

NEW NATIONALISMS IN TURKEY IN THE FIELD OF POPULAR ART:
THE CASE OF KURTLAR VADİSİ

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NEW NATIONALISMS IN TURKEY IN THE FIELD OF POPULAR ART:

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The Case of Kurtlar Vadisi

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Thesis Abstract

Pınar Sayan, “New Nationalisms in Turkey in the Field of Popular Art: The Case of *Kurtlar Vadisi*”

In the post-colonial and post-communist world nationalism has become a subject of great interest to academics and political commentators alike. This interest has generated by the fact that after the end of the Cold War, nationalism was expected to be replaced by a cosmopolitan world with liberal values. Yet this has proved not to be the case. Globalization and liberalism have not been able to prevent the rise of a new wave of nationalism, which will be termed “new-nationalism” in this research.

New-nationalism of the twenty-first century is not centrally produced and spread by certain groups or parties. Rather, it is produced and spread by the popular culture itself. The aim of this research is to explore the expressions of new nationalisms in Turkey in the artistic field and the political messages disseminated by the new nationalist films, TV series, and books. Among many of the new nationalist cultural products, *Kurtlar Vadisi* has been chosen as the object of a case study because it has been the most influential new nationalist movie and TV series of recent years with its enormous popularity. Originally created as a TV series its success spawned a spin-off movie. The distinctive features of *Kurtlar Vadisi* such as mistrust of state authorities, heroism, excessive use of violence, masculinity, variety of enemies and reliance on conspiracy theories can also be considered the basic characteristics of new-nationalism. The overall goal is to arrive at a conceptualization of the new nationalism as a popular art phenomenon in Turkey.

Tez Özeti

Pınar Sayan, “Popüler Sanat Alanında Türkiye’de Yeni Milliyetçilikler: Kurtlar Vadisi Örneği”

Sömürgecilik ve komünizm sonrası dünyada milliyetçilik ilgi odağı haline gelmektedir çünkü Soğuk Savaş’ın sona ermesiyle milliyetçiliğin düşüşe geçeceği ve liberal değerlere dayanan kozmopolit bir dünyanın ortaya çıkacağı düşünülüyordu. Ne küreselleşme ne de liberalizm, bu araştırmada “yeni-milliyetçilik” olarak adlandırılan yeni bir milliyetçilik dalgasının yükselişini engelleyemedi.

Yirmibirinci yüzyılın yeni-milliyetçiliği bazı grup veya partiler tarafından merkezi olarak değil, daha çok popüler kültürün kendisi tarafından üretilir ve yayılır. Bu araştırmanın amacı, Türkiye’de popüler kültür alanındaki yeni-milliyetçilik ifadelerini ve yeni-milliyetçi film, televizyon dizileri ve kitaplar tarafından yayılan siyasi mesajları araştırmaktır. Bir çok yeni-milliyetçi kültürel ürün arasından, Kurtlar Vadisi örnek olarak seçildi. Bu seçimin ardındaki neden Kurtlar Vadisi’nin geçtiğimiz senelerdeki en etkili yeni-milliyetçi film ve televizyon dizisi olmasıdır. Kurtlar Vadisi bir televizyon dizisi ve devam filmi olarak yarıttığı inanılmaz popülerlik; gazeteci ve akademisyenler arasında ortaya çıkardığı tartışmalar ve seyirci üzerindeki şekillendirici etkisi nedeniyle seçilmiştir. Kurtlar Vadisi’nin ayırt edici özellikleri olan devlet otoritelerine karşı güvensizlik, kahramanlık, aşırı şiddet kullanımı, erkeklik, düşmanın çeşitliliği ve komplo teorilerine güvenmek yeni-milliyetçiliğin de temel özellikleri olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu çalışmadaki genel amaç; yeni milliyetçiliği günümüz Türkiye’inde bir popüler kültür olgusu olarak kavramsallaştırmaktır.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

...This is a world in which superpowers have shrunk or disintegrated, economic giants have so far failed to acquire political power or military muscle, the state itself has been outflanked by the new international division of labour and mass communications, and the old ethical norms have been replaced by moral ambivalence and political ambiguity. In this turmoil of power and ideas, one familiar face reappeared: that of nationalism... (Smith, 1999, 253-254)

The resurgence of nationalism in the post Cold War world constitutes the basis of this research. With the spread of liberal ideas and the acceleration of globalization, it was expected that a global culture would develop, making real Kant's centuries-old dream of *cosmopolitanism* in the twenty-first century. However, national sentiments have not been erased. Nationalism has been, once again, on the rise, not only in the territorially problematic areas but also in the very heart of the West with the increasing mobility of the people and ideas due to the effects of the advances in technology.

Technological developments help ideas spread more rapidly and reach more people. The traditional technological tool that nationalism used to reach the masses was the print technology. Yet, in the "information age" in which we are living, there are several other tools that can be used to reach the masses. In this research, popular culture is seen as an important part of the system of mass communications for investigating the reflections of nationalism. The main problematic is the relationship and interaction between twenty-first century nationalism and popular culture. Among popular culture's many sub-categories, popular art has been chosen to understand the interrelations between nationalism and popular culture, since it can be observed that,

since the early 1990s, nationalism has increasingly expressed itself with the narrative and image it has created through the popular artistic imagination.

Like many countries of the world, Turkey has witnessed a post Cold War surge in nationalism. The main objective of this study is not to explore the structural reasons behind this surge, but to understand the specific discourses and expressions of the twenty-first century currents of Turkish nationalism. Turkish nationalism from the 1990s onward has been subject to major transformation. In order to understand the logic of this transformation, I will explore the following two questions: (1) What are the basic differences between old and new nationalisms? (2) What were the central discourses and cultural expressions that new-nationalisms have been using? For the purpose of coming up with meaningful answers to these questions, I will focus on new-nationalist popular art.

The main hypothesis of this study is based on the difference between old and new nationalisms. The main differences between old and new nationalisms can be observed in terms of the differences between their organizational structures, the ways in which they view the role of men and women in society, the kind of enemies they face; the type of ideologies they compete with, as well as the way they treat important notions such as “state”, “nation”, and “pride”. I will argue that popular culture is the main field for the production, dissemination, and reproduction of new-nationalisms. Old nationalist discourses, on the other hand, were mainly produced in the political field and in the hands of the political parties and intelligentsia. On the reproduction side, there were party militants who were ready to put those ideas into political action.

New-nationalism, which is produced and consumed in the field of popular

culture, has become a meta-narrative that encompasses many singular narratives, each with an appeal to a different audience in a different social space. That way, one can observe upper as well as lower classes, younger as well as older generations, people from different ethnic and sectarian backgrounds, men as well as women being attracted to this or that version of new-nationalist cultural discourse, tailored to their tastes and expectations.

The new-nationalist wave will be examined by analyzing a sample of movies, TV series and books. We will first identify the most widely watched and discussed popular nationalist movies, TV series and books, based on data supplied by rating measures, press reviews, and internet discussion forums. The main method of analysis which will be used to understand those products will be “interpretive textual analysis”. Since culture is seen as a narrative in which particular “texts” like these movies, TV series or books express the existing realities of the society, interpretive textual analysis is used to get beneath the surface and examine more implicit social meanings.

Among the many products of new-nationalist popular art, “*Kurtlar Vadisi*”, the TV series and the movie based on it, was chosen as the case of this study. “*Kurtlar Vadisi*” was first broadcast on TV in 2003. The show was about the story of an undercover government agent, *Polat Alemdar*, who was ordered to infiltrate and wipe out the Turkish mafia. *Polat* joins a mafia group, brings it under his control, and together with his new-found allies, starts a fight against organized crime and foreign intelligence services. The show was on air for three seasons and broke all rating records. The main characters were all men and they were depicted as “heroic”, “manly” and “nationalist”, who never shied away from using extremely

violent methods to achieve their goals. The story-line of *Kurtlar Vadisi* very closely followed well-known events, incidents and scandals of state-mafia relations at the time of its shooting, and the characters were strikingly similar to real persons. Thus, for many among its audience, the weekly episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi* were far more than fiction. The episodes were treated very much like a dramatized weekly news hour, and perceived as providing insider information into the current political developments and as decoding the invisible factors and actors behind the political changes.

After the success of the TV series, the producers made a movie, "*Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak*", which featured the main cast members as in the TV version. In the movie, *Polat Alemdar* and his crew go to Iraq to get revenge for the Turkish soldiers who were humiliated by the Americans. It is to be noted that a similar incident, in which a group of Turkish soldiers in Northern Iraq were captured by the American soldiers, did actually take place and it caused huge public uproar in Turkey. The movie was thus attempting to get fictional revenge for an actual humiliation.

"*Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*" which was first broadcast in 2007 also has a similar plot. This time, the enemy of the crew is a global organization that wants to dominate the Eurasia region. As with the earlier series, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* also breaks the rating records regularly. Since 2003, Turkey has experienced what can only be described as a "Kurtlar Vadisi phenomenon" and as such its violent scenes, its plot, its possible effects on children and youth, and its nationalist messages have long been discussed in the media. The aim of the study is to explore this popular art phenomenon within the theoretical framework of new-nationalism.

