reached 65%. The same research demonstrates that the trend of listening via laptops and computers is 25%.

Researching the demographic characteristics and motivations of podcasters, Markman found that podcast broadcasters mostly consisted of adults, undergraduate and beyond university educated and professional males. Podcasters consist of adults aged 35-65 years old and are also enthusiastic for active social media usage and online communication. While 72 percent of podcasters prefer to produce talk programs, only 28 percent produce music programs. It has been shown that podcasters give great importance to feedback opportunities and use their blogs for this. The motivations of podcasters about why they start to broadcast podcasts are summarized in six general categories. These are technology/media, interpersonal motives, personal motives, content motives, process motives, and financial motives. Podcasting environments being more independent than the mainstream media, having flexible and cheap production opportunities, offering greater freedom of expression, strong interaction opportunities, self-expression, self-realization benefit, fame and making money potential are the most motivation elements of podcasters (Markman, 2011).

In Jauert's research conducted with focus group method regarding 'Mads og Monopolet' radio show which was launched in September 2003 within 'The Danish Broadcasting Company,' the participants were selected from the ones who are active on social media, in particular, Facebook, and the core audience of the program. As a result of the research, some of the participants stated that the tendency to share everything, even the most intimate or private issues, on social media is reflected in programs such as Mads og Monopolet. Although the participants, the core audiences, emphasized the need for privacy in environments such as Facebook, they did not actively participate on the program website or facebook page of the program. However, all participants used the download facilities (Jauert, 2018).

In a study questioning the ideal podcast listener and listening mode through the 'Invisibilia' show based on audio storytelling broadcasted on NPR podcasts, listeners who listen to such programs have been described as "sensitive, creative, capable of critical thinking, imaginative, in touch with their feelings, familiar with therapeutic talk, and highly communicative". The study emphasized that ideal listeners "enjoy a certain social status, that they have the cultural and social capital that enables them to take part in a podcast listening party, such as having like-minded friends who are capable of engaging in emotionally and intellectually complex discussions about podcasts". The study also stated that podcast listening mode -listening in a private time or dealing with another thing- is effective in perceiving and interpreting content

(Sharon & John, 2019).

Lindgren (2018) examined the approaches of podcast listeners through podcast productions addressing gender equality in professional work life. The pilot programs designed for the research were presented to the participants and then the contents were discussed. Participants highlighted four different themes, which were compatible with key podcast features. Lindgren also emphasized the importance of specific podcast productions, as they include contents that are difficult to find deeply on common radio stations.

In another study on the radio show and the podcast 'Speak Up', which focuses on human rights in New Zealand, it was observed that the podcast is followed by large audiences in Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, and the United States apart from New Zealand. The audiences also interact with countries in Europe, Middle East, South America, Asia, and Pacific. Facebook fans of the program demonstrate geographic diversity. Ages of the audience of the program are between 18-45 and they engage in the contents (Carlton, 2018).

The Second Wave podcast, produced on the pluralization of Vietnam's diasporic history, is an important example of intercultural interaction, although it focuses on the Vietnamese living in America (see Tran, 2019).

The common ground of all these research studies is that podcast listeners are specific, educated, neither too young nor too old, active users on social media, increasingly prone to mobile usage forms, have special interests and prefer talk programs. Podcasts are open to transnational interaction and encourage participation.

Aim and Methodology

Aim

This article aims to analyse the current position of podcasting in Turkey, an emerging audio media that is accepted as a part of radio broadcasting transformed by digitalization. Initially seen as an extension of radio broadcasting, whether podcasting is a new media area independent of the radio in today's applications or not is the question which we have tried to answer through our podcast studies as well as the analysis of the podcast environment in Turkey.

In this context, this study seeks answers to the following questions:

R1: How do podcasts differ from radio programs by topic? What kind of programs do podcasts mainly focus on?

R2: Is there a relationship between the mainstream radio broadcasting environment and the podcast media in Turkey?

Method

This research was conducted with content analysis technique within the scope of descriptive analysis method. In the preliminary research conducted as a part of the study, it was seen that many national radios do not have podcast broadcast, or that their podcasts are in scattered channels. Taking the radio listening research conducted by RIAK (Radio Listening Services Organization Promotion and Publishing Joint Stock Company) (2019) into account, the most listened-to radio stations were evaluated according to their categories. In this context, we chose the following radio stations for our research: TRT FM (due to its being a public broadcaster), Kral FM (due to its being the most listened-to radio station for many years), Power Türk Radyo (due to its being the most listened-to radio in its own category (pop music), Best Fm (as the most popular format talk radio station), and NTV Radyo (for its active usage of podcasting in the news category). The web sites and social media accounts of these radio stations were reviewed, and their podcast contents were tracked. The relationship between the general live broadcast streams and podcast productions of the radio station were examined by comparing them. In addition, podcast program types were determined based on the podcast contents of these radio stations. Accordingly, at least one pilot section of each program was fully listened to.

The research was repeated three times every five days and 100% consistency was found between the determination of numbers and the compatibility of the categories.

Findings

Live broadcast stream on NTV Radyo, TRT FM, Kral FM, Power Türk Radyo and Best FM was determined by examining the ‘Programs’ and ‘Schedule’ menus on the web sites comparatively. The podcast contents of these radio stations were reached by examining the menus of the radio stations’ web sites, social media accounts, and podcast environments. In the live stream, the programs which were repeated during the day or week were recorded as a single program. These programs are generally composed of news, economics, weather forecast, traffic information or short content programs and other talk or music programs.

Table 1: Number of Programs and Podcasts of Radios and Podcast Media

Radios	Total Number of Programs	Number of Podcast Programs	Podcasts %	Podcast Media
NTV Radyo	69	40	57.97	Soundcloud
TRT FM	26	1	3.84	TRT Podcast
Kral FM	10	1	10	Spotify And Apple Podcast
Power Türk Radyo	7	1	14.28	Power App
Best FM	11	6	54.54	Soundcloud

The podcast contents of all radio stations examined, except Power Türk, were found to belong to the programs in the live stream. The only exception was Power Türk radio, while other radio stations in Power group contained nine different programs that were not in the broadcast stream. NTV Radyo had the highest number of programs in both podcast and in total. Power Türk Radyo, TRT FM, and Kral FM had only one program in their podcasts. Power Group also broadcasted the programs of the other radio stations that it hosted in the podcast channel. The same case applied to TRT radio stations. The sole program of TRT FM's podcast channel is 'Stüdyo Tempo' and it is a music program. The TRT Radio group carries only one program from TRT FM to its podcast channel and broadcasts 266 podcasts from its other radios. These podcasts generally belong to programs broadcasted on Radio 1, Radyo 3, TRT Nağme and TRT Türkü radio stations. While there is no menu on Kral FM's website related to its podcasts, only two programs of the radios within the group are broadcasted as podcasts. Best FM has six podcast programs, but only four of them are reflected in the podcast menu on its website. Along with the other two programs, all podcast contents can only be accessed via SoundCloud.

Table 2: Podcast Programs According to Production Properties

Radios	Talk Programs		Music Programs	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
NTV Radyo	28	70	12	30
TRT FM	-	-	1	100
Kral FM	-	-	1	100
Power Türk Radyo	-	-	1	100
Best FM	6	100	-	-

NTV Radio, which has the highest number of programs and podcasts, uses podcast options in favor of talk programs. Podcasts on Best FM, known as a talk radio, are talk-based programs as required by the radio's general broadcast policy. Unlike Best FM, NTV Radio's podcasts focus on specific topics. Podcast programs on Power Türk and Kral FM are music-based.

Table 3: Podcast Programs According to Their Genres

Radios	Categories									
	Music	**Environmental**	**News**	**Sport**	**Culture**	**Culture/ Art**	**Drama**	**Life Story**	**Health**	**Talk Show**
NTV Radyo	12	1	9	2	4	5	2	4	1	-
TRT FM	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kral FM	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Power Türk Radyo	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Best FM	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

The genres of the programs and podcasts examined were dealt with in the categories of music, environmental, news, sport, culture, culture/art, drama, life history, health, and talk show. While making this categorical determination, besides the examination of the introductory texts of the related programs, one part of each program was also listened to. NTV Radyo choses the programs that it carries to the podcast environment mostly from music and news categories. In the news category, there are daily news items as well as the types of special topic. TRT FM and Kral FM choose the program that they carry to the podcast environment from the genre of music only. While Best FM did not reflect the preference of two of its podcasts, one of which being in the music category and the other in the news category, onto the podcast menu on the website it promotes podcasts of four other talk show programs in all its environments.

Conclusion

Although there are those who think that podcasting is a new and independent form of broadcasting, it is clear that the source of podcasting in terms of production lies within the radio. Producing a radio program and producing a podcast require similar technical and creative production processes. In this respect, it is explicit that there is a close link between podcasting and radio broadcasting. Just as the television developed its style of content through the radio in the first years, podcasting has been even more powerfully nourished by radio content and radio programs. Since the first podcasts in 2004, podcasting has been repositioned as

conceptual and technological. Excluding community radios or other alternative radios, music-based or standardization of radio broadcasting with similar content around the world has led to enthusiasm for podcasting by groups ambitious about producing alternative content. With its independent, user-generated, alternative, widespread and collaborative structure, podcasting has been seen as a major revolt against the main-stream radio stations of large capital.

Podcast definitions contain conceptual complexity, just like web radio. The question of whether the podcast is just a technology, or a new culture born with a new way of broadcasting has been the subject of several studies from the pioneering researches to the present (see McHugh, 2016). Podcasting is undoubtedly a new distribution technology developed with the possibilities of the internet, while it is also a new form of broadcasting that is flexible, free and asynchronous. While independent programs from radio stations take their place in podcasts, radios have transferred all their programs to this new environment. Just as how broadcasting technology of the internet has been rapidly adopted by radio corporations and terrestrial broadcasting has been transferred to the web, similar cases have been realized for podcasts. However, the emergence of the podcast and the tendency to adapt to this new environment for radio stations has proceeded slowly in Turkey.

It has been seen that radio stations other than NTV Radyo and relatively Best FM do not sufficiently associate podcast media with their programs in the broadcast streams. While the radio groups in which Kral FM is involved do not give weight to podcasts, the situation is different for Power Group. Power Group transmits a significant portion of the shows of its other radio stations to the podcast environment and also includes shows in its podcast environment apart from its own radios. The fact that only one music list program from Power Türk radio has been transferred to podcast media is not of great significance. A similar situation exists for the TRT group. However, in the TRT podcast environment, there are no original podcasts other than the programs of TRT radios. The programs that Kral FM and Best FM bring to the podcast environment are directly related to the popularity of the program's presenters. These programs are generally broadcast on drive-time and are also important for radio corporations.

Given the fact that TRT is a public broadcaster, it is clear that this new digital environment should be given more importance. Podcasting is a technology that overturns the synchronism of radio broadcasting and gives the listener great flexibility in terms of time. TRT should provide this service for all of its radios' programs, and even produce specific programs for new types of listeners. It is known that similar corporations in the world, like BBC and ABC, have made great strides in this regard (see BBC Sounds, CBC Podcasts, ABC Podcasts: Ladies We Need to Talk, Short and Curly et al.).

When the general broadcasting policies of these radio stations are examined, it is seen that all radios except NTV are targeting the general audience and are broadcasting in popular formats. They are mostly radio stations with music-based content. Researches have also shown that the podcast content approach in the world is in favor of talk-based content rather than music- based content. Podcasts of the TRT group are predominantly talk-based programs, but, TRT FM has a popular radio broadcasting format. Similarly, NTV Radyo has moved its talk-based programs to podcasts, while its daily routine contents or music programs have been moved to fewer podcasts compared to talk-based ones. Best FM also pays more attention to talk show type programs that have fewer music elements in it in the podcast environment. It can be thought that all these radio stations reflect the general tendency in the world and the results of the researches to their practices. However, further research is needed for this conclusion. Considering its original podcast programs, the Power Group can be said to be the only radio group that does not see podcasting as an extension of the radio. The research mentioned above (see Yavaşçalı & Birsen, 2018) on this radio group emphasizes the importance that the group gives to its digital channels.

The podcast media of the radios shown in Table 1 is the podcast media that these radios adopt corporately and reflect on their websites or social media accounts. However, the programs of these radios are also found in Spotify and Apple Podcast environments, in particular, SoundCloud. Even the content of radios broadcasting podcast in their own digital channels such as TRT and Power Türk can be accessed from other commonly used podcast channels. These are mostly SoundCloud, Apple Podcast, Spotify Podcast, and even YouTube.

With the result of the examination of live broadcast stream, the podcast content and the podcast media of certain national radio stations in Turkey, a general opinion has been reached related to podcast perspectives of these radio stations. However, it should be kept in mind that this research is handled with a basic approach and only quantitatively looks at the trends in the podcast environment. The examination of more podcasts from more radio stations and interviews with those who are in production will support this study with new data.

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PART 2

TRANSFORMATION IN SOCIAL LIFE, ECONOMY, AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER 6

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION IN EDUCATION: HUNGARY VERSUS TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

This study compares the digital transformation process of education in Hungary and Turkey. By analysing the existing statistical databases in digital education, digital skills and media literacy, a comparative framework is created between the two countries, highlighting the main differences between the two educational systems in terms of transformation of digital education with the aim of attracting policy makers to create a better environment. A systematic analysis of the public records, policy briefs, and policy manuals of the two countries shows that education and training must adapt by focusing on cooperation and individualised learning at the same time. This offers a deep applied analysis of relevant factors in each of the countries, and offers to inform policy makers as they seek to improve educational performances, experiences and outcomes.

Keywords: Digital transformation of education, Hungary, Turkey

Introduction

Of late, new technologies, particularly emerging digital ones, and societal changes have been placing increasing pressure on education in Europe. It affects all aspects of life, from health to commerce, from social interactions to the way people work. Education systems have a great role to play in preparing young people for a tech-driven world. The European efforts are also visible in this field. Realizing the importance of using digital technologies to live, work and learn in today's knowledge-based society, in 2006, the European Parliament and the Council adopted digital competence as one of eight essential competences for active citizenship and social life. As a result, The European Digital Competence Framework (DigComp) was developed by the European Commission to create a unity and contribute to a better understanding of digital competence and was presented as a tool to enhance the digital competence of citizens.

Empirical evidence on the effects of using digital technologies for educational purposes and for improving learning outcomes is still scarce and the findings are mixed (Bulman & Fairlie, 2016; Escueta, 2017), but have a positive effect on providing innovative and stimulating learning environments, facilitate individualised learning and increase student motivation (Blossfeld, Bos, Daniel, Hannover, Köller, Lenzen, McElvany, Roßbach, Seidel, Tippelt, & Wößmann, 2018; Süss, Lampert, & Wijnen, 2013). Digital learning is reshaping education -both in the ways in which students learn, and the way teachers perform, represent and teach. Students are asked to be more hands-on and collaborative than ever before.

However, education is sometimes perceived as one of the most conservative social systems and public policy fields as well. In some countries, innovative change has been implemented without the care and diligence needed or the appropriate prior testing, experimentation and evaluation.

In this paper, the authors aim to observe the results of the changing digitalised pedagogy in the long run, comparing Hungary and Turkey, and according to particular concerns of a stable framework, regarding digital infrastructure, readiness of the teachers and the development of digital contents in order to provide an effective digital pedagogical system for the pupils. Since there isn't available joint research or data in order to compare the Hungarian and the Turkish digital educational competencies, the existing study is unique and the first comparison which has attempted to understand both countries' ICT achievements and shortcomings.

Jenkins and his colleagues (2009) distinguish between three possible resources in the education of digital skills and competencies (DSCs): school system, out-of-school educational

communities and family environment. The first two of these areas are, more or less, institutionalised ones, while the last one is quite informal. In this study, we concentrate only on the school systemic concerns of digital pedagogy.

In Hungary, the current National Core Curriculum (2012) has acknowledged digital skills and media literacy as relevant and significant topics in public education, but handles them in different ways: while digital skills are regarded as part of ICT teaching and are taught in separate classes (modules) during the years of public education process, media literacy as a means of knowledgeable and self-conscious online behaviour has a cross-curricular trait. By 2020, a new core curriculum will be conducted in the country. The future of pupils' digital skills definitely depends on the approach of this new framework towards digital unity (the intertwining of "digital world" and "non-digital world").

Digital competence now has a significant role in Turkish official papers as in the Turkish Qualifications Framework. In this framework there are eight core competences defined as what each individual is expected to achieve in the context of lifelong learning; one of these is digital competence. The position of information and communication technologies (ICT) in Turkish compulsory education has been strengthened in recent years. As well as ICT infrastructure, production of digital content and teacher training initiatives, the recent curricula reforms support the use of digital technologies in many subjects. A separate compulsory ICT course is offered in middle school for the 5th grades. According to the 2017 new curriculum reforms for primary and secondary education, digital competence is part of the new national curriculum. In 2013 a new course for middle schools was established in middle school curricula, the Information Technologies and Software Development Course. The aim of the course is "using ICT productively, effectively and in an ethically correct way". The Course consists of five categories, namely: Information Technologies, Ethics and Safety, Communication, Research, and Collaboration, Content Creation, Problem Solving and Programming (Hazar, 2019).[1]

Turkey's Tenth Development Plan acknowledges rapid changes in science and technology and calls for action in education: (i) integrate ICT into curriculum to increase education quality; (ii) reduce the difference in success levels between school types and regions; and (iii) enhance mechanisms to efficiently harmonise the education system and employment. Despite

1 The integration of digital technology into schools has been a priority in Turkey for last three decades. Since the 1980s, digital technologies have been integrated into Turkish education and projects have been implemented to increase the quality of education and to provide students with the necessary knowledge and skills in the information economy. The main projects were Computer Assisted Education (1989-1991), Computer Laboratory Schools Project (1993-1997), Basic Education Project (1997-2007), Secondary Education Project (2006-2010) and the Movement of Enhancing Opportunities and Improving Technology (FATIH) Project (2010).

Turkey's strong commitment to improving students' DSCs, a recent OECD report highlights that, to date, students' use of ICTs for educational purposes is significantly below the OECD average. The education system lacks a national framework defining the DSCs and the related proficiency levels that students should achieve.

Across the globe, there was a great deal of change in education throughout the 20th century, which is what makes global education so interesting to study -every country has its own journeys in figuring out what type of school system works best for their citizens.

This study would like to contribute and enlarge scholarly debate on the digitalisation of education, giving country specific results in order to encourage policy makers to create a better environment for success.

By analysing the existing statistical reports in digital education, digital skills and media literacy, some comparative concerns can be presented between Hungary and Turkey, highlighting the main differences between the two educational systems in terms of digital education and the visions about their future.

Aim and Methodology

Comparing things is essential to basic scientific and philosophic inquiry, which has been done for a long time to show how two subjects are similar or different (Bukhari, 2011). As a scientific approach we have been using this form of investigation for over 2,000 years (Deutsch, 1987).

This type of study compares two or more things that have significant differences in order to highlight the differences with multiple perspectives thus, to draw conclusions based on the main findings. Comparative study involves understanding, studying and explaining all the aspects or events. Its purpose is to arrive at some conclusions concerning past occurrences that may help to anticipate or explain present orfuture events.

The existing study has a comparative design at the exploratory level. It aims to compare the recent digitalisation of public education in two countries, Hungary and Turkey, to reveal the general underlying structure which generates or allows such a variation. Since the intention is to compare two European countries' digital educational policy and its achievements, the research mainly asks the question of what and how? What are the main achievements and the current situation regarding digital educational policies in Hungary and Turkey? Descriptive research aims to accurately and systematically describe a population, situation or phenomenon (McCombes, 2019). The similarity in their digital educational achievements, and the

difficulties which they face are the main reasons behind this comparison. Similarly, according to the OECD reports, the students' use of ICTs for educational purposes is significantly below the OECD average in both countries (OECD, 2015) which justifies the selection of the countries. Although Hungary is a member of the European Union, the number of ICT-supported classes is one of the lowest among EU Member States (Digital Success Programme, 2016). Both countries are facing similar infrastructural and educational shortcommings which justifies their selection in this research.

Although the countries have similar ICT achievements, there is not available comparative research in order to compare Hungary and Turkey. Survey of Schools (2012) is the only joint and available research in ICT education with separate country profiles and therefore the Survey of Schools data and variables were used for the comparison of the countries.

