YAŞAR UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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MASTERS THESIS

THE REPRESENTATION OF FOOD ON THE TV SHOW SURVIVOR-TURKEY 2017

Tamara YAHFOUFI

Thesis Advisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Duygun Erim

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the Master in Art degree.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Duygun Erim

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the Master in Art degree.
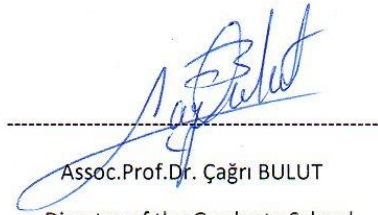
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Director of the Graduate School

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled "The Representation of Food on the TV Show Survivor-Turkey 2017" and presented as a Master's Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Tamara Yahfoufi

Signature

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June 5, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would have not been the finished work it is had it not been for a few people in my life. I would first like to thank my advisor for all her effort, advice, encouragement and constant support while writing this thesis. I would also like to thank my fiancé Burak for believing in me and reminding me of what I can accomplish especially in the moments where it seemed as though there was no light at the end of the tunnel. I would finally like to thank my parents, for all the opportunities they have given me along the way that paved the road to earning this degree, they are and will always be the reason I am who I am.

Tamara Yahfoufi

Izmir, 2017

ÖZET

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2017

Bu tezde Survivor-Türkiye TV programı 2017 sezonunda söylem ve göstergebilim analizi yöntemleri kullanılarak iki ana nokta incelenmiştir. Birincisi, programda yiyeceğin sembolik düzeyde 'ait olunan yer', 'ev', 'yuva' olarak temsiliyetini incelemek ve ikincisi ise, programın üretim sürecinin, belirli gıda markalarını tanıtmak ve pazarlamak için yarışmacıların yiyecek arzusunu nasıl kullandığını incelemekti. Vaka çalışması, toplam gösterim süresi 24 hafta olan programın içinden 'yarışma ödülü yemek olan programlar' seçilerek örneklem olarak toplam 8 haftalık program üzerinde yapıldı. Bu bölümler boyunca yemeğin temsiliyetini anlayabilmek amacı ile yarışmacıların konuşmaları, duygusal tepkileri yorumlandı, bunun yanı sıra, programın üretim teknikleri analiz edildi. Sonuç olarak, Survivor-Turkey programında yemeğin birbirine bağlı ve birbiri ile ilişkili olarak iki düzlemde çalıştığını görüyoruz; birinci düzlemde yemek 'yer', 'yuva', 'ev' olarak kişinin ait olduğu kimliği 'aidiyeti' temsil ederken ve ikinci düzlemde programın kendi ticari amaçları doğrultusunda yemeğin sembolizmini bir pazarlama stratejisi olarak kullanıldığı görüldü.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Survivor, Yemek ve Kimlik, Reality Show, Temsiliyet.

ABSTRACT

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2017

In this thesis, discourse and semiotic analysis are performed on the game show Survivor-Turkey season 2017, in order to study two main points. The first point is to discover how 'national' food acts as a symbol of home for the contestants and the second was to study how the production process of the show makes use of the contestants' desire for the food in order to advertise certain food brands. The case study revolved around 8 weeks out of the show's 24 week run with focus being on the episodes were food was the reward for the challenges. The contestants' words and reactions as well as the production techniques during those episodes were analyzed. As a result it was seen that food representation on Survivor-Turkey works in two levels that are interconnected; as a symbol of 'home' and 'belongingness' on the first level and consequently on the second level, that that symbolism is used for the commercial interest of the show and is a tool for the marketing of the food products.

Keywords: Survivor, Food and Identity, Reality Television, Representation.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is divided into two parts; the first is to look at the ways in which Survivor contestants identify food with place and to explore the ways in which food represents home and the second is to consequently explore how the contestants' desire for food is used as a tool of commercialization for the food brands provided. In other words this research will explore how identity and belongingness is represented in Survivor-Turkey through food items, as well as how the production process of the show is mainly revolved around the advertising of food products.

The idea of belonging is central to our understanding of how people give meaning to their lives. Their sense of identity is founded on social interactions that show their belonging to particular communities through shared beliefs, values, or practices. The choices that they make, from their religious views, to the friends that they acquire, even to the cars that they drive, serve to position them as part of the groups, networks and communities that make up human society. The structure of our identity is very much related to the areas in which our sense of belongingness is heightened; whether through social interactions, artistic endeavors, or even educational spaces, individuals are capable of creating a sense of belonging through any space as long as it caters to their identity.

It is therefore compelling to study how that sense of belonging shifts (whether positively or negatively) once an individual moves away from his/her usual environment, in which he had created his/her sense of self, into a completely different one. It seems somewhat probable that parts of an individual's belongingness are intensified through this geographical shift while other parts are disregarded. When considering individuals who are far away from their homeland, it becomes evident how national symbols ranging from the color of the flags to traditional dishes and the availability of their 'national' ingredients suddenly start carrying much more emotional significance to the individual than when he/she was back home, all of which are magnified through the lens of nostalgia.

Food might have spatiality in the sense that it might be considered and associated with a place that one belongs to. Food plays a role in helping with identity maintenance; food has

been conceptualized as a nostalgic enactment of identity, as an opportunity to bring history and memory together under difficult situations. In terms of cultural practices, food is strongly attached to the creation and construction of national identities.

The staggering increase in the scale of food literature is important both for its own sake since food is utterly essential to human existence (and often scarce) and because the subfield has proven valuable for debating and advancing anthropological theory and research methods. Food studies have illuminated broad societal processes of symbolic-value creation and the social construction of memory (Mintz & Bois, 2002; Sutton, 2001). The aim of these studies was to discover how food could be a device through which to discuss cultural and social change. The various studies by ethnographers on globalization, mass production of food, movement of people and war showed that these broad social processes have led to culinary changes since not only do people move across the globe, so also do foods. Shifting to a more microscopic environment, one can observe how humans connect food to rituals, symbols and belief systems. The act of gathering around the table to eat dinner, praying before starting a meal together, the sacrificing of a lamb during Islamic Holidays, or even the fasting from foods in both Christian Rituals during Easter and Islamic Rituals of Ramadan, all of which have contributed to food *binding* people to their faith through powerful links between food and memory (whether memories of Holidays or Family time together). Not only does food create a bond between people and their ritual beliefs but it also contributes to creating a bond between the individuals and their environments; be it family home or country of birth, which in turn gives certain food a deeper meaning as each meal can be associated with a personal memory. Thus food might be considered as an element for communication as well.

For many reasons, including those mentioned above, the use of Survivor-Turkey as a site of popular culture to explore matters of identity, home and belongingness seemed like a perfect set up; being stripped of belongings, far away from home, living on minimal food as well lack of contact with the outside world.

Statement of the Problem

The TV show Survivor, a series which currently has franchises in Bulgaria, France, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Romania and in the United States; is a reality/game show, which takes on 16-24 contestants, divides them into

two teams with each team put on a separate island. The teams then go through daily challenges in which each contestant attempts to win points for his team to win the prizes that range from food (as food is scarce of the island), to comfort items (Bed, shampoo, toothbrushes…etc.), to means of communication with the outside world, to anything that can make life on the island easier. As the show goes on, the contestants suffer from hunger, fatigue as well as mental hardships from being so disconnected from the outside world. The show can be described as a human social experiment in which the contestants' social identity, mental agility as well as survival skills are examined. Survivor is truly made up to test the human ability to survive away from home. Under such circumstances, the contestants go through heavy physical and psychological difficulties, which in turn make the contestants very vulnerable and overly nostalgic for the safety of their home.

This study builds upon two hypotheses; the first is that when placed in an environment filled with challenging living conditions as well as being far away from one's usual surroundings, individuals then begin to place a more than usual sentimental value in food items that are considered 'national' products. The second hypothesis is that the production process of the TV show Survivor is designed in a manner that makes use of that sentimental value as well as the state of hunger of the contestants for profit.

Therefore the study attempts to answer the following questions:

1.   Do the contestants symbolize the 'national' food rewards they consume on Survivor as a symbol of home and family? If so, how?

2.   Does the production process of the show Survivor make use of the hunger of the contestants to sell the presented food brands? If so, in what ways?

Research Methods

The 2017 season of Survivor Turkey is my case study. The show began on January 21st and lasts for the duration of six months. It currently airs five times a week (on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday). Every episode usually consists of a game challenge, where the two teams (*ünlüler* vs *gönüllüler* – the famous vs the volunteers) play for the win, and upon winning the challenge a reward is given either in the form of food or

in the form of immunity[1] or a communication[2] reward is given. The rewards of the week are divided as follows: Two food rewards, Two Immunity and One communication reward. As my study is based on food, my focus will be only on the two weekly episodes with food as the reward.

The nature of my study will include both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Since this study is based on one season of survivor, for my qualitative research I will include both discourse and semiotic analysis as my research methods. While discourse analysis is more focused on the social practice of language where the use of wordings and sentence structures are critical to the analysis, semiotic analysis is known as the study of signs; "how they work and how we use them, "as Meike Bal and Norman (1991:174) say in their defense of semiology, 'human culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself, and the people inhabiting culture busy themselves making sense of those signs" (Rose, 2001, p: 69). A sign is generally divided into two parts: the *signifier* and the *signified*, where the former is "the concept or an object" while the latter is "the sound or image attached to the *signifier*". As for quantitative research, it can be defined as a research that is done repetitively and consistently; in this study my quantitative research will be done through writing down every food reward on each episode as well as the consequent reactions of the contestants and whether the food reward is sponsored or not. This information will be then organized into a table in order to be counted at the end and analyzed regarding whether there is a relevant correlation between the positive reactions of the contestants during sponsored episodes and the less positive reactions on the non-sponsored episodes.

My focus while watching Survivor was not only on the food aspect but on the commercial aspect as well, which would require the interpretations of the aesthetic aspects of the show as well. According to Gillian Rose, the interpretations of visuals content has shown that there are "three sites at which meanings of an image are made: the sites of production, the site of the image itself the sites where it is seen by various audiences" (Rose, 2001, p: 16).The sites of production are aimed at focusing on the method of producing the image itself; in my case as my image is a moving image, the sites of production can include

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[1] This means that the team is protected from the weekly elimination and someone from the losing team will leave the island

[2] The contestants get a form of communication from the outside world, either with family, friends or fans. Communication comes in the form of pictures, letters, videos or phone calls.

shot distance where "the repeated use of close-ups for example, may produce a sense of claustrophobic intensity, while long shots may imply alienation and emptiness" (Rose, 2001, p: 49), another sites of production include the narrative structure, the point of view of the camera, the editing styles and the music used during the scenes all contribute to the meaning presented. The second site is the site of the image itself, where the main focus is the content and the characters of the image.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

Although I watched every episode of Survivor from the beginning of the 2017 season, the official episodes that were used for this thesis began from Friday the 17th of February until April 17th, since the show runs for a period of 24 weeks, I have chosen the 8 weeks during the middle of the show to represent 1/3rd of the duration as an adequate representation. The reason I have chosen 8 weeks during the middle run of the show was due to the fact that I wanted to cover the period in which the contestants are most likely to be homesick enough as well as hungry enough to begin portraying the signs I am looking for. While watching those episodes, main signs included the contestants sharing memories of home in regarding to a certain food item, the expression of excessive feelings (crying, laughter, screaming) upon winning or even finding out about food awards and specifically when the food award is a Turkish dish. The data collected was sorted in a table (found in Appendix 1) of four columns which are Date, Reward, Reaction (None/Positive) and Sponsored (Yes/No). The addition of the column regarding Sponsorships is mainly to look at the commercial aspect of the show, my aim was to compare and contrast the difference in representations of the contestants feelings and excitement as well as the difference in the set of the shots when the food is sponsored versus when the food is not, and attempt to understand what the difference in representation is.

Regarding the limitations, a main limitation of this study is that the contestants' collected reactions where from the broadcasted episodes and being aware that what ends up on the television screen is a constructed version of the actual events, we can never be entirely confident in the authenticity of the contestants' words. Another limitation of this research is that it doesn't explore the audience's perception of the show.

Study Overview

The first chapter tackles the formation of cultural and national identity and its representation through food. In this chapter, I begin with an overview of the formation of identity using the writings of Stuart Hall, the chapter then moves on to the specific formation of national identity and how it is reproduced on a societal level. This second part of the chapter then begins to look at food and its various symbolic roles mainly its role as a symbol of home.

The second chapter analyzes television in Marxist literature in context of its functions and structure. This chapter takes a long look at media and its methods of representation; it begins by going over television as a medium and then focusing on Reality television and its controversial claims of being a representation of reality. The chapter then ends by taking a look at the methods of advertising in television in general and in reality television in specific.

The final chapter of the study presents the findings of the 8 weeks of analysis of Survivor-Turkey 2017. The findings are then thoroughly discussed and analyzed in relation to the theory of chapters one and two; we then end the study with a conclusion as well as suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER 1: THE FORMATION OF CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION THROUGH FOOD.

1.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the role of food as a cultural and national symbol and how it works in providing the individual a feeling of belongingness, feeling of 'home' and how food works in ordering the social symbolically, beyond its nutritional value. Therefore, in this chapter I will dive into the literature regarding the construction of national identity by exploring identity, nationalism and the methods of its construction and the reproduction of national symbols focusing mainly on that of food.