Here is how this work is organized. The following chapter, Chapter Two, is

devoted to a conceptual discussion of “new-nationalism”. The chapter will open with an outlining of the major theories of nationalism. After placing Turkish nationalism in the context of the current nationalism literature, we will examine the interrelation between nationalism and popular culture with a specific emphasis on communications technology. One can observe that new communications technology, such as the internet, has played a critical role in the ways in which new nationalisms have emerged and shown their impact in popular culture. Towards the end of the first chapter, old nationalist ideologies will be overviewed in order to provide a necessary background for the conceptualization of new-nationalism. Finally, comparisons will be drawn between old and new nationalisms, emphasizing the distinctive features of the new versions.

In Chapter Three, the emphasis will be put on new-nationalist popular art in Turkey. Movies, TV series and books produced from the early 1990s onwards will be listed. The defining characteristics of new-nationalistic popular art will be outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Four will focus on *Kurtlar Vadisi* as an exemplary case of new-nationalist popular art. After reviewing the academic debates on *Kurtlar Vadisi*, the results of the content analysis of the news and commentaries in ten national newspapers will be offered. This will be followed by a description of the production process of *Kurtlar Vadisi* as a TV series and movie. Finally, an interpretive textual analysis of the series and the movie will be offered.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING “NEW-NATIONALISM” AS A CONCEPT

In this first chapter, main nationalism theories, which deal with the birth of nations and nationalism, are explained to provide a theoretical background for the current wave of nationalism. After covering primordialist, modernist and ethno-symbolist schools, the relationship between popular culture and nationalism is discussed. Then, the birth and development of Turkish nationalism is covered to provide a necessary background to the discussion of new-nationalism in Turkey. New-nationalism is used as a concept to define the nationalist wave seen in two thousands. The nationalist wave in the two thousands has distinctive characteristics and thus deserves to be called “new.” These distinctive characteristics which can be observed in Turkey are discussed in detail at the end of the chapter.

Nationalism Theories

Nationalism studies have long been dominated by the debates about the birth of nations. Following Anthony D. Smith’s line, nationalism theories can be explained into three schools, which are primordialist, modernist and ethno-symbolist schools.¹

The primordialist approach sees nations as the natural and primordial divisions of humanity. Thus nationalism is ubiquitous and universal. The power of

¹ Most of the scholars he associates with these schools have never been named themselves as such. A strong criticism of this classification was made by Umut Özkırımlı (2008). He suggests dividing nationalism theories into two “essentialists” and “constructivists”. Other than the main theories mentioned here, there are several influential studies which deal with gender or post-colonialism. For further reading see (Chattarje, 1993; Spivak, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 1997).

nations and nationalism lies in the rootedness of the nation in kinship, ethnicity, and the genetic bases of human existence. Smith identifies three kinds of primordialism (Smith, 1999, 3). The first is *popular primordialism*, which he associates with Abbé Siéyes, according to whom nations are the elements of nature, or the divine plan, not just of history (Smith, 1999, 3). The second is the *sociobiological* one proposed by Van den Berghe (1967). He claims that nations and ethnic communities are extensions of kinship units and small clans. Biological descent affects the choices of cultural signs such as language and religion. The third is *cultural primordialism* by Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz, which undermines the role of biological descent but emphasizes the importance of the primordial ties such as blood, speech, custom, religion, and territory. (Smith, 1999, 4)

Smith also identifies a different approach, *perennialism*, within the primordialist school which argues that nations have existed throughout recorded history but are not part of the natural order. Two kind of perennialism can be identified, continuous and recurrent perennialism. *Continuous perennialism* accepts that particular nations have existed for centuries, and others are more recent. Hugh Seton-Watson (1997, 6-7), claims that the doctrine of nationalism dates from the age of the French Revolution, but nations existed before the doctrine was formulated. He classifies nations as old and new. Old nations include the England, Scotland, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russian, Hungary; and the new nations are countries in Muslim lands, Southern and Eastern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. For *recurrent perennialism*, the nations come and go, emerge and dissolve, only to reappear continually in different periods and continents.

Early explanations of nationalism tend to be more organic and deterministic.

Nation-states are seen as the natural and intrinsic part of world history. Nations are accepted as natural. Therefore the possible social, economic or political reasons of their births were not investigated. Hence, they do not provide a serious basis for this research to analyze new-nationalisms in Turkey. However, *Modernist* theories of nationalism are much more skeptical about the birth of the nation-states. Nations are accepted as the products of modernism, namely of the French Revolution and they deal with the context that nationalism emerged in. Apart from the French Revolution industrialization, advances in technology, and improvement in the educational level are all considered factors in the emergence of the nation-states.

For example, Gellner (1983) proposes a socio-cultural model which sees nationalism as a consequence of the rise of new social structures brought about in the wake of industrialization. Hechter (2000) also focuses on the socio-economic factors of the emergence of nationalism. For him, nations and nationalism are the products of the uneven development of capitalism and of disparities in regional resources. Hechter (2000, 19-34) emphasizes the role of industrialization, public schooling, and the demand for national self-determination, while Kedourie mostly focuses on the change in the traditional values, and the rise of an ambitious, secular and educated generation. (1994, 49-55)

Anthony D. Smith (1990, 9) proposes a middle way between early explanations and modernism by *ethno-symbolism*. He proposes the concept “ethnie” as the basis of nations. Ethnie is defined as “named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories and one or more common elements of culture, including an association with a homeland, and some degree of solidarity, at least among the elite” (1990, 13). There are two groups of ethnies, ethnic

communities and ethnic categories. While ethnic communities have a certain amount of consciousness about their ethnicity, ethnic categories do not. Ethnies can be traced back to ancient times. However, what makes an ethnies a nation is defined in institutional terms. The differences between ethnies and nations are determined by legitimate laws, obligations, and a common economy because he defines nations as “a named human population sharing historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (1990,10). But, how did ethnies turn into nations? What were the factors? In order to explain these questions, Smith firstly identifies two kinds of ethnies, horizontal and vertical ethnies.

Horizontal ethnies consist of upper classes like aristocrats and upper priests but sometimes bureaucrats, high ranked military officers and wealthy merchants might be included. This type is called “horizontal” because it is limited to the upper classes and at the same time it tends to expand geographically, building closer relations with neighbour horizontal ethnies. Horizontal ethnies became nations through three revolutions according to Smith. The first revolution was strengthening of state structure. The expansion of citizenship rights, building up substructures for both transportation and communication eventually integrated more regions and classes, and finally led to the creation of a national community image. The second revolution was economic. As a result of capitalist revolution, huge commercial networks were established in the West and chosen periphery. Capitalism created accumulation of capital, wealthy city centers and a new class. This market economy spread throughout the world. The last revolution was related to culture and education. The core of this revolution was weakness caused by the Reformation

movements. Classical humanism, secularism in science, university education and the development of popular literacy were the results of this revolution. Intellectuals and professionals played important roles in all of these revolutions. After completion of these revolutions, education created secular national states. England and France are the prime examples of this kind of nation building processes.

Vertical ethnies are not limited to the upper classes. They may include all of the classes under a common culture and tradition. The main importance is belonging to nationalist intellectuals and professionals this time, instead of a bureaucratic state since it was not that strong. Although different nationalization routes were followed, Smith generalizes the process into five steps; a movement towards becoming an effective political community, a movement for the deployment of the community to a safe and known country/land, a movement aimed at providing an economic unity to this territorial community, a movement for uniting masses under national values, memories and myths, a movement to turn individuals into citizens by giving them civic, societal and political rights.

In this case, the birth of the Turkish nation can be considered an example of the vertical ethnies since efforts made during and after the War of Independence to constitute an effective political community, deciding the boundaries according to the *Misak-ı Milli*, attempts to create a national bourgeoisie for economic unity, creating a national image by using the education system and state organizations.² However, the Ottoman legacy in the Turkish Republic cannot be denied. Ottoman nation-building attempts can be considered a typical example of horizontal ethnies. The birth of the

² For a further discussion on applicability of ethno-symbolic approach to the study of Turkish nationalism see (Canefe, 2002).

Turkish nation and nationalism will be discussed in detail in following sections but first, the relationship between popular culture and nationalism will be discussed.

Nationalism and Popular Culture

It is not a surprise for Smith to see the rise of nationalism in twenty-first century, because he suggests that the power of nationalism comes from the myths, memories, traditions, symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular living past has been rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsia (1990, 9). It is from these elements of myth, memory, symbol, and tradition that modern national identities are reconstituted in each generation. He designates an important role to the cultural infrastructure such as schools, universities, books, newspapers, modernized language, film, TV and the arts in the reproduction process designated by the intelligentsia and the other elite. (Smith, 1999, 274) Similarly, Özkırımlı argues that “nationalism never disappears but is unremittingly reproduced; although it may be relatively inconspicuous at certain times, it becomes more visible during times of crisis” (2008, 12-13).

Smith’s explanation of ethno-symbolism is a powerful account for the explanation of both the roots of nationalism and its resurgence. Nationalism as an ideology is not limited to the birth of nation-states or in the areas that ethnic conflicts are still alive. Nationalism is a part of every-day life of the people from all over the world; even in the Western states. Michael Billig states it is “banal nationalism” which is a continual “flagging”, or reminding, of nationhood. He suggests nationhood provides a continual background for the political discourses, for cultural

products, and even for the structuring of newspapers. “In so many little ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding” (1995, 8).