What makes such a comparison more interesting, is the fact that these countries have rather different conditions in terms of human resource development, while the problems seem to be quite similar. Hungary, as a member state of the European Union with its 9.8 million inhabitants has the opportunity to participate in several EU-grants to improve its human services, while Turkey with its 82 million inhabitants has a valuable heritage in significant changes of the education system and as a negotiating country for the EU membership, working on the Europeanisation of its system in line with Europe. Disregarding the differences, the most important common denominators are the strong state influence and centralization effort in public education, and the fact that besides some alternative and (in the case of Hungary) church-run schools, the vast majority of pupils attend state schools, therefore it can be claimed that the state is the most significant provider of public education services.

With the above mentioned reasons the existing descriptive research only observes and measures the existing variables. Aiming to explore the common points and differences in Hungarian and Turkish digital pedagogy, we used two methods: document analysis of educational policy papers and secondary dataset analysis of existing empirical databases. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic (Bowen, 2009). It is a research method used for systematically analysing the contents of written documents (Altheide, 1996). Among the documents public records, policy briefs, policy manuals were selected which represents the official, ongoing records of an organization's activities (O'Leary, 2014). The document analysis process is summarized as: 1. Access to related documents 2) Controlling the authenticity of documents 3) the discovery of the content of the documents 4) evaluate the comparisons in the findings from the documents. The last step is expressed

as content analysis by which the researcher measures the use of certain categories and themes which were identified during the document analysis. After analysing both countries' educational documents and Survey of Schools research project results (Digital Education Strategy and Digital Success Programme) three main categories were identified to make comparisons (infrastructure, digital literacy of teachers', and digital content). The document analysis offered three crucial prerequisites of the successfully digitalised pedagogy (Digital Success Programme, 2016, pp. 35-42):

- infrastructure in schools,
- digital readiness of teachers,
- development of digital content.

Alongside with the three concerns listed above, the authors collected the available country-specific and nationally representative datasets from the last decade in order to find comparable data in case of the two observed countries.

Findings

Documents Concerning Digital Pedagogy in Public Education

First of all, it is necessary to observe the strategic basis of education policy in the two countries in order to map out the visions of the future of digital pedagogy.

Regarding the Hungarian scientific literature about digital pedagogy, during the last 10 years, two main directions can be mapped out: on the one hand, the technical praxes of digital pedagogy, summed up in the monograph of Benedek (2012) and in Racsko (2017). On the other hand, the theory and didactics of digital pedagogy has become an important issue during the last decade, as seen in Hülber (2017), concluding with the digital citizenship model (Ollé, 2015).

On the practical level, in the Hungarian national public education system, the issue of digital pedagogy is approached by the National Core Curriculum (NCC, 2012). By 2020, an updated version of NCC is expected. Its preparation is surrounded with several debates about the priorities of current education, highlighting the problems of how one defines the role and place of digital pedagogy in the education process. The internationalised scene of digital network media as well as electronic communication constantly and emergingly challenges the governmental need for the implementation of a nation-oriented and strongly patriotic pedagogical system. The subject of visual culture, which has been including the development of pupils' DSCs since the 1970s, will be transformed into a subject (expectedly from 2020) named Digital Culture, widening the

perspective of teaching media and giving a more defined content framework for the teachers. The Public Education Law and its sub-documents aim to merge the goals of the European Union in the field of DSCs with the governmental vision of a strong education in Hungarian language and culture as well as history. This effort faces serious challenges, mainly because of the heavily loaded teaching staff with a humble salary and the tight time frame in public education with a significant quantity of knowledge base expected to be taught.

Turkey has three key documents which steer education: the Strategic Plan for the Ministry of National Education, which sets the medium- and long-term education goals; an overall government strategy which includes education, currently established in the Tenth Development Plan (2014-18); and the Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper, which is linked to the European Union's strategy. In Turkey, the Ministry of Development (MoD) is responsible for coordinating other public bodies to develop the information society. Therefore, the MoD prepared the "Information Society and Action Plan (ISAP) for 2014-2018". This strategy covers numerous actions regarding digital education policies. The ISAP is mainly based on Turkey's 10th Development Plan (2014-2018). In this development plan, to "educate individuals to obtain fundamental skills necessary for the information society" is defined as the main objective of the education system.

The ICT policy is set out as follows:

- To improve the ICT infrastructure in formal and informal education institutions and the capacity of teachers and students to use technology.
- To support the efficient and wide use of ICT to accelerate the transition into an information society.
- To use ICT effectively to support the training of skilled workforce and the change to a knowledge-based economy.

In this broad perspective, similar with the Hungarian approach, the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) is the main responsible authority for ICT education. It prepared it's "Strategic Plan of Ministry of National Education (MoNE), 2015-2019" in accordance with both the ISAP and the 10th Development Plan. According to Strategic Plan of Ministry of National Education (MoNE), 2015-2019, the key challenges in the Turkish Education System were access to and quality of education and training, and institutional capacity of the country. In this vein, the Main Law of National Education (6528) was changed on 1st of March 2014. Turkey's Tenth Development Plan which will be implemented by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) calls for action in education and aims to integrate ICT into the curriculum

to reduce the differences in success levels between the school types and regions which is an important challenge for the current Turkish education system.

In order to harmonize the system, MoNE launched the FATIH Project[2] in 2010 and a curricula renewal process that acknowledges digital skills and competences (DSCs) as key competences and in 2016, the curriculum for a new Computer Science course – mandatory and delivered in the first two years of secondary education – was approved (Digital Factsheet, 2018). Compared to the previous course, mainly focused on basic digital skills, the new curriculum is broader and includes programming and computational thinking. The Board of Education is responsible for monitoring this curriculum as part of its legal obligations and the Ministry's General Directorate of Innovations and Education Technologies will update its content regularly. Despite these legal frameworks, implementation efforts, and Turkey's strong commitment, the education system still lacks a national framework defining the DSCs.

Infrastructure in Schools

In terms of the digital tools, the most representative country-wide statistic shows that 98% of the schools have at least one ICT room in Hungary. There are two or more computer classrooms in approximately half (53%) of the primary schools and some two-thirds (65%) of the secondary schools. However, computer classrooms are relatively small regarding the average class size. In fact, 73% of the specialised ICT rooms can only accommodate half a class of students (Molnár & Pásztor-Kovács, 2015).

Due to the Sulinet+ data network project, powered by the National Information Infrastructure Development Programme, 84% (883 pcs) of the 5405 Hungarian public education schools have taken part in some ICT infrastructural development, while 16% of them are still not connected to the network countrywide. Almost half of them have the download speed between 11-50 Mb/s, while 23% of them are served by the bandwidth above 50 Mb/s.

WiFi service was made available in 1700 public education institutions with an overall number of 3900 WiFi devices. The estimated average institution coverage is around 31% (Digital Success Programme, 2016, pp. 36-37).

In the field of the availability of ICT equipment in class for students and teachers, the EU-average shows a result of 75%, while Hungary lags behind with its 41% of students

2 In 2010, the Turkish Government launched an education project called FATIH (The Movement to Enhance Opportunities and Improve Technology. Referring to Mehmet II, one of the most influential Ottoman sultans). FATIH project foresees a high-speed broadband Internet connection in all classrooms, interactive whiteboards in all basic education (grades 1–8) and high school classrooms, tablet PCs for all students – starting from the fifth grade – and support to teachers and trainers to become digital content creators.

having ICT tools available in classes. The Turkish result in this statistic is 58% (Survey of Schools, 2012). These numbers have been improving to some extent during the last seven years, however the main tendencies and differences are unaffected.

In terms of educational infrastructure, Turkey is a big country with its 82 million population, more than 53.574 schools, 889.695 teachers, more than 16 million students and 537.114 classes (Table 1). Turkey's education system can be characterized as predominantly public and centralized. The share of enrollment accounted for private education institutions is as low as 3.3 % and public schools are run by the MoNE, which is responsible for all dimensions concerning public education provision (Digital Factsheet, 2018).

Table 1: Turkish Educational Infastructure

Statistical Information				
	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Number of Clasess
Primary School	27.544	295.252	5.434.150	237.760
Junior High School	16.969	296.065	5.278.107	147.693
Secondary School	9.061	298.378	5.691.071	151.661
TOTAL	53.574	889.695	16.403.328	537.114

(Source: Gülözer, A., Fatih Project. Ministry for Education).

Despite Turkey's strong commitment to improving students' DSCs, a recent OECD report highlights that, to date, students' use of ICTs for educational purposes is significantly below the OECD average. The education system lacks a national framework defining the DSCs and the related proficiency levels that students should achieve (Table 1).

The Survey of Schools (2012b) research reveals that in Turkey there is a very low level of provision of desktop computers at all grades, ranking in the bottom few countries, with roughly a third of the EU average, and very few laptops. According to the survey, at grade 8 (Survey of Schools, 2012b: Fig. 2.2) there are more students per desktop computer than in any other country and on student to laptop ratio Turkey ranks last but one.

The Second Survey of Schools report however has a better statistical view, still infrastructure is the main problem in ICT education in Turkey. Compared to the European average there are less highly digitally equipped and connected schools at ISCED level 1 in Turkey (Figure 1).

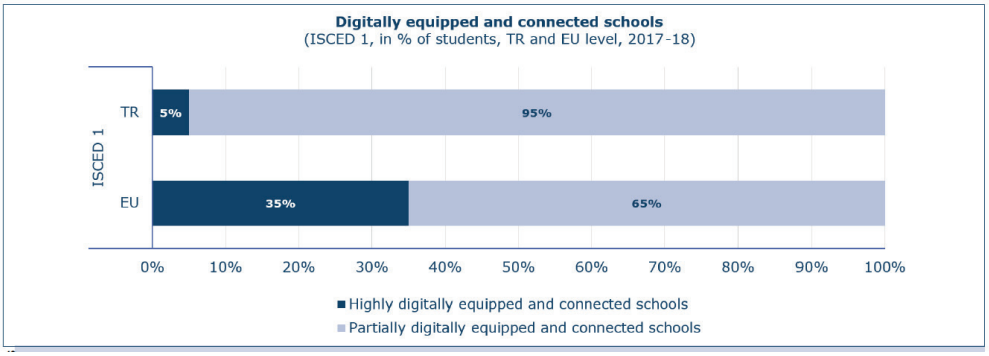

Figure 1: Digitally Equippped and Connected ISCED 1 Schools in Turkey
(Source: 2nd Survey of Schools, 2019)

The FATIH Project in Education was launched in 2010 with the purpose of providing equal opportunities in education for the usage of digital technologies in schools so that informatics technology tools are used to engage more senses in the educational process. Currently, the project implemented in the pilot schools is providing hardware and broad band internet to all classrooms, providing e-content for subjects, establishing platforms for the integration of teachers into IT technologies and product development, and facilitation of other activities including project implementation assistance. The project started in the 2011-2012 education term and disseminated 8500 laptops which can communicate with smartboards and I-Pads to 17 cities and 52 schools (5th and 9th classes) (MoNE, 2014).

In terms of equipment, students in Turkey are in less favourable conditions compared to the EU average concerning access to computers and connectedness but enjoy good connectivity through broadband. Moreover, their frequency of use of technology is remarkable, noting that use levels are close to the EU mean, suggesting heavy use of the equipment that is in schools. At all grades, the percentages of students in schools using ICT in at least 25 percent of lessons is well above the EU average. Student use is rather lower but close to the EU mean (Survey of Schools 2012b).

Table 2: Comparison of Turkey versus OECD Average on Students' ICT Useage

	Turkey	OECD
Students-to-computer ratio	44.9	4.7
Students using computers at school (%)	48.7	72
Students with a computer at home (%)	70.7	95.8
Average daily time spent on the Internet (minutes)		
• at school (lower bound)	15	25
• outside of school (weekdays)	52	104
• outside of school (weekends)	78	138

[1] Covering the 2014–18 period, approved 1 July 2013 (p. 31).

(Source: OECD, 2015)

Although the above-mentioned statistics clearly show the low level of students' use of ICTs for educational purposes which is below the OECD average, in Turkey, still some children have more basic educational needs, such as equal access to the secondary level of education. Due to socio-economic reasons, a large part of the population cannot attend regular secondary school. As an alternative to formal secondary education, the MoNE launched the Open Vocational High Schools in 2016. The content of the programmes is the same as in formal vocational schools. The platform counts 333,712 registered users and mainly provides online textbooks. Interactive lessons are not available yet.

Moreover, both secondary and tertiary education attainment in Turkey are lower than the OECD average, but both have increased significantly across generations and more than in most OECD countries (OECD, 2013). Forty-three percent of 25-34-year-olds have attained secondary education, and 19% have attained tertiary education (OECD average of attaintment in secondary school is 82% and teriary 39%).

Despite the improvements in the number of students per classroom, significant differences exist between public and private schools, different types of schools and different regions in the country. First, for all grade levels, the difference between public and private schools are hard to ignore. Secondly, compared to other secondary education institutions, imam-hatip high schools (religion-based schools) seem to hold a privileged position (ERG, 2017). Furthermore, Turkey is still in the lowest ranks among OECD countries in spending per student. In 2013, for which the most recent comparative data is available, public spending per primary school student was 2,894 USD in Turkey, compared to the OECD average of 8,477 USD. For secondary school students, these figures were 3,590 and 9,811 USD, respectively.

The Digital Readiness of Teachers

In the realm of information technology, the role of the educational community must be to support technology, to use technology in classrooms, and to teach students how to use technology properly To integrate technology skills into school or learning, students must first learn the skills necessary to understand and use this technology. Secondly, by integrating technology into teaching learning processes and curricula, it has become the task of schools to teach students how to use information effectively, interpret and use technology effectively, to benefit from technology in the classroom by supporting technology and teaching the correct use of it as a learning tool (Hazar, 2019). The teachers are the most important mediators in this process.

Currently, the number of ICT-supported classes is one of the lowest in Hungary among EU Member States (Digital Success Programme, 2016, 40). Less than 20% of the overall 160.000 (and constantly decreasing number of) teachers use ICT tools in more than 25% of their classes (EU-average: 29%, Turkey: 58%, see ibid.).

Observing the teachers' self-confidence in their own operational digital skills, one can find that it ranges from 2,75 to 2,99 on a 4-grade-scale, depending on the grade and form of teaching (class, general, vocational, etc.) (Survey of Schools, 2012a, 13). Teachers can increase their digital readiness during their basic teacher training and on compulsory well elective teacher trainings during their practice, not counting the self-driven learning and improvement opportunities.

However, not only does self-confidence show a relatively low level, but some problems can be detected in the field of institutional motivators as well. "The use of digital pedagogy is indirectly mentioned in the assessment concerning the teacher career life model but, in fact, this is limited to portfolio management and is not related to the complex pedagogical development activity" (Digital Success Programme, 2016, p. 41). Neither the state training system nor the individual institutions have created systemic strategies for improving the teachers' skills in digital pedagogy. As a result of this, "[a]t present, teachers use the opportunities offered by information technology mainly for enriching the process of teaching, rather than learning, and they rarely engage in joint creative work online" (pp. 40-41).

As numerous other studies in developing countries note that for technology to make a difference it must be integrated with specific teaching and learning goals in mind, and the implementation model should be practical to allow these goals to be accomplished. The recent Eurydice report of the EU Commission (2019) emphasized the teacher specific digital competences – the essential competences - that teachers are expected to have. The report

highlighted that among the 43 education systems only half of them refer to the European key competence definitions for digital competence, but 11 education systems use exclusively their own national definition of digital competences (European Commison, 2019). The European countries still have to work more for creating a more inclusive digital competence framework. The definition of what constitutes digital competence for a teacher varies. In some competence frameworks, it is a very broad definition, in others there is a detailed description of areas and skills. All of them, however, emphasise that teachers have to know how to integrate digital technologies into their teaching and learning and be able to use them effectively.

In this framework, Turkey is applying its own national digital competences. Turkey's FATIH Project aims to prepare the teachers to integrate ICT in schools to shift the learning paradigm. There are reportedly 500 FATIH trainers in schools committed to solving school-level FATIH problems, and an additional 700 rotating between schools. In addition, the ICT teachers in every school are a considerable asset to ensure ongoing, successful integration; however, the quality and capacity of these ICT teachers vary since there has been no standardized training for them. There are additionally 110 distance education centers that have recently been established (ERG, 2013).

However, "teachers need to know exactly how ICT is used as a teaching and learning tool" (UNESCO, 2004) and the system has to explain the strategy to shift the learning paradigm which is developed by all stakeholders. Unfortunately, there hasn't been a specific model introduced in the FATIH project. The current model is to integrate technology into existing lesson plans through multimedia supplementary materials. However, little guidance was provided on how this is to be achieved. The training seems to have communicated that no more than 10 % of a lesson should involve the technology. Moreover, there is no evidence that schools themselves have been involved in designing a vision for implementation based on their own capacities and institutional culture of learning which is the weak side of this project (ERG, 2013).

Similar with the Hungarian findings from the same Survey of Schools Project (2012b) the Turkish teachers' self-confidence in their digital skills is around the EU mean at grade 4 which ranges from 2,4 to 2,98 on a 4-grade-scale, but lower at grade 11 general and higher at grade 8 and 11 vocational (Survey of Schools, 2012b, 12.). Comparing confidence levels at grade 8, teachers' confidence in their operational skills places Turkey in the lower group of countries. Teacher training programs, following this logic, should be tailored around real demands and needs exhibited by children using the technology. However, in Turkish ICT policy, hardware was the primary input, while positive evidence of self-taught students remain absent (ERG, 2013).

The previous pedagogue in Turkey was based on controlled, didactic content, therefore the new interactive boards integrate the students in whole-group instruction, encouraging active discussion, collaboration and production of learning products by students. However, there is no indication so far that FATIH's teacher training or content development phases will transform the teaching and learning process to promote instructional change (ERG, 2013).

Furthermore, the recent research results show that the teachers have ambivalent or even negative viewpoints on the delivery of Tablet PCs to students and the usage of smart boards by teachers at high schools against the backdrop of the Fatih Project in 2013-2014 academic year (Sözen and Coşkun, 2017:626). The enforcement of the use of interactive whiteboards and distribution of tablet PCs at high schools must be processed and organised by receiving the viewpoints of the pedagogues, teachers and instructresses.

Development of Digital Content

After having the necessary hardware and satisfactory ICT skillset, the third crucial element of being successful in digital pedagogy is the digital content of class and extra-class teaching. In this regard, Hungary shows a miscellaneous picture: on the one hand, state-run centred initiations and EU-funded development projects aim to help the population of teachers in public education with digital contents for teaching and learning. On the other hand, the local communities of teachers in schools can help each other, often with self-developed materials. The trans-school networking among colleagues, despite its inevitable existence, cannot be identified as typical in the country.

"Besides its content library function, the National Public Education Portal (portal.nkp.hu) also offers functions that support independent, group, classroom and extracurricular teaching and learning, while the similarly state-run Sulinet Digital Knowledge Base also makes digital content elements available. Although no official statistics are known, these two portals are visited by teachers on a daily routine basis" (Digital Success Programme, 2016, 42).

The EU-funded Human Resource Development Operative Programmes (HRDOP) offer various resolutions to achieve the overall goal about the future of Hungarian digital pedagogy in public education defined in Digital Success Programme (2016, p. 59): "In Hungary, public education should guarantee the acquiring of digital competences expected by society and the labour market and exploit the potential of digital technologies with a view to making its operation more efficient, effective, and equitable." HRDOP-3.1.2, HRDOP-3.2.3, HRDOP-3.2.4 etc. intervene in the most problematic areas: teaching-learning methodology,

infrastructure and support services. Given that most of them were launched in 2016 or 2017 and will end in 2020-2021, the monitoring of their effectiveness is still awaited.

When planning, implementing, or evaluating ICT in education, it is important to keep in mind that any hardware is only as good as the software it runs, the content that it delivers, and the learning environment where it is used (ERG, 2013). In the Turkish context, through the FATIH project, ICT is expected to enable more of certain traditional teaching practices (i.e., drill and practice test preparation) that educational transformation is meant to change. The Educational Social Platform (YEGITEK's Eğitim Bilişim Ağı- EBA) was created for teachers as a social educational e-platform where educational instructors can reach the reliable digital materials categorised in accordance with the class level. All teachers can access EBA and develop e-content. EBA provides free access to four different tools: ideaLStudio, EBA Sunum, Eutdyo and Xerte (Akdur, 2017). This large and growing pool of interactive and multimedia learning objects is available through international resources and includes other digital resources like magazines, royalty-free images, instructional videos and a forum for teachers.

