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SOCIAL STEREOTYPES OF AMERICANS AND ENCULTURATION EFFECT OF AMERICAN TV PROGRAMS IN TURKEY

Introduction

After World War II the United States became a world power and it had a duty to build bridges of understanding with other peoples of the world. The best way to do that, it was thought, was through mass communication. "Free flow of information" was thought as a tool of world peace, and continued almost unchecked into the 1970's. In 1984 the US were sending out over fifty thousand hours of television a year to foreign countries. And the AP had over 10.000 foreign customers. Time magazine was read by one and a half million foreign readers. Reader's Digest distributed 12 million copies each month to foreign Countries and soon. Relatively inexpensive American TV programs, for example, could be shown on a foreign country TV system as means allowing those broadcasters to devote their limited resources to the production of native programming. In this way a country could build its own media system, and a strong mass media system was thought to ensure national development. The flowing information and education would additionally ensure world harmony and a more stable world. Schramm, one of the most prominent advocates of this view, wrote in his "Mass Media and National Development" (1964) (1) that "free flow of information" from developed Countries could widen people's horizons, stimulate development, could help in education and training of people of developing nations.

As the result of Vietnam war or other factors, this view began to lose esteem by 1970's. The critics claimed that the free flow of information was one way. The US imported only 2 % of their TV programs and exported 90 % of the rest of the world's viewing. How could international understanding be improved when the developed or major countries were communicating to other nations, not with them? The critics have noted that American media producers select the material to be exported and the context in which to appear. When these producers distribute news and entertainment, they are exporting very definite American views and values, not the values of the consuming nations. These **American values**, the critics claim, threaten the "cultural integrity" of other nations and a nation can not develop within its own culture if it is immersed in the culture of another, because audiences become dependent on nonnative media fare and are spoiled by viewing American produced programs for years.

Many countries have made attempts to protect their cultures from American domination. Canada, for example, allows its governmental and commercial broadcast systems to import only 40 % of their programming. Canadian Government also applies strict controls on the use of American produced TV commercials and publications printed in foreign countries. Mexico, Romania, Australia are the few examples which took measures against foreign media invasion.

Until recently Turkey has largely been at the receiving end and a considerable number of TV programs and films were primarily produced in the west. As the criticism of the existing world communication order has fairly well developed and the new technologies like direct broadcast satellites have compounded many of the problems of media imperialism, There is little evidence that Turkey has considered the problem seriously.

Turkey is an interesting case to search the **cultural imperialism hypothesis** for many reasons. Firstly, television through its limited channels is the most dominant media in both rural and urban areas. If we have no preference for one communication over another, we will expose ourselves to the one that is most easily available. Out of 33 foreign long films which were broadcast on TV during January 1989, the U.S., with 26 long films, took the first place. Besides these long films, American film series, entertainment programs (music, comedies) and documentaries make a considerable contribution to the two channelled Turkish Television Secondly, the real problem is about satellite broadcasting. In cities like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, roofs are full of great saucers receiving TV broadcasts via a satellite covering Asia and the Indian Ocean and there are no governmental or institutional control of the incoming communications. In other words, Turkey is not in a state of debating political and cultural effects of satellite broadcasting. The lives of all of us will be affected by new communication technologies. We are now at the point of change and innovation both in social structure and communications systems. There is no reason to expect that change and acceleration to stop, and we have no right to interrupt free flow of information, but we have to determine a set of principles about international satellite TV broadcasting which is at the gateway. And Lastly, there are some differences between Turkish and American culture in terms of proper roles of men, women, of family values, and of respect for parents and elders.

A prime issue of our day is whether different societies can live peacefully in productively on this planet. We may be more likely to find ways to cooperate with global neighbours if we understand them, if we know how their mass media work, and why their picture of the world, as presented in their media, differs from ours. We would also like them to understand us, and consequently, we would like to know how to overcome barriers that restrict communication between people. Because of this, there is an increasing interest in American TV's impact on foreign viewers.

The main purpose of this study is to fill a gap shedding some light on the subject. The surveys of the similar kind conducted outside Turkey are very limited and cover only the last few years.