The continual reproduction of the nationalist discourse keeps nationalism alive all around the world. Therefore, it constitutes an important part in its existence since nationalism as an ideology cannot exist without a nationalist discourse. However, this nationalist discourse does not have to be unique. There may be different kinds of nationalist discourses –and nationalisms- within a single country. Özkırmı states in his conclusion about nationalism theories “There is no unique general theory to explain all nationalisms. There is no unique nationalism, there are nationalisms. It is “nationalist discourse” which unites nationalisms. Nationalist discourse can be effective if only it is produced everyday. Nationalist discourse is experienced and reproduced in different types, so nationalism analysis must consider the race, ethnicity, gender and class dimensions of the identity” (2008, 280-288).

I argue that the crucial point is the role of “technology” in the process of rediscovery, reinterpretation, reconstitution and reminding of the nationalist ideas. Benedict Anderson successfully underlines the role of printing technology in the spread of nationalist ideas. He defines the nation as an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations...Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the

past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (2006, 6-7).

He claims that people make these sacrifices for their nation even if it is imagined, because of the cultural roots of nationalism. What he calls the cultural roots of nationalism is the basic structure of two forms of imagining which first flowered in Europe in the eighteenth century: the novel and the newspaper (2000, 25). So, he argues nations were imagined through the interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (2000, 43).

This imagination of the nation and the spread of this image by print capitalism (or print culture) continues to be a strong force. However, in recent history print capitalism has been supplemented by the other forms of mass communication such as television, cinema, and computer games; namely by visual culture.³ Visual culture in the twenty-first century is one of the main tools of mass communication to lead the masses. Together with the globalization, mass communication allows ideas to reach millions of people in the same form all over the world. After all, we are moving into a post-industrial society in which information technology and telecommunications are encouraging the proliferation of nationalisms (Richmond, 1984).

However, what is suggested here is not simply propaganda by the politicians or the media which has been enhanced by the use of communication technologies. I argue that nationalism in the twenty-first century is using mass communications in such a way that these tools of communication are in fact helping to define the new-

³ For a further reading on nationalism and different branches of visual culture such as painting and sculpture see (Leoussi, 2004).

nationalist discourse. Nationalist discourse has been produced by several mass communication tools. Popular culture, as a product of mass communications, constitutes a strong basis for reaching large amounts of people from diverse backgrounds at the same time. The concept of popular culture includes lots of different areas such as sports, art, computer games, fashion, MTV and so on. Therefore, I have narrowed the area and chosen *popular art* to analyze the current wave of new-nationalism because of its prominence.

The relationship between popular art and nationalism has several dimensions. Nationalism in the information age is not only spread by the popular art but also produced by it. It is popular art which has been used as a carrier to spread ideological messages, instead of pamphlets or manifestoes as in earlier eras. However, popular art has a much greater impact than pamphlets or manifestoes. It is also the place in which nationalist discourse is produced by creating an alternative reality where all of the difficult questions are answered with a nationalist narrative. The result is a growing number of artistic products with a nationalist discourse. However, not all of them are successful. Some of the products have real influence on an audience, but most of them are not even noticed. Still, nationalist popular art keeps on growing. What is the reason for this growing production of nationalist popular art? Is it really produced by certain groups (media, state, bourgeoisie, etc) to lead (or dominate) the masses? Or, is it just reflecting the thoughts of the people?

These questions reflect the two main schools in popular culture studies. The first approach was born from the writings of Frankfurt School thinkers such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Walter Benjamin. Adorno and Horkheimer discussed the progress of Enlightenment in *Dialectics of Enlightenment* and

suggested that the extension of freedom and greater individualization has resulted in the increasing domination and repression of the individual. Adorno coined the concept “culture industry” as a way of creating subordination and passivity. They distinguish high culture from mass culture and claim mass culture is dominated by a group of elite to manipulate the masses. Mass culture destroys the folk culture and challenges the high culture. It is used to create identical people to subordinate (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1993).

If a Gramscian outlook is added to this approach, this sub-ordination is made by a synthesis of consent and coercion in the means of hegemony, not only with force but also with ideas (Gramsci, 1996). The ruling elite create “common sense”, which is the notion of nation, by popular culture. Guy Debord described it as “society of the spectacle” in which the social relations are organized around the consumption of images, commodities, and staged events (Debord, 1995). On the other hand, the other thought suggests popular culture is the place of resistance. It is an opportunity for masses to make their voices heard. It reflects the thoughts of the people that cannot be told by usual means (Fiske, 1991). Thus, it is not the “opium of the masses”. On the contrary the consumption of the mass media provokes resistance, irony, and selectivity (Appadurai, 1996).

The first approach has more to offer us as we look at the relationship between nationalism and popular culture. It may be true in the beginning that the basic aim of popular culture was to create a place to reflect the thoughts of the masses. However it is obvious that these products are doing a little more than reflecting by trying the influence popular perceptions. There is a causal relationship between the production of nationalist popular art and the behavioral patterns of the audience. I agree that the

primary motive of the popular culture may really be a need to create a place to be heard, but I do not agree that this is the case for nationalist popular art. This assumption can be valid for some marginal ideologies or thoughts, but for the case of nationalism I believe that the primary reason for production of the nationalist popular art is *the taste of the people*. People like to see these kinds of nationalist products. That is why they are produced. However the final products usually have more nationalist characteristics than the original thoughts of people. Still, they keep on following unless the products become real imitations of the previous successful ones.

The rise in nationalism finds its reflections on popular culture as growing nationalist popular art. There are several studies from all over the world about resurgence of nationalism and popular culture after 2000. In China cultural products which promote the ideas of the use of domestic product, rivalry with and resistance against the US and globalization and the West (Jinhua, 2001; Lozada Jr., 2006), in Africa, movies questioning the transformations brought by colonization, and the concepts of “sovereignty” and “nationhood” (Akudinobi, 2001), in Canada, the use of French and Quebecoise identity (Piroth, 2008), in Mexico, the role of visual aesthetics in post-colonial national images (Alonso, 2004), in Trinidad and Tobago, the Trinidad Carnival to explore the relationship between the carnival and the project of postcolonial nation-building (Ho, 2000), in Hong Kong, the role of popular culture in constructing identities (Ho, 2003), in Japan, banal nationalism and film-making (Nuckolls, 2006) are all themes that have been looked at.

In Turkey as well the rise of new-nationalism can be associated with popular culture. The “new nationalist wave” that Turkey has been experiencing for the last ten years has distinctive characteristics that its predecessors did not have. Its main

tool is mass communications. By using internet, television, cinema and books new-nationalism created a certain narrative for itself which is followed by millions of people. Thus, “visual capitalism” gained importance in addition to “print capitalism” in prompting nationalist ideologies and together they create a new artistic field which can be called “nationalist popular art”.

Before getting into the details of the new-nationalist popular art in Turkey, I want to summarize the basic points in the birth and the development of Turkish nationalism in order to make a clear comparison.

The Birth of the Turkish Nationalism

There are two basic words in Turkish to denote the nation; “*millet*” and “*ulus*”. *Millet* comes from the Arabic word “*Milel*”, and has a very old usage in Turkish history. The ruling system of Ottoman Empire was based on the Millet system. It means the *tebaa*, or the people, were divided according to the religions, not according to ethnicity.⁴ So, the people were not Turks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, or Arabs. They were basically Muslims and Non-Muslims.

The first reflections of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire were seen during the last century of its existence. The Ottomans were already having a hard time maintaining the economical, social and military order of the state. In 1839 with the *First Constitutional Period* equal rights were given to Non-Muslims. However, these reforms were not applied successfully. This situation raised tension, especially in the Balkans. Between 1800 and 1914, Greeks, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians and

⁴ Milel: 1. Milletler, uluslar (nations). 2. Bir dinde veya mezhepten olan topluluklar (Communities from a religion or sect). (TDK Sözlüğü, 1943)

Albanians all gained their independence from the Empire. Face with an increasingly unstable situation, the ruling elite tried to mobilize three basic approaches to prevent the collapse of the Empire.

The first is the *Pan-Ottomanism* which developed after the First Constitutional Period of 1839. The main idea was to promote the “Ottoman nation” idea to all of the citizens of the Empire. As mentioned before, the First Constitutional Period proved unable arresting the rise of nationalism amongst the Sultan’s Christian subjects. Separatist nationalism was already a strong force within the Balkans. Pan-Ottomanism was mostly supported by the ethnically Turkish members of the Empire. It could not help save the Empire but it helped to raise the awareness about Turkish identity among those circles that were known as “New Ottomans”. They were highly educated upper class elite, who wanted to save the “*vatan*”.⁵ According to Şerif Mardin (2001, 49), the problem was to define the *vatan* in an ethnically and religiously mixed state such as the Ottoman Empire. The most reasonable meaning of “being an Ottoman” was to live in the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. However, it was very difficult to construct an identity which was solely depended on territory, and nearly impossible to get popular support for it.

