

## The State's Media Apparatus: The Cultural Hegemony Produced by the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

Devletin Medya Aygıtı: Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu Tarafından  
Üretilen Kültürel Hegemonya

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### ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) as a state media apparatus in the production of cultural hegemony. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and Louis Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatuses, the study explores how TRT constructs national identity and ideological narratives through its historical productions. Using a thematic and critical discourse analysis approach, the study investigates how TRT's television dramas selectively portray historical events to reinforce dominant political and cultural discourses. The findings indicate that TRT plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions by constructing a hegemonic historical narrative that aligns with state ideology. Through heroic representations, nationalist discourse, and selective historical framing, TRT productions contribute to the reproduction of cultural and political hegemony. The study also highlights the implications of these media narratives for audience reception and national identity construction. By integrating media sociology and critical theory, this study contributes to the understanding of state-controlled media and ideological reproduction in Turkey. The research underscores the importance of examining public broadcasters as tools of cultural production and emphasizes the role of state media in shaping collective memory and historical consciousness.

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### ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu'nun (TRT) bir devlet medya aygıtı olarak kültürel hegemonya üretimindeki rolünü incelemektedir. Antonio Gramsci'nin kültürel hegemonya teorisi ve Louis Althusser'in ideolojik devlet aygıtları kavramı çerçevesinde, TRT'nin tarihsel yapımları aracılığıyla ulusal kimlik ve ideolojik anlatıları nasıl inşa ettiği ele alınmaktadır. Çalışma, TRT'nin televizyon dizilerinde tarihsel olayların seçici bir biçimde nasıl sunulduğunu ve bu içeriklerin baskın politik ve kültürel söylemleri nasıl pekiştirdiğini anlamak için tematik analiz ve eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemlerini kullanmaktadır. Bulgular, TRT'nin hegemonik bir tarih anlatısı inşa ederek kamusal algıyı şekillendirmede önemli bir rol oynadığını göstermektedir. TRT yapımları, kahraman figürleri, milliyetçi söylem ve seçici tarihsel çerçeveleme yoluyla kültürel ve politik hegemonyanın yeniden üretilmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu medya anlatılarının izleyici algıları ve ulusal kimlik inşası üzerindeki etkileri vurgulanmaktadır. Çalışma, medya sosyolojisi ve eleştirel teori perspektiflerini bir araya getirerek, devlet kontrolündeki medyanın ideolojik yeniden üretimdeki rolüne dair önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır. Araştırma, kamusal yayıncıların kültürel üretim araçları olarak incelenmesi gerektiğine dikkat çekmekte ve devlet medyasının kolektif hafıza ile tarih bilinci üzerindeki etkisini tartışmaktadır.

### Atıf İçin

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## INTRODUCTION

TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) stands as a cornerstone in Turkey's media landscape, deeply intertwined with the country's sociopolitical transformations and cultural evolution. Established in 1964 as a public service broadcaster, TRT has played a pivotal role in shaping public opinion, fostering national identity, and promoting cultural heritage. Over the decades, TRT has not only reflected the changing priorities of Turkish society but also acted as an active agent in influencing these shifts. From its early years focused on modernization and nation-building to its contemporary embrace of digital platforms, TRT's evolution provides a unique lens through which to examine the interplay between media, politics, and culture.

This study situates TRT's broadcasting policies within the theoretical frameworks of Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony and Louis Althusser's notion of ideological state apparatuses. By employing these perspectives, it explores how TRT has contributed to the dissemination of dominant ideologies through its content, particularly historical narratives and cultural productions. Key themes such as modernization, urbanization, conservative morality, and neo-Ottomanism are examined across different periods, highlighting TRT's strategic role in shaping societal consent and cultural discourse.

In a globalized media environment, TRT's role has extended beyond national borders, engaging international audiences through productions that emphasize Turkey's historical and cultural richness. This dual function—strengthening national identity at home and enhancing cultural diplomacy abroad—positions TRT as both a domestic and international tool of influence. As digitalization transforms the media landscape, TRT's adaptation to new platforms underscores its continuing relevance in the production and dissemination of hegemonic narratives. This paper delves into the complexities of TRT's role as a cultural and ideological instrument, reflecting broader questions about the relationship between media, state power, and society.

### The Relationship Between Cultural Hegemony and Media

The concept of cultural hegemony, developed by Antonio Gramsci, provides a crucial framework for understanding how dominant ideologies become embedded within society through consent rather than coercion (Gramsci, 2011). Instead of enforcing power through direct repression, ruling elites use ideological state apparatuses, such as education, religion, and media, to naturalize their values and ensure widespread acceptance (Althusser, 2006). Through these means, certain historical narratives, political discourses, and cultural values become dominant, while alternative perspectives are marginalized. In modern societies, media functions as one of the most influential tools for ideological reproduction, as it shapes public perceptions, constructs national identity, and reinforces hegemonic discourses. This process is particularly evident in state-controlled media institutions, which serve as vehicles for the dissemination of state-aligned narratives. The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) exemplifies this role, operating as both a cultural and political instrument that reinforces hegemonic national identity through its media productions.

TRT's programming reflects Gramsci's concept of hegemony by presenting a selective version of history and national culture that aligns with the ideological priorities of the state. Its historical dramas, documentaries, and news programs are not neutral representations of the past but carefully curated narratives that serve specific political and ideological functions. By structuring these narratives through heroic figures, moral conflicts, and nationalistic themes, TRT actively participates in the construction of a hegemonic discourse that resonates with contemporary political agendas. Building on Gramsci's framework, Louis Althusser's (2006) concept of ideological state apparatuses (ISA) further explains how media functions as an ideological tool that shapes individual consciousness. Unlike repressive state apparatuses (such as the military or police), ISAs work subtly by instilling dominant ideologies within everyday cultural practices. Media institutions, particularly public broadcasters like TRT, are central to this process, as they shape how citizens perceive history, politics, and national identity. TRT's productions, particularly historical dramas such as *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* and *Payitaht: Abdülhamid*, exemplify how ideological narratives are embedded within entertainment. These productions present a heroic vision of the Ottoman past, framing figures like Ertuğrul Gazi and Sultan Abdülhamid II as symbols of

resistance, moral leadership, and national unity. Such representations reinforce a hegemonic narrative that legitimizes contemporary political ideologies, emphasizing themes of national strength, external threats, and the righteousness of state authority (Çelik, 2021).

Moreover, the linguistic and visual elements used in TRT's historical series reinforce this ideological framing. Key terms such as "national mission," "sacred homeland," and "historical responsibility" are strategically repeated, creating an emotional bond between the audience and the state's ideological perspective. By presenting historical conflicts as moral struggles between good and evil, TRT ensures that audiences internalize a binary worldview that aligns with hegemonic discourses. TRT's role as an ideological state apparatus also extends to its news and documentary content, where selective framing of political events reinforces state-aligned perspectives. While historical dramas construct a mythologized vision of the past, TRT's news coverage ensures that this ideological continuity extends into present-day political discourse. The frequent use of narratives about external enemies, national unity, and moral decline aligns with Althusser's notion of interpellation, where individuals are positioned within a specific ideological framework that dictates how they interpret reality (Althusser, 2006).