The ICT competence of teachers is assessed locally. Some local education authorities (PDNEs) introduced 25 hours pre-requisite courses before the "Preparatory Course FATIH Project" to teachers whose ICT level was determined very low. This training's aim was to improve fundamental ICT skills. Since Turkey has a centralized management structure in education, all strategies and programs are determined by MoNE. School leaders - called

"principals" in Turkey - of public schools do not have the flexibility to develop their own digital technology strategy in their school; rather they are responsible for implementing the digital technology strategies developed by MoNE. Therefore, they can use this source to support teachers to use digital technologies. Moreover, there are no central recommendations on the use of ICT in student assessment. Private schools have more flexibility to develop and implement their own digital technology in education strategy. The concern at this point is that teachers are being trained to digitize their teaching, but not teach differently. Experience with many types of teacher professional development, including ICT integration, indicates that it is very difficult to change teaching behaviors with only one-off, isolated training programs (ERG, 2013).

Yet, despite the huge potential of digitalisation for fostering and enhancing learning, the impact of digital technologies on education itself has been shallow, according to the many research results globally. In Turkey, massive investments in ICT in schools have not yet resulted in the hoped for transformation of educational practices, probably because the overriding focus on hardware and connectivity has kept back equally powerful strategies

for increasing teachers' ICT skills, improving teachers' professional development, reforming pedagogies and producing appropriate software and courseware (Akdur, 2017; ERG, 2013).

Discussion and Conclusion

Educational practices have been on a constant quest as a result of innovations in information communication technologies, globalization of education and social change. Changes in educational practices naturally change teaching and learning approaches. These changes also shape the learning and teaching paradigms and the nature of learning and how it is being realized. Currently, digital learning is reshaping education globally, it changes the ways in which students learn and the teachers perform. This change enforces new digital skills both for students and teachers.

The existing comparative study aims to compare the recent digitalisation of public education in two countries, Hungary and Turkey, to reveal the general underlying structure which generates or allows such a variation. Since the intention is to compare two European countries' digital educational policy at exploratory level, both countries' educational documents were analysed and three main components were found to make comparisons: infrastructure in schools, digital literacy of teachers', and digital content. The main findings were the digital literacy level of teachers and digital content are two important areas which were less developed in both countries. Digitalisation and ICT use in schools should be incorporated with educational purposes.

One of the main problems is that "Hungarian students scored the lowest in the EU in the 2012 PISA computer-based tests (OECD, 2015) and the digital skills of the adult population lag behind the EU average (European Commission, 2018a). In response, the Ministry of Human Capacities adopted the Digital Education Strategy for 2017-2020 (Government, 2016b). The aim is that Hungary should reach the EU average with respect to digital literacy and usage, internet penetration rate, teachers' digital competences and the digitalisation of education by 2018" (European Commission, 2018b). The similar statistics and low PISA scores are given for Turkey's digitalisation in education.

Summarising all the above-mentioned from the Hungarian side, ideal and up-to-date conditions for the digitalisation of public education can only be settled with the combination of a significant amount of money (spent rationally), a great deal of expertise (involving motivated developers from interdisciplinary fields of education) and communication (spreading the new ideas countrywide).

Although the Turkish digital education project FATIH aims to achieve astonishing outcomes in the digitalisation of education in Turkey, Turkish PISA tests and digital skills evaluation is still under the average among the OECD countries. Despite the general improvement in the number of students per classroom, significant differences between private and public schools, between different types of schools and between different regions persist. The largest differences are observed in learning environments between public and private institutions: class sizes and student-teacher ratios are twice as large in public as in private institutions, implying inequalities in learning outcomes (OECD, 2017).

The challenge ahead lies in identifying specific models of computer use by grade, subject, and context that can produce measurable learning gains. These educational models should lay out not only the hardware and software need, but also the training and support activities required for teachers who can adopt them effectively.

Currently, governments around the world are increasingly looking towards one-to-one technology programs as a way to address educational access, improve learning outcomes, and equip children with modern skills. Though each country's context and challenges are unique in such efforts, they often espouse common goals: equalize access to educational resources, engage children with learner-centric pedagogy, and reorganize ineffective classroom models. The pathway to achieving those goals may include providing technology and ICT, but it neither starts nor ends there. It is critical that from planning, to implementation, to evaluation there are lessons at all stages of the process which have to be shared and explored with other countries in order to maximize efficiencies for the society.

In digitalisation of education, the Turkish experience shows that the teacher's capacity to learn and adapt to a new style of teaching which incorporates such capabilities is much more essential for the success of this model. If a teacher, school, district or country does not know whether they want to leverage ICT for assessment, student engagement, dropout-reduction, multimedia teaching support, classroom management, access to research, or many of the other potential uses, they will most likely not succeed in any of them. At a minimum, they will not know whether they can attribute positive learning outcomes to ICT, as they have not defined specific learning goals around the integration of such tools.

In the Turkish context, teachers need to be in control of the use of technology in their classroom through flexible policies that promote innovation. Moreover, they also need concrete guidance and best practice examples to follow. Without that guidance, the tablets risk becoming little more than digital desktops, focusing students on their own work and less on

collaboration with each other. It should be noted that the key component for the "knowledge society" skills in 21st century is to teach collaborative, project-based learning models for the changing demands of the modern workplace.

In Turkey there is an urgent need for some broad vision of the purpose of the technology, the expected outcomes, and the logic model that will lead to those expected outcome.

Digitalisation changes the functioning of our society globally. Consequently, education and training must adapt by focusing on cooperation and individualised learning at the same time. Further studies should concentrate on ICT education strategies focusing on different high school types. It is strongly recommended that these innovative applications are distributed to students who are in different age groups by considering their school types instead of standard applications.

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CHAPTER 7

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF BOURDIEU'S CONCEPT OF HABITUS: A STUDY ON CLOSED FACEBOOK GROUPS FOR FREECYCLING

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ABSTRACT

This chapter is the result of an attempt to understand patterns in virtual platforms based on collective mind consciousness that digitalization allows. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been adopted as a frame of reference for analyzing the forms of online communication produced by digital culture. The theme is the evaluation of the virtual socialisation practices of digital culture, based on the categories of language, interaction and capital production, and within a Bourdiesian frame where social capital, field and doxa form the digital habitus. The study adopts closed Facebook groups based on interest in freecycling as a population. The data was evaluated using netnography to offer an informed, descriptive analysis.

Keywords: Pierre Bourdieu, digital habitus, freecycling closed groups

Introduction

In the digitalizing world, communication and processes, which are the dominant elements of socialization, are changing as a result of the effect of technological innovations. In a network society, which has incorporated the possibilities of new media into everyday life practices and transformed them into a habit (Castells, 2008, p. 463), (Dewdney & Ride, 2006), technology shapes society, and society affects the development processes of technology. While conducting research on social media in the network society characterized by the variability and diffusivity of time and space, it is important to address it in terms of its relationship with society. This is because social media offers a rich research universe to social scientists as a new medium that also meets the social needs of individuals such as awareness, appreciation and adaptation.

Current digital transformations have turned the new media into an important tool for socialization. According to the approach defending the benefits of participation in digital culture through online social networks, social networks have created new opportunities for communication among individuals and for knowledge sharing such as obtaining information/learning from close and/or distant friends, respect for intellectual rights, increase in intercultural transitivity, acquiring new daily life skills, political sensitivity and conscious citizenship. This is because of the fact that, in spite of cultural differences, interactive communication opportunities emerge more intensely than traditional socialization fields in virtual environments. Although the individuals of the virtual world have differences in their way of thinking and life styles, they are capable of producing more effective practices in regards to gathering around common values (Deuze, 2006; Gere, 2008; Timisi, 2005, pp. 89-103). This situation is considered to be an important factor affecting the socialization process.

This study aimed to examine the group dynamics developing within digital culture on the basis of the concept of "habitus" used by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and to understand the cultural production areas within social life as well as the concept of "capital" produced within the habitus. In order to do this, a specific group based on freecycling was selected. Our choice of group was based on the fact that freecycling/sharing groups have the most direct and realist identity presentations in the relation patterns established on social media platforms like Instagram, Tinder, Facebook and Twitter. This selection allowed for a more objective observation of the characteristics of digital habitus, which is at the focus of the research.

Digitalization and Its Effects on Socialization

It is obvious that in the process of socialization, individuals are influenced by their cultural environment and these effects shape their decision-making. Online environments established on digital platforms have revealed a new dimension of socialization. The individual who has the freedom to share in the virtual world is now experiencing a process which is referred to as inactive socialization (Bakardjieva, 2003, pp. 291-313), (Binark, 2007). Research data indicate that individuals are increasingly choosing this new form of socialization where they have the opportunity to socialize without leaving the fields where they belong over face-to-face communication.

Understanding this transformation requires taking a closer look at the relationship of the individual with the concept of socialization. Social processes have major effects on the formation of an individual's personality. The socialization process is completed as a result of the acceptance of social norms and the individual's compliance with these norms (Tezcan, 1993). The socialization process, which has a guiding position in learning the human values of the individual, is directly proportional to the communication that the individuals establish with other individuals, common admiration and tastes. Individuals take into account these common tastes while helping others in the socialization process (Field, 2006, p. 3). It is possible to categorize the main factors affecting socialization process into family, school, groups of friends, social communities. During the course of history, the emergence of mass media has led the effects of media on socialization to be the object of research and media has been accepted as secondary socialization tool (Aziz, 1982), (Genner & Süss, 2016, p. 3). Social media, which is the focus of today's research, presents a new form of socialization with its structure based both on the moment and on interaction, which is unlike traditional mass media. The interactive communication environments that develop with increasing speed of access to information creates a new form of faster and easier socialization (Karagülle & Çaycı, 2014, p. 5), (Okur & Özkul, 2015, p. 220). When evaluating the new media, the content production that the individual makes use of by interacting with other individuals in online environments is observed to become a new form of socialization because the communication paradigm of a network society is bi-directional, personalized, interactive and contextual. It is content that keeps users connected.

The phenomenon of socialization is a fundamental issue addressed from different perspectives in sociology, anthropology, psychology and political science. Contemporary sociological studies are discussed in terms of the process of learning social roles that regulate

socialization and adaptation to the physical and socio-cultural environment of the individual and within the framework of self-formation (Inkeles, 1969, pp. 615-616), (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). The psychologist Jean Piaget, known for his work in the field of cognitive development, evaluated the individual's socialization process in four stages: 1) The stage of irregular and discontinuous individualism, (2) The stage of self-centering, (3) The stage of collaboration and adherence to the rules, (4) The stage of familiarization of rules. The individual passes these stages and completes the socialization process (as cited in Ergil, 2012, pp. 51-62). Individuals who are new to the online environment also go through the socialization process mentioned above and adapt to this new field. Explaining socialization requires mentioning social interaction. Social interaction refers to the situation where individuals perceive the actions of other individuals and appropriately react to these actions. In fact, F. H. Giddings (1897, pp. 41-70) argues in his main work called Socialization Theory that the process of socialization cannot occur without inter-individual interaction. These processes are as follows; (1) The process of gaining value: The individual's adaptation to his/her environment and the maintenance of these values, (2) The process of gaining benefit: Individualization of the external world and making it suitable for the survival of the individual, (3) Characterization process: This individual makes himself suitable for the changes in the external world and interaction with the outside world. 4) Socialization: it is possible to summarize this as the process of accepting other individuals by an individual. The fact that the individual has a position in the society and that the other members are aware of his/her existence ensures the continuity of the process.

The virtual communication environments offered by the Internet lead to the transfer of real-life social ties to these environments and the formation of a new level of socialization. This new form of socialization is defined as virtual socialization. By its nature, new media environments, which enable individuals to communicate more freely, transparently and equally, also affect individuals' level of participation in social transformation processes. New media tools have the capability of creating strong public opinion power. The individual has the power to communicate and act with individuals or groups close to his or her own way of thinking through online environments. With the increase in interaction, the various forms of communication carried out by the individuals are transformed. The transformations in the patterns of dependence and freecycling can be cited as examples (Harper, Hamill, & Gilbert, 2013, p. 8), (Field, 2006, p. 4). Individuals with social roles that complement each other develop their creative aspects by accessing new information through social media, communicating with other individuals with the same likes without the problems of time and

space, helping each other by exchanging information and ideas, and developing these roles through new social skills acquisition.

Pierre Bourdieu and the Concepts of Habitus, Field, Capital

In contemporary cultural theories based on the social science paradigm shaped around Durkheim's anthropological heritage, actors/individuals are treated as "agents" who can take different and flexible positions in social relations rather than passive receptors of cultural elements. The aim is to reestablish the relationship between cultural symbols and social action, with a view to focusing on the intersection of symbols and the preferences of the actor.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, with a reflexive[1] sociological perspective that is shaped by Emile Durkheim's and Marcel Mauss's anthropological tradition and Max Weber's field interpretations, examines the relations between cultural judgment and social hierarchy in a comprehensive social space. In fact, in his Outline of a Theory of Practice, he emphasizes the importance of a combination of theoretical framework and field research (Bourdieu, 1977). At this stage, the concept of habitus, which the active actor takes advantage of in explaining individual or collective behaviors, refers to the social formations that nourish and support the types of cognitive and motivating actions (Bourdieu, 2017), (Jenkins, 1982). Based on this view, actors/individuals acquire the ability to adapt to the specific attraction of each field while being positioned in different fields. They then use these acquisitions to develop social self and predisposition. At this point, it is necessary to take a closer look at the concepts of habitus, field and capital, which are the most important concepts of Bourdieu and form the basis of the study. Bourdieu's extensive fieldwork in Algeria was the period in which these concepts were grounded. When examining events or phenomena, the sociologist argues that in-depth knowledge of their entire historical background is required. There is no need to have an unlimited universe of propositions and examples to explain theories.

'Field' (Champ) is one of the most important concepts in Bourdieu's sociology. It determines the characteristics of the environment in which Habitus emerges. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the characteristics of the field before habitus. These properties are more structural. The field refers to the arenas where information, service and status are produced

1 Reflexivity Principle, explains the need for scientific researches to have scientific knowledge about the methods they use. The researcher who conducts a sociological study according to his philosophical principle creates a new habitus by including his own scientific experiences and habitus in the research process. In order to understand Bourdieu's sociological point of view, it is necessary to deeply investigate the different concepts and to take into consideration the relations of these concepts with each other. " One of the difficulties encountered in understanding Bourdieu stems from the fact that he is equally alien - and opposed - to two epistemological traditions, positivism and hermeneutics. " (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2003), (Wacquant, 2007, pp. 53-77).

by individuals and the positions that individuals struggle to win in competition (Swartz, 2011, p. 167). It is observed that the concept was developed in the 1980s and that its analysis aimed at researching the interrelations of the fields in different disciplines such as education, art and social strata. In Bourdieu's works, the concept of field stands out as a step towards positivism. Emphasizing that it is not possible to do science without relationality, the thinker tried to understand the changes and effects of fields in relation to cultures while researching the concept of field. Bourdieu says that the common ground of all fields is struggle. When we look at the actors on the field, there is always a struggle between new entrants and those who have a certain place in the field (Jenkins, 2013). When examining the concept, he pays attention to investigating the relationships that are invisible but that shape actions.

In the field analysis, which requires a deep conceptual background, Bourdieu underlines the social conditions that shape culture. According to him, the fields that can occur both between institutions and within institutions themselves are formed around certain capitals as an arena of struggle (Ali, 2007, pp. 397-421). He considers the existence of the struggle shared by the dominant and subordinate persons in the fields as an indicator of the unequal distribution of capital.

Bourdieu, who states that there are rules that determine the boundaries of fields, attaches importance to empirical research while determining these boundaries. Participants in the field always try to differentiate themselves from other participants therein because those who are involved pay a price. Restriction and/or exclusion strategies in the field are likely to vary over time. The most important limit of the field is the entrance rules. These rules vary depending on the types of fields and may be sharper or more flexible. There is a positive correlation between convenience and ambiguity of rules. There is also a 'class struggle' within the field. Those who have already been active in the field and who have a certain power are likely to be defensive against newcomers. On the other hand, new entrants in the field are opposed to the power therein and seek to shake the 'doxa'[2] that provides reproduction (Kaya, 2007, pp. 400-401).

Bourdieu mentions three strategies in defining the concept of field. These strategies are 'preservation,' 'monitoring' and 'overturning.' Those who want to have a significant status in a field adopt the conservation strategy. Those who adopt the field are cautious towards newcomers and want to follow them. The overturning strategy is established by marginalized groups that have a place and are not very prominent in the field. However, this process may

2 Doxa (Fixed Opinion); Preliminary assumptions expressing belonging within the field and the way the field operates. It is a phenomenon that alleviates the social pressure in the field and expresses the naturalness of the mobilities in the field (Koytak, 2012, p. 91). It also finds expression as the invisible rules of the game.

not develop at the same rate according to the doxic structure of the field. According to the sociologist who uses the definition of the 'field of power' as the organizer of all fields, this field is very important for the balance of power between the classes. The field of power is defined as the 'game arena' for opponents. Those who want to be a pioneer in the field develop and implement strategies for this. This ensures a balance of power between the players involved. The field offers the individual a variety of personal gain, attitude and movement. In addition, it enables the individual to maintain the gains (Bourdieu, 2006, pp. 394-404). The fact that the field has a constantly changing structure means that the ones involved are always in competition. The consistency effort within the field emerges as the product of competition. Groups with status within the field often pose a threat to other groups. On the other hand, these dominant groups, which are in the forefront of the field, are always cautious of any innovations outside their control (Palabıyık, 2011, p. 137) because a possible change has the potential to mean the loss of authority in the definition, distribution and reproduction of capital.

Bourdieu was influenced by Mauss' anthropological perspective in developing the concept of habitus. He uses this concept and interprets it as the end of the subjectivity-objectivism debate which is an important topic in social sciences to explain the "system of permanent and transferable tendencies" formed through the world we are in. In fact, he defines habitus using expressions such as "the product of the structure," "the re-producer of the structure," "the regular improvisation" and "practice - producing principle" (Calhoun, 2007, pp. 77-130). Bourdieu speaks of the existence of a different class habitus that meets all social positions.

There is a relationship between habitus and intuition. He uses the metaphor of 'game' to explain the relationship between the concepts of habitus and field. According to Bourdieu's theory of the game, which manifests itself in every aspect of life, each type of behavior and every act of individuals is an effort to win the game (Calhoun, 2007, pp. 77-130). He states that habitus is the capacity of the players moving in the game to perceive the next steps. The habitus, which is the sum of features that occur as a result of repetitive movements over time and which the individual did not have before, draws its boundaries under the influence of the environment (Naulin & Jourdain, 2016, pp. 77-89). Habitus is the sum of the common behaviors that individuals have during the formation of common aspects as a result of mutual relations. Here we see the 'field' as a concept which is important in the formation of common tastes of individuals. The importance of the relationship between habitat and field is therefore emphasized repeatedly in all relevant texts.

The influence of social rules on the direction of individuals' behavior is highly significant. Individuals participate in the areas they want to be active in only by taking the dominant

thought into consideration (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 127). The habitus that develops over time is also effective in the formation of a person's social status. Therefore, the word 'susceptibility' has key importance in explaining the habitus (Swartz, 2011, p. 152). The concept associated with 'structure' and 'tendency' draws the boundaries of action and gives birth to practices that are the beginning of socialization.

Understanding the concept of habitus in Bourdieu sociology requires taking a closer look at the concept of capital. Capital is the most important component of power, and power can only sustain its power by turning capital into symbolic capital. In order to understand the structure of the social field, capital is required to be evaluated not only economically but also culturally and symbolically (Bourdieu, 2014, pp. 192-204). 'Symbolic capital' emerges as a set of habitus-induced trends, behaviors instilled through family or school. When evaluating capital, it is necessary to consider the relationship between field and area. Bourdieu defines the main fields of capital as 'economic capital,' 'cultural capital,' 'social capital' and 'symbolic capital.'

Bourdieu's conceptual background of his sociological view of symbolic forms is based on French structuralism. He develops his first views on 'social capital' during his research with James Coleman and Robert D. Putnam. According to Bourdieu, social capital, which is the product of collective interaction, is supposed to be examined with habitus and field components (Bourdieu, 1991). Social capital, which expresses the relations of individuals with friends or business circles, develops with the strengthening of social relations between individuals and varies in size and importance depending on the interaction rate.

Bourdieu's approach to 'economic capital' is a continuation of Marxist discourse. However, it transcends the reductionist view of capital to the economic dimension and provides a comprehensive definition of all the gains achieved as a result of the individual's participation in the social field and competition within the field (Bourdieu, 1977). The thinker, who is reluctant to distinguish economic capital from other types, underlines the contrast between cultural capital and economic capital that exists in most areas (Göker, 2016, pp. 277-302). At this stage, he emphasizes the importance of symbolic capital in the reproduction of social inequality.