Background

Free Flow of Information

Herbert Schiller (2), who pioneered the criticisms on "free flow on information", asserts freedoms that are formally impressive may be substantively oppressive when they reinforce **inequalities** while claiming to provide generalized opportunity to all". **Mustapha Masmoudi** (3). Who played an important role on the **Mac Bride Commission** of the United Nations as the Tunisian representative (1976, 1978, 1980) made the most incisive and comprehensive criticism. He asked developed countries to "**decolonize information** by being more objective to the aspirations and concerns of developing countries; to devote more coverage to developing countries; to respect the cultural and moral values of other nations". **Tunsdal** (4) and others criticized American cultural invasion reduced the cultural uniqueness of the developing countries. According to **Johan Galtung** (5) the visible manifestations of the imbalance of international media flow are economically and technologically advanced countries that monopolize the media sources.

Developing countries played an almost ineffectual role in the early years of the United Nations debates on "Free Flow of Information". **Turkey** in the majority of cases voted on the side of the U.S. When a clear majority of the 51 original members of the United Nations were Western Countries or countries closely allied to the West, Western liberal traditions unquestionably, had a strong influence upon United Nations deliberations.

For the natural rights philosophers the proper end of humans is the realization of their character and potentials as human beings and freedom of opinion and beliefs is an essential ingredient of their individuality. **The U.S. government** has been an ardent champion of "Free Flow of Information" for several decades. On August 24, 1982, the U.S. Congress expressed its determination of fight against efforts "to censor or otherwise restrict" the free flow of information within or among countries" by enacting Public Law (6). The Law directed that no funds from the U.S. contribution to the UNESCO budget could be used for implementing policies that served to restrict the free flow of information. In **the Reagan administration** the U.S. withdrew from UNESCO effective January 1985. The message to the organization was that it needs to modify its policies in, among other things, the era of international communication or lose the political and financial support (25 percent of UNESCO annual budget comes from the U.S.).

The evidence against international media domination is so overwhelming that it is rarely denied. The real controversy in this area is how the situation can be remedied as the book and magazine exports quadrupled and newspaper exports rose eightfold and TV programs sales tripled between 1972-1983. Although there is considerable dispute over New International Information Order, there is little debate over the imbalance of international media flow.

But the media imparialism thesis has its critics. Some find it a pseudo-concept, something which can be used to explain everything in general about the media but not-



hing in particular. We have little understanding of how cultural transformation takes place. **Katz (7)** in a study on ethnic groups in Israel and Los Angeles found that "TV programs do not impose themselves unequivocally on passive viewers. The impact of American TV programs on viewers in other countries has been a topic of intense debate for years, but the little empirical evidence about this influence provides contradictory findings.

Impact of Television

The first post provocative debate concerning the impact of TV on social structure is one advanced by **Daniel Lerner**. Lerner suggested that the media provide the people of developing countries the capacity to conceive of situations and ways of life quite different from those they have experienced. This capacity is an important prerequisite for social change (8). **Bandura's Social Learning Theory** explains that we learn by observation, particularly when the observed event is reinforcing to the viewer (9). **Gerbner** suggests that TV is a major influence on audience perceptions of the facts, norms and values of society through selective presentations and by emphasizing certain themes (10). According to **Adoni and Mane (11)** social construction of realities is related not only to TV viewing but also to our direct experiences with the response to be learned. Then, the influence will be greatest when TV viewing is heavy and when direct experience with the response is limited.

Social Stereotypes

Social stereotypes is the dependent variable in our study. For **Lippman (12)** stereotypes are "pictures in our heads". According to **Maccoby (13)** children who are heavy viewers are more stereotyped in their thinking, seeing people as either good or bad, weak or strong.

For **social scientists (14)** "stereotypes are generalizations about social groups without regard to variations that must exist among members of that group. Stereotypes are not necessarily based on people's first-hand experiences with members of stereotyped groups. They may be learned from others or from the mass media".