In the following part, I intend on explaining the relationship between identity, national identity and its expression through food consumption. I begin with a discussion of Stuart Hall's elaboration of the notion of cultural identity in order to define how identity is constructed in the first place. Then, I move on to focusing on national identity in specific, for that I employ Benedict Anderson for understanding the development on national identity. In Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities,* we are presented with how language and discourse had the most active role in the formation of nations (2006). Language according to Anderson, gave way onto *print capitalism*, a term conjured by Anderson to explain how through books and newspapers a unified thought was spread across the people forming a nation. From that I will try to show and to discuss how the media, whether print or visual, carries symbols and ideas of nationalism as 'encoded' media texts and these codes might be decoded and interpreted from Hall's discussion on how media works (1980). In the second part of the chapter, I turn my focus to food as a specific symbol of nationalism in construction. The writings on food's role in the social organization and how it works as a national construct began with Mary Douglas's social anthropology, where the idea of food as a pattern and as a symbol of social relationship is presented (1971). Following Mary Douglas, comes Claude Fischler, who demonstrates that the way any given human group eats helps it assert its diversity, hierarchy and organization (1988). The chapter will conclude with two separate ethnographical studies done by Anna Meigs on the *Hua* tribe of Papa New Guinea and by David Sutton on the people of the island of Kalymnos, Greece; in order to show the ways in which food works in human culture and symbolism (Meigs, 1997; Sutton,

2001). This anthropology of food literature will provide a tool to better understand and analyze the ways in which 'food' is represented in the selected case of the reality TV game show Survivor Turkey, and thus help to explore how this representation is indeed employed within the program to promote and sell food products.

1.2 Formation of Cultural Identity as a Process

Summarizing Stuart Hall's concept of identity formation, Chris Barker presented us with an elaborate framework presenting the three different ways in which, according to Stuart Hall, cultural identity was conceptualized which are the '*Enlightenment*' subject, the '*Sociological*' subject and the '*Postmodern*' subject. According to Stuart Hall, the socialized self is the sociological subject where the "inner core of the subject was not autonomous and self-sufficient, but was formed in relation to significant others, who mediated to the subject the values, the meanings and symbols – the culture- of the worlds she/he inhabited (Hall, 1992, p. 275)" (Barker, 1999, p. 14). The sociological view mainly assumes that people are social beings, that the self is formed in combination between the inner world and the outer social world. With this subject, Hall attempts to convey that the self is socially formed by our environments beginning with our family members whom teach us how to convey ourselves socially from a very young age (Barker, 1999). As for the Enlightenment subject, it is heavily associated with the idea of persons as unique. Therefore, the Enlightenment subject "was based on a conception of the human person as a fully centered, unified individual, endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness, and action, who's 'center' consisted of an inner core…The essential center of the self was a person's identity (Hall, 1992, p. 275)" (Barker, 1999, p. 13).

From Stuart Hall, Chris Barker then introduces us to the work of sociologist Anthony Giddens, in order to elaborate more on the 'Sociological Subject' and the relation between self-identity and social identity. According to sociologist Anthony Giddens (1991), the individual attempts to construct a narrative about the self which is the very basis of identity so that "self-identity is not a distinctive trait or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual, it is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography (1991, p. 53)" (Barker, 1999, p. 15). Giddens argues that identity is not a collection of traits that we possess, for it is not something we have, nor is it an entity or a

thing to which we can point. Rather, identity is the way we think about ourselves and since what we think of ourselves in constantly changing with time and environment; consequently our identity is constantly changing as well. That is the reason why Giddens defines identity as a construct which is in constant production and exists at the point of intersection between the individual and other determining events. Although self-identity is a personal project, it cannot be denied that the resources that we bring to our identity project are resources from the outer world, resources that depend on the situational power and specific cultural context. (1999)

The third way of conceptualizing identity according to Hall is the *postmodern* subject also known as the *decentred* subject. According to Hall, this way assumes that a person has various identities and not necessarily similar ones thus (Barker, 1999, p. 16);

> *The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self'. Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continually being shifted about. If we feel that we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or 'narrative of the self' about ourselves.*   (Hall, 1992, p. 277)

Barker goes on to listing Hall's five major breakthroughs in modern knowledge that have contributed to our understanding of the subject as decentered or fractured. The five major theories at work in this process are: Marxism, Psychoanalysis, Feminism, the character of language and finally discourse from the work of Michel Foucault (1999). In order to understand Hall's meaning by the decentered or postmodern subject, I will briefly explain the ways in which these paradigms contributed in the construction of the understanding of identity as a decentered phenomenon.

Marxism argued that the first priority of human beings is the production of their material means through their labor, which transforms not only their material world but also themselves. "As human beings bought material things to shape their environment, they also create themselves" (Barker, 1999). According to Hall, Marxism displaces any notion of a universal personhood. In other words, characteristics of person are subject to the social formation of a certain time and place.

Meanwhile, psychoanalytical theory had particular significance in shedding a light on how the internal connects to the external; "identities are thus the points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct us (Hall, 1996, p.

5)" (Barker, 1999, p. 19) The power of psychoanalysis is its rejection of the fixed nature of subjects, concentrating instead on the construction and formation of the subject, on not what the subject is but on how the subject comes into being (1999).

The third breakthrough is the Feminist Theory, Hall argues that it has had a large influence on conceptions of subjectivity and identity because of its challenge to the distinction between the outside and the inside, the public and the private (Barker, 1999, see also Hall, 1992). What feminism argues is that a person cannot be a universal subject since at the very least identity is marked by sexual difference at the moment of birth. Therefore, feminist theory asserts that gender is a crucial axis of social life and saturated with power relations, which, to date, has subordinated women to men.

However, the most significant of the breakthroughs is the linguistic turn in cultural studies. Cultural studies turned to language as being at the heart of culture and identity and to Hall; language was central to the account of fractured identity. Language and discourse are forms that assist in bringing objects to being so that social life is established through language. This approach is sometimes defined as social constructionism; "indeed, there can be no identity, experience or social practice which is not discursively constructed since we cannot escape language" (Barker, 1999, p: 23). Since identity is formed through language and since language is ever-changing, then cultural identity does not represent a stable state of being but in truth represents a fraction of ever unfolding meanings.

For Foucault, the subject is an outcome of particular historical and social formations and discourses, that is the subject is wholly and only a product of history (Barker, 1999, see also Foucault, 1977). His role in the definition of the postmodern identity by him "ruthlessly attacking the great myth of interiority…Foucault also undertakes a radical historicization of the category of the subject. The subject is produced 'as an effect' through and within discourse, within specific discursive formations, and has no existence, and certainly no transcendental continuity or identity from one subject position to another" (Hall, 1996, p. 10; See also Foucault, 1977).

Thus, formation of identity enacts in complexity and it is quite difficult to narrow its formation to one specific event or action. For identity cannot be defined between the various discourses of it, be it class, gender or race for it is the numerous discourses that make up

identity, which can be combined in infinite ways (Hall, 1992). Thus, no single identity can take full control but rather identities *shift* according to how subjects are addressed and represented, making the subject vulnerable to his surroundings (ibid). The different identities of the self cannot be attributed to the changing meanings of language alone but have been also influenced by the shift in social relations. Not to mention how with the modern developments in technology, especially considering television, an individual is now presented with an array of various representations and social standards that he/she is constantly attempting to live up to and changing for. Hall's central argument was that identities are socially constructed and had it not been for cultural representations they would have no reason to exist. They are in a way not our own production, but they are stories that we construct using discourse. (Hall 1992, 1996).

1.3 National Identity as a Social Construct

Identity has a complicated and multi-layered nature. It is the dialogue between subjectivity and culture; it is not universally fixed (Hall 1992, 1996, see also Anderson 1983). The self in which we find ourselves relating to our culture through habits and traditions and feeling a sense of belongingness to the nation becomes part of who we are. How is national identity constructed and based on what does it develop, are questions that the following part will attempt to answer using the work of Benedict Anderson.

According to Anderson, the rise of nations occurred during the convenient time in which three main institutions where losing their social status as a general desire of more representative ruling methods began to take place among the working class. Those three institutions were linguistic diversity, religious authority and traditional monarchies. Although at the time, the power of the ruling class was certain, a shift was occurring in which the working class had begun to understand its own power. With that understanding came action, which was in the form of a separate language and with those separate language the formation of separate communities began. Therefore, the power of the ruling class as well as that of the church began to lessen due to use of the native tongue which in turn gave way to the formation of nations. (Anderson, 1983)

Language only began to have a serious effect in nation building once it was used in written form; "the novel and the newspaper provided the technical means for representing

the kind of imagined community that is the nation" (Anderson, 1983, p. 25). Anderson conjured up the term *Print Capitalism* in regards to novels and newspapers, which had spread so fast throughout various communities. To Anderson, this spread of the written word was crucial is connecting people together and standardizing their way of thinking as well as create a sense of unity among the readers. As written by Anderson regarding the effect of novels and newspapers,

> *"..an American will never meet but a handful of his 240,000,000 fellow Americans. He has no idea what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity"* (Anderson, 1983, p. 26)

The readings provided by the printing press, helped conjure the idea in the reader's mind of the existence of this imagined world; that all actions are performed at the same time. Upon consuming his daily newspaper, the reader, observing exact replicas of his own being read by others on the subway, at the barbershop or by his residential neighbors, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life. Once the size of the community makes personal acquaintance impossible then, according to Anderson, it leads to part of the community being *imagined*.

Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism can be defined as a cultural expression that it rather resembles the phenomena of religion than that of a political doctrine. He argued that the development of nationalism in the individual had both internal (in the form of imagination) and external factors. With regards to national consciousness Anderson believed that its formation was at the center of three factors; capitalism, print and language. For language was used in order to produce the print media and then it was spread through capitalism, this served in creating a unified mode of communication among the people. However, this unified communication was only accessible to a certain number of people who can read the particular language and this was how "those select few readers of which can read that particular language formed the embryo of the nationally imagined community" (Anderson, 1983, p. 44)

Second, print capitalism provided a permanent, written form of the history and traditions of each community. This was crucial as it began to create a history for nations and it is a crucial part of nation building to have their histories and traditions known. It is important to mention that just as at the time print capitalism came about as a way of

explaining how the boom in production of books and newspapers paved the way for the birth of national consciousness by enticing a sense of unity, it is only natural for one to think about the boom that succeeded that of books and newspapers, which was *television*. The ideology of television in itself has no doubt played a role as big (or even bigger) than that of print in creating a unified national thought. It also made its representation easily conveyed due to the availability of visual effects and images that assisted in producing the desired image with no need for the viewer to think for his/herself.

> *If we consider media to be an important – perhaps the most important – element within a social and cultural system of signs that are capable of generating myths, then clearly television, the internet and other mass communications can help to nurture some myths and not others.* (Laughey, 2007, p. 58)

The sentiment expressed above, embodies the view that the technologies of communication, the media (also applicable to print media), play a very important and dangerous role in encouraging some ideologies over others due to its vast reach across the nation. The importance of television as a transmitter of national consciousness lies at the basis of my research on the TV show Survivor, given its high ratings and its wide reach across the nation, it was an adequate choice.

The talk about nationalism being produced through print capitalism (or media in general) and language does well to explain the origin of nation-consciousness. However, it has yet to explain the origin of the sense of patriotism and attachment engulfed by many citizens towards their nation or according to Anderson, "for the invention of their imagination" (Anderson, 1983, p. 141). In the chapter *Patriotism and Racism,* Anderson attempts to answer the following question: Why are people ready to die for such inventions [for their nations]?

Anderson reminds us that nations aim to inspire love in the form of self-sacrificing love. All of the cultural products of nationalism, such as poetry, prose fiction and music, aim at producing love for the nation and never are there any cultural productions such as poetry, books, or any of the arts that inspire hate or fear but always love. According to Anderson, nation-ness is assimilated to skin color, parentage and birth era all of which are characteristics which that individual has no control over; "…in these natural ties one senses what one might call 'the beauty of *gemeinschaft* '[German word for *Community*]" (Anderson, 1983, p. 143). It is precisely because these ties are not chosen, that they have

around them a halo of impartiality and just as the family unit takes on the image of being an impartial space filled with love and solidarity, so does the idea of the nation in the eyes of mankind. Therefore, as a neutral and impartial imagination it gets to ask for sacrifices from its people; and for a nation that sacrifice comes in the form of death. Dying for one's country is usually an act which one does not choose, but it is accepted with a *moral grandeur* with which nothing can compete, due to it being so fundamentally pure of an act. However, what is being contemplated is the origin of that sense of duty and ease in making such a life changing (or rather life ending) decision with the only reason being the love for one's country (Anderson, 1983).

To be able to willingly die for your country doesn't happen by chance but instead time is taken in order for one's national devotion to fully construct. That construction comes in various forms, one of which, according to Anderson, is the national anthem. National anthems are written in a way that no matter how simple the words may be, they have the ability to entice a sense of unity due to the fact that at the moment of singing it is done in unison with the whole community:

> *Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing a sense of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance....How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.* (Anderson, 1983, p. 145)

Elements such as the national anthem, the flag, the army and many more, can be defined as national elements that aim at reminding society of the presence of the nation. When the national anthem is being sung, its role is to spread the sense of unity among the singers, when the flag is at half-mast, its role is to inform the people that it is a sad day, when death occurs in the army, the deceased is labeled as a martyr, value is given to his/her death solely because it was done in the name of the nation. These acts are a few examples of how national identities are built.