The Features of Digital Habitus Constructed in Network Society

The nature of digital technologies requires digital social science to continue evolving as an interdisciplinary field. In parallel, Bourdieu's approach was inherently interdisciplinary, and

this allows his theoretical framework to engage with different fields of social sciences and to serve as the foundation for digital social science (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017).

Bourdieu's development of the interrelated concepts of "habitus," "field" and "capital" has paved the way for what is increasingly termed as "digital sociology" (Daniels, Gregory, & Cottom, 2016; Lupton, 2015; Marres, 2017). The term 'digital sociology' can refer both to research on the social aspects and impacts of digital communication technologies and to the application of digital technologies to research methodologies across social sciences.

In applying the concept of habitus as a foundation for how socialization can gain power within social media, it is first necessary to look at the development of internet technology and social media platforms and their integration into the daily social lives of individuals around the world. As social media has become a central aspect of our communication norms, elements of habitus have taken form within this space. By examining the socialization of the space within social media and the transference of social and cultural identity into social media, Bourdieu's habitus forms a basis for showing how social interactions in online groups can use this habitual space to cooperate and socialize.

An individual's culture, class and environment are transferred into the field of social media and create social relations that produce the initial relational positions within the field and which then develop through the internal mechanisms of the field itself. As a result, there are social structures and relations of power within the space, which are accentuated by the mirrored self that individuals project into social media. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field show the conditions under which this interaction can develop (Geukjian, 2013).

Nowadays, the "hybridizing" habitus in the network society has a flexible relationship with the social space. In institutionalized class structures, the common sense of taste and judgment is replaced by a higher type of adaptation (Adams, 2006, pp. 511-528). Cultural elitism, defined by a relatively more specific specialization, is replaced by a conception of cultural capital with heterogeneous and popular elements. Presenting a more flexible relationship between different fields such as specialization and education, today's individuals have a more dispersed and transitional structure, which requires in-depth expertise rather than a cultural boundary with more specific borders. In the social practices of cultural capital in this 'hybrid habitus,' the capacity to manage cultural diversity comes to the forefront rather than cultural expertise (Budak, 2015, pp. 22-40).

In terms of the structural features of the field, one of the greatest opportunities offered by the internet is the possibility of creating a virtual community in online environments

both easily and in a variety of ways. Individuals communicate with other individuals in the communities in which they meet and in accordance with their various needs by producing content and by sharing and commenting (Nicoleta, 2014, p. 4). In the new media area, individuals have the freedom to decide which of the items of information are correct or which topics are worth talking about, and the rate of influencing or transforming the structure of the field is higher.

In the relationships established in the digital habitus, a highly acclaimed profile, the number of shares, the ability of individuals to interact in the group and the language of communication used in this process are indicators of social capital. Increasing social capital is determined by criteria such as having many likes or comments or high number of views in online environments (Güzel, 2016, p. 93). The connection of individuals through communication networks and sharing their common values with other individuals also contributes to symbolic capital (Field, 2006). Looking at the group structures indicates that the community has its own group rules: the language of communication and the limits and rules of the shares are determined. The difference between online communities and real-life communities is that membership is easier, the qualifications of the members can be more variable and membership is more powerful when the aim of the community becomes clear (Baym, 2015). Studies demonstrate that creativity, learning and sharing are more important in the structuring of the network community. Indeed, research on network society emphasizes five basic features. These are: (1) Technological changes are intertwined with daily life practices (2) There is a constantly renewed flow of information (3) Individuals are constantly changing and interacting by building new networks (4) Mobility and transferability within the network enables continuous new environments to be created and thus freedom and flexibility. (5) Thanks to the network structure, different information systems have become a transitive whole (Castells, 2008, p. 91).

It can be seen that studies on the effects of digital communication technologies on socialization processes are aimed at understanding the structure of the individual's identity and the structure of the field (Van Dijk, 2006). Individuals who want to have power in any field aim to have the capital that carries this power to all fields. Individuals involved in the communication processes in online environments also reveal their social capital with the desire to be noticed among other individuals (Cavanagh, 2007). As a result of this, they show their presence by realizing the virtual communication process with their being liked and with feedback based on the comments made on the content they share and produce. Thanks to the features offered by the online domain, individuals with different capital fields can

communicate with each other. Individuals having strong bonds in virtual environments shape their social capital accumulation.

In the research section, based on these arguments, an investigation was made to understand the variables affecting the structure of social capital, especially in closed groups, which is one of the most suitable areas for habitus development, by focusing on the language of communication developed among individuals on digital platforms.

Aim and Methodology

The aim of this study is to define the characteristics of the construction of the field, doxa, and social capital in digital habitus constructed on Facebook for sharing/freecycling in order to understand the digital transformation of habitus based on Bourdieu's theory. In this respect, the descriptive method was used to make sense of the relationship patterns, communication between actors, and the structure of the field and social capital production of closed groups, which are examples of socialization processes in digital habitus.

Within the framework of the purpose of the research, an attempt was made to answer the following research questions:

- How does the field structured in a digital platform affect habitus?
- What are the motivations of actors to share and comment?
- What are the variables that determine the level of commenting on shares?
- What is the communicative importance of the visual and literary content of the shares?
- What are the factors that determine the symbolic capital of interactive communication?

In this research of online culture, a netnographic analysis was conducted to monitor the actors in their natural environment in order to identify the rules and boundaries of the field as well as to observe the tendencies, motivations, social capitals of actors and the structure of the struggle in order to identify new propositions and to gather data in the natural environment. Netnographic research method, which is the digital version of ethnographic method developed to examine online environments and communities, was chosen (Kozinets, 2015, pp. 4-18) because the netnographic research method developed by Kozinets, allows researchers to examine online communication not only as content but also as social interaction and culture building process in group patterns.

The research universe was limited to sharing within freecycling closed groups on Facebook which were founded by Turkish participants. The universe was limited to the first three groups with the highest number of participants. In the first phase of the study, between November

2018 and August 2019, with the permission of the founders of the group, detailed observations were made about the rules of the field as well as the actors' tendencies, tendencies and habitus expressed in their social capital. In the second phase, the research was limited to the findings of sharing and commentary for one month between 15 July and 15 August 2019 due to the high number of daily shares and comments.

In this study, which employed a descriptive method, the findings were textually interpreted according to the themes, and a categorical content analysis was conducted in order to evaluate highly dense numerical data. In order to understand the structure of digital habitus, an evaluation was made on the axis of "language of communication", "interaction among actors" and "social capital production" in the field. During the design phase of the research, membership request was made to various groups that are closed facebook groups and which were found through our search using the keywords freecycle, sharing, exchanging gifts. These groups included the "Kitap Freecycle" (Book Freecycle) (closed group, 4,408 members), "Askıda Ailesi" (Suspended Family) (Closed group, 7,637 members), "Freecycle İstanbull" (proper noun) (Goods sharing network), "Kadıköy Freecycle" (closed group, 1,559 members), "Atmaver" (Don't throw away Give, open group, 69,186 members), "YardımRail/Yardım Dükkanı" (AidRail/Aid Shop) (closed group, 97,816 members), "Shall We Yardım" (Shall we help) closed group, 36,460 members), "Atma Paylaş" (Don't throw away Share), "Herşey Dahil Hediyeleşme" (All Inclusive Gift Exchange) (34,308 members - closed group).

This research, conducted between 15 July and 15 August 2019, was limited to the first three groups with the most members in Turkey. Since Atmaver turned into an open group in the process, although the number of shares was high, it was excluded from the research. The closed groups Shall We Yardım, Atma Paylaş and YardımRail were examined. All the shares in each group were recorded on a daily basis and in order to better understand the demographic characteristics of the actors of the field, the comments and member profiles of the three groups that received the most comments each day were also evaluated.

Findings

The findings were evaluated in accordance with the themes and the problems of the research, which were determined according to the literature within the scope of the aim and method. In the light of this:

- "The effect of the field structured in the digital platform on habitus" and "the motivation of the actors to share and comment" were evaluated in the theme of Social Capital.

- "The variables that determine the level of commenting on the shares" were evaluated with the theme of Interaction Level.
- "Importance of the visual and literary content of the shares" and "The elements determining the symbolic capital of interactive communication" were evaluated with the theme of Language of Communication.

The profile and sharing contents indicate that there is a significant relationship between the demographic characteristics of the group founders and the characteristics of the participants. It is evident that the founders of Atmapaylaş group, which is the third closed group and has the highest number of members, are female members of C2 and D (SES) socio-economic status ("SES Report of…," 2019). Although there is no participation limit, it is clear that the participants are also women like the founders and have demographic characteristics belonging to C2-D-E SES group. This, as Bourdieu stated, gives information about the homogeneity of the demographic structure of the field where the habitus is constructed. YardımRail/Yardım Dükkanı and Shall We Yardım groups have an equal distribution of gender, the majority of which are in the A, B and C1 SES groups, and university graduates or students aged between 20 and 45. The socio-economic status index assessments determined by education, occupation and income level of the individuals reflects only the average information obtained from members whose profile information is accessible.

Interaction Level

To increase interaction in all groups, sharing, related or unrelated pictures and videos are made more visible and up-to-date with the aim of more comments. Especially in Atmaver group, the members in the categories "Founder", "chat initiator" and "story teller" share posts on average 2-3 times a day, mainly in the morning such as: "Good morning, have a nice day," "Hello today, how are you?," "Are you good ladies?" In particular, the founders of the AtmaPaylaş group express that they are the rule-makers in the field, while determining the language of interaction using the statements such as: "Let us know the reasons why you complain about their mother-in-law?," "What is the average age of the women between us?," "Come on everyone, write down your ages," "To the members who don't share anything, let's be a little more active, for your information, if you don't share anything but continuously send requests for posts, these requests will be removed." In their own discourses, they sometimes direct the field with humor-based videos, jokes, and sometimes sets of questions to measure the group's demographic tendencies. The Moderators of the Shall Group, on the other hand, try to make the group attractive by posting posts and practical information to gather members to other groups established under the name of Shall We group (friendship, travel etc.). The

YardımRail moderators are observed to mainly share the postings that define the boundaries of the field in the reminder content of group rules.

Language of Communication

Despite the discourse differences among the groups, we observed the existence of a common symbolic capital language, which is a basic indicator of the fact that role sharing and interaction motivations in the field are based on competition. In all groups, to increase interpretation, interaction, sharing and motivation, a symbolic hierarchy language was created between the participants and the categories "new member," "admin/moderator" (memberships, moderators, settings and posts managers), "chat initiator" (constantly initiating meaningful conversations) "visual story teller" (constantly sharing images and videos valued by people), "rising star" (members who interact with posts within the first month after joining the group). Those who share with a certain quota and those who produce content have these titles in turn and bear these expressions (along with their symbols) under their profile. When they get these titles, comments such as "I finally started a chat, hurray" or "Hey friends, I come with contents that suit a story-teller" are examples of how important it is to be accepted and popular within the group. See Table 1 for the numerical data of the symbolic capital distribution.

Table 1: Language of Communication / Symbolic Capital Distribution

Symbolic Capital Codes	Manager	Chat initiator	New Member	Rising Star	Visual storyteller	The number of members
Atma Paylaş	5	482	652	20	83	**34.308**
Shall We Yardım	12	298	235	NONE	15	**36.460**
YardımRail	8	195	188	NONE	18	**97.816**

From the point of view of the policy makers and followers of the field, it was observed that habitus is a language of discourse and actors act according to these rules. Although this language is a group of Turkish-speaking people, it contains references in English, the common language of the digital universe. While the posts are called "post," the word "up" is used by the other members to keep their shares up-to-date, and "ref" is preferred to refer to a member's share. The founders of the field have the authority to intervene when there is a comment, an insulting share or a response that requires a commercial content or medical information on the shares, to remove the "post" or by using the expression "Do not make comments that will threaten your health and require expertise and ignore such contents."

Social Capital

It was observed that the social capital production of AtmaPaylaş group differed significantly from the other two groups. The first element that determines the social capital of this group and distinguishes it from other groups is the dominance of religious motifs in content and interpretation. Statements such as prayer requests for the sick and dead such as "Can you read Surah Yasin?" "Let's have a little chat with girls, what kind of problems are you going through in the world that tests you?" or "You can give me your hijab clothes, my dear friends" are frequently used. The second dominant element of the interaction is discourses of conflict and competition. For example, "I see that there are those of you who have left this group and have found a group among us, it's a shame" or "why isn't my request approved despite all my sharing?" "To the notice to the admins, you are getting on my nerves", "Why is there no answer to all this sharing?," "Why is this jealousy?" "Those who can't stand with me can leave the group," "the group was attacked by the evil eye, I had better pour lead to repel the evil eye" are observed to be the most frequently used statements. The third element is the humorous sharing in a group for charitable purposes that is not related to the group's purpose. In particular, Tik Tok videos shared by the founders, moderators and visual storytellers are made with the strategy of dominating or directing the group.

The posts and comments of the three groups imply that Shall We ranks first in terms of number and theme variety. The least sharing is performed in YardımRail. Depending on the data, it can be said that there is a direct correlation between the post ratio of the groups and the theme diversity. It was observed that both groups received 35-45 posts per day and between 10 and 250 post comments per day respectively. In this case, it can be said that there were approximately 3,600 posts and 36,000 comments recorded within a month. Due to the intensity of posts and comments, the social capital data of the groups were categorized into ten main titles according to their themes and examined in order of intensity.

Table 2: Social Capital Distribution by Sharing Subjects

Sharing Categories	**Atma Paylaş**	**Shall We Yardım**	**YardımRail**
Request for /sharing foods	Children's and women's clothes, stationery materials, toys, child care and household goods, cosmetic product, food, wedding dress, dowry	Household goods, medicine, food, technological products, discount coupon, medicine, free internet and broadcasting code, pet care equipment	Garment, household goods, cosmetic product, food, stationery, technological product, medicine, dowry, wedding dress / grooming
Professional Information / Expertise	Childcare	Health, law, education, technology, insurance, trade, real estate, plant / animal care, outdoor sports, patient care	Health, law, education, technology, insurance, trade, real estate, logistics, tourism, bank, finance
Health	Prayer for patients, Home accidents, diet, doctor / hospital advice	Psychological problems (social phobia, suicidal ideation, depression with loss, anxiety disorder), home accidents, drug side effects, expert physician advice, emergency blood assistance	Drug side effects, home accidents, specialist physician advice, diet, psychological problems, emergency blood assistance
Emotional Issues	Family problem, love, prayer for sick / dead	Gender change, love, family problem, disputes regarding friends and work	Help for love, celebration and apology videos
Insight into product / service experience Counselling	Clothing and accessories	Accessories, clothes, technological products, internet program, photographer, sports Vehicle, technology, travel, 2nd hand shop, movie, book, computer game equipment / facility, vehicle, school, military service, animal shelter, restaurant, hotel, bank, transportation, camping equipment, language course, computer game, book & film directions	Vehicle, technology, travel, 2nd hand shop, movie, book, computer game
Emergency aid	Housework, education, children food	Health, use of technological products / services, travel problems (wallet, passport stolen, trapped in the airport, vehicle breakdown), animal shelter or food aid / request, business aid / request	Vehicle, use of technological products / services, legal advice, emergency blood, travel problems
Content Motivating Group	Video with humor, chat initiator questions, info / warning reminding group rules	demographic survey, new group presentation, content that gives practical information, chat initiator questions, information / warning reminding group rules	Information / warning reminding group rules
Approval / Like Requests	clothing, birthday, Celebration preparations for engagement, marriage etc., food	Physical appearance (Hairstyle, tattoo model) , design / creative ideas	NONE
Creative ideas	Suggestion for child's name, surprise and gift idea	Proposal of marriage, idea of surprise and gift, opinion on new design	Name / logo proposal commercial product, for idea, for suprise gift
Request for Accommodation / Transportation	NONE	Hitchhiking, temporary searching for roommate stay, being/	hitchhiking, temporary accommodation, roommate, transport request

These data imply that the most frequently performed shares are based on freecycling requests for/sharing of goods. In terms of the density of posts, it is possible to note that "share goods" post theme is followed by professional expertise, emotional issues, product/service experience and emergency aid posts. These themes can be said to be directly proportional to freecycling and sharing motivation. AtmaPaylaş group significantly differs from the other two groups in that it only consists of women and has a different socio-economic status. These data indicate that there is a correct correlation between the demographic features of the groups and their social capitals.

Discussion and Conclusion

The concepts that were developed by Bourdieu, an important name in contemporary sociology with his studies on social stratification, education and social policies, were frequently referred to in the researches of different disciplines of social sciences in order to understand the sociology of digital with the emergence of network society (Daniels, Gregory, & Cottom, 2016; Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). The majority of these studies are on digital capital and digital divide in education (Paino & Renzulli, 2013), digital inequality and social media usage habits and usage areas of digital communication technologies (Benson & Neveu, 2005), (Villanueva-Mansilla, Nakano, & Evaristo, 2015). There are media studies focusing on the digital dimensions of social capital on social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter (Brooks, Hogan, Ellison, Lampe, & Vitak, 2014), (Hofer & Aubert, 2013). Gender, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status research on Facebook users focuses on the relationship between individuals' network behaviors, demographic characteristics, and social capital (Lewis, Kaufman, Gonzalez, Wimmer, & Christakis, 2008), (Nissenbaum & Shifman, 2015).

These studies demonstrate that understanding the structural transformation of social media and digital habitus constructed in this environment, which stands out as a means of socialization, remains significant for social sciences. This study aims to contribute to the literature by examining how the concept of habitus is shaped in social networks, from the communication perspective in the context of the closed groups by suggesting that there will be less class differences. Individuals socialize through online environments, with the possibility of establishing an unlimited number of new connections without the problem of space and distance. The emergence of social networks transforms the way individuals communicate. These changes include the transfer of cultural values through online environments. In virtual spaces where digital habitus develops, individuals/actors who socialize around different themes interact more intensely with each other. Freecycling platforms have come into

prominence and form part of the collective intellectual practices developed by the lonely modern individual with the need for socialization.

Closed freecycling/sharing groups, which are exemplary for the socialization processes in digital habitus, were selected since individuals tend to retain their real identities and objectivity is preserved in these groups. In this way, the aim was to eliminate factors which might have influenced the objectivity of the field such as showing-off and pretending which are commonly observed behavioral patterns among individuals on social media. In the present study, the obtained data were assessed under the subtitles of "interaction level," "language of communication" and "social capital" to understand the capital produced in the field and the implications of this capital on the habitus by employing the concepts used by Bourdieu with the aim of making sense of relational patterns among individuals, communication among the actors of the field, structure of the field and social capital production.

Habitus, which has a leading role in socialization, is formed by certain thoughts, tastes, behaviors and actions that the individual acquires and exhibits as a member of the class or social group. Habitus, which is a collection of trends and habits, is related to past experiences. The formation of the habitus, which provides an individual's perspective to life through the experiences he has experienced throughout his life, is not a conscious and planned process. Bourdieu explains that habitus has the possibility of differentiation in the transition from the real world to the virtual world with an emphasis on the variability of the field (Bourdieu, 1977). Individuals in atomized urban life interact with the need for approval, appreciation, sharing and assistance, and virtually socialize in online environments. Formal changes in the field, in part, lead to the reshaping of the individual's behavioral patterns and the restructuring of expectations in the socialization process. In Bourdieu's words, the doxa in the field is shaped to reconstruct the rules of the game (Jenkins, 2013). Indeed, when we look at the area and habitus constructed on digital platforms, there are some differences based on the traditional definition. Features such as high interaction rate, flexibility and freedom of virtuality, time and space limitation, and momentum also transform the language of communication. These features allow the construction of hybrid habitus where actors/actors with different social, economic and educational capitals are more flexible and permeable to the rules of the socialization area with the motivation to cooperate (Adams, 2006), (Budak, 2015).

However, it has been observed that the basic framework of the concepts of field, habitus and capital defined by Bourdieu is preserved during the socialization process. In other words, habitus, which is also referred to as the sum of disposition, is shaped by the individual in a permanent or transferable manner. Moreover the habitus is inspired by the past structure

and it is full of information from the past (Bourdieu, 2014). The distinct differentiation of the social capital production of AtmaPaylaş group, which is a homogenous group consisting of only women and individuals from a lower socio-economic and socio-cultural class than the others, when compared to the other two groups is a significant indicator of the impact of cultural capitals on the forms of freecycling/sharing. When the posts in this group having more traditional and conservative cultural features are examined, obvious differences are observed in their freecycling/sharing understandings such as praying for one another. Distinct differences observed in the posts of the members of this group related to child care, daily chores, their dialogues containing gossip as well as competitive and conflicting elements, and their sense of humor also support Bourdieu's argument that habitus is shaped by past information and experiences to a large extent.