Mass Communications researchers (15) have often used stereotype to mean representations of reality that are false and, by implication, immoral, and have proceeded without further clarification to document their frequent appearance in the mass media. Television content analyses have focused on the frequency with which women and minorities appear on TV and in what kind of roles. The results have been startling in their indictment of TV as a medium overwhelmingly dominated by white males.

Stereotypes of socially powerful groups are studied less frequently. Possible sources of social stereotypes are members of stereotyped group and TV. They can also be learned through socialization from family, peers, and the community (16). But, considering the fact that in a country like Turkey where the majority of individuals are not in direct contact with the source of their stereotypes in their heads, TV gains importance as a means to influence audience perceptions of social realities.

Most recent research on social stereotypes of Americans was conducted in Taiwan and Mexico by **Alexis Tan and his colleagues** (17). The study showed that, for the most part the images of Americans were negative, consisting of characterizations of Americans as dishonest, materialistic, pleasure loving, aggressive and cruel. This result suggested that "the most frequently watched programs, "Dallas" and "Dynasty" may be cultivating negative image of the U.S.

Studies on TV's Enculturation Effect

Alexis S. Tan and his colleagues examined the influence of American TV in Philippines and concluded that "American TV programs present a conflicting image in the Philippines which lead to an emphasis of non-traditional values of high school students" (18). **Granzberg's study** (19) on Algonkian Indians found that Algonkian children's traditional values declined and they became westernized as they were exposed to American TV. Another study which tested enculturation hypothesis in a foreign audience was a survey of Australian children by **Pingree and Hawkins** (20). They found that watching American TV programs was related to the children's perceptions of violence in their own (Australian) society. **Jong G. Kang and M. Morgan** (21) in a study on the impact of American TV on Korean high school students found that "American programs may be contributing to the Westernization of traditional culture, but not always in the manner intended. It may unwittingly be contributing to conflicts between those who wish to retain and those who wish to reject diverse cultural traditions and values. In an early study in Taiwan, **Isai** (22) found that children who viewed American programs "had a more favorable attitude towards American culture.

On the other hand, the growing use of more locally produced media products through the video cassette recorders (VCR) provides a field of study to turn the media imperialism thesis on its head. In the developing countries recently, **Christine Ogan** (23) studied the distribution, content and use of the video cassettes in Ankara and concluded that technologies like VCR can be used to liberate developing countries by more culturally authentic materials rather than dominate them.

American Programs on Turkish Television

Because of the limited scope of broadcasting through only two channelled official television and the low rate of reading, almost all the programs on TV are soaked without selection by the Turkish audience in most urban areas and many rural communities. According to a survey conducted in 1987 in **Turkey** (24) the percentage of females viewing foreign programs is 67.7 % and that of males is 56.9 %. The survey also found that the viewers with lower education preferred native drama more than the viewers with higher education (University mostly). Foreign dramas were more popular in urban areas than rural communities.

To determine the approximate rate of **foreign programs** on Turkish TV a content analysis was made between 1 - 30 January, 1989 by the author of this paper. The content analysis of the programs during this period showed that the extent of coverage devoted to entertainment was approximately 40 hours weekly, education (entertainment 30 hours, foreign drama (series and long films) 35 hours, native drama 9 hours, foreign documentaries 4 hours. The rest was devoted to news programs, advertisement, spot programs

etc. We can extend the hours devoted to foreign programs if we take into account the foreign programs such as pop music, parodies, cartoon films and ads scattered among native programs. Almost 85% of the foreign dramas are of American origin.

Out of 33 foreign long films which were broadcast on TV during January, 1989, the U.S. took the first place with 26 films. England followed the U.S. with 3 films, and the USSR, Spain and Hungary were represented with 1 film each. The native long films which were broadcast once a week in 1988 was raised to 3 in January 1989.

According to the **availability theory** if we have no preference for one communication over another, we will expose ourselves to the one that is more easily available. Then, the Turkish audience, if the low rate of book and newspaper reading is taken into account, have no choice but view the programs offered.

Considering the pervasiveness of TV and its demonstrated influence on audience perceptions of other social realities, it is not unreasonable to expect that the pictures in our heads of national groups can be influenced significantly by the pictures we get of them in TV. In the present study, we tested the social stereotypes of Americans and the enculturation hypothesis among university students in Turkey. We looked at the possible influences of American TV programs on American stereotypes in University students' heads and on the value system and aspirations.