Micheal Billig also discusses how national identity is built through the daily habits of individuals which he defined as *Banal Nationalism*. Billig's description of the exemplary image of nationalism: "it is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (Billig, 1995, p. 8). Gradually,

however, this flag ingrains a sense of national loyalty and belonging. Billig also draws attention to the ways in which both political speeches and the mass media continuously reproduce a world composed of independent nations on a routine basis (1995). In the latter for example, individual reports are often classified as *home* and *foreign* news and then prioritized in terms of their relevance to the nation, while a wide range of media texts constitute and address an audience as nationals by using language such as *we*, *our*, *us* and *here.*

What Billig aimed to convey was that the building of a national identity does not only occur at the macro-theoretical level, but that it also has a large and active role at the micro-societal one. The colors of the flag being present on the subway, the phrases of 'make *your* city clean' on street trash cans, or phrases uttered by politicians via the media such as '*we* will fight terrorism'; are all messages being decoded by the population into meanings that aim at spreading national ideology. Billig's mention of political messages and mass media communication as the main producers of nationalistic messages brings about the work of Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding which discusses the relationship between the producer of the media text and the consumer (Hall, 1980). Moving from general discourse, the next part of the chapter will specifically focus on televisual discourse.

1.4 Televisual Discourse

Part of my research discusses how the portrayal of hunger on *Survivor* is used to encourage the audience to *crave* the food award and consequently buy it. It is therefore that I will explore Stuart Hall's *Encoding/Decoding* to have a better understanding of how the audience decodes messages from the media. In Stuart Hall's *Encoding/Decoding*, his aim was to rediscover ideology as a concept that can reveal the politics of signification engaged in by media institutions. Hall criticized the idea that the audience was a passive recipient but on the contrary he pushes the audience to a more active role. However, even if the audience maybe more active that doesn't necessarily mean that text produced by the producers is the same received by the audience. The author argues that the form created of the text is different than the one consumed by the audience mainly due to the chance in circumstance of consumption; for an audience doesn't look at the production methods but rather at the content. Hall's main argument for the reason of the audience not being passive recipients is

mainly due to the fact that consumption of media messages requires the generation of meaning and meaning cannot be generated passively. Although Hall stands by the audience in pushing their active role, he also does not deny the dominance of the text in relation to the audience since the text "determines to a large extent the mode of its reception and the conditions of its articulation" (Hall, 1980, p. 129). This indicates that nothing is guaranteed and that producers have no way of knowing the exact method of reception that the audience will take.

On televisual discourse, Hall was interested in understanding television as a mode of production. Broadcasting institutions are engaged, as he sees it in the production of meaningful discourses that are *encoded* within the text. Methods have to be found in order to communicate a certain topic through the text, topics such as gender equality, or gay marriage, racism are all areas in which the producers cannot throw directly onto the audience but must figure out a way to encode it into the general meaning of the text, this can be done through a background actor, or using humor or even using the background set. Consequently, it is then up to the audience to *decode* said messages and whether they decode the same encoded message is highly dependent a great deal on "the structural differences of relation and position between the broadcasters and the audience" (Hall, 1980, p. 131). According to Hall, media producers suggest the idea of hegemony as a kind of common-sense, whereby a governed people internalize the ideas of their leaders and come to understand them as shared concern, rather than imposed ideas. Just as Billig mentioned, mass-media communications attempted at structuring their messages using phrases and wordings, such as *we, together* and *our*, as a way of transferring common values between the dominant figures (whether in politics or entertainment) and their audience;

> *In speaking of dominant meanings, then we are not talking about a one-sided process which governs how all events are signified. It consists of the 'work' required to enforce, win plausibility for a command as legitimate a decoding of the even within the limit of dominant definitions in which it has been connotatively signified.* (Hall, 1980, p. 135)

Therefore, the nation-state and national identities' collective forms of organizations and identification are not a naturally occurring phenomenon but they are particular historical-cultural formations. National identity is a form of imaginative identification with the nation-state as expressed through symbols and discourse. Thus nations are not only

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political formations but also systems of cultural representation so that national identity is continually reproduced through discursive action. Symbolic and discursive dimensions of national identity often narrate and create the idea of origins, continuity and tradition (Barker, 1999).

Consequently, a set of signifiers emerge with their role being that of national symbolism; signifiers don't have to be as obvious as the national flag or the photos of a certain political leader, but can be a minor element as small as a cube of Feta cheese and immediately Greece comes to mind. National representation falls on the idea that there are certain rituals, habits, myths, traditions and food that an individual identifies with and performs, whether consciously or unconsciously, to support his national identity and be part of the nation-state.

When analyzing an ad for Panzani, Italian pasta, Roland Barthes mentions:

> *This is a picture of some packets of pasta, a tin, a sachet, some tomatoes, onions, peppers, a mushroom, all emerging from a half-open string bag with the cultural theme or concept of Italianicity. Then at the level of the myth or meta-language, the Panzani ad becomes a message about the essential meaning of Italian-ness as a national culture.* (Hall, 1997, p. 40; See also Barthes, 1964)

Consequently, the development of myths and symbolism play an active role in the formation of national identity. For national identity, from what we have seen so far is a cultural construction aimed at building unity among the people and also at building a sense of loyalty towards the nation and its leaders. Such symbols and myths come in through language, as Benedict Anderson clarified, discourse played a role in transmitted the desired myths and symbols across the population; not only was language used to develop print capitalism (and later on through visual capitalism as well) but also it was used as a tool to develop national anthems, poetry and stories which played a role in creating national heroes and patriotic myths that further encourage the sense of belonging to one's nation. As for Roland Barthes, he developed symbolism further to include food as a national symbol as well. The identification of wine with French-ness and pasta with Italian-ness for example, are an indication of the key role food played as a representation of a nation; becoming a cultural signifier. In what follows, the idea behind food's symbolic role in national representation is further expanded in order to further understand how such a commodity earned such a role, by looking through the anthropological literature on food and society.

1.5 Food and Social Structures

Famous for her contributions on human culture and symbolism, Mary Douglas was a British anthropologist, whose area of specialty was social anthropology. In her book *Deciphering a Meal*, Douglas provides a semiotic engagement with food by stating that food can be assumed as a form of code with a message that can be deciphered in the pattern of social relations being expressed during food consumption; since food "has a social component as well as a biological one" (Douglas, 1971, p. 61). Therefore, Douglas aimed at taking up a particular series of social events in order to monitor how they are coded.

Douglas begins with the need to find out what defines the category of a meal in a home; defined literally, a meal is a mixture of various food items which incorporates a number of contrasts, hot and cold, bland and spiced, liquid and semi-liquid, and various textures; "It also incorporates cereals, vegetables, and animal proteins" (Douglas, 1971, p. 66). It is important to point out that *only* when these elements combine can a meal can be defined as a meal; otherwise it is just a snack. However, the literal definition was found lacking, since Douglas was certain that meals are being planned according to a pattern; daily meal plans to weekly meal plans and all the way up to a yearly meal plan with special meals for the special occasions of the year (Weddings, Birthdays, Feasts…etc.).

Douglas's study has two aspects. The first is breaking down each event that involves ingestion into its basic elements so that it can be compared with other such events. She classifies meal units from largest to smallest (daily menu, meal, course, helping, mouthful) and identifies the specific food types that make up a meal (antipasti, meat dishes, grilled fish, melon, pudding, and so forth). This detailed classification allows her to identify patterns in the grouping of meal and food elements throughout the system. One pattern, which becomes important for her general analysis, is the presence of one main and two subordinate food items. In more elaborate meals, this pattern appears multifold, whereas a basic meal may consist of one instance of the pattern.

Another pattern that Douglas was able to conclude what that habits as simple as eating and drinking can actually be deciphered into patterns of *what, when, how, where* and *with whom* we eat and drink. The table below categorizes meals into three separate ones;

drinks, *cold meals* and *hot meals*; social relations are then divided accordingly between the meal categories based on the level of intimacy shared in each relationship.

Table 1: Categorization of Meals vs. Social Relations

Drinks	Cold Meals	Hot Meals
Strangers, Acquaintances, Colleagues	Family, Close Friends, Honored Guests	Family, Close Friends, Honored Guests

Douglas alleged that through comparing the meals and drinks consumed with the people consuming it, the level of intimacy between them can be predicted.

> *Obviously the meanings in our food system should be elucidated by much closer observation…Drinks are for strangers, acquaintances, workmen and family. Meals are for family, close friends, honored guests. The grand operator of the system is the line between intimacy and distance…The meal expresses close friendship. Those we know at drinks we know less intimately…The boundary between drinks and meals, has meaning.* (Douglas, 1971, p. 66)

What Douglas attempts to covey is that as the event involves more food the social relationship is consequently more intimate. The division between cold and hot meal serves the idea that the hotter the meal shared the closer the relationship between those sharing it, whereas the colder it is, the less intimate it is. As for the sharing of drinks, "expresses by contrast only too clearly the detachment and impermanence of simpler and less intimate social bonds" (Douglas, 1971, p. 68) Upon personal inspection of Mary Douglas's theory, it came out as highly plausible; the proportionality of meals vs. intimacy was mainly accurate.

1.6 Food and Identity

More than fifteen years after Douglas's article about meal configuration. Claude Fischler produced the book *Food, Self and Identity*, in which he attempts to convey that the way any given human group eats helps it assert its diversity, hierarchy and organization. Fischler agrees with Douglas on the concept that food is a social construct. According to Fischler, any given human individual is constructed biologically, psychologically and socially by the foods he/she chooses to incorporate. Therefore, the processes or procedures of food identification and the construction of the eater's identity are related by eating habits

and traditions. In order to demonstrate how and why food is so closely linked to identity, Fischler attempts to "recall certain basic characteristics of Homo sapiens' relationship to his/her food in its multidimensional character – behavioral and cognitive, psychological and cultural, individual and collective" (Fischler, 1988, p. 276). Fischler then goes on to introduce the reader to four important concept regarding food and identity.

The first is the idea of incorporation is the moment in which we transport food from the outside into the inside of our bodies. Through this transition we are also incorporating all the properties within the food itself; "To incorporate food is, in both real and imaginary terms, to incorporate all or some of its properties: we become what we eat; incorporation is a foundation for identity" (Fischler, 1988, p. 278). It is widely assumed that the repeated consumption of a certain food tends to transfer certain characteristics of the food analogically to the eater; thus red meat, blood gives strength. The author provides another example of cannibalism where many of the meanings associated with it were of taking on one or more of the characteristics of the victim;

> *Cannibalism provides another set of good examples. A great deal of literature, mainly its endo- and exo- forms: taking on one or more of the characteristics of the victim (especially in the latter case); giving new life, through oneself, to the devoured body (in the former case)* (Fischler, 1988, p. 278)

Thus, the main aim of the principle of incorporation is a human effort of controlling over the body and mind and consequently, his identity. In addition to that, culinary habits have a role on providing a sense of meaning to man and the universe; human beings mark their membership of a culture or a group by asserting the specificity of what they eat. This lead to food and cuisine in become a central component of the sense of collective belonging; "endless examples can be found to illustrate the fact that we define a people or a human group by what it eats or imagined to eat" (Fischler, 1988, p. 279). Therefore, if food makes the eater, it is then natural that the eater should try to make her/himself by eating; yet industrial developments as well as globalization have led to the production of products whose origin is difficult to identity. These developments in turn, have created a dilemma for the eater who depends on food incorporation as a way to identify him/herself, and the difficulty of identifying the food he/she eats consequently leads to a difficulty of identifying themselves.

The process of cooking can be defined as the process in which raw materials are transformed, using the laws of physics and chemistry, into a dish of various food items. However, when it comes to identifying *Cuisine* then the material transformation of food stuff is not enough, for according to Fischler, "cuisine can be defined as the transfer of nutritional raw materials from the state of nature to the state of culture" (1988, p. 282). Cuisine is not so much a matter of ingredients as much as it is classifications, rules and habits ordering the world and giving it meaning. Fischler states that the leading classification of Cuisine to be, is separating food that is edible and that that is not; "In western cultures, insects are not food; nor to take another example, cited by Mary Douglas (1979), is the fox. Why are insects and foxes not regarded as edible? "Probably not for nutritional reasons" (Fischler, 1988, p. 282). The separation of what is edible and what is not is to a certain extent a cultural phenomenon; insects are a popular street in far eastern cultures, which goes to show that the separation is a random choice in which "the code is arbitrary" (p. 282). The second classification, according to Fischler, is religious classifications and food taboos. Fischler makes it a point to clarify the difference between a food taboo and a non-edible food, "in order for a species to be defined as taboo, it must have been already implicitly classified as food. If the forbidden food were not edible, there would be no point in forbidding it" (p. 282). What Fischler attempts to convey by the previous statement, is that food taboos are subject to rules of etiquette and context, for no food is appropriate for everyone at all times, under all circumstances.

Fischler also introduces the concept of *flavor principles*; which are the certain "olfactory and gustatory complexes typical of a given cuisine" (1988, p. 283). They are considered as flavor markers which make a dish recognizable and therefore acceptable as part of a certain culture regardless of what other ingredients are found, "such as the garlic—tomato—olive-oil complex in some Mediterranean cuisines" (1988, p. 283). Flavor principles can also be specific to households as well, also known as *maternal intervention*, which serves precisely to identify and highlight the cook as much as the dish; people away from home who crave their *home* food are at times craving a specific food only when done by their mother specifically. The discovery of the *flavor principles* has played a major role in the presentation of food in restaurant menus; not only do they state the name of the dish

but also under it they state the ingredients inside, which can ease the customer's anxiety regarding the foreignism of the dish and bring a sense of familiarity.