Due to the effect of digitalization, individuals produce and share content in themes that differ according to their social capital, in order to receive acceptance or to attract attention. The motivation of mutual aid democratizes the language of communication by softening the doxa produced in the social classes, political views and beliefs of the actors in the field. Most notably, it is clear that all participants express themselves peacefully and freely by deciding whether the shares are suitable for their social capital. If this is not done , the founders of the fields intervene and maintain the order of the field. The available data shed light on the fact that symbolic capital, the trends created by habitus, and the behaviors instilled through the family or school emerges as a whole, confirming the argument that social capital varies according to the habitus of the actors. In the AtmaPaylaş group, which has a very different socio-economic status from the other two groups, it is observed that the strategy of conflict and competition is prominent. This supports Bourdieu's thesis that each field has its own rules and boundaries, and the habitus that is constructed in the field determines social capital.

The rules and the manner of struggle of the game between the founders of the field and the new participants determine the predisposition, structure and tendencies of the field. The contrast between cultural capital and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2017), which Bourdieu thinks exists in most areas, is also observed in this study. The proposal that symbolic capital is of great importance in the reproduction of social inequality is highly significant as the question of another study on which this study is based.

The dynamics within the group demonstrate that the actors whose actions are defined in the field with symbolic expressions such as "founder", "chat initiator" or "visual story teller" gain strength by acquiring symbolic titles in the group. Thus, all the participants of the field are always in competition with their social capital generated in the habitus in which they are

located. The size of this competition increases with the increase in the likes of shares. The social capital produced by the profiles is transformed into economic capital from time to time by serving activities such as exchanging goods and introducing members through new group promotion, although it is in the axis of goods/information sharing and motivation for freecycling. These examples can be interpreted as an indication that the transition among the fields of capital is becoming more fluid and transient with digital culture.

Finally, if it is necessary to evaluate the problems which emerged during the research design stage, it can be seen that there is a direct correlation between the rules and boundaries of the field and acceptance within the field. Actors' motivation to share and comment focuses on meeting requests for freecycling and appreciation/approval. The variables that determine the level of commenting on the shares are the urgency, importance and attractiveness of the issue. It is clear that the actors support their content especially with video or photography in order to draw attention to the shares. The main determinants of the symbolic capital of interactive communication can be summarized as participation motivations, tendencies, inclinations and skills. Although there are exemplary studies defining especially the production of capital for Twitter and Facebook users in the media studies, this study is a pioneer in terms of addressing the issue with a focus on the impact of the field and capital construction on the habits of closed groups. In this context, this study is expected to contribute to the literature by providing inspiration for further research to be conducted with empirical data.

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CHAPTER 8

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION IN MARKETING: A SAMPLE REVIEW ON KID INFLUENCER MARKETING AND TOY UNBOXING VIDEOS ON YOUTUBE

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses toy unboxing videos, used in child influencer marketing, as an example of digital transformation in marketing practice. In these videos, the experience of the child while opening the toy box is combined with the promotion of the brand and turns into a persuasive object, an advertisement. The study adopts Çomu's discourse analysis application model in relation to video sharing networks, to analyze unboxing videos of LOL Surprise dolls shared on YouTube by Ecrin Su Çoban, a Turkish kids' influencer. The findings of the research indicated that toy unboxing videos are different from traditional advertising with a more convincing, seemingly genuine structure, and a high interaction power.

Keywords: Influencer marketing, kid influencers, toy unboxing videos

Introduction

With the advancement of digital technologies, marketing strategies performed through traditional media tools have shifted to digital media platforms. The capabilities of these new digital media platforms that are different from those of traditional media platforms affect the marketing strategies applied in these platforms, as well. This impact has led to a change and transformation in traditional marketing, and digital marketing strategies have come into existence.

Owing to the innovations brought by digitalization in particular, digital media has started to attract the attention of brands as a new advertisement environment. One of these innovations is the ability to reach the consumer without time and space constraints by using mobile technologies. Another is to be able to receive feedback from the consumer through content production of the user. The advantages of these innovations have led to certain changes in the traditional marketing understanding. In both traditional and digital marketing, the objective is to establish contact with the consumer and to create a positive brand image by informing them about products/services. In traditional marketing, traditional media channels (radio, television, cinema etc.) would be used for reaching the target audience. These media platforms only allowed for a unidirectional communication, and it was impossible to fully know to what extent it reached the consumer. Understanding the reactions of the consumers was only possible to a limited extent through consumer surveys. However, today, brands have the opportunity to know which social media platforms are followed by consumers in digital media environments, when and for how long they watch advertisements and what they like and dislike. Unlike traditional media platforms, digital technologies enable a more interactive and real-time communication by providing a higher amount of information and thus, have enhanced interaction among brands and consumers. The power of this new communication that can be established with the consumer has encouraged brands to use digital marketing strategies. These digital innovations have led to the emergence of new methods in marketing such as viral marketing, social media marketing, content marketing and influencer marketing.

With the transformation taking place in marketing due to digital media, the consumer, who was ‘passive’in the face of traditional media, has gained a more ‘active’ position thanks to the opportunities provided by digital media. Consumers can now easily get information about brands and can give feedback. Furthermore, they can share their experiences related to the brands in digital media environments, which have turned into public arenas. In this new era, figures called “micro-celebrity” or “influencer”, who stand out with their content

productions in digital environments and have high numbers of followers, have appeared. The posts of influencers are viewed by the other consumers, and since they are regarded to be frank, these posts become more influential than the messages of the brand itself. The trust and immense interest of consumers in these posts have created an opportunity for marketers to reach those consumers who do not trust traditional advertisements anymore. As the brands have started to prefer cooperating with the influencers who have the most effective feedback production in digital media, a new marketing strategy, which is thought to be more influential on the consumers, has emerged. This strategy, which would be described as "word of mouth marketing" in traditional marketing, has gained strength and turned into "influencer marketing."

Although advertisements as a strong component of marketing still play a crucial role in marketing, they have gained new forms and undergone changes, as well. The product promotion videos shared by influencers as a result of their contracts with brands can be considered as an example for such advertisements. In these videos, experiences of the influencer, who uses the product, are explained along with features of the product, recommendations or comments. Fans/followers of these figures known as influencer closely follow these videos and write comments under the videos. Influencer marketing is found more convincing and frank by the consumers when compared to traditional advertisements. As products for children constitute an important market and influencers generate a significant amount of advertising revenue, the number of kid influencers has recently increased.

For a brand, the suitability of the influencer to the product and target audience is important. This is a factor increasing the frankness and credibility of experiences and comments for the consumers. Therefore, toy brands prefer kid influencers. In digital media, YouTube, a video sharing platform, stands out as the most commonly used digital media platform for influencer marketing videos. In this study, a toy unboxing video, which is a method of kid influencer marketing commonly used by toy companies throughout the world, was examined as an example of digital transformation in marketing. In these videos shared on kid influencer channels, the experience of the kid while opening the toy box is shared, and the brand is advertised. In recent years, toy-unboxing videos have become more popular on YouTube. As is the case in the world, influencer marketing and toy unboxing videos are commonly used and have high ratings in Turkey, as well. For this study, the toy unboxing video posted by a kid influencer named Ecrin Su Çoban from Turkey on her YouTube channel about the dolls of the L.O.L. Surprise brand was analysed. L.O.L. Surprise toy unboxing videos are popular videos, which are commonly posted and watched on YouTube by children. In the study, the "discourse analysis application model in video sharing networks", which is a method adapted

by Çomu (2012) from van Dijk's discourse analysis method, was used as the research method.

Teun A. van Dijk (1988) describes critical discourse analysis as an interdisciplinary study that covers many disciplines, the subject of which is human and society (Dedeoğlu, 2013, p. 43). This method allows the evaluation of discourse at a micro and macro level. While defining a new advertising format at micro level, the study analyzes the positioning of the child in advertising at the macro level in the context of advertising ethics and consumption culture.

Digital Transformation in Marketing

Digital technologies have led to transformations in marketing methods and advertising forms. This transformation has essentially resulted from the lifestyle changes of consumers, that is, the use of internet has entered into every aspect of life from access to information to shopping and also, digital technologies have paved the way for new marketing forms.

One of the impacts of this transformation is in the way of communication. That is, while brands would establish one-sided mass communication in traditional marketing, now they can establish real-time and interactive communication with consumers in social media platforms. Now brands can be present in digital environments like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube etc., have followers and can communicate with them.

Jenkins states that "in the world of media convergence, every important story is told, every brand is sold, and every consumer is courted through various media platforms." He also articulates that consumption has become a collective process (Jenkins, 2016, pp. 19-20). For this reason, brands that want to be in constant contact with their consumers sometimes need to create content that does not directly contribute to brand value or have an impact on sales, but that is interesting to consumers. However, users don't take time to watch the content if they don't find the content attractive, sincere and relevant. The most watched and followed channels on YouTube are user- generated content (Kotler, 2017, p. 170). Those that produce user-derived content on social media platforms and have a fan base are called 'video bloggers', 'youtubers' or, more commonly, 'influencers on YouTube'. "Social media have also bred a new form of celebrity: online influencers with huge fanbases and whose opinions can affect those of their followers" (Coates, Hardman, Halford, Christiansen, & Boyland, 2019).

Influencer Marketing

"Influencer" means "effect" as a word. The phenomena (social influencers) that have attracted the admiration of the followers in social media have started to be used by brands in

order to direct consumers' attention to the brand or increase their interest in the brand. Another reason for this is the increase in importance filtering in internet usage. Consumers exposed to intensive information bombardment can eliminate junk content through personalization options and resort to software that prevents increased commercial messages (Ryan, 2016, pp. 19-21). Social media marketing that is capable of overcoming this obstacle becomes significant. Blocking branded content in the virtual environment leads marketers to the influencers that consumers follow willingly. In social media advertising, there are some influencers that attract consumers' attention. In a period when trust and follow-up rate towards ads is decreasing, the advertisement is made by taking advantage of the popularity of the influencer. It is believed that the influencers have attracted the attention of consumers with the products and services they share on their pages as opinion leaders. For this reason, brands frequently prefer to collaborate with these phenomena (Sarıtaş, 2018, p. 67).

The impact of both social media on consumers and its meaning is increasing day by day. The power of influencer marketing stems from the consumer's different perception of this message in advertising. This is because knowing that the person speaking about the brand / product is also a consumer who uses the product gives confidence to other consumers. Followers find the advertisement sincere, impartial and reliable because they know that influencer is a person who buys and experiences the product (Coates et al., 2019). It also allows the social media- advertising message to spread quickly, be popular and interact with the consumer.

Data related to Google trends in 2016 indicate that 86% of marketers found influencer marketing effective. In the new marketing world, which has evolved with the increase in the number of advertising blockers, the decrease in the viewing rates of traditional media such as TV and the steady rise of social media, brands grow their share in the pie chart through influencer (Powered by, 2017). Back in 2015, there were just 190 influencer platforms and agencies. This grew to 335 in 2016, 420 in 2017, and 740 in 2018 - more than two years ago (Influencer Marketing Hub, 2019).

Celebrities have always been used in marketing activities. Celebrities on social media platforms are differently defined. "Micro celebrity" was first conceptualized in 2008 by Senft. Micro celebrity is used as a set of mentality and practices in which the audience is seen as a fan base. The influencer is also classified as a micro-celebrity (Saritas, 2018, p. 66). However, influencers defined as a 'micro-celebrity' are regarded to be more convincing and sincere than cinema, music or TV stars.

"Celebrity practitioners reveal what appears to be personal information to create a sense of intimacy between participant and follower, publicly acknowledge fans, and use language and cultural references to create affiliations with followers. Interactions with other celebrity practitioners and personalities give the impression of candid, uncensored looks at the people behind the personas" (Marwick & Boyd, 2011, pp. 140-141). Influencers should carefully manage their social media accounts and keep up to date, in order to ensure that their followers continue to follow thems and to increase the number of followers.

It is thought that influencers affect the followers of the products and services they have shared on their pages. Aslan and Ünlü concluded in their studies that (2016, p. 63):

> "It would not be wrong to point out that advertisers and brands consider influencers as an important advertising medium and in this sense, they take advantage of the effects of influencers on their followers. For the new advertising concept, which takes an interactive form, the way that the phenomena establish with the followers constitutes an important opportunity in terms of advertising opportunities. It is possible to say that the advertisers and brands also take advantage of the two-way communication that Instagram influencers establish with their followers."

Influencers have many followers and likes. Based on what your followers want, content is created to meet the expectations of the followers. Keeping their accounts up-to-date and frequently sharing and commenting enables them to increase the number of followers and to attract constant attention from followers. The kind of followers the influencer has is an important point for the enterprise. It is important for the success of influencer marketing that the company selects the influencers that have the followers suitable for the target audience of its products (Özgüden, 2018, p. 81). Kid influencers are therefore suitable options for toy brands whose target audience is children. Traditional advertising is also made by appropriate media planning to reach the target audience. However, it cannot be precisely measured whether the audience is watching the ad. In this sense, YouTube kid Influencer marketing provides an advantage over other ads in terms of reaching the target audience, as well as the effect level and measurement.

The influencer to be chosen is very important while implementing influencer marketing that means enterprises conduct marketing activities through influencers. Generally, businesses consider people with more followers as opinion leaders as the high number of followers enables them to spread information to more people. Influencers are very well aware of their followers and their expectations. Therefore, companies aiming to realize influencer marketing should rely on the ideas of their influencers and take their ideas into consideration while creating content. The content is supposed to be prepared according to the target audience. The

low number of followers of the influencers does not mean the influencer has less interaction. The influencer should keep the content up to date and be in constant communication with its followers. In social media, people love influencers that spend their time on them. When choosing an influencer, it is important to choose the appropriate influencer for the target audience of the brand in order to make influencer marketing successful. It is necessary to work with influencers that produce appropriate content for the brand and products of the enterprise. Influencer marketing is a form of recommendation-based marketing. The sharing of influencers is perceived by its followers as sharing experiences and recommendations. Therefore, it acquires success. In fact, the importance of influencer marketing also emerges at this point. Research reveals that consumers trust the advice of micro-celebrities on YouTube 70 percent more than celebrities in traditional media. In influencer marketing, influencers create their own content and produce content by using their creativity and acting in accordance with the tastes of their followers (Özgüven, 2018, p. 78).

YouTube is defined as an enormous, free, searchable database that can be easily accessed by all humanity (Crick, 2016, p. 63). In addition, it is a medium that can be accessed from all of the mobile communication devices and from anywhere with an internet connection. Therefore, children have the opportunity to reach this medium easily and use it actively. In addition to its features which are different from traditional media, it is used as a more flexible media channel where movies, series and music videos can be watched, like TV. The first approaches to the market YouTube started in August 2006 when advertising concepts were launched to companies. Today over 2 billion videos are watched every day on Youtube ("History of Monetization...," 2010).

The number of followers and views is an important criterion for the commercial income of the influencer. This means spending a significant amount of time and effort. This is different when it comes to kid influencers. Children who have to shoot a new video every day to maintain the number of followers spend a lot of energy and time. This reduces children's play, education, recreation and socialization time. Children work as if they were working on a daily basis. These children, most of whom are young, are not encouraged by their parents to work with commercial concerns in terms of children's rights and advertising ethics. At the same time, these videos are regarded as successful to the extent that they are appreciated and watched. The psychological consequences of the appreciation or dislike of the child requires another kind of assessment. The legal arrangements for children's participation in advertising do not cover social media advertising environments in many countries. Millions of underage children take part in social media as users and producers.

The results of the EU Kids Online project, which aims to determine the Internet usage rates and practices of children in 29 European countries, revealed that the Internet presents children with various risks and opportunities. According to the results of the research, there has been a significant increase in internet use of children since 2010. Children are doing more and more activities such as watching videos, uploading videos, playing games and communicating. The use of internet for children presents many opportunities as well as some risks. EU Kids Online research results showed that the use of the Internet for children offers a number of advantages such as the access to global information, entertainment, user-generated content, educational support, technology literacy, and so on. However, the results of the research revealed that the use of the Internet for children includes risks such as violence and sexual harassment, hate speech, gambling, violation of privacy and exposure to advertising / commercial content (Livingstone & Hasebrink, 2011).

The needs and habits of today's children, which we also call generation Z, differ from the old generations growing up with traditional media. Studies on the effects of traditional media on children today has focused on the effects of new media channels. In the late 1950s, discussions focused on the negative effects of television on children, and in the 1990s, they turned to violent and sexual television programs, films and video games. As we approach the 2020s, children living in urban areas have the opportunity to have computers, laptops, tablets or mobile phones. Digital media gives them access to all kinds of information through social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc.), video sharing networks (YouTube, TikTok etc.), gaming applications and search engines. Watching funny videos, playing games, sharing videos and photos has become the daily routine of children as well as adults. A channel that can reach so many children every day is of course regarded by advertisers as a great opportunity.

Looking at digital advertising environments by the user, it is likely to note that it catches the consumer when they are vulnerable. Recognizing these new types of commercial advertising, which are quite compatible with the unique nature of the new media, is particularly difficult for children with little experience in advertising. "In social media, marketing is typically embedded into engaging and entertaining media content, which actively encourages children to share these experiences with peers (Coates et al., 2019)". These marketing strategies, which can interfere with game, entertainment and information messages, cause children to be positioned not only as spectators but as consumers. In particular, influencers are effective in marketing unhealthy foods to children (Coates et al., 2019). Another area where children are positioned as consumers is the toy industry.

The emergence of the toy unboxing influencer in the world has raised parents' concerns about children's access and participation in social media. Although there is no regulation on toy unboxing videos in the United States, regulations have been introduced to protect children against deceptive advertising content online. In 1998, the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) required that the FTC issue and enforce regulation concerning children's online privacy. This rule limits platforms, websites and applications from collecting personal data about children under 13 years of age, which could be made available to third parties like advertisers. In 2015, the FTC issued an Enforcement Policy Statement on Deceptively Formatted Advertisements, including 'advertorials', 'online advertising' or 'sponsored content' (Craig & Cunningham, 2017, p. 80).

Atalay (2019) states that "in new media platforms, children have gained the position of pro-consumer; not only receiving messages but producing messages, and they are affected negatively". In his study, Atalay (2019) focuses on the potential risks of children being content-producing on these platforms through the example of "Babishko Family Fun TV" broadcasting on YouTube that is the most frequently used social media platform in Turkey. He reveals that the child's life is shaped according to the capitalist market conditions due to being placed in the "influencer" position, the socialization process is interrupted and forced to act with activities and intentions that are not suitable for cognitive development (Atalay, 2019, p. 179). However, Article 50 of the Turkish Constitution points out that "Nobody can perform work that is not appropriate when compared to their age, gender and strength. Minors and women and those with physical and mental disabilities are particularly protected in terms of working conditions" (Turkish Republic Constitution). Furthermore, the fact that children's mind structures differ from adult perception and cognition level requires that they be protected from content and behavior that are not suitable for their developmental processes. Therefore, the International Children's Rights Convention accepted by the United Nations and Turkey was prepared. This Convention aims to protect children from all forms of ill- treatment and exploitation, including their families.

Digital advertising environments that emerge with digital technologies also require traditional advertising types to comply with ethical rules. However, the rapid development of online activities and their ambiguous effects lead to delays and insufficiency of related legal regulations although laws related to the protection of consumers, the arrangement of e-trade and the protection of user from harmful content exist in Turkey. Children need to be protected with new regulations both in terms of exposure to content and their role in the production of content. As YouTubers/Influencers, children with high financial income

are forced to work by their families for commercial purposes. The analysis of the toy unboxing video in this study demonstrated that a child under the age of 13 often broadcasts through his channel by shooting videos almost like working hours and his parents earn income from this situation. There are a great number of cases like this. Children also share personal information about themselves in these videos. It is considered that there is a need for research and new legal regulations on the effect of this situation on the education, psychology and development of children.

Toy Unboxing Videos on YouTube

In today's market conditions, children are an important target audience. Even if they do not have the purchasing power, they have the power to affect the consumption behavior of their parents. Spending a lot of time in digital environments makes them an important target audience. The areas they are particularly interested in terms of entertainment are effective in identifying new trends and developing new marketing strategies (Atwood & Elton, 2003). One of these new advertising marketing methods is the unboxing videos created on the YouTube video sharing site.