The second approach to save the Empire was the *Islamism* during the nineteenth century. Islamism appeared at the last period of Sultan Abdülaziz and was implemented totally during the reign of Abdülhamit II. Islamism was seen as the savior for the Muslim population of the Empire. Abdülhamit II mostly used the title “Caliph” which means the religious leadership of the Islamic world. He paid attention to Islamic education, sent missionaries to Africa, and followed important

⁵ Rifa’ a Rafi’ al-Tahtawi was the first to translate the French word “patrie” as “vatan”.

Islamic leaders. The main idea was liberating the Islamic world from colonizers and establishing an Islamic empire under the leadership of the Caliph. The Young Turks sympathized with this thought mainly because they did not want to lose the Arab population. However, this idea also failed because nationalism began to be a strong force among Arabs as a response to Turkification policies of the Committee of Union and Progress.

The third and most important trend to save the empire was the *Pan-Turkism*. Pan-Turkism was the ideal of uniting all Turks of the world. As mentioned before, the Turkish identity began to be rediscovered (or constructed) after the First Constitutional Period. The birth of Turkish nationalism coincides with the birth of Pan-Turkism. One of the most important figures of that period was Yusuf Akçura. In his famous text of *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, he suggested Pan-Turkism as a third way between Pan-Islamism and Ottomanism (Akçura, 2007, 221-241). He did not believe the idea of an Ottoman nation since Non-Muslims were included. He was in favor of a Turkish Empire with an Islamic character. Another important figure of the Turkish Nationalism, Ziya Gökalp also shared this idea and went further by theorizing the Turkism (*Türkçülük*). Turkism means raising the Turkish nation. However, in Gökalp's reading the nation has nothing to do with race, clan, geography, politics or will. A nation is a community which consists of the individuals who got the same education in language, religion and morality while at the same time some broad common aesthetics. Thus, the basis of the nation is culture; not blood. Turks could be an equal part of Western Civilization only after discovering their own culture (2001, 12-25).

Turkish nationalism was born to establish a new state. The loss of First World

War led to the fall of the Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic after the War of Independence. National awareness followed the war. During the War of Independence, Atatürk nationalism was shaped. It was an anti-colonial movement against imperialism. The boundaries of the *vatan* were determined by the *Misak-ı Milli* (which is more or less today's Turkey) and masses were organized to fight against the invaders to save the *vatan*. After the war and the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the nation-building process began. This process was dominated by the *Kemalist* principles. In theory, Kemalist nationalism rejected Pan-Islamism, Pan-Ottomanism, Pan-Turkism, and Communism. It is based on the *vatan* and the people living in it. It was anti-imperialist but not against the West. It accepted the importance of national culture and traditions, but also paid attention to scientism and rationality. The Kemalist project has often been claimed as a new and original project. However the influence of the previous decades was clear both on the theory and application of the new Republic's policies. This is why I suggested above that the Turkish case was an example of vertical ethnies. Only after deploying the masses, national awareness was created and social rights were given. However, as summarized above, Ottomans also tried to create an image of "nation" with several policies and trends. Although, Turkish nationalism is highly similar to vertical ethnies, the Ottoman legacy in the establishment of the Turkish state cannot be denied. Thus, Turkish nationalism can be called as an example of vertical ethnies based on a horizontal ethnies.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the ruling elite implemented various reforms to transform the society such as the abolishment of the "Caliph" in 1924, the introduction of a national education system instead of a religious education system;

secular law instead of religious law and the replacement of the Persian-Arabic alphabet in 1928 with the Latin form. The change in the alphabet was flagship reform. From the First Constitutional Period onwards intellectuals defended a simplification of the Ottoman language. It was considered one of the most necessary steps to discover “real” Turkish culture. During the Kemalist period, the Turkish History Association and Turkish Language Association were also founded. These state supported foundations produced two important products which articulated the ideology of Kemalist led Turkish nationalism; the *Turkish History Thesis* and *Sun Language Theory*.⁶ The Turkish History Thesis was written to discover the origin of Turks while the Sun Language Theory aimed to prove that Turkish is the root of every language.⁷

The Multi-Party System and Turkish Radical Nationalism

Until the 1950s the main concern was building the nation and maintaining the secular regime. The contextual change in the international politics made CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/Republican People’s Party) accepts the transition to the multiparty system. The years between 1946 and 1980, were the years of Radical Turkish Nationalism. Especially after the constitution of 1961, the masses were organized around three main ideologies, Socialism, Nationalism and Islam. Socialism and

⁶ The details, original reports, and correspondance on Sun Language Theory can be found in the official website of the Turkish Language Association:
<http://www.tdk.gov.tr/TR/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EFCAC44E48D9FD67C0>

⁷ For a further discussion on the Kemalist modernization project and constructing the national identities see (Akman, 2004; Çetin, 2004). See (Özdoğan, 2006) for Turkist/Turanist trends during the one party period.

Nationalism were the main competitors. Student and civilian organizations of the two blocks were involved in armed conflicts everywhere in Turkey until the military coup of 1980.

The 1960s were the years of conflict among extreme ideologies. Turkish radical nationalism was under the domination of the MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi/Nationalist Movement Party). Two main divisions can be mentioned within the MHP. The first group was under the leadership of Nihal Atsız. He was a Turanist who aimed to unite all Turks of the world. He wanted to exclude the Islamic elements from the nationalist ideology and supported the idea that Turks had to “return” to their pre-Islamic pagan religions (1956, 21-35).⁸ However, Nihal Atsız lost the power struggle within the party to Alparslan Türkeş. Türkeş was the leader of the MHP until his death. He summarized his ideology under nine items; The *Nine Lights Doctrine*. The first is Nationalism defined as “Everything is for the Turkish nation, with the Turkish nation and according to the Turkish nation. Love, loyalty, service and attachment to the Turkish nation.” The second is Idealism “It is the idealism of bringing the Turkish nation to the furthest, strongest and most civilized level.” The other seven lights are Moralism, Scientism, Collectivism, Ruralism, Libertarianism and Individualism; Developmentalism; Industrialism (16-18). MHP nationalism served to bring nationalism and Sunni Islam together.⁹ After the 1980 coup, this Turkish-Sunni Islamic synthesis became the main ideology of the state. Thus, the state-dominated Turkish nationalism which was supported by Kemalist principles was made the main ideological basis of Turkey and was imposed on the

⁸ Nihal Atsız might be considered one of the earlier figures of the nationalist historical-fiction genre. He wrote several books which can be grouped under this category.

⁹ For further readings on the MHP see (Tepe, 2000; Çınar and Arıkan, 2002; Canefe and Bora, 2003).

education system successfully. Other than the MHP, Turkish nationalism was also integrated into Kemalism, socialism, liberalism and political Islam by various parties and groups. The 1980s were also the years of the re-emergence of Kurdish nationalism led by the PKK (The Kurdistan Workers Party) which became an important power during the early 1990s. Thus, Turkish nationalism defined its “self” as “Turk” and “Sunni”; and the “other” as “Kurd” or “Armenian” or “Alevi”.

New-Nationalisms in Turkey

As briefly mentioned above, until the 1950s, nationalism in Turkey was mainly under the dominance of the CHP’s nation-building policies. Between the years of 1960 and 1980, there were several nationalist groups but, MHP was chosen as the representative of nationalism for this study because of its prominence in the promotion of nationalist ideas on the streets. After the 1980 military intervention, the 1980s were characterized by an army led de-politicization of the masses. 1989 was an important turning point for Turkey, like rest of the world. The end of the Cold War not only brought transformation to the international system and local politics but also it created uncertainty. Turkey had its share in the process filled with transformation and uncertainty.

Nationalism, which had long been a feature of public life, returned with renewed vigour in the context of the 1990s. Bora (2003, 435) argues that Turkey welcomed the end of the cold war with a lot of self confidence believing that the twenty-first century would be the Turkish century. However, economic and political development of the last decade of the twentieth century eroded Turkey’s self confidence and increased the concern about the survival of the nation.

Economically, Turkey experienced two devastating economic crises in 1994 and 2001. The Turkish economy seems to have recovered during the last years but unemployment, a budget deficit, internal and external debts continue to be important problems. Politically, the efforts to join the European Union have been one of the most debated issues in Turkey. The 1990s were full of up and downs for Turkey-EU relations. Turkey joined The Customs Union in 1996. Yet, its candidacy to EU was rejected in 1997 only to be accepted in 1999. Negotiations started in 2005, however, both in Turkey and in the European Union. This process created a lot of opposition. In the Middle East, Turkey could not fulfill the dominant role it expected. Both the first Gulf War and second Gulf War were total disappointments for Turkey. Especially after the second Gulf War, the relationship with the US worsened after the Turkish parliament refused to allow the American Army to use its territory to launch a northern front on Iraq. The US invasion of Iraq also destroyed all of the policy “red lines of Turkey” in Northern Iraq vis-à-vis the Iraqi Kurds. The privileges granted to the Iraqi Kurdish population let Turkey down and diminished its role in that region. Between the years of 1996 and 1998, Turkey also faced a serious crisis in its relations with Syria over the residence of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in Syrian controlled Lebanon. More recently, in 2006, the Turkish Parliament’s decision to send troops to Lebanon received a lot of criticism from the public.