As stated by Fischler, the "two-fold identificatory function of cookery (identification of food and construction of the subject's identity)" (1988, p. 285) has suffered from the evolution of the agro-industry and the industrialization of food production. The modern eater has now become a pure consumer, with no knowledge of the origin or the history of the food he consumes; "Modern food no longer contains its identifiable consistency, flavor, smell and texture but is processed and packaged and ready for consumption" (p. 285). This process is quite troubling for the individual as he/she has come to view modern food as unidentifiable, with no origin or history. This also leads to difficulties which have to do with the identity of the individual himself and the lack of roots in the food he/she is eating translates to the lack of roots in him/herself which can be quite disquieting.

As a conclusion, Fischler suggests the idea, that as an attempt to control their surroundings and food sources, societies began to find ways to systematize their eating habits through diets and recipes; "Through recipes and diets the aim is to reintroduce a normative logic into everyday eating, a coherent system of reference, a rule, in short, an order" (Fishcler, 1988, p. 286). The eater attempted to create the illusion of control on these industrial changes as a way to reintroduce a normative logic into everyday eating, in short, an order, which helps him/her recover meaning and identity.

1.7 Food as a Symbol of Social Solidarity

From Claude Fischler I move on to the work of author Anna Meigs which, similar to that of the previous author, revolved on the relationship between food and identity. Meigs performed an ethnography on the *Hua* people of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, with the goal of discovering

> *…how exchanges of food are linked to bonds of social alliance and solidarity…how food and eating are understood as means that unite apparently separate and diverse objects and organisms, both physiologically and mystically, in a single life. This eating-induced unity has important implications for the Hua understanding of self.* (Meigs, 1997, p. 95)

The *Hua* understand food and eating as a part of a central process that connects organic and inorganic forms with the aim of connecting them on a biological level and at a spiritual level as well.

On the cultural construction of food, Meigs was able to discover similar findings as Douglas had; the presence of certain rules and patterns regarding food consumption. The *Hua* tribe has two sets of rules and those are absolute rules and relative rules. The absolute rules "define a relation between the consumer and a certain kind of food" whereas relative rules "define a relation between a consumer, a food, and a source" (p. 96). To further explain, an absolute rule would be something along the lines of: X cannot eat Y, whereas a relative rule is more similar to: X cannot eat Y from Z. In the relative rule, the ability to consumer Y is largely based on the social relationship between X and Z and has nothing to do with the food itself.

The absolute rules were based on the idea that things which have been in contact "retain a permanent trace of that contact" (p. 96), consequently the *Hua* tribe believed that many human traits are not stable but can come and go through objects or organisms by making contact with them. An example of such rules are that "Young male initiates may not eat food cooked in ashes unless the ashes have been completely removed" due to the fear that the trait of ashy-ness would be transferred from the food onto the eater, and the *Hua* prize an oily skin as a sign of abundance of internal fluids and vitality. Another few examples include; having male fighters eat *kaso*, a sharp and scratchy plant in order to make them fiercer and effective fighters or forbidding a woman in the last stages of pregnancy of eating any dry or hard foods in order not to "dry out her birth canal" (p. 97) and suffer from a difficult birth.

As for the relative rules, they are based on the *Hua* tribe's conviction that the food they eat has the power to affect them not just physiologically but also emotionally, spiritually and mentally through the person who made it or even took part in transferring it to the eater. They took various precautions and had various rules regarding what, how and when they eat a certain food so that they can always keep track of their identities and states.

The *Hua* tribe shared the belief that physical characteristics are not products of a unique organic life and separate individual but on contrary they can be traded around, can flow and penetrate from one object or organism to another through the process of contagion with the main source being food, as it is the most common utility always coming and going from one person to the other. This causes the reader to consider how the social construct of

such a tribe is lacking the sense of individualism, seeing as no traits or characteristics are ever their own but merely a result of contamination from the other.

1.8 Food and Memory

Meigs's ethnography played a vital role in demonstrating food consumption as a social construct. Another important ethnography, albeit more recent, was one performed by David Sutton on the island of Kalymnos, Greece. Sutton wrote his book with the aim of understanding the Kalymnians and their connection between food and strategies of remembering. According to Sutton, although ethnographically focused, his book was not meant as ethnography of food and social life on Kalymnos but rather as a "grounded ethnography to consider issues of current theoretical concern" (2001, p. ix) with the intention of shedding light on current diverse theoretical approaches, ranging from structure and history, to embodiment, to consumption while at the same time suggesting new and important questions for future ethnographic research. His study goes over rituals, gifts and commodities as foods, sensory memory, memorable meals and the actual process of cooking.

Initially when pitching the topic to his colleagues, Sutton describes the response by the department of anthropology in Oxford as filled with doubt as they were unable to comprehend the relationship between food and memory. He mentions receiving the same lack of interest towards his topic upon introducing it in the United States. "My only encouragement came from colleagues working in Greece or other Mediterranean contexts, who would share with me their own anecdotes about long remembered meals" (Sutton, 2001, p. 1), which clearly supplies us with a simple comparison of Western versus Mediterranean type of thought regarding the social symbolism of food; the areas of the Mediterranean; whether the Middle East, Turkey, Greece or Italy, all do share a passion for food making and eating and place value in it much bigger than the nutritional one compared to the west who seem to lack the food and place connection; "the fact that the Oxford [colleagues] found my topic absurd while Greek and Italian colleagues instantly related to it, is in itself ethnographically interesting" (p. 3).

The reason behind Sutton's study began with a need to understand the symbolic power of food; how the simple act of eating, made special by either the way of eating it or method of cooking, came about to present something more existential. A suitable example

would be religion; religion is one of many ideologies that uses food as a symbol; Christians during church services usually supply the congregation with a piece of bread commonly known as *communion bread* as a symbol of the body of Christ being passed onto the receiver, Muslims spend one month per year fasting from food from sunrise to sundown in order to test their will, increase their faith and feel with the less fortunate. Other than religious habits, some food habits are specific to countries; in Turkey, for example, upon visiting the bride's family to ask for her hand in marriage, the groom is served bitter Turkish coffee filled with salt and pepper; the bitterness of the coffee is meant to symbolize the bitterness of life and his ability to drink it all, symbolizes his ability to handle hardships. All the previous examples are-at the core-meant to convey quite significant meanings with food as the conveyer. This goes to show how in numerous countries, their food habits serve a purpose larger than that of nourishment but are symbolically constructed as well.

The strength of food as a symbol is directly proportional to the time and process of making it; the more traditional, the more local and the stronger it is as a national commodity. Unfortunately, as mentioned by Claude Fischler, Sutton also writes about how industrialization weakened the link between food and tradition. In a few interviews done with the elder locals of Kalymnos, the link between food and nostalgia was clearly evident in their words. Reminiscing about the past, one woman mentioned how previously tomato paste used to be sold from one large container onto a piece of paper for each buyer, however now it is sold in cans: "like most things in the past prior to chemical processing, it tasted better" (2001, p. 54). The change of the taste of the tomato paste isn't only due to chemical processing, but is also highly affected by the emotional state of this woman upon seeing the development in its processing, for another woman the old years were represented by eating from a common salad bowl rather than on separate plates. The transition from one common container to separate cans is highly symbolic of individualism and the change in social relations taking place at the time "bringing home the point that in the past there was less separation between people" (2001, p. 55).

From the previous examples, it becomes clear how food and the *older days* are one in the same for many individuals, because the thing about nostalgia is that it isn't necessary to be looking back at a large or exciting event in order to feel it, people can feel nostalgic about something as small as the way their mother used to prepare a sandwich for them right

before going to school. Nostalgia can be formed anywhere, anytime and for any event. Before the substantial arrival of technology and due to the social nature of human beings, people spent a lot of time together and usually that time included creating intimate social bonds while eating or drinking. Therefore, the accumulation of years' worth of memories on top of memories were food and social relations came together, can be a main reason why humans currently and innately link food to *home* since it is through food that they created their social bonds to the other, with the other being; family, friends and social acquaintances.

So what is it specifically about food that makes it such a powerful source of memory? Upon smelling a pot of basil, a Greek migrant living in London immediately says the following: "It really smells like Greece" (2001, p. 74). The role of the sensory in reconnecting and reminding one of places he/she has left behind for short or long term migration is quite important, the senses of smell and taste both have the ability to recreate memories stronger than any other sense; however, the reason this happens on a biological level is not part of this thesis's discussion. Numerous expatriates upon returning from their home country end up bringing with them packages of their local food as having that piece of home with them in a foreign country softens the loneliness one might feel as an outsider, it creates a real, tangible sense of all that is left behind, "there is an imagined community implied in the act of eating food *from home*" (2001, p. 84; See also Anderson, 1983).

From Sutton's study, food was used as a representation of *homeland* and upon reading about the many expatriates sharing their experiences of how customs and traditions become intensified in the migrant context where "cooking is an attempt to reconstruct and remember that whole world of home" (2001, p. 86), it becomes clear that food is about identity creation and maintenance, whether that identity be national, ethnic, class or gender-based. Upon referring to nationalities, people find it the easiest to convey it through food; this is particularly intensified upon leaving the home country.

It is therefore adequate to say that in various cultures, whether tribal or modern, a link between food and identity is present. Whether it is in the structuring of the meals and the people is it shared with, or between the meal and the person consuming it, food plays a role deeper than its nutritional one. Its role as a method of remembering home and as a cultural indicator means that an anthropological study of eating habits of a certain sample

can provide data regarding that sample's cultural identity and social relations. The written literature provided in this chapter regarding the role of food as a symbol of home, will be used to examine the game show Survivor-Turkey 2017 in context of representation of food in it. The choice of Survivor as my case to look at the relationship between food and home seemed adequate for a few reasons; one of which was the fact that the contestants are very far away from home and also put in a very unfamiliar and uncomfortable environment while also suffering from the low amount of food supply. This emotional turmoil and the infrequent consumption of food made it interesting to study the contestants throughout their journey especially for signs of connection between their homesickness and moments of food consumptions.

CHAPTER 2: THE ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION IN MARXIST LITERATURE IN CONTEXT OF ITS FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE

2.1 Introduction

With my study being based on a reality television game show, it is adequate to have this chapter give a detailed explanation about the ins and outs of media, television and reality television and its capitalistic intentions and dealings as well as their role in cultural representation. This chapter will elaborate the Marxist literature in context of television as a cultural form. The chapter opens with Adorno and Horkeimer's *Culture Industry* where they discuss the commodification of culture and its subsequent use to make profit (1944). From there I move onto Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* through which we view the commodification of culture further explained and the effects it has on society (1967). With a high percentage of the population raised by television, the damage has been universal. Therefore, the chapter then tackles Raymond Williams and Neil Postman's writings of the consequences of living in a television dominated culture (Williams, 1975; Postman, 1986). The effects of television are then narrowed down to the topic of Reality television, where various writings are presented discussing in detail the construction of Reality television, its effects and its authenticity. This literature is brought about in order to present a clearer view of the behind the scenes of constructed television shows such as the reality TV show Survivor; the way in which the culture industry takes part in creating an adequate environment suitable for the commercialization of food products away from the typical advertising techniques. My aim in this chapter is to combine the literatures on television as well as on the culture industry in order to understand how the TV show Survivor takes advantage of the tough surroundings of the contestants as a method of promoting food brands and thus carries the ideology of capitalism.

2.2 The Culture Industry

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the birth of new forms of mass communication where a huge entertainment industry came about attempting to make money from cultural products. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer were some of the first scholars to critically engage with these new cultural conditions. They argued that, in recent capitalist societies, culture has become a main commodity which kept the capitalist structure

on its feet. In their book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* Adorno and Horkheimer felt it was necessary to look further into the origin of mass culture in contemporary society. Adorno and Horkeimer's work showed how uncomfortable they were with the nature of modern capitalist society. They drew heavily upon a Marxist framework of analysis, seeing capitalism as fundamentally exploitative, and believing that it must be overthrown for humanity to achieve its full potential.

Adorno and Horkheimer witnessed the emergence of new forms of mass media communication and the entertainment industry, and argued that these developments were of profound significance. They use the term culture industry to describe the commodification of cultural forms that had resulted from the growth of monopoly capitalism (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944). The culture industry has become a method to dominate the masses.

According to Adorno, a production of art, can only be autonomous when it serves a purpose of 'purposelessness' and not used in any shape or form as a method for profit. But in recent times, it has been entirely reshaped as a commodity to be sold to the masses.

In the era of capitalism, Adorno believed that the production and distribution of art had had come under the monopolistic control of the culture industry. Consequently, it had lost its independence and its ability to criticize and speak up to the status quo. On the contrary, Art according to Adorno and Horkeimer became a slave to the market and a means with which the masses can be controlled. In their critique of the culture industry Adorno and Horkheimer describe the way in which culture becomes a tool for domination. This theory resonates fairly well with my case on Survivor Turkey, as my research aims to investigate how the entire purpose of the show is not in the experience of surviving in the wild but rather solely done in order to promote certain products. I aim to show how such productions are no longer done as an art but rather are a tool of commercialism.