Toy Unboxing videos, which are popular on YouTube today, actually started in the early 2000s before YouTube, with videos where young adults unboxed and commented on the features of the latest technology products on Unbox.it and unboxing.com. Later came the videos of young girls returning from the shopping center, opening the boxes of the products they bought and commenting on them (Craig & Cunningham, 2017, p. 78). These videos, which attracted the attention of the users, started to be seen in this channel with the launch of YouTube in 2005 and gained popularity. After 2010, videos were started to be produced not only technologically but also in many different fields. These videos, which attracted the attention of the toy industry in particular, began to be used as a new genre in toy commercials and became very successful. "The YouTube channel Fun Toyz Collector has 8 million subscribers and the channel's most viewed video, 'PlayDoh Sparkle Princess Ariel Elsa Anna Disney Frozen MagiClip Glitter Glider Magic Clip Dolls', has been watched nearly half a billion times as of August 2016" (Craig & Cunningham, 2017, p. 79). It was announced that the highest earning person on YouTube, the video sharing platform, was an 8-year-old. The influencer child's annual income is $22 million. A YouTube influencer child named Ryan shares his toy experiences on his channel Ryan Toys review. Sharing a new video almost every day, Ryan's account revenue has doubled in the past year. Ryan answers the question of why he's being watched so much as "because I am so funny". The channel, which was

opened by Ryan's family in 2015, now has more than 17 million subscribers ("YouTube'un en çok…," 2018).

This new type of literature, which is becoming widespread in digital marketing and which makes a big profit, is tried to be described in the literature. Nicoll and Nansen (2018) describe toy-unboxing videos on YouTube as "mimetic production". According to them, "Toy unboxing videos are a popular genre on YouTube, the video- sharing platform where children and adults record that they open and review a variety of commercial toys" (Nicoll & Nansen, 2018).

Craig and Cunningham (2017) state that although toy unboxing has become a major phenomenon, identification studies such as "advertising" or "advertorials" are insufficient (Craig & Cunningham, 2017, p. 78). According to them, the toy-unboxing phenomenon is defined as commercial advertising videos in the form of children's toys being taken out of the box, assembled and displayed by children on social media platforms (Craig & Cunningham, 2017, p. 77).

In the field of digital marketing, Toy box marketing is so developed that agencies serving in this field have emerged. These agencies serve brands to find and manage the kid influencer. ToyBox Marketing and Management Agency reveals that "With a changing media landscape and youth ages five to 15 watching YouTube more frequently than television, brands targeted to children have to change how they advertise to reach their audience more effectively. This is giving rise to a need for more kid influencers" (ToyBox Marketing…, 2019).

L.O.L. Surprise babies are a brand of MGA Entertainment. Other products of the brand are L.O.L. There is also a special web page for the L.O.L. Surprise brand like other products owned by the brand (https://lolsurprise.mgae.com/). This page introduces all products of the toy series. The video section of the page contains "unboxed "videos for each toy. In these videos, one or two daughters unbox L.O.L. Surprise packages and introduce dolls and other accessories such as clothes, shoes, furniture. It is understood that these commercials, which are similar to unboxing videos on YouTube, were shot by professional production by the brand itself. USA- California origin brand MGA Entertainment brand official Van Nuys expresses that (https://www.mgae.com/press/lol- surprise-expands-ott-channel):

> L.O.L. Surprise! Entertainment content is currently available on the L.O.L. Surprise! YouTube channel to nearly one million followers with more than 330.1 million views to date and implies that L.O.L. Surprise toys are a global phenomenon with fun content and unboxing videos have become the YouTube trend.

Aim and Methodology

YouTube is a prominent social media platform for influencer/YouTuber creation. The fact that products for children create an important market and that advertising revenues of Influencers can reach serious figures leads to an increase in kid influencers. In YouTube, influencer marketing is used especially for toys. In these videos on the Kid influencer channels, the experience of unboxing the toy box is shared and the toys are advertised. Over the last few years unboxing videos on YouTube are often encountered as a popular genre. Influencer marketing and toy unboxing proliferate rapidly and the number of videos watched around the world is as much as in Turkey. The aim of this study is to analyze the marketing transformations in the digital marketing and advertising approach through the videos of toy unboxing marketing made by kid influencers on YouTube.

The study analyzed an unboxing video for a LOL surprise branded toy on the channel of Ecrin Su Çoban, a kid influencer with 903K subscribers (2019) from Turkey. Unboxing videos of L.O.L. Surprise toy are popular on YouTube as popular videos are watched and shot especially by children. In the study, the "discourse analysis application model in video sharing networks" in which van Dijk's discourse analysis method was adapted was used as the research method by Çomu (2012).

Teun A. Van Dijk (1988) describes critical discourse analysis as an interdisciplinary study that covers many disciplines, the subject of which is humans and society. Dijk states that discourse analysis should be handled not only with the formal aspect of the language or discourse used, but also within the social and cultural context (Dedeoğlu, 2013, p. 41). In this study, Van Dijk's discourse analysis method that was adapted to the interface (YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook) is used. The research is conducted by using the research method of Çomu (2012), who takes the YouTube interface as a text and adopts van Dijk's discourse analysis method as the "discourse analysis application model in video sharing networks."

Table 1: Discourse Analysis Application Model in Video Sharing Networks

A. Macro Structure
   1. Thematic Structure
      a. Title
      b. Video Description
      c. Tag/s
   2. Schematic Structure
      a. Status definition
         a. Narrative language of the video
         b. Results
         c. Background Information (Including previous event)
         d. Context Information

B. Micro Structure
   1. Syntactic Analysis
      a. Active or passive sentence structures
      b. Simple or complex sentence structures
   2. Regional Compliance
      a. Causal connection
      b. Functional relationship
      c. Referential relationship
   3. The selections of words
      (Metaphor, metonymy, connotations, etc.)
   4. Rhetoric
      a. Visual/s
      b. Convincing information

Source: (Çomu, 2010, p. 139)

According to Çomu and Halaiqa' (2014), van Dijk's discourse analysis is text-oriented rather than genre-oriented, making it possible to apply the analysis method on different text types other than news. As Van Dijk's analysis is possible to be applied to different types of text, it is the preferred method of text analysis in research carried out in the web 2.0 environment in Turkey (Çomu & Halaiqa).

YouTube has a lot of content and it is growing. The discourse analysis method used in the research is a highly comprehensive qualitative analysis method. Therefore, limiting the content of discourse analysis is important for conducting the research in a healthy way. The content to be analyzed has been selected from the videos of kid influencer channels, which have the highest number of followers and "user-derived content "on the YouTube video sharing network.

Findings

The analyzed YouTube video belongs to a 12-year-old girl named Ecrin Su Çoban. It is possible to call her a Youtuber and a kid influencer. After being recognized throughout the country in "The Voice Kids" in 2016, Ecrin (whose number of subscribers increased

and whose channels named Ecrin Su Çoban (903K subscribers) and Ecrin Su Çoban's Toy World (39K subscribers) were also recognized) has become a micro-celebrity. After gaining popularity as a YouTuber, she starred in a children's film. She also makes the promotion of the film with her own experience on her channel. Her YouTube channels broadcast videos of her experiences in daily life under different topics. The content of the channel named " Ecrin Su Çoban's Toy World " is as follows: "Games I play with my dolls. Stories and narratives adorned with creative dialogues based on fun imagination."

She shares her experiences with the children followers by combining the promotion of brands and products. She sometimes includes her followers in this sharing process. There is a video in which she watches a children's film that is released and then interviews live on the film. In the video she answers questions from her followers and tells them which brands of clothes she likes and prefers. The channel includes Vlog, challenge and unboxing toys and shopping videos. In addition to the videos that she has opened the boxes as gifts from the brands, she also shares the toy boxes of the brands she has bought in the videos. There are also unboxing videos related to toy brands such as Winx Club, L.O.L Baby, which are popular among girls.

The study analyzed one of her unboxing videos called "I make a collection of L.O.L. Surprise! – Hair Goals, Hair, Fuzzy Pets, Lils"

Table 2: Video Information	
Title	L.O.L. I'm MAKING THE SURPRISE COLLECTION! - Hair Goals, Hair, Fuzzy Pets, Lils "| Ecrin Su Çoban
Video description	Toy unboxing video, L.O.L. Surprise advertisement
Tag/s	-
Address	https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=8&v=TF3KTi6hOuI
Date	22 June 2019
Duration	16 minutes 46 seconds
The number of views	332.433 views
Like	8,5 K like, 1,6 K Dislike
Subscribers	903 K
Channel	Ecrin Su Çoban

Macro Structure

1. Thematic Structure

To describe the doll by unboxing L.O.L. Surprise toy box this is a subject of Ecrin Su Çoban's video, a kid influencer.

a. Title: She announces that she has a L.O.L. Surprise collection under the title of the video called “I HAVE A “L.O.L. SURPRISE COLLECTION! - Hair Goals, Hair, Fuzzy Pets, Lil

b. Video description: The video can be defined as toy unboxing which is a common genre on YouTube channels. In the video the kid influencer describes the subject of the video as toy unboxing. She describes the characteristics of babies by unboxing L.O.L. Surprises boxes that her mother bought for her.

c. Tag: There is a YouTube tag about the video.

Schematic Structure

a. Situation Description

1. The narration of the video language.

The narrative language of the video can be described as fun, cliff-hanging and enthusiastic. She states that she is very excited about her toy (or she will unbox a L.O.L. box). There is upbeat music and sound effects in the video background. You can hear the effects and packaging sound during the unboxing. The toy box and its parts are unboxed one by one and each stage is demonstrated. Opening the boxes is part of the process of playing with the toy. Each LOL Surprise toy has at least 4-5 layers of packaging, including small “clues” about what part of the doll’s collection will come out of the box, such as clothes, buckles, shoes, miniature water bottles or stickers. At every stage, the influencer expresses her enthusiasm and ideas about the toy to her friend in a friendly way. There is no pre-prepared text like the one in a commercial. In the video there is continuity. 6 toy packages are opened in the video. Every detail and feature of the dolls is practically described by the influencer. The video lasts 16 minutes and 46 seconds and is much longer than a commercial. Each baby’s name is displayed on the screen.

Results

Ecrin, as a Kid Influencer, shows the L.O.L Surprise boxes that were bought by her mother to the audience by unboxing them in this video and she makes a promotion of L.O.L. Surprise through this way. This is a video that tells you how beautiful the doll is and how much she likes it.

According to Barthes; “Every advertisement is a declaration” and each advertisement says one thing, which is the perfection of the advertised product (Barthes, 1999, pp. 188-189). In this video, repeated expressions for the product emphasize the excellence of the product.

Background Information

The Kid influencer states that she previously shot a similar L.O.L. doll video. It is possible to conclude that she shoots similar videos as she buys new toys and this is a toy promotional video. Different ads appear before and after the video. This indicates that the content is successful enough to receive advertising and has commercial value for marketing purposes.

Content Information

This analyzed video is an example of a marketing application as a toy unboxing video type. It is a new type of advertising because its content promotes a toy brand. Therefore, it is related to consumption culture. Since children who are born into digital culture and frequently use this environment have been an important target audience in the recent years, kid influencers have been shooting toy unboxing videos in addition to the videos they tell about their life experiences. In this video, L.O.L. Surprise toys are introduced in detail.

Micro Structure

1. Syntactic analysis

a. Active/passive sentence structures: Sentences have an active structure.

b. Simple/complex sentence structures: Since the influencer is a child, the sentence structures in the video are short and simple. Daily spoken language is used. Formed sentences and instant comments indicate that there is no pre-prepared text. The influencer does not repeat a text previously prepared by copywriters, as in an advertising film. The expressions she uses are authentic.

2. Regional Adaptation

The video is intended for followers in Turkey. Making collection and the L.O.L. Surprise unboxing ritual that are the subjects of the video has become a common phenomenon in the country. The language and expressions used throughout the video implies the audience is familiar with it.

3. Word selections (metaphor, metonymy, connotations etc.):

All the details related to the packages of the product to the baby are described with expressions such as “very beautiful, wonderful, and amazing”. One of the expressions that is repeated in the video is “really beautiful”. This expression can be interpreted as an effort to increase the sincerity and credibility of the experience narrated by the influencer. Numerous metaphors are used throughout the video. The influencer associates dolls with a mermaid,

an accessory with a gold necklace, and the toy box with hair spray. These metaphors and descriptions reveal the natural and childlike character of comment.

4. Rhetoric

a. Visual/s: In the analyzed video, the table is at the forefront. The L.O.L. Boxes of Surprise Toys are placed on the table. The brand of toys is clearly visible. A Kid influencer, Ecrin sits behind the table. With a stylish, colorful dress and combed long hair, she looks nice and cute. There are some just visible items in the background. The location of the video is not fully grasped from the visuals. But it can be a home environment. There is no professional studio image.

During the video, when the toys' box is opened, the toys that come out of the box are shown to the audience. The name of the toy is shown on the screen with pink and sparkling labels. Thus, the audience can learn the name of which piece in the collection. Narration in the video is supported by visual effects from time to time. A statement "the sound and animation effect is used" is placed at the bottom of the screen.

b. Convincing Information: In the video, the kid influencer makes comments about the experience of unboxing the toy box and the toy itself. In these comments, she uses expressions that describe how exciting it is to open the toy box. Since the toy box consists of layers, these comments are made for each layer. Due to these comments, the video takes 16 minutes and 46 seconds. This is much longer than a standard commercial. For dolls and accessories, the influencer uses expressions such as "very nice "and" very sweet ". She tries to convince her followers about the doll by comparing the softness of the doll's hair with her own hair and making comments like "there really is no difference". This is where the influencer's persuasion power comes into play. Because she is the same age as her followers and she likes to play with dolls and own them. Her behavior and sincere comments have a positive and reassuring effect on the audience. Some of them are: "Really good, I didn't expect it to be so beautiful." Much higher than I expected". In addition, the color features of the doll, such as color change in water, are demonstrated through an experiment in water.

Discussion and Conclusion

A significant transformation in marketing is in question as a result of digitalization. The advantages of social media in reaching the target audience are the main reasons for this transformation. In this new environment, it is possible to establish a more trustworthy communication with consumers who are developing awareness against the forms of advertising in traditional media. The most effective method in this regard is influencer

marketing. Digital marketers have realized the impact of influencer messages on brands on social media platforms and started to use these media as advertising channels. A great number of studies have been carried out in terms of defining influencer marketing and understanding its impact (Warwick & Boyd, 2011; Aktaş & Şener, 2019; Aslan & Ünlü, 2016; Özgüven, 2018; Sarıtaş, 2018). Children born in the digital age are candidates to become the most frequent users of social media. Particularly entertaining and funny content attracts their attention. These types of content have started to be used by brands as a marketing area. YouTube channels of influencers that children and adolescents intensively follow appear as new advertising environments. Advertising videos, including the opening of boxes of food and toys by influencers are featured as a new type of advertising on YouTube. Children think that experiences of influencers that are users like them are more sincere and fun. Here advertising messages are embedded in fun media content. Studies have shown that influencer marketing significantly increases the consumption of children (Coates et al. 2019; Attwood & Elton, 2003). One of these new genres is toy unboxing videos. Especially on YouTube influencer channels, the number of toy unboxing videos is increasing day by day and the rate of watching by children is high. Studies are being conducted to identify the interest and impact of toy unboxing videos (Nicoll & Nansen, 2018; Craig & Cunningham, 2017). There is a need for studies to understand the relationship between these videos, which have become a common type of advertising, and children and users as influencers. In this study, it is aimed to define toy unboxing videos as an advertisement type and to understand the relationship of this genre with the consumption by children. Toy unboxing videos are digital marketing methods that are used by toy brands in Turkey as well as in the world. They have been growing rapidly since 2005 as an increasingly popular type of advertising on YouTube. The aim of the analysis was to understand the differences of digital advertising from traditional advertising and the role of children. The most important difference of toy unboxing videos is that it is user-derived content. The advertiser is also the user of the product. Children play a role when the product is a toy. This means that they are micro-celebrities defined as children, are famous and have a certain fan base thanks to the YouTube channels. (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). They are defined as influencers because they are effective in influencing the opinion of their followers. Kid Influencers are preferred by toy brands because of their impact on children who are the target audience (Craig & Cunningham, 2017). For their followers they are someone who experiences the toy as a child and shares their sincere ideas. Toy unboxing videos are very different from toy ads. Videos are much longer and more detailed. The most prominent feature is the excitement of opening a new toy box. The video analyzed in the study has the characteristics of toy unboxing. The kid influencer named Ecrin Su Çoban

shares the experience of opening L.O.L. Surprise boxes in a fun and exciting way with its followers. This is important for L.O.L. Surprise brand. Because. It is not known which doll will come out of the boxes before the L.O.L surprises are opened. The toy box consists of layers, each with different surprises. The influencer, who opens the box, is admired, so her views on the toy give her followers an idea of the toy. Since video is shot in the influencer's living spaces, it is much more convincing and different from the advertising format. The fact that the influencer is a child and the toys she introduces are suitable for her age group increases the sincerity and credibility of the video. For the child watching the video, getting advice from a friend she likes can have the effect of taking care of her toy. Commercial agreements of influencers with brands are not possible to be understood due to the video's non-commercial format. Therefore, it is possible to say that they are much more effective than advertising. In addition, these videos are much longer than advertisements and can be repeatedly watched and optionally shared. The effect of video is also much easier to measure than traditional advertising.

In summary, it is possible to state that, in parallel with the digital transformation in marketing, brands have found new ways to reach consumers, and these new ways allow more communication and interaction when compared to traditional methods.

When the video analyzed an example in this study is addressed especially in terms of advertising, it can be argued that influencer-marketing posts are faster, more practical, more effective and more cost-effective when compared to traditional advertisements.

Within the scope of kid influencer marketing, toy unboxing videos have a more sincere and natural narrative language allowing for improvisation in comparison to advertisements. These videos provide brands with an opportunity to shorten and facilitate all stages planned during a traditional advertisement planning process (message, scenario, cast, creative strategy, media planning, budgeting, measurement etc.). The message, information and all positive sentiments that the brand wants to convey about the toy take place when the kid opens the toy box and plays with the toy. When needed, the video can be enriched with animation, sound and visual elements. Furthermore, these videos are natural, convincing, entertaining and detailed in comparison to advertisements. Kid influencer videos are generally long enough for the kid to comment on every detail of the doll from its packaging to necklace. Such a length is too much and costly for a TV commercial, and no commercial film can attract attention and be watched for such a long time. On the other hand, on YouTube, these videos are watched with interest by followers until the end. Also, YouTube allows followers to re-watch, like and share videos. In toy unboxing videos, the influencer establishes a natural interaction with the

audience. Subscribers of the channel comment under the videos, and this shows that they are involved in the process. In the video examined, when the influencer asks her followers which doll is more beautiful, they express their opinions sincerely in the comments. This brings another advantage for brands. Measuring the impact of the video is much easier and clearer than traditional advertisements. Digital technologies enable brands to receive instant feedback on rating, likes and comments.

The YouTube channel of Ecrin Su Çoban examined in this research bears resemblance to the kid influencer channels throughout the world. However, there is less production intervention in our case. Thus, it can be argued that it is a more natural video. In Turkey, toy unboxing videos are high in number and have different versions. These posts include videos where several children comment on a toy together, toy challenge videos and videos where young kids are directed by their parents. In these videos, generally users with small numbers of followers shoot their videos in the home environment with their mobile phones. On the other hand, Ecrin Su Çoban can be classified as a kid influencer when the number of her followers, frequency of video posts, and quality and types of videos are considered. She performs in commercials and films as micro-celebrity. Apart from toy unboxing videos, she has plenty of videos where she shows her daily life and explains different games and toys, and she regularly posts videos on her channel. This shows that she devotes time to these videos in a regular manner. The impact of the time allocated to such videos on children like Ecrin and those younger than her needs further research.

In the light of the information obtained in the study, it is concluded that toy unboxing videos can be used increasingly as a marketing type by toy brands in the future due to all these advantages. The rates of internet use are high both in Turkey and in the world and the age for children to start using internet is falling fast, and these facts will surely have an impact on this marketing strategy. The inclusion of children in marketing activities as both user and content producer as of young ages is controversial in terms of its impact on child development. Furthermore, high advertising revenues obtained through kid influencers is risky as this may cause families to consider their children as a source of income.

Toy unboxing videos are a successful type of digital marketing and are promising for brands. However, different disciplines are required to shed light on its effects on the development of children and their relationship with consumption. The results of this research are highly likely to lead to the preparation of the necessary legal arrangements to protect children from damage caused by commercial concerns.

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CHAPTER 9

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND FAKE NEWS: IS THIS THE END OF DEMOCRACY?