The rejection by Turkey of American requests to use its soil for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 represents an important mile-stone for Turkey-US relations. It was the first time Turkey rejected a request for help from its ally. The ensuing “sack” incident (where Turkish Special Forces in Kurdish Iraq were arrested by the US Army) created a lot of opposition and bitterness against the US. In addition to this

humiliation and favoring of the Kurds, discussions on recognizing the Armenian genocide in the US Congress further stoked anti-American sentiments in Turkey.

In 2004, Turkey changed its foreign policy about the Cyprus issue in a positive direction and took steps to support the Annan Plan. However, in the referendum, although the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus accepted the plan, the Republic of Cyprus did not. To make matters worse, despite its rejection of the peace plan, Cyprus became a member of the European Union. This situation has caused problems for Turkey since Cyprus is not legally recognized by Turkey. Another sensitive issue is the Armenian Genocide which the French parliament recognized in October 2006, ignoring all protests from Turkey. The same issue is also a problem with the US. This subject became more sensitive when Orhan Pamuk, after his famous speech about the Armenian genocide, won the Nobel Prize in 2006. He claimed that 30.000 Kurds and 1 million Armenians were killed on Turkish soil. He was accused of making this speech in order to win the prize and prosecuted under the law of TCK 301, a law which makes “insulting the Turkishness” a crime. This lawsuit also became an important problem between EU and Turkey. The assassination of an Armenian journalist; Hrant Dink on January 2007 also created a lot of tension in the country. During the 1990s, another important crisis was the Imia (Kardak) crisis which occurred between Greece and Turkey on January 1996. Both sides claimed rights on this rock situated in the Aegean Sea. The dispute ended when a Turkish commando team seized the rock. .

The last decade has also been very important for State-Military relations. On 28 February 1997 a post-modern coup d'état against Prime Minister Erbakan brought an end to the government. In January 1998, his party, the RP (Refah Partisi/Welfare

Party) was closed. The military tried a similar policy with the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/Justice and Development Party) government on 27 April 2007 with an e-intervention. However, it was not successful. The AKP and its intentions continue to be a big problem in some circles. It is believed that the AKP has a “secret agenda” and plans to change the regime and introduce the Shariah law. During 2007, many protests were organized against AKP. However, being the center of the non-secular groups, the party was acquitted. AKP tried to get rid of the headscarf ban in the universities but the legislation was rejected in the Constitutional Court. In addition to these political problems, the rise of PKK terrorism and Istanbul bombings by the Al Qaida in November 2003 created fear and anger among the people. Also in the international arena, the return of Russia as a great power, the Chinese economical challenge and American presence in the Middle East are all conceived of as threats to the Turkish Republic.

As discussed in the first section, in times of crisis as such, when the identity of the nation is challenged, nationalist discourse is utilized as a reminder to the people about the essence and value of their nationhood, in order to overcome their feelings of despair and disappointment (Billig, 2002, 4-8). Hence, the rise of nationalism can be associated with these feelings of despair and disappointment and can be conceptualized as a response to the economic, political and cultural developments of the last decade.¹⁰ Moreover, it is easy to notice the reflections of those feelings in the nationalist discourse.

The new-nationalism we face has several distinctive features from the

¹⁰ Özkırımlı argues it is more meaningful to talk about “popularization” of the nationalism rather than its “rise”. Because, he says, nationalism does not fall or rise. It is always there. I agree with the main argument but I think popularization of nationalism is also a proof of its rise. (2003: 712)

previous forms of nationalism as well as similarities. The most important difference is the attitudes towards the *state*. The state has always been accepted as sacred by the nationalists. The state is the ultimate being to serve, and serving the state is the most honorable thing to do. The respect for the state was similar to worshipping it. The state was above everything else. The actions, either political or violent, are done to serve the state. However, the conception of state changed dramatically. What is seen in popular culture is a great reflection of mistrust against the state. The state is conceived of as weak and encircled by internal and external enemies. It is incapable of protecting the interests of its citizens both on the international and national level. Aside from international events, incidents such as the Susurluk accident or the Ergenekon case have also affected people's views of the Turkish state. The political and economical instability, failure to prevent corruption, dark relations among politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen and the mafia have all undermined public confidence in the state.

The failure of the state to protect its citizens creates a vacuum into which a "hero" can move. A hero who reflects the expectations of the people is created by the artistic imagination. He is a powerful, intelligent, brave *man* who saves needy people and punishes the "bad guys". This hero mythology is not specific to Turkey of course, but the expectation of a savior is a signal that shows the state of hopelessness of the people. It shows the belief that only a mythical hero is able to solve their problems. A mythical hero, who is above the law and restrictions and is independent of all legal boundaries, and so is the only actor who can successfully protect citizens.

Actually, what the hero does with his actions is restoring *the lost pride* of the Turkish nation. "Pride" is an important issue for Turks. For Akçam (2003, 55), the

behavior of Turks is determined by a strong “misunderstanding” syndrome and “desolation” psychology. This point of view posits that the “Turk does not have any friend other than Turks” – an obvious characteristic of nationalist discourse. There are many references to the Sevres Treaty, the rejections of the EU and rising Kurdish power in Iraq. The pride of the Turks is under threat and the hero’s mission is to restore this pride. He gets revenge of years of misunderstanding and desolation - on the imagination level at least.

This provides a certain amount of satisfaction but the public knows that it is not real. They are connecting their hopes to be saved as a nation, to an impossibility which shows that they are aware of the fact that there won’t be any hero to save them. They have to live within the existing system. They have to be their own saviors. This feeling of abandonment and despair leads to two possible outcomes. The first is the identification of the self with the hero. This response is very common among the youngsters. The imitation of the character follows the identification. The second outcome is the growing fear and insecurity. Both of the two possible outcomes are very dangerous because the imagined victory only provides a limited satisfaction. In order to make this imagined victory real, violence might be used. The existing nationalist discourse celebrates the use of violence and it affects the behavior of the audience.¹¹ The use of violence is justified in terms of the survival of the state and the need to deliver justice.

The survival of the state is crucial because it is believed that the state is

¹¹ For recent research on the effects of visual violence on youngsters see “Televizyon Programlarındaki Şiddet İçeriğinin, Müstehcenliğin ve Mahremiyet İhlallerinin İzleyicilerin Ruh Sağlığı Üzerinde Olumsuz Etkileri”
http://www.rtuk.gov.tr/sayfalar/IcerikGoster.aspx?icerik_id=3ad80273-b4d6-42a0-85d1-dd9a88521e8e Access Date: 21.03.2008

surrounded by *enemies*. In the past, the enemy was mainly the USSR and Communism but now enemies are the USA, England, Israel, Russia, Greece, Armenians, Kurds, Sabetayists, France, Missionaries, Capitalism, Globalization, the EU, and Republic of Cyprus. The conception of the enemy is highly parallel to the international and national context. Every single incident is perceived as an insult or threat to the Turkish existence and responded to as such; immediately and emotionally.

Similarly, *competing ideologies* of MHP nationalism in the past were mainly communism or socialism, and to a lesser degree minority racism, sectarianism and Kemalism. However now the competing ideologies are not clear since ideologies fault lines are not clear but liberal cosmopolitanism or pro-EU and pro-American attitudes favoring globalism are not well-received.

One of the most important differences is *the organizational structure*. MHP nationalism was highly organized under the *Ülkü Ocakları*. The supporters were also militants. While it was visible mostly in the political arena before, now nationalism is mostly visible in the cultural arena and it is shared by disorganized mass consumers. It does not have a central organization. It is very diffused and does not have a unique discourse. Bora identifies five types of nationalism: official nationalism, Kemalist nationalism¹², religious nationalism, liberal nationalism and radical nationalism (2003). All of these types are expressed in nationalist popular art. The expansion in the discursive level can be explained by the broken monopoly over the questions. In the past, the MHP did not only have monopoly over answers related to concepts like state, Turkishness, or ethnicity but also it had monopoly over the questions.

¹² For a further reading on “ulusalcılık” see (Uslu, 2008).

Questions about these issues never bothered the rank and file but when they became visible to the popular culture, it is clear that the every ideology has a different explanation for each. The public have also found new questions that the MHP never asked such as those related to state-mafia relations. Popular culture products both give a place to these questions and provide an answer to them.

Another difference is the emphasis on *ethnicity*. Instead of a strong emphasis on Turkishness, new nationalist discourse uses “Land/patrie/ holy land/country” concepts. The superiority of Turks is not explicitly articulated as much as before. The unity and integrity of the country is more important.

New nationalist discourse is based on *masculinity* and the values associated with it such as bravery, violence, honesty and fairness. It is the struggle of men to restore the pride of the country. Women are portrayed as weak and needy. I believe this is one of the symptoms of the “lost pride” syndrome. The pride that Turkey lost is a male pride and the duty to restore it belongs to men. The portrayal of the women in nationalist popular art is more of a reflection of “what is desired” than “what is real”. The discourses and behavior of the male characters is nothing more than a satisfaction of manhood. It is recurrently pronounced that the *vatan* is “mother”. So, protecting women or *vatan* can only be achieved by men. They are both helpless and need to be protected and only their protection and well-being can restore the lost pride of the country. A slightly different situation was valid for the MHP in the 1960s and 1970s. Women were active in political life like men because the membership was not based on gender. It was based on the strength of the will and national idealism. Nationalist women were called “*Asena*”, a name borrowed from the old Turkish legend that suggests the ancestry of Turk’s from the female wolf

“Asena” and they were described as “a good wife, a good mother, a good neighbor, a good citizen but if there is a danger, she is a wolf”.¹³ Their domestic characteristics were still being emphasized but it was also clear that if there is a need, they become warriors.