The Frankfurt School's critique of the culture industry, particularly the works of Adorno and Horkheimer (1947), further illuminates TRT's role in ideological reproduction. The Frankfurt theorists argue that mass media is not just a tool for entertainment but a powerful mechanism for reinforcing dominant ideologies through cultural production. Media content, particularly state-controlled productions, serves to normalize ideological discourses by embedding them within familiar and emotionally engaging narratives. TRT's historical productions operate within this culture industry logic, as they transform historical narratives into ideological commodities that reinforce state-approved perspectives. By dramatizing the past through emotionally charged storytelling, aestheticized visuals, and compelling character arcs, TRT constructs a hegemonic version of history that prioritizes national unity, external threats, and moral integrity. This spectacularising of history ensures that audiences not only consume historical narratives but also internalize the ideological messages embedded within them.

One of the key strategies used by TRT in this process is the construction of binary oppositions. In its historical dramas and news programs:

- The "self" (the Turkish nation, historical heroes, and state figures) is portrayed as morally superior, just, and resilient.
- The "other" (foreign adversaries, internal dissenters, and ideological opponents) is depicted as threatening, deceitful, and destabilizing.

This binary structure mirrors the Frankfurt School's critique of ideological standardization, where media simplifies complex historical and political realities into easily consumable moral narratives (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947). By continuously reproducing these themes across different media formats, TRT ensures that hegemonic discourses remain dominant while presenting them as objective historical truths.

While TRT has historically functioned within traditional broadcasting models, its expansion into digital platforms marks a significant evolution in its ideological function. As Manuel Castells' network society theory suggests, digitalization reshapes the mechanisms of power and ideological control by decentralizing information flows and increasing audience interactivity (Castells, 2009). Unlike traditional mass media, which primarily disseminates information in a top-down manner, digital platforms enable more dynamic forms of engagement, where users participate in content circulation and meaning-making. TRT's adaptation to digital media ecosystems reflects this transformation, as it extends the reach of hegemonic narratives beyond national borders. Through its digital platforms, TRT has positioned itself as a global media actor, making use of streaming services, social media, and online content distribution to reinforce state-aligned narratives. By utilizing multi-platform strategies, TRT ensures that its ideological messaging reaches diverse audiences, shaping perceptions of Turkish history, politics, and culture. This transition introduces new dynamics in ideological reproduction, where audiences are not merely passive recipients of

media content but active participants in shaping and disseminating hegemonic discourses. However, this digital expansion also presents challenges to TRT's hegemonic function. While state-controlled narratives continue to dominate TRT's official platforms, the fragmented nature of digital media allows for counter-hegemonic narratives to emerge. Alternative news outlets, independent journalists, and user-generated content on social media challenge TRT's representations of history and politics, complicating its ability to maintain ideological dominance (Castells, 2011). This dynamic aligns with Castells' argument that digital networks introduce new spaces for resistance, where hegemonic control is continuously contested and renegotiated. Having established the theoretical framework that explains TRT's role in ideological reproduction, the following section outlines the methodological approach adopted to analyze its media productions in detail.

## METHODOLOGY

This study is conducted using the descriptive analysis method to examine TRT's role in the production of cultural hegemony. By analysing TRT's historical broadcasting policies and content production processes, the study identifies recurring themes in TRT's television series through a thematic analysis framework and evaluates these themes within an ideological context.

Thematic analysis is a content analysis method used to uncover specific meaning patterns within media texts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Within this framework, TRT's television series have been examined to investigate how key themes such as nationalism, conservative values, and neo-Ottomanism are shaped. The analysis is limited to television series broadcast by TRT since the 2000s, and the ideological structures within these series have been categorized accordingly.

In the analytical process, TRT-produced television series were first reviewed to identify socially and ideologically significant content. Recurring concepts and discourses in the selected series were coded and grouped under broader thematic categories. For instance, narratives that foreground "nationalist discourses" or "emphasis on Ottoman heritage" were identified. At this stage, particular attention was given to the narrative strategies employed in TRT's historical series. The thematic analysis ultimately evaluated how historical narratives are utilized in TRT's content and how hegemonic discourses are constructed.

Since this study is grounded in Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and Louis Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatuses, critical discourse analysis has been integrated into the methodology alongside descriptive and thematic analyses. Critical discourse analysis is a method used to examine power relations, ideological orientations, and the reproduction of hegemonic structures in media content (Fairclough, 1995). Within this framework, the language, discourse structures, and framing strategies employed in TRT's television series have been analysed. Specifically, the study focuses on:

- How nationalist and conservative discourses are constructed in TRT series,
- How references to Ottoman history are structured and how heroic figures are represented,
- Which historical events and figures are emphasized and the narrative strategies used to present them.

Within this analytical framework, series such as *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* and *Payitaht: Abdülhamid* have been examined, with a focus on the ideological framing methods employed in these productions. The study explores how certain historical narratives are repeated to construct a hegemonic discourse and how specific historical myths are reproduced in TRT's historical series.

Additionally, qualitative content analysis has been applied to TRT's media content. Qualitative content analysis focuses on symbols, visuals, and narrative structures within media texts, examining how specific ideological tendencies are produced and transmitted to audiences (Krippendorff, 2018). The study evaluates the visual and linguistic elements present in TRT's series within the context of historical narratives, analysing how these elements reinforce ideological messages. The thematic analysis, discourse analysis, and content examination methods used in this study have been selected in alignment with the framework of critical theory. Critical

theory argues that media tools do not merely transmit information but also function as mechanisms that reinforce ideological and cultural hegemony (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1947). The historical narratives produced in TRT's television series have been analysed within the context of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony, examining their ideological impact on audiences.

In conclusion, this methodological framework allows for an in-depth examination of the hegemonic structures' dominant in TRT's historical series, the ideological positioning conveyed through media discourses, and how these processes contribute to the construction of a hegemonic framework.

### **The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation: A Tool of Hegemony?**

Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony explains that the process of establishing the values and norms of the ruling class as the fundamental structures of social life can also be achieved through consent (Gramsci, 2011). A powerful media organization like TRT possesses the capacity to effectively manage this process. This capability has developed through historical processes and is closely intertwined with Turkey's recent political history.

#### ***i. The establishment and history of TRT***

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established on May 1, 1964, by Law No. 359 as the state's public broadcaster. Its purpose was to meet the public's needs for information, entertainment, and education, while also producing broadcasts that reflect national culture and official state policies (Çakır, 2005, p.48). From its establishment, TRT held a monopoly over radio and television broadcasting for many years. However, this monopoly ended in the 1990s with the advent of private television channels.

Although TRT is constitutionally defined as an independent broadcasting institution, it has historically been influenced by government policies and has shaped its broadcasting approach by the ideological orientations of ruling powers.

#### ***ii. The single-channel era (1964–1990): TRT as an educational tool and its role during coups***

In its early years, TRT operated as the sole broadcasting institution in Turkey, which led to the direct influence of political authority on the organization. Its monopoly position, maintained until the early 1990s, was shaped by its autonomy granted under the 1961 Constitution and later lost following the 1971 memorandum, bringing it under the influence of political powers (Serarslan, 2014). Consequently, TRT's broadcasting policies were aligned with the official narratives of governments. Moreover, amendments made in the 1982 Constitution redefined TRT's autonomy, yet in practice, political authority continued to exert its influence (İzmir, 2023). During this period, TRT broadcasts were used as a propaganda tool for the state, supporting the official discourses of ruling powers (İzmir, 2023; Serarslan, 2014).