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ABSTRACT

Social media is increasingly used to spread misinformation, so-called fake news, potentially threatening democratic processes and national interests. Developments in the area of artificial intelligence (AI) have rendered this trend even more pronounced. This chapter looks at social media and how they moved from being regarded as a positive force in the public sphere to a negative one. AI will be explained, and its potential in the context of social media will be decrypted. Consequently, AI, social media, and fake news will be analysed and the apparent threat to democratic functions explored. Finally, this chapter proposes how AI can also be used to safeguard democracy.

Keywords: Artificial intelligence, fake news, social media

Introduction

Approximately ten years ago, it was said that social media would restore the power to citizens, particularly to consumers (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Information can rapidly be disseminated on platforms such as Twitter (Kaplan, 2012; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2011), Facebook, and the like. Using such platforms, democracy could be experienced more directly and in a more participatory manner. For example, during the Arab spring – a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed rebellions against oppressive regimes that spread across North Africa and the Middle East in late 2010 – social media played a determinant role by facilitating communication and interaction among participants of these protests.

However, within just a decade, social media – newly powered by artificial intelligence and big data –went from being a facilitator of democracy to a serious threat of the same, most recently with Facebook: Through the Cambridge Analytica data scandal, the world understood the power of these tools to undermine democratic mechanisms. The political consultancy Cambridge Analytica used several million Facebook users' data to successfully influence and manipulate public opinion in such events as the 2016 US presidential election and the 2018 Brexit referendum. This consequently created an outcry and public discussion on ethical standards for social media companies, data protection, and the right to privacy.

Social media are indeed increasingly used to spread targeted misinformation, or so-called fake news, in order to manipulate entire groups of people. The rapid developments in the area of artificial intelligence (Haenlein & Kaplan, 2019; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2019; 2020) in particular, and the digital sphere in general, will render this trend even more pronounced. Instead of fake news via text only, in the future everyone will be able to produce videos where one can insert one's own words into another's speech, making the latter appear to say things which s/he never would have said in reality. Actually such deepfakes already exist. Imagine Photoshop for audio and video content. Just about anybody might and will be able to create videos where people seemingly say something that they never actually uttered.

This chapter firstly takes a brief look at social media and how they moved from being a positive force to becoming a negative one. Also, artificial intelligence will be briefly explained, and its potential in the context of social media will be decrypted. In a second section, how artificial intelligence, social media, and fake news represent a danger to democracy will be discussed, as well as the various ways they are applied for the purpose of undermining democratic mechanisms. Thirdly, this chapter shows how artificial intelligence can also be used to safeguard democracy. It also gives insights into how to fight fake news, deepfakes,

or simply targeted misinformation. This chapter concludes with food for thought as to what a future might look like where AI potentially dominates politics.

Social Media Powered by Artificial Intelligence and Big Data

Social media are defined as "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). They can be classified into collaborative projects (e.g., Wikipedia; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2014), micro- blogs/blogs (e.g., Twitter), content communities (e.g., YouTube), social networks (e.g., Facebook), virtual game worlds (e.g., *World of Warcraft*), and virtual social worlds (e.g., *Second Life*; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2009). They have doubtlessly begun to play a significant part in all sectors, from business to education, and from public administration to politics (Kaplan, 2017, 2015, 2014b).

Entertainers such as Britney Spears have built their communication strategies entirely around social media (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2012). In academia, social media are increasingly integrated into courses (Kaplan, 2018; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2016; Pucciarelli & Kaplan, 2016). Several public administrations make use of Facebook, Twitter, and the like, for example the European Union actively makes use of social media with the objective of creating a sense of European identity among its approximately half a billion citizens (Kaplan, 2014a). Finally, in politics, social media have been part of the game for more than a decade. Social media communications were a key element in Barack Obama's presidential campaign, which led to his first election in 2008.

At their advent, social media were considered an opportunity for democratic mechanisms, a booster for democracy, and a source of citizen empowerment (Deighton et al., 2011). They still are, as exemplified by the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment and sexual assault which was begun solely by individuals and rapidly went viral with the help of social media. Public administrations use social media to interact with their citizens, to foster citizen participation and collaboration, to increase transparency and information dissemination, and much more. For example, in 2018 when the UK Royal Navy wanted to increase public awareness its role it created several Instagram stories wherein Lieutenant Matt Raeside responded to various queries concerning work conditions and the recruitment process. Undemocratic regimes have been challenged by their citizens who have resorted to social media to voice their disapproval and to organize demonstrations, even entire revolutions. In authoritarian regimes the regular media is ordinarily supervised by the state, and thus it is usually impossible to disseminate critique thereby. Yet via social media it has become possible

to do so, as was observed when the Arab Spring began in Tunisia, and Facebook, Twitter, and others enabled the organizing of mass protests, finally leading to dictator and president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali being forced into exile.

However, with the advent of artificial intelligence and big data, social media have increasingly evolved toward constituting a potential threat to democracy. Artificial intelligence (AI), defined as "a system's ability to correctly interpret external data, to learn from such data, and to use those learnings to achieve specific goals and tasks through flexible adaptation" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2019, p. 17), can be divided into three types: analytical, human- inspired, and humanized (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2019). Analytical AI has characteristics consistent with cognitive intelligence only and such a system could learn the campaign platforms of various parties and respond to questions from citizens with respect to the contents. Human-inspired AI has elements of cognitive and emotional intelligence, i.e., understanding human emotions, in addition to cognitive elements, and uses these in its decision making. Such a system could use facial expression to detect when a citizen appears to have problems understanding a party's platform, and can providing him or her with more information. Humanized AI exhibits characteristics of all types of competencies (i.e., cognitive, emotional, and social intelligence), and is able to be self-conscious and self-aware in interactions with others. A humanized AI system could actually have a full-fledged discussion with the interested citizen, self-reflect on its own opinions, and form its own ideas about the various parties, including which one would best represent its own interests.

Within just a couple of years, the early promise of the internet and then of the social media revolution to provide a more transparent, democratic, and informed world devolved into an online environment where one cannot be sure of what is true and what is false. Russian interference in the 2016 US presidential election is broadly known. Also in several other elections such as those of Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, France, Germany, and Italy, there appears to be evidence of Russia manipulating voter outcome via fake news and misinformation posted on social media (Kamarck, 2018). With respect to Brexit, data scientists at the universities of Berkeley and Swansea discovered that more than 156,000 Russian Twitter accounts were used to disrupt the Brexit vote. During the last two days of the referendum alone, more than 45,000 such tweets were posted (Mostrous, Bridge, & Gibbons, 2017).

It is not only Russia which is making unethical use of social media. The far-right candidate of Brazil's 2018 presidential elections Jair Bolsonaro appears to have won partly due to having benefited from a disinformation campaign on WhatsApp (Tardáguila, Benevenuto, & Ortellado 2018). Creative yet fake pictures showed the opponent's party members posing

with Fidel Castro with the objective of positioning opposition leaders as radicals. Within a short period – perhaps a decade or so – social media went from being the tool which threw off the tyranny of state-controlled media and facilitated anti-regime demonstrations to being the platforms used by those same regimes to destroy or at least destabilize democracy in the West.

Threatening Democracy: Supervision, Manipulation, Frustration

Artificial intelligence represents a threat to democracy which needs to be taken seriously. There are at least three areas in which AI might be a danger to democratic life and mechanisms: supervision, manipulation, and frustration. Firstly, states now have very advanced means of controlling and supervising their citizens' daily behaviour, which could be abused by governments to limit freedoms. Secondly, citizens can increasingly be manipulated in their voting behaviour by ample use of artificial intelligence and social media. Thirdly and finally, such AI-driven supervision and manipulation can, in short, lead to citizens' frustration and their deciding to no longer take part in democracy.

Supervision

With respect to supervision, we will illustrate AI's possibilities using the example of China, whose government broadly embraces artificial intelligence technology in order to track, monitor, and control its citizens. The Chinese government collects individuals' big data from a variety of sources such as finance, tax, and health records. It monitors online purchasing behaviour, social media activity and information resulting from facial recognition via the country's approximately 200 million surveillance cameras. This data is then used to calculate an individual's "social credit score" which is supposed to give incentive to lawful behaviour and good citizenship. The score goes up for good behaviour such as donating blood, volunteering in a hospital, or repaying your loan on time. The opposite happens if you get a speeding ticket, if you fail to pay your taxes, or if you drop litter. Consequences of bad scores are non-eligibility for jobs in public administration, being turned down for loans, or even not being allowed to board an airplane. Good scores, in contrast, provide exemplary citizens with discounts on their electricity bills or a privileged access to health care (Marr, 2019).

Some might say that such a system is specific to China, and it is certainly correct that the Chinese credit score system is regime specific. However, other countries make use of artificial intelligence for surveillance purposes. The US police apply AI in order to predict where to send police to patrol as it can predict potential violent crime occurring. The algorithm even provides names of individuals who most likely will become either victims or perpetrators.

Consequently, the police might be asked to visit these identified individuals to warn them against engaging in illegal acts. The problem with such algorithms is that they are only as good as the data used to train them. If such data is biased, then so will the algorithm be in its suggestions and conclusions. Unfortunately, this was the case in the aforementioned application of AI, leading to undesirable results, such as identifying African- Americans as more prone to engage in illegal behaviour than other ethnic groups (Portilho, 2019). These examples show how much AI potentially threatens freedom in any democracy, even more so than in other regime types.

Manipulation

In addition to surveillance possibilities, AI-powered social media can be heavily abused and can become the tool which manipulates voting behaviour and beyond. Social media function on the basis of algorithms that provide content to each individual according to her behaviour on these social media platforms. Ultimately, we only see what we most likely enjoy seeing, i.e., if you're more into cats than dogs, you will most likely "like" more cat pictures than those of dogs on Facebook. The algorithm will learn this and consequently expose you to cat pictures only. What works with animals obviously also works for political views. Moreover, at some point you will get the impression that everybody else thinks as you do, as you will not be exposed to other opinions.

This in itself is obviously not conscious and targeted manipulation, at least not yet. But social media allow for hypertargeting, i.e., they feed very detailed information to one specific group of people. A political party could, for example, stress one of their campaign issues without giving the user the full picture. A party in favour of gun control and LGBTQ rights could, for example, provide a group of Facebook users who are in favour of stricter gun laws but not necessarily supporters of more LGBTQ rights, with information on its plans for gun restrictions only. As such, you can feed more or less everybody what they want to hear and read. As many people no longer watch TV news or read a newspaper, the only thing they would know about this specific party is its plans on gun control – which might be enough for them to vote for it.

The aforementioned case is a matter of unbalanced information and disclosing only part of the picture. However, there is also the aforementioned fake news, where candidates or their campaigns spread false information on their opponents on social media. If you see such misleading and false information on your Facebook feed and nothing else, at some point you will believe it, as you never or rarely see and read a counter-argument or a post citing it as

fake news. Thus in the three months prior to the 2016 US presidential election, the top 20 fake news stories on Facebook resulted in more comments, shares, and likes than did the top 20 news stories from 19 major news sources combined (including *The Huffington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*). Three quarters of those who read such fake news believed it to be true (Silverman, 2016).

This already shows the manipulative potential of fake news in text format. Now imagine so-called deepfakes, i.e., AI-based technology used to produce or alter audio or video content so that it presents something that did not, in fact, occur. With this technology it is possible to seemingly have Donald Trump say that he wants to ban all firearms in the US; or the Pope say that he is in favour of same-sex marriage. An AI-driven system could thus learn during a phone call the respective voter's preferences and adapt in real-time the conversation accordingly, using the voice of a politician, a celebrity, even a relative of yours pretending to be them. This could clearly lead to extreme manipulation in the future.

Frustration

A third effect of the abuse of AI on democracy is the frustration of citizens who at some point become non-voters and will no longer participate in political or democratic life. Due to no longer knowing what the truth is and what is fake, people might abandon participation completely. The more deceptions that occur and the more difficult the verification of content becomes, the more likely that people's trust in their institutions will continue to decrease.

An illustration of this can be given again in the case of the 2016 US presidential election. Some analyses show that Donald Trump won the election not because of more non-college-educated Caucasians voting than in preceding elections (as was often declared the reason for his victory), but due to a decrease in African-American voter turnout (Kamarck, 2018). The reason for some of this decrease can certainly be explained by Hillary Clinton not being Barack Obama. Nonetheless, one also could argue that African-American voter turnout should have stayed at least the same as in previous elections, as Trump's campaign should have made them vote for Clinton. A plausible explanation for this decline is provided in Robert Mueller's report, where one can read, "The Russians allegedly masqueraded as African-American and Muslim activists to urge minority voters to abstain from voting in the 2016 election or to vote for a third-party candidate" (Mosk, Turner, & Faulders, 2018). Fake African-Americans' social media accounts persuaded actual African-Americans to "Choose peace and vote for Jill Stein. Trust me: It's not a wasted vote" or pointed out, "We'd surely be better off not voting AT ALL" (Mosk, Turner, & Faulders, 2018).

Protecting Democracy: Technology, Regulation, Education

The previous section clearly shows that artificial intelligence definitively represents a threat to democracy. Next, three areas will be discussed that could help to avoid misuse of AI and to limit its danger to democracy: technology, regulation, and education. Technology and AI itself can be applied to detect unethical and illegal behaviour. Regulation will be necessary and can define voter manipulation and the dissemination of fake news. Finally, it will also be a question of how to educate (future) citizens and make them more conscious of the various manipulation techniques.

Technology

Just as artificial intelligence can be used to hyper-target individuals with fake news and the production of deepfakes, it can also detect them. AI can, for example, reverse-engineer the potentially manipulated data and restore video, audio, and pictures to their original states. AI can also be useful in detecting where the fake news originated by searching the cybersphere for similar content and thus drawing conclusions of who/where the author(s) might be located.

Much of such technology can already be found and is already being implemented: Facebook has hired third-party, independent fact checkers searching for misinformation. WhatsApp limits forwarding text to five recipients at a time in order to deliberately slow the potential dissemination of false information. Microsoft applies AI to develop trustworthy algorithms potentially applied for the detection of fake news. Services such as Storyful help to identify the truthfulness of trending stories across various social media, using journalists' and professional investigators' toolsets. TinEye, another online service, enables the verification of whether pictures are real or manipulated by applying reverse engineering and crawling through search engines to potentially identify full or partial matches of such pictures.

As the likely quantity of fake news will be impossible for humans to identify and analyse rapidly enough, AI technology will certainly become key in detecting and identifying it. This is also the opinion of the European Commission, as can be read in their communiqué, "Tackling online disinformation: A European approach" (European Commission, 2018). However, the Commission also warns that such an automated approach could also lead to falsely labelling truthful content as disinformation. Moreover, it would provide potential for undermining freedom of expression and, as such, democracy and democratic mechanisms.

Regulation

The use of artificial intelligence in combination with social media in particular, but also more broadly, must certainly be regulated. However, this is not an easy endeavour for several

reasons: Current regulation is not adapted to the challenges that AI poses, and new regulation often represents a trade-off for innovation. Regulation in some cases hinders and slows down creativity and invention. Moreover, regulation of fake news and misinformation can lead to censorship and restricted freedom of speech. In the words of political scientist Darrell West (2017), "Overly restrictive regulation of internet platforms in open societies sets a dangerous precedent and can encourage authoritarian regimes to continue and/or expand censorship", which would again obviously constitute a danger to democracy. Finally, the expertise of designing good regulation is simply missing with lawmakers, who are often older and not familiar with the latest digital advances.

Nevertheless, several countries have developed the early stages of regulation. France passed a new law in 2018 called 'Fight Against Information Manipulation" that compels online platforms to be transparent with respect to sponsored informational content, and furthermore with respect to the sponsor's name in cases where remuneration is above the threshold of €100. Additionally, the law provides the possibility of an emergency fast-track judicial procedure that fights the conscious dissemination of (false) content to potentially harm the fair process of an election.

However, for the moment at least, several countries count on self-regulation of social media actors. Several of the major platforms have indeed adopted various processes and mechanisms aimed at combating fake news, including the use of fact checkers (human or machine), the identification and flagging of such false information, the closing down of fake accounts or accounts applying bots, or the provision of facts and real information to counter fake ones. Facebook, for example, began flagging, but soon switched to demoting, i.e., the posting of potentially fake news is simply not prominently shown in users' newsfeeds. The flagging approach was abandoned as reactions from the community were vociferous against placing red warning labels next to potential misinformation. Also, Facebook deliberately decided against a strategy of removing fake news, as doing so could have been viewed as an attack on free speech. Therefore they defaulted to demoting.

Education

Education will definitely help citizens be more conscious of how social media can be misused in manipulation. Education also helps individuals to be more aware of data security and the possibilities and challenges triggered by big data. Ultimately, it is the individual who makes an evaluation and decision as to which content s/he believes. We doubtlessly can apply technology to potentially detect fake news and deepfakes, and we can also design more or less

effective regulation. Regardless, ultimately it is the citizen who is the final judge over what is reality or what is fake. Therefore, AI and big data, as well as the ethics involved in them, should be broadly integrated into curricula in order to foster empowered individuals ready for the Information Age.

Yet also those who have passed the age of school and university will need to be trained for our new world. A good example of this can be found in the Netherlands. In February 2019, the Dutch government launched a four-month online campaign right before the European Parliament elections, informing its citizens of the possibility of fake news. On the campaign's website one could read (Dutch government, 2018):

> Disinformation and fake news are a big problem in other countries. There are many different media in the Netherlands. And they show different sides of the news. As a result, fake news and disinformation in the Netherlands do not yet have much influence. But the government wants to prevent that from happening. Everyone in the Netherlands must remain critical and curious about where the news comes from. Check the tips to recognize the difference between fake and real news.

An example of a university having developed a news literacy program is the one at the Stony Brook University School of Journalism, which helps students to distinguish between fact and rumor, advertising and news, and so forth. Also, ESCP Europe Business School is progressively introducing courses on AI and its potential impact into its study programs. As an example of an industry player, Google recently developed a news initiative to enhance and teach digital literacy (Schindler, 2018). That education is definitely necessary is shown in a study by the German Max Planck Institute for Informatics wherein real videos and deepfakes of Barack Obama, Theresa May, and Vladimir Putin were shown to a group of respondents. More than 50% believed the fake videos to be authentic. In the case of Putin, 65% believed them to be real; and only 80% identified the real videos as actually being real (Kim et al., 2018).

Food for Thought: Instant Democracy and Machines as Democratic Leaders?

In this chapter we surveyed the change in the nature of social media which has been triggered and enabled by artificial intelligence as well as big data. We illustrated how such AI-enabled social media applications can mean a threat to democracy and democratic mechanisms by controlling and supervising citizens, manipulating voters, or simply frustrating them until they drop out of political life. Furthermore, we mentioned what has been shown to help protect

democracy, namely technological possibilities, (potential) regulation, and finally education. Ultimately, artificial intelligence and social media can constitute both an opportunity and a danger to democracy. It all depends on how they are used and by whom.

Artificial intelligence and big data provide an additional, even bigger, possibility, i.e., to potentially create a system wherein (human) political representation of the people is no longer needed. An AI-driven system could constantly collect and gather big data on the current opinions, preferences, and desires of a nation's people and citizens. Policy and decisions could reflect in-the-moment public interests and potentially represent these more accurately than within a system where political parties are elected for several years, drifting more or less away from public approval over time. The technology to do this already exists. You would not even need to issue precise queries to the citizenry on the relevant topics. A study by Wu, Kosinski, and Stillwell (2015) showed that computer- based judgments of one's personality are far superior to those of human beings. With only 10 of your likes, Facebook's algorithm will better predict your opinions than one of your colleagues. With 150 likes, it will do so more accurately than your own family. And with 300 likes, it will do so better than your spouse. This shows the future potential for AI-driven instant democracy.

The question is whether we would trust such a system. Or, might it be better or more trustworthy to be governed by machines than by humans? We already trust machines when we ask apps which political party best represents our interests given their platforms. One could argue that machines, in comparison to human politicians, might make more rational, fair, and evidence-based decisions. They appear to be less biased by personal interests, ideological extremism, narcissism, and the like, than are their human counterparts. This appears to be the opinion of a quarter of the respondents to a 2019 survey on Europeans' attitudes toward technology undertaken by the Center for the Governance of Change at IE University. Analyzing responses from 2,500 adults from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK, the study concluded that around 25% would actually prefer decisions to be made by artificial intelligence instead of politicians.

Obviously there are risks involved in such a system, such as manipulation or hacking. Moreover, we could definitely face a transparency issue, as we would not necessarily know or even understand exactly on what such a system would base its decisions, just to mention a few limitations. However, there is certainly room for listing similar risks for any human politician or political system.