Social Stereotypes of Americans and Enculturation

Effect of American TV programs in Turkey

Procedures and Measures

The Turkish sample of 576 was 46 % female and 54 % male. The average age was 21.158. The sample was randomly chosen from the faculties of Letters, Law, Economics, Political Sciences, Business Management Journalism and Public Relations High School at both graduate and undergraduate level.

On the average the students watched TV 2.155 hours daily. 59.9 % occasionally watched native programs, 52 % wanted Turkish TV to broadcast more native programs while 48 % did not want more native programs.

Our respondents had seen an average of 1.965 foreign films (mostly American) in a movie theatre the month preceding the survey. The average number of foreign films (mostly American) watched through VCR was 1.274 Monthly.

During the survey seven American TV series were being aired with their original sounds from radio FM4. The percent of viewing these programs in English was the most for "**Damsey and Makepiece**" (26 %) and the least for "**Treasure Island**" (4.9 %). Approximately 15 % of the respondents preferred original sound to Turkish dubbing, but 58 % wanted all the American programs to be broadcast with their original sounds.

About 62 % of our respondents did not have any American friends and 88 % have never been to the USA. In answer to the question "do you want to visit the USA" 82.3 % said "yes". They wanted to go to the USA 1. to learn English (58.2 %). 2. For professional advancement (55.2 %), 3. as a tourist (51.6 %) 4. For a freer life (26.4 %), 5. For a more prosperous life (23.3), 6. to find a job (13.9 %).

69 % of the respondents graduated from state High Schools, 17 % from Colleges where education is in a foreign language, 9 % from professional High Schools, and 4.7 % from Imam Hatip High Schools (based on religious education). Other demographic and control variables were also used about their faculties, families, likes and dislikes.

Television Use and Exposure to American Programs

The respondents were presented with a list of 12 American TV programs which were then being aired in Turkey, and were asked how often they watched each program on a four point scale. The points on this scale were "every week", "almost every week", "about once in two weeks", "never or almost never". The result is shown in Table I. Respondents were also asked how accurately they thought the programs in general portrayed "American values" and "what the U.S. is Like". Responses to this question on accuracy of portrayal were on a four point scale from "very accurately" to "not at all". 56 % said "accurately" to this question.

TABLE I
Most Frequently Seen American TV
Programs Ranked by Mean Scores (1)

Program	Rank	Mean
Moonlighting	1	3.055
Damsey and Makepiece	2	2.865
Perfect Stranger	3	2.247
Emergency Room	4	2.213
War and Remembrance	5	2.102
Fame	6	1.989
Mary	7	1.971
Treasure Island	8	1.941
Blue Thunder	9	1.455
Once in Your Life	10	1.385
Mc Clain's Law	11	1.317
Big Shamus Little Shamus	12	1.283

(1) Ranked by mean scores derived from 1 to 4 with 4 = everyweek watched to 1 = never or almost never watched.

Social Stereotypes

The Turkish respondents were presented with a list of 32 adjectives and were asked to pick the 9 adjectives which were most descriptive of Americans in general and of American values in TV programs separately and then, rank the top 9 from 1 (the most descriptive of all) to 9 (the least descriptive among the top 9). The result is shown in Table II and III.

TABLE II
Adjectives Attributed to Americans In
General Ranked by Means (1)

Adjectives	Rank	Mean
Individualistic	1	5.361
Free	2	4.326
Ambitious	3	4.127
Pleasure Loving	4	4.035
Sensual	5	3.568
Mercenary-minded	6	3.168
Scientifically minded	7	3.168
Argumentative	8	3.156
Materialistic	9	3.125
Aggressive	10	2.745
Creative	11	2.531
Unfaithful	12	2.382
Athletic	13	2.030
Intelligent	14	1.792
Straight-forward	15	1.658
Arrogant	16	1.281
Courteous	17	0.729

TABLE III
Adjectives Attributed to American Values In
American TV Programs Ranked by Means (1)