During the military coups of 1971 and 1980, TRT was placed under strict control to disseminate the policies of the coup regimes. In these periods, TRT's broadcasting policies were shaped by the strategies of military regimes to mould public opinion (İlaslan, 2022:15-16). After the 1980 coup, this control intensified further, blatantly violating TRT's principle of impartiality. TRT operated within the framework of censorship policies defined by the post-coup administration, and its broadcast content was subjected to strict oversight. The programs of this period were organized to reflect the ideological goals of the coup regime, emphasizing propaganda aimed at transforming the population into a compliant social structure (Geray, 2007). Furthermore, TRT's educational and cultural content was restructured to align with the ideological framework envisioned by the coup authorities, with no room for dissenting views (Cankaya, 2015).

The use of television as an educational tool in Turkey during the 1960s and 1970s was shaped by modernization and development goals. During this period, TRT collaborated with the Ministry of



National Education (MEB) on projects like "School Television" to contribute to both formal and informal education. Educational content included literacy programs, vocational training, and educational initiatives targeted at rural populations (İlaslan, 2022:25-27). However, limitations in technical infrastructure and overly ambitious expectations regarding the educational role of television hindered the effective implementation of these efforts. In the 1980s, under the influence of neoliberal policies and global cultural changes, educational programs were sidelined, while entertainment-focused content gained prominence (İlaslan, 2022:36). By the 1990s, with the emergence of private channels, the role of television underwent a significant transformation, with entertainment content replacing educational programming. This shift reflects the evolution of television from an initial tool supporting national development goals to a more entertainment-oriented structure within a competitive media environment (İlaslan, 2022:45-47).

### *iii. Transition to the multi-channel era (1990s)*

The establishment of private television channels in Turkey during the 1990s marked the end of TRT's monopoly over broadcasting, compelling the institution to adapt to significant changes in both content production and broadcasting policies. The emergence of private channels transformed television broadcasting into a more competitive structure, pushing TRT to move away from the traditional public service broadcasting model and adopt a more market-oriented strategy (Sümer & İlaslan, 2021). However, debates regarding TRT's political independence persisted during this period, and the institution's impartiality and public service mission were frequently questioned (Brants & De Bens, 2000). During the politically fragmented atmosphere of the 1990s, characterized by frequent coalition governments, TRT's broadcasting policies were shaped by the influence of various political parties. For instance, TRT's news programs and political discussions often aligned with government policies, offering limited space to opposition voices. This approach undermined TRT's mission of public service broadcasting (Cankaya, 2015).

Meanwhile, the rise of private channels with their focus on popular and entertainment-oriented content significantly reduced TRT's audience share. In response, TRT sought to retain its viewership by emphasizing cultural and historical programming, developing various shows to highlight Turkish culture and history. Examples include documentaries, theater broadcasts, and traditional music programs, which reflected TRT's efforts to preserve its identity (İlaslan, 2022). However, TRT struggled to compete with the dynamic and entertaining content offered by private channels, resulting in a substantial loss of its audience base (Brants & De Bens, 2000). During this period, TRT faced dual challenges: coping with political pressures and re-establishing its connection with viewers within a market-driven media environment. Nevertheless, the dynamic and diverse content provided by private channels further complicated TRT's role as a public service broadcaster (Atabey, 1998).

### *iv. The Ak Party era (2002 and beyond)*

The rise to power of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) in 2002 marked a significant shift in the trajectory of TRT, Turkey's state-supported broadcasting institution. The AK Party government implemented a series of reforms that reshaped TRT's content and orientation, aligning it more closely with the party's political agenda and vision for the country (Geri, 2016). One of the notable changes during this era was the increased emphasis on nationalist and historical themes in TRT's programming. The party's nationalist political ideology was evident in the proliferation of productions glorifying the Ottoman Empire and Turkish national history. Prominent examples include the popular series *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* and *Payitaht: Abdülhamid*, which became emblematic of the period. These productions not only garnered a large domestic audience but also achieved widespread international recognition, serving as tools for projecting a particular cultural and political narrative (Saraçoğlu & Demirkol, 2014).

The AK Party's influence over TRT's editorial direction drew criticism, particularly during election periods. Opposition parties accused TRT of failing to adhere to principles of impartiality and objectivity, alleging that its broadcasts were overly aligned with the government's political interests (Yılmaz et al., 2021; Esen & Gümüşçü, 2017; Özpek & Yaşar, 2017; Saraçoğlu & Demirkol, 2014). The restructuring of TRT under the AK Party was viewed by some as an effort to

consolidate political power and advance an ideological agenda. Simultaneously, this transformation was interpreted as part of a broader attempt to reshape Turkey's cultural and national discourse. The AK Party government utilized various state mechanisms, including TRT, to produce television content that aligned with its conservative and neo-Ottomanist ideologies (Algan & Kaptan, 2023). The relationship between history and political power, and the effort to influence citizens through historical narratives, has been extensively explored within the Turkish context (Kuş & Mert, 2023). Emphasis on values such as sensitivity, independence, patriotism, and national consciousness in history curricula reflects the government's efforts to shape the national narrative and influence citizens (Kuş & Mert, 2023).

Turkey's adoption of a more authoritarian approach in public diplomacy, particularly evident in the goals of TRT World, has been analyzed in connection with the country's domestic politics (Elsawah & Howard, 2021). The failed coup attempts in 2016 and subsequent restrictions on media freedom significantly impacted TRT World's operations (Elsawah & Howard, 2021). Additionally, the establishment of TRT Kurdî in 2009 as a state-managed Kurdish-language television channel was seen as part of the "Kurdish Opening" and an effort to enhance the official status of the Kurdish language (Schluter, 2017). However, the channel was criticized for its alignment with the political agenda of the ruling party (Schluter, 2017).

Ultimately, TRT's establishment and operation have been closely tied to Turkey's political history and the ruling party's efforts to control narratives and influence citizens. TRT has been utilized as a tool for political control, supporting the ruling party's agenda, and shaping national identity and consciousness (Elsawah & Howard, 2021; Kuş & Mert, 2023; Algan & Kaptan, 2023; Schluter, 2017).

### **Periodic Analysis of TRT's Content**

The period from 1960 to 1990 was a significant phase in shaping the identity and purpose of TRT as Turkey's state broadcaster. TRT commenced television broadcasting in 1968, as part of efforts to modernize and unify Turkish society through educational and cultural programs. During this era, TRT's monopoly over television broadcasting allowed it to shape public discourse, reflecting the Turkish state's social and cultural priorities. TRT functioned as a tool for state-driven modernization projects and the promotion of a cohesive national identity. Themes of progress, modernization, and urbanization were prominently featured in its productions, aligning with state ideology (Gül, 2005; Sümer & Taş, 2020). Early productions included educational and informative content aimed at improving literacy, promoting technological advancements, and fostering a modern Turkish identity. TRT's programs with folkloric themes often presented rural life as a symbol of cultural purity (Atakuman, 2016). Adaptations of folk tales and traditional music became integral components of TRT's programming, serving the purpose of preserving and disseminating Turkey's cultural heritage (Atakuman, 2016). This emphasis on protecting traditional cultural elements reflected a broader societal concern with maintaining the unique identity and heritage of Turkish society.