The standardization of Art, according to the author, has demolished man/woman's ability to think for themselves and critique their surroundings and therefore made them followers of the status quo. The main reason for that standardization is that those in power have found the methods to produce cultural foods that aim at standardizing people's expectations and opinions which in turn leads to a standard method for earning profit. With

the development of marketing techniques and methods, the ability to target individuals has only become easier and more specialized so none may escape from the culture industry.

A main example of this phenomenon according to Horkheimer and Adorno, was Hollywood. A way to produce a profit, Hollywood is constantly producing movies that from the outside might seem different but at the basis they are all done in the same method to as to make it easy for the viewer to understand all the messages inside it;

Not only do hit songs, stars, and soap operas conform to types recurring cyclically as rigid invariants, but the specific content of productions, the seemingly variable element, is itself derived from those types. The details become interchangeable. The brief interval sequence which has proved catchy in a hit song, the hero's temporary disgrace which he accepts as a "good sport," the wholesome slaps the heroine receives from the strong hand of the male star, his plain-speaking abruptness toward the pampered heiress, are, like all the details, ready-made cliches, to be used here and there as desired and always completely defined by the..purpose they serve within the schema. (Adorno & Horkeimer, 1944, p. 98)

 Thus studios spend enormous amounts promoting bigger better films, new bands, a new star, but rather than these differences in fact it is the underlying structural uniformity which is the really meaningful content of the film.

The problem with standardized art is that it leads to standardized reactions. It does nothing to entice the viewer into thinking for his own on the contrary, it aims at cementing a preexisting concept onto the viewer. Everything has been pre-classified by the production team and the audience has no choice but to become a passive unreceptive recipient of the art; a main part I wish to study in Survivor is this concept of how the production team chooses the scenes on the show, with an interest to see what is being presented to the audience and what isn't. For this reason, Adorno and Horkheimer rejected the term *mass culture* in favour of the term *culture industry,* which it was hoped would highlight the extent to which the cultural products that we consume, and the demand that gives rise to them, are imposed upon us from above, rather than arising spontaneously from the masses.

 Consequently, art is no longer able to maintain any distance from reality. Rather it creates art that is indistinguishable from reality. This is the new ideology of the culture industry. Adorno and Horkheimer argue that the culture industry represents a new form of ideological domination;

Film denies its audience any dimension in which they might roam freely in imagination – contained by the film's framework but unsupervised by its precise actualities – without losing

the thread; thus it trains those exposed to it to identify film directly with reality. (Adorno & Horkeimer, 1944, p. 100)

According to the authors, the key aim of the culture industry was to weaken the masses and prevent them to having the power to take over. This was done by providing a sort of 'distraction' to the viewer in order to keep his mind of the important issues happening around him/her. "Entertainment is the prolongation of work under late capitalism. It is sought by those who want to escape the mechanized labor process so that they can cope with it again" (Adorno & Horkeimer, 1944, p. 109); however it cannot provide genuine happiness, only short-lived and meaningless pleasure. To Adorno and Horkeimer, an individual's true happiness lies in intellectual stimulation and from doing complex work but on the contrary what the culture industry has provided is a set of simple tasks to be done by individuals as an escape from reality in which one can remain confined within the bounds tied around him/her by the higher powers.

The culture industry is the concept of making profit of culturally symbolic products or experiences. Applied to my case study, the culture industry seems all too much present, mainly in the form of food awards (my main focus on the show), which are supplied to a hungry and psychologically and physically tired set of individuals and then that hunger desire for food is used as a tool to sell that product to the entertained viewer. Beyond that the show carries the cultural ideology of capitalism as well. The ways in which the contestants relate to one another, the way it presents utilitarian relations as an ideal form and in some way changes the fabric of the social by creating a monotone sense of competitiveness between the contestants.

2.3 The Society of the Spectacle

Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* deals with the changing relation between direct experience and mediated representation in modern times, and it opens with the assertion that "Everything that was directly lived has receded into a representation" (1967, p. 7). Debord had a very critical stance towards these developments which for him serve for the individualization and separation of human beings and the reinforcement of exploitative class society under advanced capitalism.

According to Debord, the Spectacle is not a collection of images, "but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (p. 7) and he assigns the spectacle with reifying capacities, justifying society as it is. The *Spectacle* was Debord's term for the everyday manifestation of capitalist-driven phenomena; advertising, television, film and celebrity. However, for Debord there is no separation between material real life and the false represented one, the spectacle. They are intertwined to such a degree that "the true is a moment of the false" (p. 9), by displaying life, the spectacle negates them by reducing them to mere appearance. The spectacle's capacity for domination is its self-containment and its "tautological character stems from the fact that its means and ends are identical"(p. 10). The spectacle aims at nothing other than itself.

One of the key notions stated by Debord is "the obvious degradation of being into having… and from having into appearing" were the focus shifted from who one was to what one possessed, the spectacle reduces reality to an endless supply of commodifiable fragments, while encouraging us to focus on appearances (1967, p. 10). As articulated by Debord in the second chapter, late capitalism has turned appearance into a commodity. The spectacle has power because it demands obedience, seeing things the way they are represented, but its one-sidedness rules out any possibility of a dialogue. The spectacle, according to Debord, "is the material reconstruction of the religious illusion" meaning that we assign the meaning of our existence to something which is beyond our immediate life and according to Debord that meaning is our representation of ourselves (1967, p. 12).

With people trying to understand themselves through a representation, they in fact lose all hope of coherently and unitarily live their own life; "the more he accepts recognizing himself in the dominant images of need, the less he understands his own existence and his own desires…This is why the spectator feels at home nowhere, because the spectacle is everywhere" (p. 16). Representation ruling over the Spectacle Society, has led to the unified direct human relations being replaced with the fragmented adherence to the spectacle which isolates them.

With respect to my case on the TV show Survivor-Turkey, Debord's theory assists me in viewing the production of the show from beginning to end as done with a desire to

convey a certain image to its viewer; it gives me a critical perspective to the production process by understanding that actual intentions behind every productions, which is profit.

The notion of commodity, in its Marxist sense, has transcended in advanced capitalism to the form of the spectacle; "the world of the commodity is thus shown for what it is, because its movement is identical to people's estrangement from each other and from everything they produce." (Debord, 1967, p. 19) Commodity is essentially tied with the quantitative that negates any unique intrinsic value and equates everything in our life through the medium of currency. Debord defines a historical Marxist development of commodity by which societies free themselves from the task of surviving only to be enslaved to what granted them this freedom; "Economic growth has liberated societies from the natural pressures that forced them into an immediate struggles for survival; but they have not yet been liberated from their liberator." (p. 20)

"The spectacle is the stage at which the commodity has succeeded in totally colonizing social life" (p. 21). Therefore for Debord, commodities are superimposed like geological layers, with the spectacle on top. If the first industrial revolution subjected humans to physical commodities and alienated them from the product of their own labor, the subsequent development of capitalism has alienated them from a more advanced product of –again- their own labor, the representation of their lives. At first, capitalism cared only about the worker's work and not his leisure time, but with abundance obtained, it now sought his cooperation not as a mere producer, but as a consumer as well, and here is where the spectacle comes into play. The economy can never once and for all defeat privation, it can only move further away from it by paradoxically nurturing it. The new privation is no longer –materially- related to survival, but to something more elevated, something of a false privation and in Debord's phrasing: "The real consumer has become a consumer of illusions. The commodity is this materialized illusion, and the spectacle is its general expression" (1967, p. 24). One of many reasons I chose Survivor as my case study is that it is mainly a human experience being used for entertainment and economical gain, how the hunger of the contestants (due to low supply of food) was being used to create the desire for food in the consumer.

"The spectacle is the flip side of money; it, too, is the abstract general equivalent of all commodities" (p. 24). The spectacle, for Debord, is "the modern compliment of money:

a representation of the commodity world which serves as a general equivalent for what the entire society can do"(p. 24). When providing for a society is replaced by the need to provide for the economy's growth, then that is a clear indication that "the satisfaction of primary human needs [is replaced] with an incessant fabrication of pseudo-needs, all of which ultimately come down to the single pseudo-need of maintaining the reign of the autonomous economy" (p. 25). In other words, the society of the spectacle is for Debord a society which no longer needs a developing economy for its survival, but rather one which has to provide for the survival of the ever developing economy.

Debord viewed the spectacle as capitalism's instrument for distracting and pacifying the masses. It actively alters human interactions and relationships; such as on Survivor which is based on the antagonistic relations rather than friendly ones based on solidarity. Images influence our lives and beliefs on a daily basis; advertising manufactures new desires and aspirations. Debord's notions can be applied to our present-day reliance on technology. These technologies no matter how incredible have reduces our lives into a daily series of commodity exchanges. The spectacle which is driven by economic interest and profit, replaces lived reality with the contemplation of the spectacle. We no longer live, we aspire. We work to get richer; capitalism has thus completely occupied social life. Our lives are now organized and dominated by the needs of the ruling economy. The ruling economy's needs include those of the media, which in turn uses its power through television shows in order to generate pseudo-needs and sell an endless stream of products to the unaware audience.

2.4 Television as a Cultural Form in the Age of Show Business

Television is a form of what Raymond Williams called a cultural technology whose power as a medium of news and entertainment was so great that it altered many of our institutions and forms of social relations (Williams, 1975). Television as a mass communication medium harnessed the ability to alter our basic perceptions of reality and hence our relationships with others and the world. Williams classifies the nine interpretations of the statement "television has altered our lives" into two categories, 1. *Technological Determinism*, 2. *Symptomatic Technology*. Williams develops a critique of technological determinism[3] in defense of television as a cultural form. The former drives from the fact that

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[3] See Marshall McLuhan 1964 and Harold Innis 1951 for Technological Determinism

a society's technology drives the development of its social structure and cultural values, for example, the invention of television "altered all preceeding media of news and entertainment" (p. 3). The latter however argues that if it has not been television, we would still have been manipulated or entertained perhaps by some less powerful means. Both these views share one common sentiment, television managed to alter our world. Hence, there is a requirement of a deeper *theoretical* distinction to understand this.

The industrial revolution marked the breakup of small farming communities as citizens abandoned farm life to work in factories. Thus, the industrial revolution marks the beginning of the mobile family, not only going toward industrial jobs but also having more recreation time to explore and take interest in places and events around them. Williams refers to this as *mobile privatization.* These social conditions spurred the development of broadcast media. The answer to this mobile privatization movement was the development of an affordable domestic receiver. Williams suggests that both the radio receiver and the television receiver followed the same two-step process. The first step was making the technology for transmission available. It was only after that step was completed that groups began to worry about content.

Broadcasting content can be diagnosed as a new and powerful form of social integration and control, "many of its main uses can be seen as socially, commercially and at time politically manipulative" (Williams, 1975, p. 16). According to Williams, the latter is mainly due to the fact that much of the real content of news has been altered by the facts of visual presentation, mainly the "angle of visual reporting" which is crucial in determining the public opinion; in reporting a civil disturbance, whether the camera is showing the demonstrators or the police, leaves no room for neutrality but only encourages bias (p. 45). The press is not simply a machine but a structure for discourse; which both rules out and "insists upon certain kinds of content and certain kinds of audiences" (Postman, 1985, p. 34).

In his book, Neil Postman examines how any civilization's media will determine the way in which it defines truth. He believes that there is no universal way to know truth, but rather that a civilization will identify truth largely based on its forms of communication. A primitive oral culture finds importance in a man who remembers proverbs, since truth is

passed on through such stories, whereas a culture of the written word will find oral proverbs weak and the permanence of written precedent far more important (Postman, 1985).

After the word-centered culture and with the arrival of television a new culture arose; an image-centered culture, a culture that provided a sudden access to instantaneous information no longer limited by geographic distance, and with the influx of images to accompany information, society slowly became less driven by understanding the context of information, and more involved with collecting irrelevant information unrelated to its particular framework. Whatever the original and limited context of its use may have been, a medium has the ability to go far beyond that into new and unforeseen ones. Because of the way it guides us to organize our minds; it enforces itself on our consciousness and social institutions in numerous forms. It is always implicated in the ways we define and adjust our ideas of truth (Postman, 1985).

Television speaks in only one persistent voice, "the voice of entertainment" (Postman, 1985, p. 61). According to Postman, the arrival of "the age of show business" has replaced typographic America by a spectacle that prizes flash and entertainment over substance. Entertainment has become the content of all discourse, so that the message itself became less important than the entertainment value of its delivery. He examines the inherent biases that television has as a medium – it demands rapid-fire editing, non-stop stimulation, and quick decisions rather than rational deliberation –and worries that our world has yet to truly consider these inherent biases in discussing television.