Lastly, the activists of the old nationalism were mostly from the lower classes. However, it is observed that new-nationalist discourse has supporters from *all classes*, lower, middle and upper. People from all classes find something to follow in these products. As noted before, there isn’t one type of nationalist discourse. There are several nationalist discourses which reflect the ideas of different groups from different ideological backgrounds. A proof of this assumption is the ratings of *Kurtlar Vadisi* for the “AB Class”. The AB class refers to an audience of the upper classes who do not watch television so much and have alternative entertainment sources. *Kurtlar Vadisi* ratings (Appendix D) shows significantly high values from amongst the AB class. Nationalism is becoming a melting-pot of ideologies in our age. Thus, it is normal to witness new-nationalism’s spread over the upper classes.

Table 1 The Differences between Old and New Nationalisms

	Past	Today
Enemy	Communism, USSR	USA, England, Israel, Russia, Greece, Armenians, Kurds, Sabetayists, France, Missionaries, Capitalism, Globalization, EU, Southern Cyprus
State	State worship, helping state	Mistrust of state, doing what state incapable of
Gender	“Asena” type of strong women	Masculinity
Organizational Structure	Highly organized, militants	Disorganized mass consumers
Ethnicity	Superiority of Turks	No significant celebration of Turkish ethnicity, “land-country-patrie-holy land” discourse

¹³ <http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/detay.php?id=26021> Access Date: 10.06.2008

Competing ideologies	Socialism, Kemalism, regionalism, minority racism, sectarianism	Liberal cosmopolitanism, Globalism (pro-EU, pro-US) attitudes, bourgeoisie nationalism
Pride	Captured Turks, Communism threat, Anti-imperialism	Lost pride
Class	Lower classes	All classes

CHAPTER THREE

NEW-NATIONALISM IN THE ARTISTIC FIELD

... Ours is an eminently visual age. We are used to looking at and defining ourselves and others through images... We all carry in memory our own particular archive of images, which becomes associated with the artworks, in the act of viewing them. Through these remembered pictures, the art can come closer to the viewer. Some of the meanings are not visual associations, but take a detour via other perceptions, feelings and memories evoked by the work...

Image and After Exhibition
Museum of Contemporary Arts Kiasma, Helsinki

The main aim of this chapter is to define the new nationalist artistic field by analyzing popular movies, TV series and books. So far, the context of which artistic field fits is to be given in order to analyze the ideological messages embedded in them. The context is important because the main issue here is not whether a text is good or bad, but how it functions within a society (Bird, 2003, 119). The different narratives, messages, and identities constructed by the new-nationalist popular art will be discussed in this chapter.

Movies

All of the Turkish movies released after 1990¹⁴ have been listed and researched in the internet to see their contents.¹⁵ Among 262 movies, 22 of them were chosen for interpretive textual analysis. However it was decided to exclude documentary films

¹⁴ Güney (2007) claims that the period of nationalist cinema started during 1960s with the politicization of the masses. However, the cinema between the years of 1960 and 1980 is very different from the cinema after 2000 both for narrative and the technique.

¹⁵ See Appendix A.

such as *Cumhuriyet* (1998), *Gelibolu* (2005), and *Çanakkale: Son Kale* (2004) from the sample. Also, it was revealed that *Yazı-Tura* (2004), *Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu* (2007), and *Polis* (2007) do not carry any new-nationalist tendencies. Hence, as can be seen in Table 2, 16 movies were identified as having new-nationalist tendencies. All of the movies were released after 2000. They may constitute 9% of the movies released from 2000 until April 2008. However their box office success constitutes 19% of the total number.¹⁶

Table 2 New-Nationalist Movies

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
1	Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak/Valley of Wolves: Irak	03.02.2006	26	4.256.566
7	Hababam Sınıfı Askerde/Hababam Class is in Military	14.01.2005	31	2.586.132
11*	Kabadayı/Bully	14.12.2007	11	1.981.812
15	O Şimdi Asker/He Is A Soldier Now	21.03.2003	16	1.657.051
21	Maskeli Beşler: Irak/Masked Fives: Irak	12.01.2007	34	1.238.023
23	Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali/ Last Ottoman: Knock-out Ali	19.01.2007	33	1.084.452
25	Deli Yürek: Bumerang Cehennemi/Crazy Heart: Boomerang Hell	07.12.2001	35	1.051.352
58	Amerikalılar Karadeniz'de 2/ Americans in Blacksea 2	26.01.2007	23	379.744
63	Eve Giden Yol 1914/Road to Home 1914	22.12.2006	16	345.008
87*	Abdülhamit Düşerken/While Abdülhamit is Falling	18.04.2003	16	204.018
89	120/120	15.02.2008	2	191.856
94	Avrupalı/European	12.10.2007	9	161.966
97	Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat/Yes Sir: Checkmate	19.01.2007	28	149.748
100*	Filler ve Çimen/Elephants and Grass	05.01.2001	13	139.875
122	Zincirbozan	13.04.2007	10	75.412
162	Çinliler Geliyor/Chinese are Coming	08.12.2006	12	23.890

Although it is difficult to make a classification; 16 movies can be broadly grouped under three different categories; *period movies*, *action movies* and *comedy movies*.

¹⁶ 193 movies have been watched by 81.234.810 people and 16 of them are new-nationalist movies watched by 15.526.905.

* These movies do not have any striking nationalist discourse. However, their narrative is highly parallel to other new-nationalist movies from certain aspects.

Period Movies

Period Movies are the movies which tell the story of a particular historical period. There are five movies in this category; *Abdülhamit Düşerken* (2003), *Eve Giden Yol 1914* (2006), *Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali* (2007), and *120* (2008). They occur during the late Ottoman-period.

Abdülhamit Düşerken (2003) can be considered the first example of this genre. However, it would be too extreme to call it new-nationalist or even nationalist. The movie tells the story of the declaration of the *First Constitutional Monarchy* in 1908 and following incidents. State-military relations are at the center of the movie and are explored via the struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and Sultan Abdulhamid. The role of the army in protecting the state and the antipathy against Islamists are emphasized. Turkish flags and marches are commonly used. Since it is the first example, the movie does not employ a striking nationalist discourse but it can be said that it has the preliminary features which were borrowed and enhanced by the later movies.

Eve Giden Yol 1914 (2006), occurs in the early years of the First World War at the Southern Front. The movie underlines the Arab-British co-operation against the Ottomans and the inferior condition of the Ottoman Empire during the war against Britain. Anti-imperialism and the betrayal of the Arabs are the main points in the war-related scenes. The visit of the British General to Selahattin Eyyubi's grave saying "Here we are again, Selahattin. The Crusades are over now" gives clues about anti-imperialist feelings and the conspiracies of Lawrence of Arabia proves it. Despite all the difficulties, Ottoman soldiers fight honorably but can not help losing the war. Lawrence of Arabia suggests a ceasefire in accordance with the Wilson

principles and the Turkish general answers “General Wilson is engaged in trivial. When did you see Turks surrender?... Offering a ceasefire to Turks is an unforgivable arrogance!” The protagonist of the movie Mahmut (Erdal Beşikçioğlu) is an honorable, strong, fair man who is deeply in love with his fiancé Safiye. He is forced to leave their village because of his resistance against honor killings of seven girls and he finds himself at the middle of the war. During his journey, he becomes very popular among women (one of them actually rapes him), but his only wish is to return to Safiye. Safiye also represents an honorable Anatolian girl who saves herself for Mahmut, even if it means living in the mountains like a fugitive. This movie also uses the symbolism of the holiness of the Turkish flag and marches.

Son Osmanlı: Yandım Ali (2007) is a movie adapted from a newspaper comic revolving around the adventures of Yandım Ali (Kenan İmirzalıoğlu) at the end of the First World War. Ali is a former Ottoman sailor, who can speak several languages and who was educated as a boxer but had to leave the navy because of a dispute with a German naval officer. The movie shows his struggle against British and French soldiers in Istanbul. The words “Turk” and “Turkish nation” are used commonly as well as the Turkish flag. In a scene, the Turkish flag is hung in a restaurant as a symbol of the resistance fighters. A British soldier tries to pull it down saying “the Ottoman is finished” but Ali stops him and says “no one’s power is enough to pull this down”. Non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire are also mentioned. Most of the Armenians and Greeks are portrayed negatively and as betrayers. Yandım Ali is also very popular among women but his only love is Defne, the only Turk among his many lovers. They have a long, sad story but at the end they find

each other. Regardless of all his love, he prefers to serve his country in the end and Defne follows him unquestioningly.