Adjectives	Rank	Mean
A Comfortable and Prosperous life	1	4.951
Equality and Freedom	2	4.302
Self-Confidence	3	4.033
An Exciting Life	4	3.903
A successful life	5	3.793
Happiness	6	3.510
Superiority	7	3.410
An enjoyable life	8	3.092
Women's freedom	9	2.976
National Security	10	2.012
Nature love	11	1.856
True friendship	12	1.549
Self-Integrity	13	1.280
Family Security	14	1.076
A world at peace	15	1.024

(1) Means were derived from a 10 point scale 0: the adjective is not descriptive at all. 1: the adjective is the most descriptive of all (9 points), 9: the adjective is the least descriptive of

To find out whether the viewing of American TV programs is related to a particular social stereotype of Americans or to a particular perception of American life based on American programs I identified the most frequently watched TV programs by mean scores and among them we picked the samples who thought that those programs "very accurately" and "accurately" portrayed American values or Americans in general, and then ran partial correlations between frequency of viewing these programs and the ratings of individual adjectives used to describe Americans and American values, controlling for video cassette use, movie-going and frequency of contact with Americans. The frequency of viewing **Moonlighting** was positively related to characterizations of Americans as "**Free**" ($r = .227, p < .001$), and negatively related to "**materialistic**" ($r = -.172, p < .001$). The frequency of viewing "**Damsey and Makepiece**" was positively related to characterizations of Americans as "**intelligent**" ($r = .167, p < .001$), and negatively related to "**individualistic**" ($r = -.181, p < .001$). The frequency of viewing **Moonlighting** was positively related to the perception of American life as "**an equal and free life**" ($r = .203, p < .001$) and negatively related to "**national security**" ($r = -.111, p < .001$). The frequency of viewing "**Damsey and Makepiece**" was positively related to the perception of American life as "**Equality and freedom**" ($r = .081, p < .023$) and negatively related to "**a comfortable and prosperous life**" ($r = -.115, p < .001$).

Ratings by heavy viewers of American TV in this group—those whose total viewing of American programs was at least 2 on a 4 point scale—were used to identify the values emphasized in American programs.

While most of these correlations are modest, a pattern of relationships is apparent in both samples. For the most part these images are **positive** such as "intelligent", "free", "An equal and free life". The most frequently watched American film series may be cultivating a positive image of Americans and American life among Turkish viewers.

Enculturation Effect of American TV Programs in Turkey

Dependent variables were derived from a series of statements which were designed to reflect possible tension between western and traditional values. The possible impact of American TV programs must of course be seen in the context of the larger political and cultural climate of Turkey. **Turkey** has changed very much since **Atatürk** brought about a social, political, religious and cultural transformation, and secularism became an ideology in Turkey. Meanwhile international economic and cultural interactions played an important role in this transformation from Islamic empire into a **modern Turkish state**. Despite all these changes there are still some differences between the values presented on American programs and traditional Turkish values, for example, in terms of women's roles and positions in society, of family values etc. In this study I wanted to test if the viewing of American programs had some impact on the transformation of certain traditional values. American TV program viewing could show any of several patterns of relationships with Turkish viewer's conceptions: 1. heavy American TV program viewing would strengthen western views of the respondents, 2. There could be no associations at all between American TV program viewing and attitudes, 3. heavy viewers could be less likely to endorse Western views and more likely Turkish values.

TABLE IV
Amount of American TV Program Viewing (1)
and Attitudes Towards Western Values (2)

	Pearson Correlations (3)		Percent (4)
	Female	Male	
1. It is natural that we should obey our parents all of the time	.07 (182)	.15 (230) ⁽⁵⁾	68.6
2. The Turkish Family System is better than American family system	.16(81)	.17(242) ^x	75.2
3. Match-making centers should be established in Turkey	.19(81)	.14(101)	26.8
4. People should talk to their parents about dating	.17(245) ^{xx}	.6(255)	83.3
5. Husbands should do some household chores like cooking, cleaning etc.	.18(232) ^{xx}	.12(209)	72.2
6. Women should share dating expenses	.22(239) ^{xx}	.21(253) ^{xx}	81.8
7. Women's taking legal permission from their husbands to get a job is out-dated	.04(221)	.06(195)	69.5
8. Woman's place is her home	.28(45)	.17(147)	30.9
9. I agree with women's movement	.01(234) ^x	.20(199)	71.3
10. Religious reform is necessary	.08(147)	.18(150)	48.2