In line with its public service mission, TRT prioritized educational content with the aim of informing citizens about literacy, history, and social issues. Programs covering health, agriculture, and language education were widely broadcast. In the 1970s, educational series designed to increase public knowledge about modern technologies and science became common. However, while TRT developed an increasing number of programs to support education from the 1960s, these were gradually overshadowed by entertainment-focused content from the 1980s onward (İlslan, 2022). During this period, family-centered content became a core aspect of TRT's programming. These productions explored traditional family structures, intergenerational relationships, and moral values, emphasizing social norms, respect for elders, community harmony, and simple living. Shows like *Kaynanalar* (1974–2004) humorously portrayed family life, urbanization, and class differences. The rapid rural-to-urban migration experienced in Turkey during this era was reflected in TRT's dramas, which depicted the struggles of rural families adapting to urban life. Themes such as urbanization, identity conflicts, and class struggles were

prevalent in TRT programs. Early comedies and dramas explored the difficulties faced by newcomers to urban settings (Yanardağoglu & Turhallı, 2020).

Due to the political instability of the 1970s and 1980s, TRT's content was carefully monitored. This era saw the occurrence of the 1960, 1971, and 1980 military coups. Programs avoided overt political messages but indirectly addressed issues such as inequality, bureaucracy, and social tensions. Humor and satire were used as tools to discuss everyday problems without directly engaging in political matters. TRT also developed a wide range of content for children, including educational programs, folkloric animations, and shows promoting moral values. *Susam Sokağı* (1980s–90s) was a notable production that combined education with the reinforcement of cultural identity. TRT adapted works of Turkish literature and theater into television dramas, reflecting the channel's cultural and educational mission. Adaptations of works by prominent Turkish authors, such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Yaşar Kemal, aimed to introduce viewers to Turkey's literary heritage. Sports broadcasts and live coverage of national and international events became popular during this period, reinforcing national pride and collective identity. The broadcasting of sports events like football matches created a sense of unity and shared excitement.

In the 1990s, TRT remained a dominant cultural force in Turkey's broadcasting landscape. As a state channel, TRT reflected a combination of traditional Turkish values and modern socio-political changes, incorporating these dynamics into the themes of its television series. During this period of economic liberalization and the rise of private television channels, TRT sought to balance cultural continuity with shifting audience expectations. The family-centred structure of Turkish society formed the cornerstone of TRT's programming. Family dramas addressed intergenerational dynamics, respect for elders, and social solidarity, aiming to create a sense of cultural continuity during times of rapid change. One of TRT's most iconic series, *Bizimkiler* (1989–2002), portrayed the struggles of urban middle-class life and traditional values through the lens of apartment living (Gül, 2005). The phenomenon of rapid rural-to-urban migration emerged as a prominent theme. Dramas highlighted the clash between rural traditions and urban lifestyles, emphasizing cultural transformations within Turkish society. Rural-themed dramas nostalgically depicted the simplicity of village life while addressing the challenges of urbanization (Erdoğan, 2015). TRT made modest investments in historical dramas to introduce viewers to Ottoman and Republican history and to foster national pride. Productions such as *Kurtuluş* (1994), which depicted the Turkish War of Independence, emphasized themes of national unity and patriotism (Çevik, 2019). TRT's series celebrating folklore, music, and cultural diversity played a significant role in strengthening national identity. These productions used local songs, dances, and proverbs to offer audiences an authentic cultural experience (Karanfil, 2020). Light comedies provided social critiques of Turkey's socio-political realities, often satirizing bureaucracy, urban challenges, and modern life. *Perihan Abı* (1986–1989) is an example of early situational comedies addressing class and gender issues with a humorous tone (Aksoy & Robins, 2000).

TRT maintained its public service mission by broadcasting shows that included moral lessons and educational content. While traditional gender roles were frequently reinforced in TRT productions, some series began exploring the changing roles of women in urban settings. For instance, *Yeditepe İstanbul* (2001–2002) portrayed the life struggles of a divorced woman within the context of Istanbul's old neighbourhood culture, solidarity, and human relationships. While women were often depicted within the framework of family, their challenges against societal norms became increasingly prominent (Sancar, 2017). Although under state control, TRT productions subtly addressed political and social issues, such as economic inequalities and cultural tensions, by presenting relatable narratives aligned with state policies (Yanardağoglu & Turhallı, 2020).

The 2000s marked a transformative period for Turkish television, with TRT facing increasing competition from private broadcasters. This era was shaped by technological advancements, political narratives, and a focus on both global and local cultural content. While maintaining its role as a public broadcaster, TRT began to explore broader themes in response to societal changes and international market dynamics. TRT focused on historical dramas emphasizing Turkey's Ottoman past and Islamic heritage. These series became important tools for fostering national pride and cultural identity. *Diriliş: Ertuğrul*, for example, laid the foundation for historical period dramas



blending historical, cultural, and religious values (Yanardağoglu & Turhallı, 2020). Amid increasing political polarization in Turkey, TRT's dramas mirrored state-supported narratives, addressing themes of nationalism, unity, and the fight against terrorism. While these productions aligned with government policies, they were particularly appealing to conservative audiences. Elesaki (2019) highlighted TRT's role in presenting securitized narratives, especially during politically sensitive periods. Family values continued to be a central theme, but in the 2000s, TRT emphasized conservative morality in alignment with Turkey's socio-political changes. Dramas portrayed idealized family structures and moral lessons. Sancar (2017) examined how traditional gender roles were reinforced, perpetuating gender-based expectations. TRT's dramas reflecting ongoing urbanization depicted the contrast between rural traditions and urban modernity. Urban life was often portrayed as fraught with challenges, while rural settings symbolized purity and cultural continuity. Sancar (2017) noted that narratives centred on women's sacrifices and moral resilience aligned closely with conservative discourses. To counter the influence of globalized media, TRT aimed to highlight local cultural traditions through its storytelling. Dramas integrated Turkish folklore, music, and regional identities into their narratives. TRT also addressed youth issues with educational and morally driven series designed to influence younger generations in alignment with state values. The 2000s witnessed TRT's strategic use as a cultural and political tool. Historical dramas and moral narratives became key instruments for reinforcing cultural values in response to societal changes and globalization (Gül, 2005; Algan & Kaptan, 2023).

### **Nationalist-Themed Content of TRT and Its Impact**

In recent years, TRT has increasingly prioritized international broadcasting as part of Turkey's soft power strategy, aiming to contribute to the country's cultural diplomacy. International channels such as TRT World seek to introduce Turkey's policies and cultural values to a global audience (Doğan, 2020). TRT's history reflects the political changes and ideological transformations in Turkey. Shifts in political power have played a decisive role in shaping TRT's broadcasting policies, and its independence has remained a topic of continuous debate. Nonetheless, TRT has persisted as a significant public broadcaster, strengthening national culture, raising historical awareness, and promoting Turkey internationally.