120 (2008) occurs at the Eastern front at the beginning of the First World War. It is the story of 120 kids carrying ammunition across the mountains to the front during the punishing winter conditions. They risk their lives for their country without any hesitation, and tragically only 22 survive. The enemy in the movie is not only the Russian army but also Taşnak Armenians. The Taşnak organization is in cooperation with Russians and aims to seize the eastern cities of Anatolia. Epic poems, marches, Turkish flags are commonly used in this movie as well.

The movies in this category narrate a particular historical period. Most of them occur in the last years of the Ottoman Empire and coincide with the attempts at building a Turkish nation. Therefore, elements such as epic poems, marches or the Turkish flag are commonly used as reminders of the newly-constructed identity. This leads to a high level of ethnic consciousness and a strong emphasis on Turkishness unlike the other categories. The protagonists are male heroes trying to save their country and surrounded by beautiful women. The conception of the enemy depends on the region. If the story occurs in Eastern Anatolia the enemies are Russians and Armenians, in Southern Anatolia, Arabs and Britain, in İstanbul, Greeks and British.

Comedy Movies

Comedies use witty language to tell their stories. *O Şimdi Asker* (2003), *Hababam Sınıfı Askerde* (2005), *Maskeli Beşler: Irak* (2007), *Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat* (2007), *Amerikalılar Karadeniz'de 2* (2007), *Çinliler Geliyor* (2006), and *Avrupalı* (2007) fall under this category. .

O Şimdi Asker (2003) is the story of a group of people who met during the “paid military service” after the 17 August 1999 İzmit earthquake. People from different backgrounds with different personalities trying to fulfill their time in military service constitute the comedy basis of the movie. The most important nationalist message that is given and borrowed by other military comedies is that these flippant, untalented soldiers become real soldiers in times of crisis, when a fictionary second Kardak crisis occurs with Greece.

Hababam Sınıfı Askerde (2005) is the eighth movie of the famous “Hababam Sınıfı” series, telling the adventures of an incorrigible class of students. This time, the class is going to military service. At the end of the movie, we learn that the whole story was just a dream. One of the stories of the movie is the attempt of the female commander to attract women to military service. The other commander resists it saying “Go and satisfy your feminist feelings in somewhere else. This is a military quarter not a beauty center. Do you want to smell nail polish in here?” So, the mission of women is to look better and not engage in war-related issues. Even when the commander sees the candidates are successful he explains “doubts about women becoming soldiers are not valid for Turkish women” because as commonly repeated in the movie “Every Turk was born a soldier!” Proving this suggestion, in the time of crisis-against Greece in Cyprus- these highly problem classes of students are turned into brave, strong, patriot soldiers who are ready to die for their country. The speech of the General is very influential in this change: “Brave children of the great Turkish army, history is full of bright victories of the Turkish nation and Turkish Armed Forces, even in unexpected times. The force behind these victories is the unshakeable spirit of the Turkish nation and of its feeling of national unity. Today, this noble

nation that we are proud to be a part expects a new victory from us. It is enough for us to know only one thing that the great Atatürk said in his address to the Youth and that is the fact that the power we need is in the noble blood in our veins.”

Maskeli Beşler: Irak (2007), is a franchise film; “*Maskeli Beşler*”. The *Maskeli Beşler* are a gang of five people who normally deal in petty crimes in Istanbul. In this film, they think Turkey did not get its rightful share from Iraqi oil and they decide to reverse the situation. They go to Iraq by themselves and capture a petroleum facility in Kirkuk which is under the control of Americans. Although they are civilians, they wear military clothes and carry guns during the whole movie. They seize the petroleum facility that was being protected by a large number of American soldiers in Northern Iraq and after taking the Americans hostages, they hang a Turkish flag on the facility. They justify their actions saying “I think that it is like we still have right to Iraqi petroleum. At least we have more rights than those Americans. Nobody defended this right so we came here to defend it. Are we the guilty ones here or those who left this issue to us?” It is not clear how Turkey has any right on Iraqi petroleum but it is clear that Americans are seen as the strangers in the region. If one has to exploit the oil in Northern Iraq that must be Turkey, not the U.S or the Kurds, the film suggests. Also, there is an emphasis on ordinary civilians doing the state’s job. The state is seen as guilty for failing to acquire oil and it is now these ordinary people’ job to fix this. They even engage in a military conflict with local Kurds who have strong relations with the Americans. The only woman character of the movie is an American soldier with whom *Tezcan* (Şafak Sezer) falls in love and daydreams about her being pregnant, doing field work, etc. Hence, even though she is a soldier, she is imagined as a traditional mother.

Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat (2007) was shot after the popularity of its TV series which is about the adventures of a group of soldiers. In the movie, patients with mental disorders visit their quarters and the soldiers have to take care of them for a day. It is revealed that it is a trap by a Russian ex-agent (Mehmet Ali Erbil) to get his revenge on the Turkish sergeant Levent (Sarp Levendoğlu). The talents of Turks as soldiers are mentioned in this movie, too. Sergeant Levent proudly tells an anecdote about him and an American soldier. When the American soldier is surprised with the ability of Turkish soldiers, he claims that he suspects that military education lasts 10 years in Turkey. Levent responds to this by claiming that “military education in Turkey lasts only a day because our soldiers were born with their ancestor’s blood in their hearts”.

This message is repeated in the scene where a patient gives a letter to Levent. In the letter, he says (he also adds a picture of his son, newspaper coupons and some soil of Sivas to the letter) “Please, buy a television with these coupons for our soldiers who sacrifice their lives for our country. Please, raise my son to be a good soldier who will be useful to his country. If I am to be a martyr, maybe my body cannot be delivered to my hometown. So, please scatter this soil on me. The Turkish nation is the grandchildren of a brave people who lived free and accepted freedom as the only condition for their existence. This nation has never been lived without being free, cannot live, will never live! Mustafa Kemal Atatürk”. The male dominance continues in this movie as well. Except for the beautiful girls around Russian villain; the only woman character of the movie is a Turkish sergeant. Her ranking is superior to Levent. However Levent is the one who always gives commands, and tells

everyone what should be done and at the end he saves her from the trap the Russian villain prepared for her.

Amerikalılar Karadeniz'de 2 (2007) occurs in a Black Sea village in which an American missile falls by mistake. American undercover agents come to the village to find the missile and cover-up the issue. The protagonist of the movie, Muzaffer (Kıvanç Tatlıtuğ) is a newly discharged soldier from Hakkari. During the movie, from flashbacks we see several military conflicts and deaths but Muzaffer does not complain about the difficulties of his military service because of his “love for his country”. As with the other movies in this category, “Every Turk was born as a soldier” cries can be repetitively heard.

Çinliler Geliyor (2006) occurs in a small Aegean town. Burghers hear that Chinese investors will come to their town to build factories and shopping centers. The movie tells the efforts of the burghers to attract the Chinese investment. They change the name of their shops and give their English and Chinese translations. They add Chinese food to menus and they dress like the Chinese. The movie criticizes this behavior and gives the message that “we are losing our self-respect and traditional values in order to seem nice to foreigners and to earn money”.

Avrupalı (2007) is about a Turk who is a member of the European Parliament, but resigns when the CIA forces him to admit the Armenian genocide. The discourse of the movie is Anti-American, Anti-European, xenophobic in regards to Greece and Armenians. It is suggested that the CIA supports Greece in trying to weaken Turkey in the Middle East by creating a war between the two. It is also claimed that the USA stirs up the Armenians against Turkey. Turkishness is based on the cliché “horse,

woman and weapon.” The protagonist *Avrupalı* (Cem Davran) is a master of all of them and portrayed as a patriot Turk.

Most of the comedy movies are militaristic and emphasize the militaristic character of Turks. They are also based on masculinity and heroism. There is a wide range of enemies like Greece, Cyprus, the USA, and Russians. In some of the movies of this category, the weakness of the state is so visible. The state is surrounded by enemies both from inside and outside.

Action Movies

Action movies include *Filler ve Çimen* (2001), *Deli Yürek: Bumerang Cehennemi* (2001), *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* (2006), *Zincirbozan* (2007) and *Kabadayı* (2007). It would be more appropriate to describe them as political-action movies since their basic aim is to solve the opaque political relations among strong interest groups.

Filler ve Çimen (2001) is the first example of the political action movie. It revolves around the dark relations between bureaucrats, politicians, secret services, terrorists, mafia and businessmen. The claim of the movie is shed light on these dark issues and scandals. While doing these, terrorism in Southeast Anatolia and soldiers there are mentioned often.

Deli Yürek: Bumerang Cehennemi (2001) was shot after the success of the TV series *Deli Yürek* which was broadcast between 1999 and 2001. The movie revolves around Yusuf Miroğlu (Kenan İmirzalıoğlu) just as in the TV series. He and his fiancée, Zeynep (Melda Bakcan), go to Diyarbakır for the wedding of Cemal (Oktay Kaynarca) who is a landlord and also Miroğlu’s friend from military service. When Cemal is murdered during the wedding, Miroğlu, with a minimum amount of

trust in state authorities, stays in the region to solve this murder. He finally connects it with the assassination of Gaffar Okan. One of the major points in this film is the emphasis on conspiracy theories. The main conspiracy theory is about the Great Powers' desire to divide the Mesopotamia region into smaller pieces. In order to do this, the great powers conduct smuggling, place secret agents in the region, and make secret agreements with other states in the region. Although Turkey is well-intentioned and tries to maintain peace, the great power activities make it impossible.