1. Means are derived from "every week" = 4 points, to "never or almost never" = 1 point.
 2. Response categories were five-point likert scales (from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" with "no opinion" as the midpoint).
 3. Significant at .05.
 4. Percent of the respondents who agree with each statement.
 5. number of females and males who agree with each statement.
- x: S = .15 xx: S = .001.

As it is seen in Table IV ten items measured students' orientations toward family, marriage, The roles of women and men and religion. The table shows percent of males and females together who agree with each statement. It should be noted that University students overall are more likely to support **western values** about dating, marriage the roles of men and women in family and society. There is a sharp conflict between those who agree with religious reform and those who reject it.

Males and females give clearly different responses to some items. **Females** overall are significantly less likely than males to endorse strict adherence to traditional norms about obeying parents, Turkish family system, women's place, and more likely to sympathize with western values such as husband's doing houseworks, women's movement, etc.

Table IV shows the associations between amount of American TV program viewing and respondent's attitudes toward certain statements. As the amount of American TV program viewing increases, **females** are less likely than **males** to uphold traditional values like obeying the parents and more likely to support western values such as atch-making centers, peoples' talking to their parents about dating, husbands doing houseworks and women's sharing dating expenses. Females who agree with the items about woman's place, women's movement and religious reform are less likely than males to be affected by the amount of American program viewing. For **males** associations between amount of American program viewing and attitudes towards certain Western values are more significant. They are more likely to be affected than females by the amount of American TV program viewing when they agree with women's movement and religious reform. As a group, the **females** in the sample are more progressive and liberal than **males**, but, compared to females, American program viewing is more strongly related to males in their attitudes toward religion and in a direction away from traditional islamic view (some moderate and all fundamentalist muslims are strongly against the idea of religious reform).

Within the clear limitations of our samples and our measures the findings do suggest that American programs may be contributing to the westernization of traditional cultures.

Result

The findings of the survey suggest that the contributions of the U.S. programs are not uniform among University students. In fact the three patterns hypothesized above can be found in the data: Some items have no associations with the amount of American program viewing at all while others suggest significant association. In some cases, the increase in the amount of American program viewing affect student's attitudes toward western values negatively. In other words, a reverse effect occurs. If the interpretation is correct, heavy American TV program viewing may have helped in some way to intensify politicized student's reactions to the U.S.

"**Westernization**" has been a goal of Turkey after Kemal Atatürk converted Islamic empire to a national Turkish state, Atatürk's reforms changed the conventional islamic institutions, social and cultural values of the old and introduced western as well as national values. In other words, Turkish viewers' cultural values, beliefs and ideologies are not in sharp conflict with western values. In a small but growing number of studies conducted outside the U.S. the influence of U.S. TV suggested conflicts between those who wish to retain and those who wish to reject diverse cultural traditions and values.

But in this survey on university students the majority support western values and there is not any sign of dangerous conflict between opposing groups.

Considering the fact that certain programs which are heavily watched by Turkish students cultivate a positive image of Americans and American life, we can claim that heavy exposure to American TV may strengthen democratic, liberal western views and help to heighten women's position in society. Of course, we don't suggest that TRT should broadcast more American programs, instead, we should like TRT to make a wise choice among the U.S. export programs and hold the balance intelligently between these programs and native ones by heightening the quality of native programs.