To put it plainly, television is the command center of the new epistemology. There is no audience so young that it is barred from television. There is no poverty so object that it must forgo television. There is no education so exalted that it is not modified by television. And most important of all, there is no subject of public interest--politics, news, education, religion, science, sports--that does not find its way to television, which means that all public understanding of these subjects is shaped by the biases of television. (Postman, 1985, p. 59)

The problem is not that television presents us with entertaining subject matter but that all subject matter is presented as entertaining. Entertainment as Postman argues is the "supra-ideology" of all discourse on television (p. 64). No matter what is being presented or from what point of view, the main presumption is that it is there for our amusement. To make the assumption that technology is always a friend to culture is "stupidity plain and simple" (Postman, 1985, p. 115). Public consciousness has not yet embraced the point that technology is ideology for it imposes a way of life, a set of relations among people and ideas

about which there has been no consensus, no discussion and no oppositions; only compliance. Postman feared that the developed of a society attachment to television entertainment could mean the end of culture;

> *When a population becomes distracted by trivia, when cultural life is redefined as a perpetual round of entertainments, when serious public conversation becomes a form of baby-talk, when, in short, a people become an audience, and their public business a vaudeville act, then a nation finds itself at risk; culture-death is a clear possibility.* (Postman, 1985, p. 156)

In terms of News broadcasting, according to Postman, most news stories last an average of 45 seconds, which is either a cause or symptom of the suggestion that no story has any serious implication to the viewer's life. The use of incessant images or film footages means that any new story will consume a viewer's attention, and keep him or her from reflecting too long or deeply on the preceding story. Further, it has become the nature of newscaster to avoid any tonal commentary on the story they tell or image they display. It is almost as if they do not grasp the meaning of what they are saying because of their dispassionate tone designed to be appealing rather than elucidating. Everything works together to comfort and entertain, rather than inform.

2.4.1   Reality Television as a TV Genre

Given that my case is based on a show under the Reality TV genre, this part will delve into detail about it. Reality TV is in itself a genre that has evolved exponentially throughout the years. Beginning with an idea of capturing on camera the banality of everyday life, the genre then seemed to shift from 'infotainment' such as documentaries and moved on to an emphasis on drama and performance. Reality TV is a genre that is hard to define; upon a basic research of reality TV we can come up with cliché definitions such as; minimal writing, no actors, cheap to produce and a global phenomenon. However, upon further inquiry, reality TV comes out to be a very controversial topic with various definitions. In the book *Representation* by Jenny Kidd, she defines reality TV as a genre "going through a transition that is difficult to define" (Kidd, 2016, p. 90). It is a genre with a conflicted relationship with its audience, who denies watching it but heavily enjoys it, it is without a doubt a commercial genre, and it is a quick fix solution economically, the latter being because of the fact that reality TV shows are the cheapest form to produce given that it is unscripted with non-professional actors and that is it "mostly based on internationally traded

prepackaged and already successful franchises that require little further creative development beyond some local adaptation" (Deery, 2014, p. 20).

According to Misha Kavka (2012, p. 4), author of the book *Reality TV*, a timeline of generations that encompasses the evolution of Reality TV can be drawn out; the first generation which took place in the 1990s, can be defined as the "camcorder" generation, a time when what was provided as reality TV was usually caught on a simple camcorder, examples from that generations could be videos used on America's Funniest Home videos, or clips that are caught on security cameras; all of which were recorded by amateurs using low tech cameras.

The second generation took place from 1999 to 2005: This was known as the competition-based reality TV format-which will be the main focus of my case through the Reality TV game show *Survivor*. This format became a subgenre of typical reality TV-known as GameDocs (Game Documentaries) - due to these four elements; the first was that it required the presence of "ordinary people" or celebrities acting like ordinary people, the second element was that these people had to be in a contrived situation, third is that they had to be facing some kind of challenge and finally they had to be surrounded by cameras, which eventually lead to the birth of *Big Brother* and *Survivor* (Kavka, 2012). The third generation, which over laps the second one, came to be known as the generation of celebrities where reality TV shows revolving around celebrities' lives came to light, a few examples would be the reality TV show Keeping Up With the Kardashians (based on the life of Los Angeles socialite Kim Kardashian and her family) or The Osbournes (one of the first shows of the third generation revolving around the Rock Star Ozzy Osbourne and his family). However, it is with the arrival of the second generation of reality TV also known as competition-based reality TV shows that a transformation in reality TV occurred. It gave it a competitive edge in the industry; it was after their arrival that reality TV no longer became the underdog among TV genres and became a highly saleable global commodity. This was mainly due to the fact that this particular format was adaptable to international format sale because of its cross cultural portability; any given moment we can turn on the TV in anywhere in the world and find that most of the local reality TV shows aired are in fact *localized* version of an international format.

The arrival of the second generation of Reality TV led to the commodification of experience; which suggests that this type of programming has "some special relation to a category of experience termed "reality" (Deery, 2004, p. 5). To declare that Reality TV displays reality is too simplistic but also we somehow cannot definitely say that it doesn't; as there are raw and relatively unprocessed elements in Reality TV, while at the same time there is plenty of work behind the scenes to make the show "appetizing in ways that most people's experience of real life is not" (Deery, 2004, p. 6). Not only do editors constantly shape raw material into dramatic episodes, but they have the right to directly intervene to construct a more entertaining narrative (Deery, 2004).

2.4.1.1 What is Real in Reality TV?

When considering reality TV shows and specifically gamedocs (game show documentaries) such as *Big Brother* or *Survivor*, it is important to keep in mind that one of their main elements is the fact that the contestants are in a constructed environment and not in their regular one, which can definitely lead to a play-off between performance and authenticity where people create meta-versions of themselves, "reality television represents the extreme form of this everyday role-play" (Hill, 2015, p. 52). Reality TV participants knowingly and intimately display themselves-or rather images of themselves-to a mass and invisible audience, add to that the presence of cameras documenting their every move and the awareness that they are being watched by millions at home, all of which can give the contestant a sense that something "more" is expected of him than his natural self. which in turn causes the contestant to over compensate by either being overly dramatic or overly-perfect to a point where they lose their authenticity and consequently their connection with the audience.

It is therefore important to shed a light on what a camera captures in the first place and how it transfers those moments from reality onto a television set. An article "How Real Can You Get" by Richard Killborn written in 1997 discusses just that about the filming of documentaries with ideas that can also be applied to today's reality TV phenomenon. Killborn writes that lens-based imagery commands our faith that what it shows is the "original object itself", however what is actually taking place are two separate events; the first being a "profilmic event" which is what we witness of TV and the second being a

"putative event" which is "what might have happened had the camera not been there in the first place". Killborn's point is the same as what we previously mentioned about the contestant and their awareness of the camera; we can certainly not know what this person might do in an actual situation simply because the mere presence of a camera and a production crew changes the way they do it no matter how slightly especially when it comes to filming more intimate forms of human conduct since they are "particularly liable to adaptation for the lens" (Killborn, 1997)

If we were to compare an episode of the hit murder investigation drama *Criminal Minds*, or any other successful fictional series on our television screens for that matter, to an episode of a popular Reality TV series such as *Keeping Up With The Kardashian* what differences can be found between the two shows? Obvious answers could be that they both come from two different genres, with a different target audience and that they tackle very different topics, some might actually say that one is a Reality TV show while the other is a fictional production. So the question is this, given that both of these productions are done in front of a camera with a number of film crew surroundings the "actors", that both require post production work, both are edited and both are being transmitted to you, the viewer, through your television screen, given all of that, what is it that makes *Keeping Up With The Kardashians* seem like a part of reality while *Criminal Minds* remains fictional to the audience?

A main reason why *Keeping Up With The Kardashians* is assumed to represent reality while *Criminal Minds* doesn't, is because *Keeping Up* was produced in a manner (suitable for audience deconstruction) that represented reality much more than *Criminal Minds* did. This production process takes place in a manner that is well aware of the audience's ability to interpret the meaning of reality from "their own cultural contexts" (Barker, 1999, p. 110); viewers are always decoding the texts they see on television, however not all viewers decode the same, they interpret mass-mediated texts according to their background, their education and knowledge based (Berger, 2003).

Television messages carry multiple meanings and can be interpreted in different ways; well aware of viewers' decoding abilities and the different meanings each can interpret on their own (See Stuart Hall coding/decoding), reality TV producers choose to limit what

the viewers can interpret by structuring the text with a 'dominant' meaning to which the text guides us to by using various editing styles and creating storylines. Having captured fragments of reality, film producers actively intervene to shape those fragments into an artifact, the viewer must always keep in mind that the hour-long show he/she views on his/her television screen is composed of snippets carefully chosen from a collection of week-long 24 hour video footage stuck together carefully for his entertainment. If such information can tell us anything it would be that the narrative of each episode is both "selective and subjective" (Killborn, 1997) yet, the manner in which the narrative represents events as having occurred may as well be accepted by the audience as being the way things were. It is therefore a powerful and potentially dangerous means of communication which has the ability to convince audiences that lying propaganda speaks the truth.

Although named *real*ity television, what we do end up watching is mainly a constructed set up that contains "fictional elements" (King, 2005) especially when it comes to competition-based reality shows. The media affects us on many different levels; it gives us ideas, help share our opinions and attitudes, it affects our emotions, our behavior and our psychological state. Television doesn't show the world the way it really is, but rather offers a highly distorted picture of it. The reality we see on television, we must remember is always a mediated, highly edited, distorted image of reality. People assume that what they see on television is what is real, however they aren't aware that someone else always determines what they see & that what they see maybe taken out of context.

A study by Andrew Sullivan (2000) on Testosterone levels of people watching sports matches, determined that the rise and fall in the levels depended on whether the person's favorite team was either winning or losing. This lead to the conclusion that the screen could literally be a 'transmitter' in the way it amplifies and distributes its affects. One of the specific aspects of televisual affective transmission, which is fully exploited by reality TV programs, is the capacity of television to spark and sustain mediated intimacies. Television promises to bring things close; to bring people close, giving viewers a sense of familiarity with recurring personalities (such as on Survivor where in the Turkish version the same cast can stay on the show for up to 6 months) that leads to the feeling of knowing these personalities intimately as though they-viewer and contestant- are "all one big family" (Kavka, 2012). This goes to show the crucial role of reality TV in its attempt to create a

strong bond between the viewer and the participant and eventually using that bond for monetary gains.

The globalization of television has acted as a resource for the deconstruction and reconstruction of cultural identities; the meaning which people produce interactively with television is woven into their identity (Barker, 1999). Therefore, what is cultural identity? According to Chris Barker (1999, p. 9), it is "the description we hold of ourselves & with which we identify". And where do those descriptions we hold of ourselves come from? In a world overtaken by media in our homes, our pockets and our workplaces; those descriptions are constituted in and through cultural representation (including what is produced by the media in general and television in specific). The public sphere is now a media saturated one in which the visual has gained in prominence over the verbal. In this mediated sphere, not only does the public enter the domestic sphere via the television set but also the boundaries between the public and private are blurred (Barker, 1999).

When it comes to commercialization in Reality television, it provides particularly strong cases of contemporary forms; both production and content of reality television reflect broad socioeconomic trends related to accelerated commercialization particularly through the prioritization of profit over public service goals, through personal image marketing, nonunionized outsourcing and other budget-cutting strategies and various forms of indirect advertising.

2.4.2   Advertising as a TV Genre

The role of television can be divided into two separate economies, the first being a "cultural economy of consumption" which is the site of cultural meanings, pleasures and social identities and the second being a "financial economy of production" where the primary aim is concerned with money and the exchange value of commodities (Fiske, 1987, p. 260). The globalization of the institution of television is an aspect of the dynamic logic of capitalism, which stems from the pursuit of profit as the primary goal. The media is a vehicle for corporate marketing, manipulating audiences to deliver them to advertisers; it entertains us, socializes us, informs us, educates us, sells things to us as well as sells us as audience for profit (Berger, 2003).

The most important television genre by far economically, is the commercial. There is a physiological, psychological and social dimension to commercials that have important consequences on the audiences. Most media sources are, at base, cultural devices for selling things and that is the commercial nature of their activities, that is the most inescapable aspect of what they do (Deery, 2014). This commercial logic has one aim and that is encouraging consumption from the viewers since according to the media in the end the portrayal of consumption is meant to encourage consumption. This encouragement goes back to the convergence of the public and private spheres which we have mentioned earlier, the blurring of the space between the two has led to a co-dependence from the viewer on television as a source of cultural consumption and from television on the viewer as a source of financial profit.

Today, commercialization is a growing presence in an increasingly branded and mediated life, to the point where it is becoming difficult to distinguish the commercial from the noncommercial (Deery, 2014). Broadcasters' aim in keeping its audience entertained is purely capitalist. The better the viewer's mood is the more vulnerable she/he is to commercials and willing to consume. Capitalist values are encouraged in television programming in a number of ways, with the most obvious being advertising. Advertising is aimed at encouraging materialistic values and in some instances irrational impulse buying. The advertising industry spends a great deal to portray products and services as needs and encourage viewers to associate success with their acquisition as well as the belief that material goods and wealth are important for personal happiness and social progress. Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that heavy television viewing is associated with unrealistic perceptions of affluence and support for capitalist values. Most of us have been brainwashed by our consumer culture to over-consume. Worse, over time this hyper-consumption has become part of our identities. Our values, attitudes, habits, and practices reflect this culture of addiction. It is important to be aware that the culprit isn't just the commercial but the program itself plays a role in encouraging consumption, the cost of the lifestyles represented in the most popular TV sitcoms are well beyond what the average person can afford. TV characters always seem to be well-dressed, debt-free and driving expensive cars up to their pristine homes. But despite their alluring jobs, most of these characters would be solidly middle-class in the real world. This lead to the viewer having to

live up to a standard that actually does not exist, which keeps him/her stuck in an endless cycle of disappointment. Television's impact on the audience amplified with the arrival of *Reality Television,* ideologies promoted through reality TV are very powerful. Including the term *reality* suggests to viewers that what they see is a completely genuine and unbiased presentation of real life with real people. Viewers are therefore able to relate and identify with the people on the show at a higher level.