Undoubtedly, these influences align with global practices where cultural hegemony is produced through media. Around the world, numerous films and series have been used as vehicles of cultural hegemony. In the United States, for instance, productions such as *Band of Brothers* (2001, Miniseries—depicting the hardships and heroism of American soldiers during World War II) and *John Adams* (2008, Miniseries—exploring the life and struggles of John Adams during the American Revolutionary War) dramatize historical events while emphasizing patriotism and sacrifice. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, series such as *The Crown* (2016–, portraying the life of Queen Elizabeth II and modern British historical milestones) and *Downton Abbey* (2010–2015, depicting post-World War I societal changes and the story of an aristocratic family) delve into past eras, highlighting societal transformations while drawing significant viewer interest. In India, films such as *Lagaan* (2001, Film—depicting a village's struggle against colonial oppressors through a cricket match during British rule) and *Rang De Basanti* (2006, Film—following a group of university students inspired by Indian independence leaders to fight for change) explore themes of national values and independence struggles. In Germany, productions such as *Generation War* (*Unsere Mütter, Unsere Väter*) (2013, Miniseries—depicting the personal and societal upheavals experienced by young Germans during World War II) and *Das Boot* (1981, Film—portraying the survival struggles of a German submarine crew during World War II) focus on the individual and collective impacts of war. In Russia, *The White Guard* (2012, Miniseries—depicting the political and social turmoil in Ukraine during the Bolshevik Revolution) and *T-34* (2018, Film—telling the story of Russian soldiers seizing a German tank to fight for freedom during World War II) emphasize themes of national defence and heroism. In France, films such as *Les Misérables* (2012, Film—depicting individual stories under the social and political impacts of the French Revolution) and *Un Long Dimanche de Fiançailles* (*A Very Long Engagement*, 2004, Film—narrating a woman's search for her missing fiancé during World War I) explore themes of societal sacrifice and the struggle for freedom.

Through such examples, it becomes evident that media productions worldwide often serve as tools to construct and disseminate cultural hegemonies, reflecting patriotic, historical, and societal themes that resonate with their audiences. A similar dynamic is evident in TRT's programming. Since its establishment, and particularly in recent years, TRT has produced numerous series and films emphasizing Turkish history, the Ottoman period, and national values. These productions play a significant role in educating viewers about historical processes, fostering national consciousness, and promoting cultural heritage. Below is a detailed overview of some notable examples:

- **Kurtuluş (1994):** Directed by Ziya Öztan, this six-episode miniseries, *Kurtuluş*, presents an epic narrative of the National Struggle and the challenging journey leading to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Featuring notable actors such as Rutkay Aziz, Mahmut Cevher, Savaş Dinçel, and Altan Erkekli, the series achieved high viewership ratings during its broadcast (IGN, 2024).
- **Diriliş: Ertuğrul (2014–2019):** Directed by Metin Günay, *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* explores the life of Ertuğrul Gazi and the foundational period of the Ottoman Empire. Spanning five seasons and 150 episodes, the series captivated audiences with standout performances by Engin Altan Düzyatan and Esra Bilgiç (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Payitaht: Abdülhamid (2017–2021):** Directed by Serdar Akar, *Payitaht: Abdülhamid* delves into the political and social events of Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign. Over five seasons and 154 episodes, the series featured actors such as Bülent İnal, Özlem Conker, and Bahadır Yenişehirlioğlu (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Bir Zamanlar Osmanlı: Kırım (2012):** Directed by Altan Dönmez, *Bir Zamanlar Osmanlı: Kırım* dramatizes the late Ottoman period. With celebrated actors such as Türkan Şoray and Özcan Deniz, the series consisted of 20 episodes over two seasons (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Kuruluş: Osman (2019–Present):** A continuation of *Diriliş: Ertuğrul*, *Kuruluş: Osman* depicts Osman Bey's struggle to establish the Ottoman Empire. Directed by Ahmet Yılmaz, the series has spanned over six seasons and 166 episodes, featuring performances by Burak Özçivit and Yıldız Çağrı Atiksoy (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Filinta (2014–2016):** Directed by Osman Kaya, *Filinta* presents a detective story set during the Ottoman period. Starring Onur Tuna, Cem Uçan, and Damla Aslanalp, the series aired for two seasons with a total of 56 episodes (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm (2020):** Directed by Yasin Uslu, this six-episode miniseries, *Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm*, focuses on the final days of Istanbul under occupation and the struggle for independence. Performances by İlker Kızmaz and Birkan Sokullu garnered positive feedback (TRT1, 2024).
- **Teşkilat (2021–Present):** Directed by Burak Arlier, *Teşkilat* follows the operations of a modern intelligence agency. With lead roles played by Çağlar Ertuğrul and Deniz Baysal, the series has maintained high ratings across three seasons (TRT Tabii, 2024).
- **Yunus Emre: Aşkın Yolculuğu (2015–2016):** Directed by Emre Konuk and Kamil Aydın, *Yunus Emre: Aşkın Yolculuğu* narrates the spiritual journey of Yunus Emre, a pioneer of Anatolian mystic literature. The two-season series with 44 episodes was well-received by viewers (Wikipedia, 2024).
- **Ben ve Babam – Vatan (2024):** Directed by Berat Özdoğan, *Ben ve Babam – Vatan* portrays a father's love for his homeland and his sacrifices through a dramatic lens. Starring Ümit Kantarcılar and Sevcan Yaşar, the film received positive reviews upon release (Milliyet, 2024).

### Thematic Analysis of TRT Content

The transformation of main themes in TRT series over three periods (1960–1990, the 1990s, and the 2000s) is analyzed under the following categories: representations of women, historical themes, and representations of social life (e.g., the depiction of alcohol on television or urbanization elements). A comparative perspective highlights the changes shaped by sociopolitical, cultural, and technological dynamics.

Period	Themes in the Representation of Women	Examples
<b>1960–1990</b>	Women were depicted in traditional familial roles, such as housewives, mothers, or daughters. They were typically portrayed as preservers of family unity and morality.	<i>Kaynanalar</i> (1974) depicted intergenerational conflicts within a family, confining women to domestic spaces.
<b>1990s</b>	Traditional roles largely continued, but themes of independence emerged. Women were shown as moral protectors of the family or as facing struggles of urbanization.	<i>Perihan Abla</i> (1986–89) introduced an independent female character managing her life and community.
<b>2000s</b>	Women remained central to conservative narratives but their roles evolved. They balanced family values with modern struggles and were sometimes depicted as resilient against societal challenges.	Shows such as <i>Yeşil Deniz</i> (2014–2016), <i>Seksenler</i> (2012–2022), <i>Yedi Güzel Adam</i> (2014–2015), <i>Gönül Dağı</i> (2020–), and <i>Küçük Hanımefendi</i> (2006–2007) portrayed women as the moral pillars of the family.

The roles of women transformed from static and family-centric portrayals in the 1960–1990 period to slightly more independent but morally bound characters in the 1990s. In the 2000s, women were depicted balancing traditional and modern struggles, with a strong emphasis on conservative moral representations.