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CHAPTER 10

THE DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF PAYMENT SYSTEMS: THE POTENTIAL FOR MOBILE MONEY TO ACHIEVE TURKEY'S 2023 GOAL AS CASHLESS SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

The government aims to make Turkey cash-free by 2023, yet despite the presence of necessary infrastructures, there is scant deployment of mobile money. Turkey has been slow to adopt mobile money systems, a category of cashless remittances. The chapter explores some of the reasons behind this lag, which include culturally-rooted practices and beliefs, contexts including patriarchy, and mistrust of banks. The researchers argue for improved development of mobile money systems in pursuit of social development goals, including poverty reduction, women's empowerment, financial inclusion, rural development, tax compliance, and tightening control of illicit trade.

Keywords: Mobile money, electronic payment systems, cash-free society

Introduction

Historically, money has been used not only as a means of exchange, but also as a means of communication. With spreading technological improvements, old definitions of money are being replaced with new definitions as digital money and other new financial technologies lead to the digitalization of economic exchange. In terms of the digitization of financial innovations, such developments can of course be related to the level of development of the countries, legal structures, and the regulation of the economy. Turkey shows great potential for economic development, considering its demographically young population and quick adoption of technologies (World Bank, 2016). Indeed, Turkey has a population of 82.32 million, Turkish GDP has reached US$10.380 per capita (World Bank, 2019), and Internet usage and Internet consumption is very high at around 29 hours weekly (Burnmark, 2017). Considering such characteristics, Turkey is a nation that has great potential for development and innovation regarding the digitalization of economic activities.

The year 2023 will mark the 100th Anniversary of the foundation of the modern Turkish Republic, and therefore, the nation has set a variety of macroeconomic and social development goals for this important historical milestone. Noted initiatives include such targets as the establishment of a cashless economy, a steep increase in GDP, revisions in financial laws and social regulations, and the reduction of social inequities. Given the noted goal for Turkey to become a cashless society, it is the digitization of remittances and other transactions which is needed. Mobile money systems, a digital financial innovation, has taken root in so many emerging markets, although such systems have been rarely adopted in Turkey. Given Turkey's high levels of economic and technical development, sophisticated banking sector, and extensive human capital development, it is puzzling why mobile money systems remain underdeveloped. This chapter provides a conceptual exploration of this issue, describing the global development of mobile money systems. The case of Turkey is explored, including explanations of why Turkey has been slow to adopt mobile money, while clarifying the unrealized potential of such systems in Turkey. The concluding remarks make an appeal for the development of mobile money systems in Turkey.

Money as Communication Medium and Its Digitization

Just as traditional social relations have experienced a digital transformation (that is, a migration from "real life" into the virtual sphere), economic relations in general, and remittance systems in particular, have become digital. One way of viewing money and its transference is as a form of communication, one which records and conveys value in past,

present, or future contexts. According to anthropologist Kevin Hart (2001, 2005), money is a form of collective memory, a storehouse for preserving social relations across time. This "memory bank" is used by people and organizations in their social and economic relations including record-keeping, communication of value, and as a medium of exchange. While traditionally such records have been maintained using physical means such as coinage or currency, as so many communication forms have rapidly become digital, financial records and transactions have similarly reflected the general trend toward digitization.

Over one hundred years ago, sociologist Georg Simmel already wrote about the information's exchange value in his classic pieces on money (1978 [1900]) and secrecy (1908). Thus, financial transactions and records are part of the collective memory of a society, as they provide a way of remembering past exchange relations, which can also be referenced in the present, or stored and leveraged for the future (Hart, 2001). On the other hand, the character of the money and the practice of financial relations has been associated closely in the modern era with the establishment of the formal banking system, both public and private (Galbraith, 2017). In the digital age, money's role as repository for information has become increasingly clear, especially as money has been exchanged via digital remittances, online transactions, and electronic account maintenance. In the 21st Century, the distinction between money as a measure of value and money as information has become blurred. As financial records and transactions become increasingly digitized, the boundary between money as a proxy for value and money as a unit of information becomes increasingly fuzzy.

Given the digitization of social relations generally and the ubiquity of mobile communications, there has been a noted growth in many societies of the use of electronic means of exchange, often accompanied (as in Turkey) by a push for a cashless society. One notable medium of digital exchange is known as "mobile money," which involves the use of mobile phones to complete cashless transactions (Suri, 2017). Given the migration of social relations into the digital sphere, an emergent form of the digital divide involves the exclusion from electronic financial transaction systems, and indeed, the broader social relations which are related to such exchanges.

Mobile Money for Digital Remittances

The adoption of digital financial technologies has not always taken place easily and uniformly across the world, one reason being the variation in cultures and their subsequent effect on financial incentives, as of course, the social definition and role of money and financial activities is closely aligned with culture and tradition. Macro- economic and demographic

factors play important roles in digitization, however, culture and traditions often present latent barriers to digital transformation. Digital finance involves the transference of information value as financial remittances and records are conveyed, converted, and stored. Money, transfer fees, taxes, revenues and all other financial transactions are increasingly conveyed via digital formats, and such formalization of economic exchange can reduce shadow economies and enhance financial regulatory frameworks.

Mobile Money Systems: Definition & Process

For many developing economies, the recent and widespread adoption of mobile money systems has been an important driver of economic and social development. Thomas (2013) identifies four stages for systematic transition, including inception, transitioning, tipping point, and advanced integration. Electronic remittance systems (including mobile money) are differentiated by their functionality, include electronic payment systems provided by banks using online banking, for which individuals need bank accounts in order to transact. While the use of electronic banking reflects the digitization of already-existing economic relations, such systems merely service those who already have access to the formal banking sector, and therefore, do little to increase financial inclusion among the unbanked.

Of greater interest here is the development of so-called "mobile money" systems, which are an innovative form of electronic remittances which has unexpectedly emerged in developing nations, and which has achieved near- universal adoption in many rapidly developing regions of the world. Mobile money is a low-tech remittance system which uses SMS capabilities of mobile devices to conduct electronic financial transactions, and which is typically formed via a partnership between a mobile service provider and a public or private bank. To use mobile money, it is not necessary for individuals to have bank accounts, as cash can be deposited or withdrawn via a network of agents (typically kiosks or other small retail shops), and transferred electronically via SMS. Thus, individuals can transfer money as desired without exchanging cash and without needing bank accounts in the formal banking sector.

Mobile money systems increase the number of financial transactions conducted, which leads to an increased volume of value in circulation. An important aspect of the mobile money systems is that they have been readily adaptable to the needs of economically marginal populations. As individuals can use mobile money to purchase goods and services, such systems are not only useful for transactions, but also for meeting the needs of daily life. Research indicates that mobile money systems have been instrumental in regional

development and for the economic welfare of individuals and families who use such systems. Populations in economically-struggling regions benefit greatly from mobile money systems, as people who were previously on the margins of the formal economy are able to transact electronically, and without having to secure access to the Internet or formal banking systems. As mobile money systems develop further, they can be expanded to offer additional small-scale financial services such as savings accounts bearing interest, loans, and insurance.

Innovations in Mobile Money Systems

The main actors of the mobile money system are customers (users), a system of agents (typically kiosks or small shops), a mobile service provider, a state or private banking intuition, and relevant regulatory agencies (Tobbin, 2011). A crucial factor that makes the mobile money system advantageous compared to formal bank transfers and/or credit card remittances is the very low transfer fees (typically < 1%). The role of regulatory agencies is in fact one of the most important determinants of the ecosystem, as only regulatory agencies can correct the shortcomings of institutions in developing and underdeveloped countries, including official interventions to build public trust in the mobile money systems. Regulatory environments must build and maintain a robust system of agents with whom the individual users interface. In many settings, the challenges of integrating non-users into the mobile money system are the similar problems experienced in integrated the unbanked into formal financial relations (Victor, 2014). Thus, polices must be user-focused (not technically-minded), and geared toward providing services which end-users perceive as more human-oriented, balanced arrangements for conducting transactions.

Unexpectedly, mobile money systems have particularly flourished in Africa, which has emerged as the hub of this financial technology innovation, and some countries have seen the near-universal adoption of mobile money systems. The need is great, as in sub-Saharan Africa 70% of the population cannot access the formal banking system (Victor, 2014). However, since the establishment of mobile money systems in Africa, Nigeria and Kenya have emerged as top users of mobile money systems, which may be driven by the lack of financial infrastructure in such developing countries. While the formal financial systems may have difficulty to service rural and other marginal populations, mobile money systems appear well-suited to do so.

Acemoğlu and Robinson (2012) stated that public institutions have important roles in the maintenance and growth of economic systems, and many countries in sub-Saharan Africa face critical problems because their social institutions are not robust. Mobile money systems can be deployed to reduce socio-economic problems and to establish legal and secure remittance

processes for people who are unbanked. If an economy and larger society have solidly integrated institutions, mobile money systems can serve to streamline financial relations and to protect against financial crisis. Compared to the African context, the economic structure in Turkey is relatively well-developed, as is the formal banking sector, although within Turkey, there are disparities in development in rural areas.

The Turkish Case

In the cultural context of East Anatolia, the traditions of patriarchy and informal economic relations remain, especially in the rural areas. Due to the intensive employment of women in agriculture, especially as seasonal workers, 55 percent of rural women do not hold formal bank accounts. Similarly, while the development of social institutions in rural Turkey certainly outpaces that observed in African contexts, social institutions which could provide stability for economic relations in the rural and eastern provinces of Anatolia lag behind the level of development observed in the western and urban regions of Turkey. Ironically, the development of mobile money systems has flourished most notably in low-income nations, particularly in East Africa, rather than in those societies with high-income levels with characteristics of strong ICT penetration and socio-economic development. While widely adopted and integral to the development of noted examples such as Kenya and Nigeria, mobile money systems have not yet been widely deployed in Turkey.

Despite the technical, economic, and social development present in Turkey, the deployment and utilization of mobile money systems has not occurred, and this relatively low rate of adoption of mobile money presents an enigma. Namely, how is it possible in an economically, socially, and technically developed nation like Turkey, that 44% of the population does not have a bank account (Burnmark, 2017)? Relatedly, why have mobile money systems flourished in underdeveloped regions in many low-income countries, while they are not adopted in underdeveloped regions of Turkey? To achieve the Turkish nation's goal to become cash-free by 2023, mobile money appears to be viable solution, especially considering Turkey's development along key economic dimensions: a robust formal banking sector which is widely available (especially ATMs), a high literacy rate, and extensive penetration of mobile communications (Burnmark, 2017).

As long as the unbanked and financially marginal segments of the Turkish population are excluded from electronic remittance systems, they will continue to use cash, and likely remain on the economic margin. Although financial institutions in Turkey do offer online financial services, these are marketed toward affluent customers who are already banked, and

who have access to the Internet and smart phones. Key populations targeted for conventional digital banking services include students and young professionals, rather than unbanked rural populations (see Lake & Ramji, n.d.). This policy does little to alleviate the problem of financial exclusion, nor does it advance the cashless 2023 national goal, and in addition, such conventional strategies do little to advance broad public interests. Similarly, governing bodies are affected if the unbanked population remains marginal to the formal economy, tax revenues are lost and policymakers cannot construct appropriate initiatives for economic growth.

Insofar as a cashless Turkey would formally integrate economically marginal populations, the nation's wider aim to provide basic goods and services to its population is thusly related to the feasibility of becoming cashless by 2023. In addition to the cost advantage realized in the digitization of remittances in mobile money systems, research in other settings has demonstrated that the adoption of mobile money often leads to improvements in key demographic and socioeconomic indicators of human development. It can certainly be the case that the establishment of a Turkish mobile money system of cashless remittances is consistent not only with the cashless 2023 national target, but also, more generally, with the development of a strong, dynamic, and inclusive economy for the nation.

Not only do mobile money systems seem to enhance economic inclusion, but such systems are widely viewed as effective instruments for driving development of social capital and achieving social sustainability. One effect of mobile money's adoption has been to encourage the development of social capital (e.g., trust, cooperation, and socio-economic reciprocity), which is a form of collective efficacy experienced by social groups holding strong social ties (see Sanz, 2016; but also Durkheim, 1997 [1893]). Mobile money systems promote the development of social capital, and enhance the inclusion of marginal groups (such as the poor, women, and aging populations) in formal economic relations. Such inclusion creates new social bonds, and enhances existing social bonds. Mobile money also seems to boost self-esteem among those using the systems, via economic participation in the broader social sphere. In the most famous Kenyan case, Suri and Jack (2016) found that mobile money has been instrumental in improving the economic conditions of women as they were able to participate in small enterprises, retail activities, and to access credit. If such benefits are to be realized in the Turkish context, then, what are the possible reasons why mobile money has not already been widely deployed in the country? The following section explores the potential constellation of reasons.

Why Turkey Isn't Already Using Mobile Money?

This section explores the impediments that may exist to the deployment of mobile money systems in the Turkish context, including the employment structure, traditional and cultural value systems, and institutional aspects. A first aspect concerns the employment structure, which includes 18.4 percent of the workforce in agriculture, 19.4 percent in industry, 6.9 percent in construction, and 54.9 percent in the service sector (TURKSTAT, 2019).

Moreover, the share of women employed in the agricultural sector, 38.3 percent, is well above the European average, and the estimated unregistered portion of the seasonal agricultural employment is quite high among women. Much of the last decade's economic growth in Turkey has been in the construction and industry sectors, which more commonly employ men. This marginalizes women workers by pushing them into agricultural jobs, frequently as seasonal workers, and as part of the shadow economy. If such marginal jobs were paid using mobile money systems, they could be recorded and taxed, just as women would be integrated into the formal economic sphere.

A second impediment to mobile money in Turkey concerns long-established social and cultural traditions. Individuals engage the financial sector through their cultural lens, and therefore, traditions are important to recognize simultaneously as limiting and enabling factors. The patriarchal nature of the traditional Turkish society can be understood as immediately present in the lives of women, especially those working in agriculture. The broad adoption of mobile money in Turkey would serve to integrate women into the formal economy.

Third, it is important to note that tradition in Turkey can be explained via the structural institutionalization of capitalist financial relations. To develop a more robust financial structure for women, and especially within the agriculture sector would produce the realization of new and added value for the economy. When the judiciary and financial structures are institutionally weak, this dampening effect spreads to all other productive spheres in the economy (Acemoğlu & Robinson, 2012). Such unbalanced situations in productive relations underpin the sensitivity of the financial structures of developing sectors of the country. This economic dampening effect undermines economic relations, and leads to low resilience for individuals and institutions.

Finally, as individuals make financial decisions, risk perception and confidence in the system factor into decision-making, and those who lack confidence in social institutions are less likely to accept financial innovations. Since the 2008 recovery from the economic crisis that occurred in Turkey in 2001, the nation has been strongly integrated with the global economy.

Although the main sources of the 2001 crisis were eliminated via legal regulation, it is a fact that the trust level of individuals stays low, and therefore, many Turks remain opposed to rapid change in the financial systems. Given this context, the adoption of innovations in financial technology, while strong among Turkish youth, may seem unattractive to those in older generations with memory of the 2001 crisis who remain suspicious of financial innovation.

The Unrealized Benefits of Mobile Money Systems

There are many projected advantages to be realized with the adoption of mobile money systems in Turkey, including increased financial inclusion, opportunities for economic growth, increased formalization of financial relations, and poverty reduction, especially among marginal groups. While some in formal banking sectors may object to the creation of mobile money systems, research in many nations has clearly demonstrated that mobile money systems do not displace existing currencies and traditional banking systems, but rather that they tend to act as engines for greater financial inclusion among disempowered groups. Mobile money seems to operate parallel and in complementary ways to the existing formal banking sector, rather than as a competitive system for already-existing banking systems.

Mobile money can integrate marginal groups into the mainstream economy. The increased inclusion of the unbanked segments of the population would bring previously excluded groups into the formal economy, thereby integrating the financial facet of their lives into the mainstream. While economists argue that entry into the formal banking sector by unbanked populations is rather constrained (see Aron, 2018, p. 138-140), it is the new forms of technically simple electronic transactions via mobile devices that will be a driver of financial inclusion among the unbanked (Villasenor, 2013). In the most-studied case of Kenya, mobile money has reduced poverty by 2 percent, leading to greater financial inclusion and stability among poor and financially marginal populations (Aron, 2018). Corollary outcomes of poverty reduction have the effect of empowering marginal groups, such as women, rural populations, minority groups, and the elderly. Thus, mobile money has a great unrealized potential not only to increase financial inclusion, but also to assist in building robust economic relations among marginalized groups, and serve as a catalyst to economic growth.

There is real potential for such systems to improve lives. Suri and Jack (2016) determined that decreased transaction costs associated with mobile money remittances allowed users to reduce financial risk, compared to non-users. Such a risk reduction is explained by the users' integration into larger networks of family, friends, and others from whom they might borrow funds in the event of a financial shock, such as loss of job, medical emergency, or the similar.

Indeed, Suri, Jack, and Stoker (2012) found that mobile money users increased expenditures by about 12 percent when experiencing a financial shock, compared with non-users who were likely reduce expenditures. Crucial in the difference was that non-users of mobile money were much more likely to forego health treatments or pull children from school when experiencing financial shocks, compared to those using mobile money.

Mobile money systems also stimulate economic growth and innovation in the financial sector. Economists Fare and Ahmed (2017) point out that the inherent benefits of mobile money systems are also felt in local economies, and are not only important for socioeconomic development broadly-speaking, but they are also significant for individuals. For example, when mobile money systems are in place, poor people and poor households are more likely to start micro-enterprises and to diversify income streams. Similarly, small- and medium-sized businesses may similarly benefit via the increased access to financial capital. The deployment of the Kenyan M-Pesa system facilitated a collaborative/mutual credit system, which allowed individuals, small businesses, and communities to access streams of credit at low cost. Therefore, they were able to leverage more money toward increasing living standards and/or business development (see Ruddick & Mariani, 2013; Ruddick, Richards, & Bendell, 2015).

Mobile money systems have great potential to drive economic growth and financial innovation, as they seem to increase the number of financial transactions taking place. For example, Suri et al. (2012) found that Kenyan households using mobile money sent and/or received 33 percent more remittances than those without mobile money. Beyond the documented increase in volume, mobile money systems, while initially intended as remittance systems for transactions among the unbanked, have also led to the expansion of financial services more generally. Mobile money systems appear to operate as complementary to traditional banking systems, and rather than supplanting formal banking institutions, have instead integrated the unbanked populations into the formal economy, via interoperability between formal bank accounts and mobile money accounts. As mobile money systems have expanded services beyond remittance systems, users are now able to offer financial services such as savings (with interest), micro-credit, and insurance to segments of the population previously unreached by the formal financial sector. Much growth and innovation has taken place in the systems serving those previously marginalized, and while the initial focus of mobile money was a person-to-person (P2P) remittance system, further innovation appears on the horizon for applications in business-to-person (B2P) remittances such as payroll, or government-to-person (G2P) payments such as social benefits.

Finally, the digital footprint generated by mobile money systems allows for the increased

oversight of financial transactions, and may reduce money laundering, tax evasion, and shadow economic activities (e.g., black markets, smuggling, or organized crime). The digitized nature of the system allows for enhanced monitoring of financial relations leading to greater tax compliance, reduction in financial crimes, and reduction in illicit trade. Greater monitoring of financial transactions via mobile money should lead to increased tax compliance, especially as cash transactions become less common, and if the government accepts tax remittances in mobile person-to-government forms (P2G). In all, the probable reduction in poverty, potential for economic growth, and increase in accountability for financial transactions indicate that a mobile money system could be very beneficial for Turkey.

A Concluding Appeal for a Mobile Money System in Turkey

The positive aspects of a Turkish mobile money system and the potential to realize the national goal to be cashless by 2023 suggest that the adoption of mobile money is consistent with Turkey's national priorities. Mobile money systems can accelerate the economic growth and bring previously excluded sectors into the formal economy, just as the adoption of such systems increases the speed, reliability, and integrity of the financial system, while reducing the cost of remittances. In this context, it appears imperative that policy-makers and legislators encourage cooperation between financial institutions and mobile communications providers to cultivate an environment in Turkey where mobile money can thrive.

In closing, this chapter makes a firm call for the inclusion of financially marginalized groups, which is indeed a call in this digitized age that those previously excluded should become full participants in mainstream Turkish economic relations. While the value created by marginal groups may have been ignored, mobile money's ability to reference such value in the present, and to act upon such value in the future must be extended to all Turks. In the short-term, the successful deployment of a mobile money system in Turkey is clearly possible in both the technical and economic senses. To pursue the national agenda to achieve a cashless Turkey by 2023, for the sake of economic growth, and for the inclusion of marginal groups and sectors of the Turkish economy, a mobile money system for Turkey must be developed and deployed with all haste.

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