2.4.2.1 Advertising in Reality Television

For years, we have been used to the model of separate program and commercial break, however given the current digital technology and the mass use of DVR's (Digital Video Recorders) "which allows users to skip commercial breaks" (Deery, 2004, p. 12), advertisers are in search of a more direct influence on popular programming. This was particularly evident in Reality Television as it's "the most flexible framework for multifaceted advertising techniques" (Deery, 2004, p. 1). Aware of audiences' barely tolerable attitude towards advertising and interruptive commercial breaks, reality TV programming attempts to use more integrative models in which advertising becomes vital and necessary in a way in which is enables on-screen experiences rather than distracting from them. "One major form of commercial integration is product-placement" (Deery, 2014, p. 12); which is the practice of inserting brands of products in media content for some sort of payment, placement works by permanently imprinting the brand onto the program, in a study done by Neilsen (2011) nine out of ten prime-time shows with the most product placement were reality TV shows. The attractiveness of product-placement on Reality TV shows can be credited to a range of factors. For one, Reality television's position as a staged reality combining the planned and the spontaneous, offers considerable flexibility. Much of the discussion that will follow focuses on one of the most watched Reality TV shows *Survivor*, with some references to other formats.

When it comes to shows such as Survivor, initially it would seem as though it isn't suitable for advertising techniques such as product placement, since the whole point of the show is surviving in an environment with minimal products. However, this has been used as a "vehicle for some aggressive forms of advertising, including product placement" (Deery, 2004, p. 13). In fictional formats, product placement is usually done in a subtle manner that

supports the general realism of the production, which is done in order to diffuse viewer resistance to commercial messages; for example, products can appear as prizes (in gamedocs), rewards (talent competitions), romantic gifts (dating shows), and aid (home and beauty makeover shows).

When it comes to Survivor, the unusual and barren setting of the show "acts as a foil" (Deery, 2004, p. 14); this gives the product a chance to a more explicit and active part of the narrative; the absence of other means of satisfying desire creates an exaggerated hunger in the participants and a "genuine enthusiasm that advertisers don't usually find in a paid testimonials" (Deery, 2004, p. 14). The contestants on Survivor are the most adequate group of people for selling products, mainly due to their commodity starved situation, the players' desire for the object becomes a dramatic element of the narrative. "When the contestants are rewarded, it is not with soda but with Mountain Dew, it is not with beer but with Budweiser, not snacks but Doritos" (Deery, 2004, p. 14), the show doesn't highlight what the general function of the food is, instead it highlights what its brand is, brands which are, from the previous examples, familiar and celebrated elements of the desired culture. On one hand, we are aware that the contestants are hungry enough to desire any kind of food, and their reactions would have been somewhat the same no matter what the brand of food given is. Yet, when presented with food items familiar to them, it conveys a sense that the players are not only enjoying nutrition but are also connecting to an absent and familiar culture when handed cultural related items, hence giving their reactions a sense of emotionality and credibility.

Survivor is a show that relies on the commodification of three items, experience, goods and individuals. It works in terms of encouraging consumption by subconsciously sending the message that lack of material belongings is something to fight through and endure and that the main aim is to collect and consume. What is interesting is that Survivor Turkey is a show that seems highly constructed even though it is labeled as a Reality show, which is why I wanted it for my case study. It is a show that labels itself a Reality show, however it is filled with sponsored categories and with various side games that are created for the sole reason of providing a space for the sponsored product chosen by the producers in order to present it as an award for the winner. What separates it from other game shows is the human factor, where in Survivor specifically the players are undergoing genuine tough

conditions (as far as the producers show us) and suffering from hunger and that hunger and tiredness is used to have them compete against each other in order to win an item they truly need but their needs are being used as a marketing tool. The ethics of that is a topic for another case study however what this case study is attempting to understand is food and its representations, those representations could be a a symbol of home and family but also the representations of the capitalistic face of game show production.

2.5 Previous Studies on Survivor – Turkey

Survivor-Turkey has been the topic of some unpublished MA research, three of which are as follows:

The first study is about globalization and localization of western television program formats in the Turkish context: ideology, narrative and representation in "*Survivor: Türkiye – Yunanistan*" (Şakrak, 2008). In this study, the author's main topic was foreign TV programs which are adapted from Western TV channels to private Turkish TV channels and how these types of programs, and their formats were established in Turkey along with globalization and this establishment occurred by re-stating the dominant ideological expressions in them. The author used a season of Survivor as a case study for the framework of ideology and presentation of these programs.

The second study revolved around the relations between Humans and Nature through its representation in the game show Survivor, *Medyada İnsan-Doğa İlişkisi: Survivor Örneğinde 'Vahşi Doğa' Tasviri* (Avcı, 2015):

Through this study, the author concentrated on the critical analysis of nature discourse in *Survivor* as a reality show. The main focus is on how nature is reflected in relation to "reality" in the TV program Survivor. In this study, the relationship of a reality show with "reality" along with person-nature relationship has also been examined. This study examines the presentation of nature in *Survivor* and questions how the relationship of nature and person with nature has been represented in media.

The third study focused on the role of capitalism in competition shows; *Kapitalist Rekabetçi Birey Bağlamında Survivor All Star Öreneği* (Gürbostan, 2016): The aim of this study was to show how the attributes of the capitalist system are used effectively in the competitions show on television. The author uses the competition show *Survivor – All Star* season as an example to present how such shows aim at benefiting the capitalist system.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF THE REALITY TV COMPETITION SHOW SURVIVOR-TURKEY SEASON 2017

The aim of this research study was to answer the following two questions; the first was "How does food work as a symbol of home on the reality TV show Survivor-Turkey? and how is it represented?" while the second one was "How does the production team of the TV show Survivor use food representation as a method of advertising?" I attempted to investigate both questions by watching Survivor-Turkey 2017 for the duration of 8 weeks of its 24 week run; my focus was aimed at the episodes with the challenge rewards being food products. I present my findings below.

3.1 Discussion of the Representation of Food in Survivor as a Symbol of Home:

Regarding the role of food as a representation of home, Survivor Turkey was an adequate setting which supplied enough data to confirm my question. From the table in Appendix 1 we can see that out of 31 food rewards 14 of them are considered 'Turkish', they included the İskender Döner (thin meat slices with yogurt), Sigara Börek (Cheese rolls), Saç Kavurması (Fried Diced Lamb), Tarhana Çorbasi (Tarhana Soup), and Kuzu Tandır (Roasted Lamb in the traditional tandoori pit), while the rest of rewards either came from American fast food chains such as Burger King, Popeye's and Arby's, or came in the form of chocolate.

In answer to my research question, it is adequate to state that although all food rewards were welcomed immensely by the contestants, upon finding out that the reward is a 'national' food the recorded reactions where more heavily expressed; including some contestants crying, becoming teary eyed, screaming. These findings resonate with the literature on food and symbolism, as it does show that the presence of 'national' food does lead to the contestants remembering their parents and hometowns as well as a reminder of their 'national' identity. The first example is when contestant Adem Kılıççı, while eating the reward of Saç Kavurması felt compelled to tell the other eating contestants; "I hope you all enjoy the food of my city Ağrı", in this example the sense of belongingness towards one's home town is evident and goes in parallel with the literature on national identity by Benedict

Anderson and Micheal Billig's idea of banal nationalism, where the usage of wording such as *my* and *our* in referring to the home country is an unobvious way of conveying national identity. It also provides us with evidence regarding the correlation between food and place that occurs once encountering national food, since Adem's first reaction upon seeing his food was to mention that it is a specialty of his city rather than only mention his hunger.

The second example includes the reaction of Ilhan Mansız on the 29th of February, where when finding out that the reward was Kayseri Mantı he mentioned: "Bu memleketimizin tadı, çok hasretiz" (This is the taste of our home country, we miss it a lot), this example is especially important because of the fact that Ilhan lives in Germany and therefore has previously been living as an expatriate prior to the show. His usage of the sentence "we missed the taste of our home country" shows how he is well aware of how national foods are a part of the home country and that consuming them gives one the feeling of being part of 'home' again. Another known expatriate on the show was Adem who regarding Saç Kavurması (on the 13th of Martch) went on to say the following: "Ben Baba tarafından Ağrılı anne tarafından Erzurum'luyum. Yani oraların kokusunu uzun zamandır koklayamadım, yemeğini de yiyemedim, o yüzden bana bu bir hediye oldu" (My dad is from Ağrı and my mom is from Erzurum – traditional food for both sides of the family- I haven't smelled those places in a long time nor have I eaten their food, therefore this is a dear present for me). Since Adem lives in Istanbul away from his family, here we can see how he brings together the smell and food and associates it with home and family.

Regarding another national food award (on the 26th of February) contestant Şahika Ercümen shared the same views with Ilhan by saying: "Burada yöresel yemeklere çok hasretiz. Açlık var ama hindistan cevizi veya pilav bunu karşılamıyor. Memleket kokularını almak çok önemli" (Here, we are longing for national food. We are hungry and coconut and rice do not compare to this (pointing to reward), to be able to take in the smells of our home country is very important). From all these examples, we can see how the senses are very crucial in creating the atmosphere of nostalgia. David Sutton talks about this topic regarding one of his case studies where an expatriate upon smelling basil says: "smells like Greece" (see Sutton, 2001); for upon winning the reward and as the food is served to the winner Adem then goes on to say to his teammate "Anadolu'yu koklayalım" (Let's smell Anatolia) As we can note, Ilhan uses the words *taste* while both Adem and Şahika then use the words

smell in while referring to food shows how food is being thought of as a carrier of home.

A third example would be that of contestant Eser West (on the 10th of February) who upon finding out that the food reward was burgers from Arby's commented: "Before coming [to survivor], I ate Arby's for the first time with my dad so I remembered him when seeing it and I will remember him when eating it." This example is important for two reasons, the first being the role of foods with memory, for here I am referring to the work of Mary Douglas regarding the types of food and how the ways we share them with others determine our social relations. Food is a commodity that is usually consumed in groups, whether it is with family, friends, significant others and even colleagues, the act of consuming it will most likely always create a link for the eater between the food consumed and the people it was consumed with. In the example, I mentioned above and most of the examples in my study, once asked to comment, most contestants begin commenting by linking the food reward with a person (if not a place, like the previous examples of Ilhan and Adem), some mention their mother's cooking others mention their children or friends while in this case Eser mentioned his father.

Another reason for the importance of his example is that Eser West although Turkish was born and raised in America and it's worth mentioning how he conjured the memory with his father when the reward was Arby's which is an American fast food chain, this seems to show that Arby's could be a possible symbol of home for Eser specifically knowing that America is in many ways his home country. Another example includes the reaction of contestant Sema Apak who upon winning the reward of İskender Döner (on the 27th of February) said: "Bu tabağı oğlum için yiyorum; en sevdiği yemek" (I am eating this plate for my son, it is his favorite food) and the reaction of contestant Berna Keklikler on 13th of March in response to her opinion of çıtır mantı said: "Çıtır mantı buraya gelmeden once yedim kardeşimle" (I ate this food with my sister before coming here). With these examples, we can see that national food was not only taken for its nutritional benefits but also because it was a symbol of social bounds as well since in many of the examples the reactions of the contestants include mentioning a person with whom they might have shared this food with or who it reminds them of, which shows what a social act food consumption is especially in the cases when it is considered a 'national' food. This was also evident on the 13th of March, when the reward included Kuzu tandır which to contestant Ilhan Mansız was a reminder of

his mother: "annemin yemekleri çok özledim, seyirciler çok teşekkür ederim kuzu tandır seçtiler" (Kuzu Tandır was one of the food Ilhan was hoping would be chosen, and he thanked the viewers for choosing it as he said that he missed his mother's food dearly). Ilhan also mentioned memories of his parents on the 21st of February upon winning the reward of Sigara Börek, he said: "Sigara böreği yerken gözlerimizi kapatarak bir nevi memlekete gittik. Belki anne ocağına belki baba ocağına işte annenin mutfağındaki anılarımıza geldi." (While eating it, we closed our eyes and went back to our mothers' kitchens and the moments we shared in it), which conveys to us the how food works in bringing memories and emotions to the eater. The previous examples present us with two specific symbolic roles of food the first being a symbol of family while the second being a symbol of home country; both of which are under the bigger concept of *home*. Therefore, we can clearly see that food is not just food it works as something beyond itself; it is evident that it becomes a catalyst in reminding the individual of home and family, thus it brings the individual the feeling of belongingness.

Upon going over the words of the contestants regarding their memories, it very much resonates with and demonstrates the work of David Sutton, especially regarding the idea that food comes about to present something more existential than itself. On the island, we can see the changes the contestants go through upon either winning or losing an award and upon consuming food and whether that food is traditional or not. What seems evident is that once the contestants consume food, there is this sense of return to "human-ness" that they had for a little while seem to have lost in their time on the island, they become less aggressive, they gossip less about each other, and they are quieter and keep themselves busy by doing their relative chores. Although that is partly due to again consuming food and feeling energetic, it could also be due to the fact that consumption of food serves as a symbol of the outside world and of their part in it.

3.2 Discussion of the Representation of Food as a tool of Commercialism

The second part of this research revolved around the commercialism surrounding the production process of Survivor-Turkey in relation to food representation. I was curious to find out how the production team uses both the state of hunger that the contestants are in as well as the representation of food as a crucial and needed commodity to their advantage in advertising various food brands. Out of the 31 episodes used for this case, 26 of them where

sponsored all of which included positive reactions from the contestants. Upon continuous observation, it became apparent that during the episodes in which the food reward was sponsored by a certain brand, the food was represented much differently than on the episodes on which the food was not sponsored.