Period	Themes in Historical Representation	Examples
<b>1960–1990</b>	Historical themes focused on modernization narratives and nation-building. Turkish folklore and traditions were emphasized to instill a sense of cultural pride.	Adaptations of literature and folklore highlighted Turkey's rural traditions and nationalism.
<b>1990s</b>	Historical narratives expanded to include Turkey's Republican history and modern struggles. National identity was central, particularly in series about wars or independence.	<i>Kurtuluş</i> (1994) dramatized the Turkish War of Independence, fostering national unity and historical awareness.
<b>2000s</b>	Historical themes began to emphasize Ottoman history and Islamic pride. TRT series aligned with neo-Ottoman themes, highlighting Turkey's imperial heritage.	<i>Diriliş: Ertuğrul</i> (early period) laid the groundwork for Ottoman-focused period dramas.

Historical narratives evolved significantly over time. The 1960–1990 period focused on folklore and modern nation-building, while the 1990s addressed Turkey's Republican struggles. In the 2000s, Ottoman and Islamic heritage came to the forefront, signaling a cultural shift.

Period	Themes in the Representation of Social Life	Examples
<b>1960–1990</b>	Social life was idealized around rural purity and family-centered morality. Urbanization was depicted as challenging but progressive.	Rural and urban narratives portrayed migration as a cultural conflict. Alcohol appeared rarely in family-centered stories.
<b>1990s</b>	Urbanization themes became prominent, reflecting class struggles and the realities of urban life. Alcohol was occasionally shown as part of modernity but presented in moderation.	<i>Bizimkiler</i> depicted the challenges of urban life with humor and subtle social commentary.
<b>2000s</b>	Social life was portrayed through a lens of conservative morality, with rural values idealized as pure and harmonious. The depiction of alcohol and smoking was reduced and eventually removed due to legal regulations. Urban life was shown as morally challenging.	<i>Yeşil Deniz</i> (2014–2016), <i>Seksenler</i> (2012–2022), <i>Gönül Dağı</i> (2020–), and similar series emphasized the moral difficulties of modern urban life while foregrounding family-based societal values.

The representation of social life evolved significantly. Between 1960 and 1990, it focused on rural purity and modernization ideals. In the 1990s, the realities of urbanization and class struggles gained prominence. By the 2000s, urban life was evaluated through conservative values, with a significant reduction in depictions of alcohol.

## EVALUATION of FINDINGS

Productions centred on the Ottoman period play a significant role in shaping perceptions of history, culture, and national identity, both in Turkey and internationally. These productions have notable impacts through fostering historical awareness, rediscovering cultural values, strengthening national identity and pride, enhancing international reputation, advancing cultural diplomacy, and influencing popular culture. By presenting the Ottoman Empire's journey from its establishment to its decline in a dramatic and educational manner, these works contribute to the development of historical consciousness. Such productions are particularly effective tools for introducing historical events and figures to younger generations. For example, *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* depicts the foundational period of the Ottoman Empire and the leadership struggles of Ertuğrul Gazi, sparking greater interest among viewers in understanding the dynamics of history. A study by Özmen, Er, and Ünal (2014) examined the impact of television series on historical awareness. Their findings indicated that historical series increase viewers' interest in historical events and reinforce their historical knowledge.

Additionally, Türk (2024) explored the global cultural influence of Turkish television series, emphasizing their role as effective tools for promoting Turkish cultural elements, language, and history worldwide. Geçer (2015), in a cultural and ideological evaluation of Turkish series, highlighted how these productions reinforce feelings of national identity and pride, enabling viewers to recall past heroism and experience a sense of national pride. A study assessing Turkish television series as instruments of cultural diplomacy underscored their significant role in Turkey's cultural diplomacy, contributing positively to the country's international image (Yazar, 2020). Türk (2024) further noted that these series influence popular culture elements such as fashion, literature, and tourism, creating new opportunities in economic and cultural domains. Research by Hancıgaz and Hülür (2024) on the effects of Turkish series on social and cultural life in Turkey revealed that these productions increase political and social awareness among viewers and help establish connections between historical events and contemporary politics. However, a study examining the historical narratives in Turkish series pointed out criticisms regarding the balance between historical accuracy and dramatization. The study also highlighted debates about the biased portrayal of historical events and the representation of female characters (Murat & Gökgöz, 2022).

While these series contribute to historical awareness, their ideological framing aligns with Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony. Gramsci (2011) argues that dominant social groups maintain power not merely through coercion but by securing consent via ideological institutions such as media. TRT, as a public broadcaster, plays a crucial role in this process by shaping narratives that reinforce hegemonic ideologies. Through its historical dramas, TRT constructs a selective portrayal of history that emphasizes themes of national unity, leadership, and resistance against external threats. These narratives cultivate a sense of belonging among audiences, reinforcing a hegemonic national identity that aligns with contemporary political discourses.

From the perspective of Louis Althusser's (2006) ideological state apparatuses, TRT operates as a mechanism that disseminates dominant ideologies. Media content serves not only as a reflection of history but also as a means of constructing social reality. The historical narratives in *Diriliş: Ertuğrul* and *Payitaht: Abdülhamid* do not merely recount past events; they reinterpret them through the lens of present-day political ideologies. By framing these historical narratives in ways that emphasize national strength, unity, and cultural continuity, TRT effectively functions as an ideological tool that aligns audiences' perceptions with dominant political discourses.



Furthermore, the theoretical contributions of the Frankfurt School, particularly Adorno and Horkheimer's (1947) culture industry thesis, are relevant to understanding TRT's role in ideological production. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, mass media is not merely a source of entertainment but a tool for reproducing dominant ideologies by shaping public consciousness. TRT's historical productions exemplify this process by presenting a dramatized and emotionally charged version of the past, which reinforces contemporary ideological positions. By depicting historical events in a way that aligns with nationalist and conservative discourses, these series contribute to the normalization of state-sponsored narratives.

Additionally, critical discourse analysis of TRT's productions reveals recurring linguistic and visual strategies that reinforce hegemonic messages. Key discursive elements include the use of heroic archetypes, repeated references to "external enemies" and "internal traitors," and the glorification of moral and religious values. These strategies serve to create a binary opposition between the noble, righteous "self" and the deceitful "other," thus reinforcing a nationalistic perspective that aligns with state narratives.

In conclusion, the findings of this study indicate that TRT's historical productions function as powerful instruments of ideological statecraft. By embedding dominant political discourses within cultural narratives, TRT actively participates in the production of consent and the reinforcement of cultural hegemony. This aligns with Gramscian, Althusserian, and Frankfurt School perspectives, demonstrating how media serves as a conduit for ideological reproduction. Future research could further examine audience reception of these narratives to assess the extent to which they shape public perceptions of history and national identity.

## CONCLUSION

Since its establishment, TRT's broadcasting policies have evolved in parallel with Turkey's socio-political and cultural transformations. Founded in 1964 as a public service broadcaster, TRT initially aimed to inform, educate, and entertain the public while reinforcing national identity and cultural heritage. Between 1960 and 1990, TRT played a key role in the state's modernization efforts by shaping public consciousness through its programming. As the sole broadcaster during this period, TRT actively promoted national unity and cultural values, using media as an ideological tool to construct a shared national identity. Its monopoly allowed it to be the dominant force in shaping public discourse and reinforcing the state's official narratives. The 1990s marked a turning point as private television channels emerged, ending TRT's monopoly and introducing a more competitive media landscape. While private broadcasters embraced popular culture and commercial content, TRT remained committed to producing programs centred on national identity, historical narratives, and cultural values. Programs such as "Bizimkiler" (depicting urbanization and social transformation) and "Kurtuluş" (a historical drama) played a crucial role in shaping Turkey's collective memory. The 2000s brought a more distinct ideological shift for TRT. Under the AKP government, TRT's broadcasting policies reflected a growing emphasis on conservative values and neo-Ottoman themes. Historical series such as "Diriliş: Ertuğrul" and "Payitaht: Abdülhamid" became emblematic of this shift, portraying Ottoman history and Islamic heritage as central elements of Turkish identity.