ÖZET

II. Dünya Savaşından büyük bir güç olarak çıkan ABD dünyaya barış ve dostluk getirmek, gelişmekte olan ülkelerin kalkınmalarını hızlandırmak, eğitim ve kültür düzeylerini yükseltmek işlevini üstlendi. Bunun için de en etkin yol Amerikan kitle iletişimi ürünlerini dünyaya pazarlamaktır. Başlangıçta ABD'de tartışmasız kabul gören bu olgu, 1970'lerden sonra, gelişmekte olan ülkelerin kültürel kimliklerinin ucuz Amerikan filmlerindeki değer yargıları ile bozulduğu ve giderek kültürel yozlaşmalara neden olduğu gerekçesiyle eleştirilmeye başlandı. Eleştirmenlere göre, TV ürünlerinin % 90'ını dış ülkelere satarken sadece % 2'sini dışarıdan satın alan Amerika'nın amacı ülkelerle iletişim kurmak değil onlara kendi iletisini göndermektir. Doğal olarak bu tez, zaman içinde, karşı tezlerin de ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu.

Amerikan kültürünün TV aracılığıyla diğer ülkelerin kültürlerini ne ölçüde etkilediğini, o ülke insanların kafalarında nasıl bir Amerikalı ve Amerika imajını oluşturduğunu ölçmek amacıyla, son senelerde, sayıları sınırlı da olsa çoğunlukla Amerikalılar tarafından yapılan araştırmalar değişik sonuçlar vermekte, ancak genelde kültürlerin etkilendiği vurgulanmaktadır. Kanımca, Türkiye'de bu tür bir araştırma ilk olarak yapılmaktadır. İstanbul Üniversitesi'nden rastgele seçilen 576 öğrenci arasında yapılan bu araştırmanın bulguları kısaca şöyle özetlenebilir: Öğrencilerin % 62'sinin hiç Amerikalı arkadaşı olmadığı, % 88'inin hiç Amerika'ya gitmediği ve % 82'sinin Amerika'ya gitmek istediği göz önüne alınırsa, Amerika ve Amerikalılarla ilgili imaj, doğal olarak, çoğunlukla Amerikan TV programlarından oluşmaktadır. Öğrenciler, Amerikalılar için en çok "bireyci", "ihtiraslı", "zevke düşkün" tanımlamalarını kullanırken en son sıraya "nazik" sıfatını yerleştirmişler; Amerikan değer yargıları için ise ilk üç sıraya "eşitlik ve özgürlük", "kendine güven", "heyecanlı bir yaşam" tanımlamalarını seçerken son sıraya "barışçıl bir dünya" tanımını uygun görmüşlerdir. En çok seyredilen *Moonlighting* dizisi ile sıfatların sıralanması arasında kurulan kısmi korelasyon, bu diziyi çok seyredenlerin Amerikalıyı "özgür" ($r = 227, p < .001$) olarak tanımlarken "materyalist" ($r = -172, p < .001$) görmediğini, Amerikan değer yargılarını ise; "eşitlik ve özgürlük" olarak tanımlarken ($r = .203, p < .001$) "ulusal güvenlik" ($r = -.111, p < .001$) tanımına en az yer verdiklerini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Amerikan TV programlarının geleneksel Türk kültürü üzerindeki etkisini ölçmek için, Türk değer yargılarını ve Batı değer yargılarını kapsayan 10 soru sorulmuş, sonuçta

genel olarak, öğrencilerin Batı değer yargılarını daha çok benimsediği saptanmıştır. Bazı Batı değer yargılarının (örneğin, erkeklerin ev işi yapması, kızların çıktıkları erkeklerle masrafları paylaşması, flörtlerin aileye anlatılması) TV seyretme oranıyla etkilendiği, bazılarının hiç etkilenmediği, hatta bazı durumlarda ters tepki ortaya çıktığı saptanmıştır. Kızların erkeklerden daha liberal ve ilerici olduğu ve TV'den daha çok etkilendiği izlenimi edinilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, **kültürel etkileşim**, yalnız TV kapsamında değil, ülkenin kültürel, sosyal ve politik koşulları da dikkate alınarak incelenecek bir konudur, ancak Amerikan TV programlarının batı değer yargılarının oluşmasında ve güçlenmesinde önemli katkısı olduğuna dair önemli sayılabilecek ipuçları bulunmuştur. Bu konuda ortaya atılabilecek 3 varsayım - 1. tam etki, 2. etkisizlik, 3. ters etki - ayrı ayrı tartışma konusu yapılabilir.

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