The difference in representation had various components, with the first being the host; on the days when the food was sponsored; the announcement of the food reward is done by media mogul Acun Ilıcalı (Owner of the channel which airs Survivor; TV8 as well as the executive producer of Survivor), then to create the needed excitement before announcing it, he hypes up the contestants (who are quite hungry) by asking them "açıyım mı?" (Do I open it?) and the contestants scream "AÇ" (OPEN) and this is done for three times and then right before he opens the box an announcement comes up on the top right of the screen saying "Reklamlar" (Advertisments) as a disclaimer, afterwards he opens the box and a close up shot of the food comes up on screen showing an impeccable image of the food. The screen then switches to show the faces of the contestants, the screaming, the lip biting, the shock and all adequate reactions are portrayed. Then Acun, claiming that he wants to motivate the contestants, proceeds to take a bite of the food right in front of the contestants and through a close up shot, his bite is done slowly and followed by adequate compliments from Acun himself as well as by shots of the contestants almost drooling while looking at him, he then usually invites one or two contestants for a chance to comment on that reward whether it be if it is their favorite food or comment how hungry they are. The former portrayed scene is done every time a certain food brand is sponsoring the food reward; the screaming to open the box, the close up shots of the food, close up of Acun eating the food, switch shots to the contestants looking at Acun eating the food with the corresponding facial expressions, then proceeds to ask for comments from the contestants, all are the usual system before the challenge game begins, it should be noted that there were two times where the food was sponsored but the host was not Acun but was Alp Kırşan -a member of Acun's Survivor production team and a host of another television program on TV8 called "Alp ve 3 çocuk"- the first time was when the food award was by a new brand named "Boombastic" and the other was on the 29th of March 2017.

The arrangement[4] of the events leading up to announcing the food reward very clearly demonstrates how the symbolic value of food becomes a tool for advertisement and marketing. Not only do such arrangements occur while announcing the reward but there are other arrangements as well. Upon winning, an entire 5-minute scene is prepared for when the winners eat the reward; it starts with a wide shot of the Dominican Republic scenery accompanied by upbeat music as the contestants make their way to the eating area which is usually a special set up with a color scheme corresponding to the logo of the sponsored brand; for example when the sponsored brand was Migros, one of the biggest supermarket chains in Turkey whose colors are orange and white, the set-up designed was filled with orange and white colors, from the balloons to the table settings down to the napkins. Another example is about Coca Cola; where when announcing a reward sponsored by the brand, Acun carries a plate that carries Coca Cola's famous colors of red and white, and then goes on to take a bite from it. All these actions are subtle attempts in linking the brand onto the viewers mind in order to encourage the consumption of it. Once the set-up is ready, the winners then take a seat followed by the winners welcoming the trays of food coming their way, we then watch the contestants eat their food while closing their eyes to convey how much they are enjoying every bite down to the last crumb, the scene then consequently ends with the empty plates left behind as the contestants walk away happily while upbeat music plays in the background.

In comparison, on days when the contestants' main reward is a communication award, in addition to a basic food commodity such as lentils or eggs, the differences are quite apparent. On those days, the host is no longer Acun but the host is changed to Alp Kırşan, to convey a sense of "less importance" also when informing the contestants about the food they will be winning in this challenge, there is no excessive excitement shown from the contestants as well as they aren't given a chance to comment on it nor do we see them eat it afterwards. This shows how much is done during the production process solely in order to encourage the consumption of the brand sponsoring that episode.

This difference in representation, on a certain level can be expected. However, it leads to various questions mainly surrounding the ethicality of the show. It is quite clear that

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[4] Here arrangement means the chronological order of the events, the camera angles, the sounds, the host, the advertisements as well as the contestants' emotional responses.

the contestants' 'actual' hunger is being used a method of encouraging food consumption and specifically the consumption of the brands sponsoring the show. The whole concept is about leading the contestant to a state of crucial hunger in order to get them to a point where his/her reactions are intense enough to affect the viewer into consuming the advertised brand. This sharply presents what author June Deery mentions regarding the commercial part of Survivor – America, that Survivor provides for a "genuine enthusiasm that advertisers don't usually find in paid testimonials" since these contestants are so commodity starved that regardless of what they are given their excitement would be dramatic yet it is portrayed on TV as though it is the product causing this reaction (Deery, 2004).

On a personal note, I have twice fallen into the trap of consuming certain brands upon seeing them on Survivor, those brands where Luppo Sandviç Cake, a brand which I have never thought of buying until seeing it as a food reward and the other being Popeye's, which I ended up visiting a day after seeing it as a food reward on the show. In both cases, it was the step in which Acun eats the food in front of the contestants and seeing their reactions of wanting the food, that increased my desire for the brand.

3.3 Competition as a tool of Capitalism

Living on the island, sharing the bare minimum with a certain number of people, having quite some free time, does lead to the creation of social bonds between certain players. From the first few weeks of the show, the formation of groups comes to slowly take place; it becomes obvious as each group starts sitting together in a certain corner, cooking together and these relationships then become so strong and so separated from the other groups that some groups end up sleeping in a separate area all together. These social bonds usually occur either through the exchange of the low amount of food present or through the mutual feeling of hunger taking over the contestants. Anna Meigs, notes of how the "exchanges of food are linked to bonds of social alliance and solidarity…how food and eating unite apparently separate and diverse objects" (Meigs, 1997, p: 95); contestant Sedat Kapurtu (on the 20th of February) protested against every group eating separately on the island and instead attempted to encourage everybody to eat at the same time together claiming that it is better: "beraber oturup ne güzel sohbet edip yiyorduk…ayrı gayrı olduğu zaman ben sevmiyorum" (How nice it was to sit together and chat, I don't like when

everyone sits separately [to eat]), although Sedat then followed this by mentioning that when everyone cooks together, the given rice ends up too salty for his liking but he still preferred it to eating separately. This indicates that to Sedat the bonds of social alliance ranked higher than having food that tastes good if it meant eating alone, which shows how significant social bonds are on the island.

While social bonds do seem important for the contestants, upon watching the show in a critical manner it became apparent that Survivor-Turkey is produced in a manner to encourage competition between the contestants, not only during the official challenges but also during the side challenges as well. The side events happens on three levels all in which have the contestants competing on an individual level; the first is a side competition called "*Bil Bakalım*" (*Let's see if you know*) which is a general knowledge trivia challenge and each contestant plays for himself with the prize being double quantity of food in the next reward challenge only for said player, the second is the "*Sembol Oyunu*" (*Symbol Game*) which is also an individual game similar to the game challenges where the winner gets to collect a symbol and when he collects a certain number of symbols gets a guaranteed spot in the top 4 of the show. In addition to winning the symbol, the winner also gets to eat a meal and has the chance to take only three of his team's contestants with him. Another example is, throughout the week, each player's winning points are being calculated and every time during the weekly elimination council, Acun announces the female and male contestant with the highest points and both are given coffee and biscuits as a reward the next morning.

What these side challenges seem to do is to constantly remind the contestant that in the end he/she is fighting for him/herself and to not lose track of what this show is about. They are adequately timed in order to prevent the contestant from losing her/himself in the team spirit and to always keep the sense of egoism alive, the show seems to work as a miniature version of a capitalist society, where competitiveness is king and separatism is crucial, where everything is something to be won, something to be desired and sought after.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to look at the reality TV competition show Survivor – Turkey 2017 in order to study two things; the first was the representation of food as a symbol of home by observing the contestants, who are far away from Turkey as well as living under difficult conditions, and understand how their reactions to 'national' food rewards seem to convey a symbolic value to the food. The second item this study attempted to look at was the production process of the show and the ways in which it uses the states of hunger and homesickness that the contestants are living in, as a method of advertising of the food brands sponsored on the show.

The research questions of this study were the following:

1.   Do the contestants symbolize the 'national' food rewards they consume on Survivor as a symbol of home and family? If so, how?
2.   Does the production process of the show Survivor make use of the hunger of the contestants to sell the presented food brands? If so, in what ways?

Regarding the first question, given the data collected, it is adequate to say that yes 'national' food did symbolize home and family for the contestants. I have come to this conclusion mainly through the testimonials of the contestants presented in the analysis chapter above. The various testimonials included the contestants mentioning their home city, their mothers, as well as Turkey in general when talking about the feelings upon consuming the rewarded 'national' foods. This conclusion was expected, as an expatriate myself, I do have a first-hand experience in the emotional value that food from home brings and therefore my findings didn't surprise me.

In regards to the second question, my data was confirming of the fact that yes, Survivor-Turkey does make use of the excitement of the contestants and their hunger as an advertising method. I have come to this conclusion upon observing the representations of food, the camera shots used of the contestants' facial expressions, the way Acun eats the food in front of the hungry contestants and the consequent shots of the contestants looking at him while eating it, all of which only occur in the episodes which are sponsored by the certain brands while on the episodes with no sponsor, none of these events occur.

This study does add to the literature written on Survivor-Turkey in regards to both

the food representation on the show as well on the commercial structure of it. In regards to the commercial structure of the show, further research can be done by studying the audience of the show in order to further understand whether such production techniques affect the audience positively or negatively. Another possible topic of study would be a thorough research regarding the ethicality of the show and whether the use of the actual states of hunger and fatigue of the contestants for financial profit is ethical or not.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 2: List of Episode Dates with corresponding Food Rewards and Reactions

Date	Reward	Reactions	Sponsored (Y/N) - Brand
21/1/17	Bag of Rice	None	Y - Migros
27/1/17	Two Eggs Each + Bag of Lentils	None	Y - Migros
30/1/17	Börek (Type of pie made from thin dough sheets, can be filled with cheese, spinach or minced meat)	Positive	N
3/2/17	Pizza	Positive	Y – Sbarro Pizza
7/2/17	Communication Award + 3 potatoes each	None	N
10/2/17	Burger + Fries	Positive	Y – Arby's
13/2/17	Chocolate cake	Positive	Y – Luppo
14/2/17	Communication Award + 3 Eggs each	None	N
17/2/17	Burger + Fries	Positive	Y – Burger King
20/2/17	Bed	Positive	Y - Yataş
21/2/17	Sigara Börek (Cheese rolls)	Positive	Y – Yapı Kredi
24/2/17	Sandwiches + Coca Cola	Positive	Y – Dardanel + Coca Cola
27/2/17	İskender Döner (Thin slices of meat with tomato sauce and yogurt)	Positive	Y – Usta Dönerci
3/3/17	Chicken Wings	Positive	Y – Popeye's Chicken
6/3/17	Tarhana çorbası (Tarhana Soup), Erzurum kuru fasulyesi (Dry beans from Erzurum), Bulgur, Turşu (Pickles), köme tatlısı (Turkish Dessert).	Positive	Y - Migros

Date	Reward	Reactions	Sponsored (Y/N) - Brand
10/3/17	Burger + Fries + Onion Rings	Positive	Y – Burger King
13/3/17	Yemek Konseyi[5] (Food Council): Cıtır Mantı (Smalls dough balls filled with minced meat) Saç Kavurma (Fried Diced Lamb) Ciğer (Liver) Kuzu Tandır (Lamb roasted in a traditional method inside a hot pit called a Tandori)	Positive	Y – Coca Cola
17/3/17	Burger + Fries	Positive	Y – Arby's
17/3/17	Wrap Sandwiches	Positive	Y – Yapı Kredi
21/3/17	Chocolate Bar	Positive	Y – Boombastic (New Upcoming Brand in the Market) *Alp was the host and not Acun
21/3/17	Communications Award + 2kgs of Bulgur	None	N

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[5] A contest sponsored by Coca Cola where the viewers send in their votes for what the contestants' food award should be.

Date	Item	Response	Sponsorship
23/3/17	Picnic Setup: Ezine Inek Peynıri (Cow Cheese), Taze Kaşar (Fresh White Cheese), çeçil peyniri (String Cheese), Tahin (Tahini), Pekmez (Molasses), Reçel (Jam), Salam as well as ready-made sandwiches of cheese and tomatoes.	Positive	Y - Migros
27/3/17	Generator for the night Tavuk Patates (Chicken and Potatoes) + Magnolia Tatlısı (Banana and Strawberry Pudding)	Positive	Y – AKSA (Generator) + CookShop Tasting Café (For the food)
28/3/17	Communication + 2kg Mercimek (Lentils) and 2 Potatoes each	None	N
29/3/17	Yemek Konseyi: Kayseri Mantı + Coca Cola	Positive	Y – Coca Cola
31/3/17	Barbeque Setup: Köfte (Meatballs), Filet (Steak), Dana Burger (Hamburger)	Positive	Y – Migros + Coca Cola
3/4/17	Breakfast Setup including Chocolate Spread	Positive	Y - Ülker
7/4/17	Kümpir (Grilled potato cut in half with various toppings)	Positive	Y – Yapı Kredi
8/4/17	Yemek Konseyi: Mersinin Tantounisi (A spicy wrap made up on cut beef fried in oil with various spices; it is a specialty of the city Mersin)	Positive	Y – Coca Cola
14/4/17	Rosto + Patates Puree (Steak with mashed potatoes)	Positive	Y – Yapı Kredi
17/4/17	Justin Bieber Concert	Positive	Y - Yapı Kredi