The transition from traditional broadcasting to digital media has fundamentally transformed TRT's role as a hegemonic instrument. Digitalization has not only allowed TRT to expand its audience beyond national borders but also enabled it to exert ideological influence on a global scale. TRT World has positioned itself as a crucial pillar of Turkey's soft power strategy. Designed as an alternative to Western-centric media narratives, TRT World presents Turkey's geopolitical interests and cultural perspectives to an international audience, fostering a counter-discourse against global media giants. Another significant move in TRT's digital strategy is the launch of TRT Tabii, a digital streaming platform akin to Netflix, which specifically targets younger audiences and international viewers. By leveraging digital storytelling techniques and interactive media formats, TRT Tabii aims to extend Turkish cultural narratives beyond television and into the digital domain.

While digitalization has strengthened TRT's ability to disseminate hegemonic discourses, it has also opened new spaces for counter-hegemonic narratives. Social media platforms, independent news sources, and alternative media outlets challenge TRT's ideological narratives, fostering a more diverse and contested media ecosystem. At the same time, TRT's digital transformation has introduced new mechanisms of ideological control. Unlike traditional state-controlled broadcasting, digital platforms rely on recommendation algorithms and data-driven content distribution, subtly shaping public perceptions and audience engagement. Platforms such as TRT World and TRT Tabii employ algorithmic curation to amplify specific narratives, reinforcing hegemonic messages in more sophisticated and targeted ways. This shift highlights the need for further research into how state-backed media organizations utilize digital technologies to maintain ideological dominance.

This study highlights TRT's strategic role in shaping national identity through historical narratives and its evolving function in the digital age. As TRT moves from traditional broadcasting to digital media, its hegemonic strategies are no longer confined to national audiences but extend to global public spheres. Neo-Ottoman themes, national hero narratives, and cultural heritage continue to be central pillars of TRT's ideological framework. TRT's adaptation to digital platforms marks a new phase in its hegemonic function. With the emergence of TRT Tabii, there is an increasing need to investigate whether it functions as a Turkish equivalent of Netflix—a tool for cultural dissemination and ideological influence. This study contributes to the understanding of how state-controlled media operates as an ideological apparatus. Future research should explore the dynamic interaction between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives within TRT's digital media ecosystem, examining how state-backed ideological frameworks are both reinforced and contested in the digital sphere. Additionally, an important area of investigation is how TRT's content is consumed and moderated on social media platforms, particularly in the context of platform governance policies, audience engagement patterns, and the role of user-generated content in shaping alternative discourses. Another critical aspect involves analyzing the role of algorithms in determining audience exposure to specific ideological content, as recommendation systems play a key function in amplifying certain narratives while marginalizing others. Furthermore, TRT's international media strategies and its broader efforts to influence global discourse warrant deeper exploration, particularly in relation to Turkey's geopolitical positioning and soft power initiatives. As digital media continues to reshape the global information landscape, understanding how TRT employs digital hegemonic strategies will remain an essential avenue for future academic inquiry.

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### Uzun Öz

Medyanın kültürel hegemonyayı şekillendirmedeki rolü, sosyoloji ve medya çalışmaları açısından önemli bir odak noktası olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu (TRT), Türkiye'deki kültürel ve ideolojik etkilerin kritik bir aracı olarak öne çıkmıştır. 1964 yılında kurulduğundan bu yana TRT, bir kamu yayıncısı olarak Türkiye'nin sosyopolitik dönüşümlerini yansıtmış ve şekillendirmiştir. Bu genişletilmiş özet, Antonio Gramsci'nin kültürel hegemonya teorisi ve Louis Althusser'in ideolojik devlet aygıtları kavramından yola çıkarak, TRT'nin ulusal kimliği güçlendirme ve hegemonik anlatıları yayma konusundaki çok yönlü rolünü incelemektedir. Kuruluşundan itibaren TRT, ulusal birlik ve kültürel uyumu güçlendirmeyi amaçlamıştır. İlk yıllarında, modernleşme ve ulus inşası temalarına vurgu yaparak programlarını Türkiye devletinin öncelikleriyle uyumlu hale getirmiştir. 1960'lar ve 1970'ler, okuryazarlık, teknolojik ilerleme ve folklorik geleneklerin vurgulandığı yayınlarla, çeşitli nüfusu ortak bir ulusal kimlik altında birleştirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu dönemde üretilen içerik, kırsal yaşamı kültürel olarak saf, şehirleşmeyi ise ilerici fakat zorlu bir dönüşüm olarak tasvir etmiştir. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ile iş

birliği içinde geliştirilen “Okul Televizyonu” gibi programlar, toplumu eğitmek ve modernize etmek için tasarlanmış olsa da, teknik sınırlamalar genellikle başarılarını engellemiştir. Ayrıca TRT’nin programları, ulusal gurur ve birlik temalarını sıkça içermiş, böylece Türkiye’nin ulus inşa çabalarının temel taşlarından biri olmuştur. 1980’ler, TRT’nin programlarını etkilemeye başlayan neoliberal politikalar ve küresel kültürel değişimlerin görüldüğü bir dönemi temsil etmiştir. Eğlence, eğitim içeriklerinin önüne geçmiş ve bu durum, daha geniş toplumsal değişimlerle uyumlu hale gelmiştir. 1990’larda özel yayıncıların medya sahasına girmesiyle TRT’nin tekeli sona ermiş ve rekabetçi yayıncılık dönemine girilmiştir. Bu değişimlere rağmen TRT, ulusal kültür ve tarihi teşvik etme rolünü sürdürmüş ve ortaya çıkan zorluklarla başa çıkmak için stratejilerini uyarlamıştır. Bu dönemde TRT’nin programları, şehirleşme, kuşaklar arası ilişkiler ve modernleşmeye uyum temalarını vurgulamıştır. “Bizimkiler” gibi diziler orta sınıf kent yaşamını incelerken, “Kurtuluş” gibi tarihi dramalar Türkiye’nin Kurtuluş Savaşı’nı dramatize ederek ulusal gururu pekiştirmiştir. Bu yapımlar, Türk halkı arasında ortak bir hafıza ve kimlik duygusunun oluşmasında etkili olmuştur. 2000’ler, TRT için siyasi değişimler ve teknolojik gelişmelerle kimliğini yeniden şekillendirdiği bir dönüşüm dönemi olmuştur. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin (AKP) yükselişi, neo-Osmanlı temaları ve muhafazakâr ahlaki değerlerin vurgulandığı yeni bir ideolojik yönelim getirmiştir. “Diriliş: Ertuğrul” ve “Payitaht: Abdülhamid” gibi yapımlar, Osmanlı tarihine ve İslami mirasa odaklanarak bu dönemi örneklemektedir. Bu diziler yalnızca ülke içinde beğeni kazanmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda uluslararası tanınırlık elde ederek Türkiye’nin kültürel diplomasisini güçlendirmiştir. Aynı zamanda, TRT’nin dijital platformlardaki genişleyen varlığı, küresel bir izleyici kitlesine ulaşmasını sağlamış ve Althusser’in ideolojik devlet aygıtı kavramı bağlamında rolünü pekiştirmiştir. Bu dönemde üretilen içerik, yurtseverlik, ahlaki sorumluluk ve tarihi süreklilik gibi değerleri vurgulayarak Türkiye’nin değişen siyasi önceliklerini yansıtmıştır. Dijital medyanın entegrasyonu, TRT’nin etkisini daha da artırmıştır. Dijital platformlar, kullanıcıların hegemonik anlatıların yayılmasına katılımına olanak tanıyarak etkileşimli bir katılım sağlamıştır. Bu dinamik, Manuel Castells’in dijitalleşmenin toplumsal yapılar üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini vurgulayan ağ toplumu teorisi ile uyumludur. Dijital medya, karşı-hegemonik hareketler için alanlar yaratsa da TRT bu platformları devletle uyumlu anlatıları yaymak için etkili bir şekilde kullanmıştır. Örneğin, tarihi dramalar, çoğu zaman kolektif hafızayı şekillendiren ve ulusal kimliği pekiştiren dramatizasyonla gerçek olayları harmanlamaktadır. Ancak, bu yaklaşım ideolojik hedeflere tarihi doğruluğun önüne geçmesi nedeniyle eleştirilere de maruz kalmıştır. Bu yapımlarda tarihin seçici temsili, akademisyenler ve izleyiciler arasında tartışmalara yol açarak medyanın kültürel etki aracı olarak kullanımındaki karmaşıklıkları ortaya koymuştur. TRT’nin kültürel hegemonya üretimi ve yayılımı, tarihi anlatıların stratejik bir şekilde kullanılmasını içermektedir. Tarihi olayları dramatize ederek TRT, ulusal gurur ve süreklilik hissi inşa etmektedir. Örneğin, “Diriliş: Ertuğrul,” Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun kuruluş dönemini tasvir ederek tarihi figürlere hayranlık uyandırmakta ve Gramsci’nin kültürel araçlarla rıza üretimi anlayışıyla uyumlu hale gelmektedir. Bu tür yapımlar, hâkim ideolojilerin içselleştirilmesine katkıda bulunarak, bu ideolojilerin doğal ve evrensel görünmesini sağlamaktadır. Althusser’in de belirttiği gibi, bu süreç bireyleri belirli ideolojik çerçevelere yerleştirerek mevcut güç yapılarını pekiştirmektedir. Ayrıca, bu anlatılar sıklıkla ahlaki ve etik değerlere vurgu yaparak, Türkiye’nin kültürel ve tarihi kimliğini anlamak ve yorumlamak için kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. TRT’nin rolü, ulusal sınırların ötesine geçerek Türkiye’nin tarihi ve kültürel anlatılarını uluslararası alanda tanıtmayı amaçlayan bir kültürel diplomasi aracı olarak da işlev görmektedir. Türk mirasını vurgulayan diziler aracılığıyla TRT, Türkiye’nin yumuşak gücünü başarılı bir şekilde artırmıştır. Bu yapımlar yalnızca kültürel algıları değil, aynı zamanda moda, turizm ve hatta siyasi söylemleri etkileyerek popüler kültür üzerinde de etkili olmuştur. Örneğin, “Diriliş: Ertuğrul” dizisinin popüleritesi, uluslararası izleyiciler arasında Osmanlı tarihine olan ilgiyi artırmış ve TRT’yi küresel medyada önemli bir aktör haline getirmiştir. Ayrıca, bu yapımlar kültürel zenginlik ve tarihi derinlik konularında Türkiye’ye dair fikirler sunarak kültürler arası diyalogu kolaylaştırmıştır. TRT’nin katkılarına rağmen, içerikleri tartışmasız değildir. Eleştirmenler, programlarının genellikle iktidardaki güçlerle ideolojik uyuma öncelik verdiğini belirterek, kamu yayıncısı olarak tarafsızlığına dair sorular ortaya atmaktadır. Tarihi dramalar, kültürel gururu artırmada etkili olsa da tarih ve toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri temsilleri açısından seçici olmaları nedeniyle eleştirilmiştir. TRT yapımlarındaki kadın karakterler genellikle

geleneksel rolleri yansıtarak muhafazakâr ahlaki değerleri temsil etmektedir. Bu temsil, devlet destekli anlatılarla uyumlu olmakla birlikte, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı stereotipleri pekiştirdiği ve kadınların temsili kapsamını sınırladığı için eleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca, bu anlatılarda farklı perspektiflerin eksikliği, medyada kapsayıcılık ve temsil konularında endişelere yol açmıştır. TRT'nin programlarının zaman içindeki dönüşümü, Türkiye'deki daha geniş sosyopolitik ve kültürel dinamikleri yansıtmaktadır. 1960 ve 1990 yılları arasında, yayınları modernleşme ve ulusal birliği vurgulayarak devlet öncülüğünde kalkınma hedefleriyle uyumlu hale gelmiştir. 1990'lar, şehirleşme ve kültürel adaptasyon temalarını ön plana çıkarırken, 2000'ler neo-Osmanlılık ve muhafazakâr ahlak anlayışına yönelmiştir. Bu değişimler, TRT'nin değişen siyasi iklimlere uyum sağlama kapasitesini gösterirken, aynı zamanda kültürel hegemonyanın bir aracı olarak rolünü koruduğunu da ortaya koymaktadır. Programlarının evrimi, medya, devlet gücü ve toplumsal değerler arasındaki etkileşimi vurgulayarak Türkiye'deki kültürel üretimin dinamik doğasını göstermektedir. Çalışmanın bulguları, TRT'nin tarihsel anlatılar yoluyla ulusal kimliği inşa etmek için stratejik bir medya aygıtı olarak işlev gördüğünü göstermektedir. Özellikle Osmanlı dönemi, ulusal kahraman figürleri ve milliyetçi söylemler, TRT'nin ideolojik çerçevesinin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Sonuç olarak, TRT, tarihsel ve kültürel anlatılar aracılığıyla Türkiye'de hegemonik ideolojilerin yeniden üretilmesinde kritik bir rol oynamaktadır. Geleneksel medya döneminden dijital platformlara geçiş sürecinde TRT, hegemonik söylemlerini sürdürmek için yeni medya araçlarını da aktif olarak kullanmaktadır. Özellikle "TRT Tabii" gibi dijital platformlar, Türkiye'nin medya alanında bir "Netflix" benzeri kültürel yayılma aracı olup olmadığının araştırılması gereken bir konu olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu çalışma, devlet kontrolündeki medyanın ideolojik yeniden üretimde nasıl bir rol oynadığını anlamaya yönelik önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır. Bundan sonraki araştırmalarda, TRT'nin dijitalleşme sürecinin hegemonik söylem üretimi üzerindeki etkileri daha ayrıntılı olarak incelenebilir ve dijital medya ekosisteminde karşı-hegemonik aktörlerin rolü üzerine daha fazla çalışma yapılabilir.