The enemies in the movie are the U.S, Arabs and Kurds, who allow themselves to be the 'tools' of the Americans. In the film, it is implicitly expressed that Kurds in Turkey are also victims of great power politics. However, when they are terrorists up in the mountains, they are accepted as a part of the conspiracy against Turkey, and they are to be punished. We see with flashbacks, that they are shot one by one by Bozo (Selçuk Yöntem), Cemal and Miroğlu. So the film says "the ones, who eat the bread of this country and betray it afterwards, will take a bullet in the hole they eat the bread". Here also, it is a civilian who solves the problem with excessive use of violence (he fires a bazooka in the city in day-light). The female character of the movie Zeynep is an emotional, naïve, needy, weak but honorable woman since she does not even kiss Miroğlu when they are alone in a hotel room whole night.

Zincirbozan (2007) reveals the secrets of 12 September 1980 military intervention. Its nationalism is related to the fact that it has an anti-American narrative. The movie tries to shed light on the reasons behind military intervention by connecting right-left conflicts of that era to the Americans. It is suggested that all of the conflicts among different groups were American conspiracies in order to

convince Turkey to allow Greece to be a NATO member again and support a two-regional solution in Cyprus. State and secret services are overly emphasized.

Kabadayı (2007) can not be considered a new-nationalist movie. However, it employs most of the sub-texts that other movies of this type have like mafia-state-business relations, masculinity and violence. The movie is about the struggle between an old “kabadayı” (the movie suggests it is different with being mafia since kabadayı is not backed by politicians or police) and the mafia. *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* (2006) will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Political-action movies have the mission of enlightening dark issues. The dark relations between different groups such as the state, bureaucracy, the mafia, businessmen, police, and the media are revealed. These revelations are based on the conspiracy theories and mostly on the intentions of great powers towards Turkey. The state is conceived of as weak, corrupt, and unable to protect itself from external threats. The protection is provided by male heroes who use violent methods to uncover secrets and bring justice.

TV Series

Television is an important tool for creating a national community since it is a source of common memories, images and experiences that unite audiences of diverging backgrounds by creating images that give a concrete shape to the abstract notion of the nation. As a part of television programming, television drama is particularly important with its ability to reach large portions of the national audience, and being an influential storyteller and myth-former for contemporary society. (Dhoest, 2004: 393-394)

Table 3 The Number of TV Series between 1999 and April 2008

Years	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Numbers	20	18	21	48	36	68	83	66	102	27

TV Series between January 1999 and April 2008 are listed and internet research was carried out to understand their contents.¹⁷ The table shows the number of TV series during this period. As can be seen, there has been a large growth in the number of TV series, especially after 2001. The subject of the series is broad and range from family series to religious ones or from mafia series to detective stories. Within this broad range of subject matter, nationalist series have an important place; 33 out of 489 TV series can be seen to have nationalist tendencies. 33 TV Series with new-nationalist narrative are listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4 New-Nationalist TV Series

	Name	Description	TV Channel	Year
1	Kollama	Religious, police, conspiracy theories, deep state	STV	2008
2	Ölüm Çiçekleri	Bosnia-Herzegovina, war	Star	2008
3	Dur Yolcu	Çanakkale, war, Kuvayı Milliye	TRT 1	2008
4	Ateşten Koltuk	Secret service, state	Fox	2008
5	Gazi	Southeast Anatolia, war veteran, terror, military, martyrdom, heroism, PKK	ATV	2008
6	Mahşer	Secret relations, conspiracy theories	ATV	2007
7	Tek Türkiye	Southeast Anatolia, PKK, terror, religious	STV	2007
9	Pusat	PKK, terror, masculinity	Show TV	2007
9	Pars Narkoterör	PKK, terrorism, narcotics, police, Southeast Anatolia	Show TV	2007
10	Karayılan	The War of Independence, Southeast Anatolia, Kuvayı Milliye	ATV	2007
11	Sessiz Fırtına	Mafia, masculinity	Kanal D	2007
12	Elveda Rumeli	Rumelia, war, ethnic and religious strife	ATV	2007
13	Kuzey Rüzgarı	Masculinity, PKK, mafia,	Show TV	2007
14	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	Mafia, masculinity, violence, conspiracies	Show TV	2007

¹⁷ See Appendix B.

15	Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör	Mafia, masculinity, violence, conspiracies, terror	Show TV	2007
16	Kod Adı Kaos	Susurluk, conspiracy theories	Kanal D	2007
17	Köprü	Violence, terror	Star	2006
18	Kod Adı	Police, violence, conspiracy theories	Kanal D	2006
19	Sağır Oda	Conspiracy theories, PKK, secret services, terror, secret religious organizations	Kanal D	2006
20	Hacı	Religious, conspiracy theories	Show TV	2006
21	Azap Yolu	Violence, masculinity	ATV	2006
22	Kırık Kanatlar	The War of Independence, anti-imperialism	ATV	2005
23	Kayıt Dışı	Conspiracy theories	Star	2005
24	Acı Hayat	Masculinity, mafia, violence	Show TV	2005
25	Emret Komutanım	Military	Show TV	2005
26	Şifre	Conspiracy theories, secret organizations, police	Show TV	2005
27	Şubat Soğuğu	Conspiracy theories, religious	STV	2004
28	Aşkımızda Ölüm Var	Mafia, violence	Show TV	2004
29	Kurşun Yarası	The War of Independence, Kuvayı Milliye	ATV	2003
30	Kurtlar Vadisi	Mafia, masculinity, violence, conspiracies, secret organizations	Show TV Kanal D	2003
31	Bulutbey	Violence, mafia	Kanal D	2002
32	Deli Yürek	Mafia, masculinity, violence	Show TV	1999
33	Kurt Kapanı	Mafia, violence	TGRT	1999

These TV series can also be grouped under three categories: period, action, and comedy series.

Action Series

The largest number of series are under the category of action series. *Action series* are *Kollama*, *Ateşten Koltuk*, *Gazi*, *Mahşer*, *Tek Türkiye*, *Pars Narkoterör*, *Sessiz Fırtına*, *Kuzey Rüzgarı*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, *Kurtlar Vadisi*, *Kod Adı Kaos*, *Kod Adı*, *Köprü*, *Sağır Oda*, *Hacı*, *Azap Yolu*, *Kayıt Dışı*, *Şubat Soğuğu*, *Aşkımızda Ölüm Var*, *Bulutbey*, and *Kurt Kapanı*. Among these TV series, only six are still broadcasting at the time of writing: *Tek Türkiye*, *Köprü* and *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* with considerable success and *Kollama*, *Gazi*, and *Pars Narkoterör* with moderate success.

The basis of action series is the reliance on conspiracy theories. Most of them are attempts to enlighten the dark relations. They are mostly defined by the violent methods used by men in a heroic way. Some of them also use religious discourse, and a considerable amount of them narrates fight against PKK terror. The mafia is also a popular subject among the action series. As with political-action movies, the mistrust in the state is a visible element.

Period Series

Period series consist of *Ölüm Çiçekleri*, *Dur Yolcu*, *Karayılan*, *Elveda Rumeli*, *Kırık Kanatlar*, *Şifre*, *Kurşun Yarası*. *Elveda Rumeli*, *Karayılan*, *Kırık Kanatlar* and *Kurşun Yarası* have become successful but *Kırık Kanatlar*, *Kurşun Yarası* and *Şifre* have since been cancelled. All of these series occur during the War of Independence years in different regions of the country. They narrate the regional resistance against the colonial powers. Like period movies, the use of national symbols like flags and poems are common and heroic men have more important roles than women.

There is only one TV series under the category of *Comedy series*; *Emret Komutanım*. *Emret Komutanım* has a loyal audience and is still on air. The movie *Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat* is a spin off of this TV series. It is a story of a group of soldiers during their military service. It emphasizes the militaristic characters of Turks.

Books

After 2000, there has been a boom in the publication of a significant type of book which covers broad issues such as deep state, secret services, secret organizations, the mafia, Southern Anatolia, the USA, missionary actions, Armenians, Kurds, terrorism, Sabetayists, Cyprus, Israel, Greece, the European Union and Masonry. They are not only nationalist but also based on conspiracy theories rather than on objective scientific research.

In order to identify those books, books under “politics” on the online database “idefixe” was searched one by one.¹⁸ The indicators of this research were the keywords mentioned above. 217 books out of 3000 (an approximate number), mostly published after the year 2000 until March 2008, are listed in Appendix E.¹⁹ As a next step, five of the most successful examples of this genre are chosen as a sample for interpretive textual analysis.²⁰

Bay Pipo: Bir MİT Görevlisinin Sıradışı Yaşamı: Hiram Abas (twentieth edition) by Soner Yalçın and Doğan Yurdakul tells the life story of a secret MİT agent; Hiram Abas. The book claims to tell the alternative story of the MİT. The national and international context between the 1940s and 1970s are given parallel to the life story of Hiram Abas. This book is also an attempt for enlightening dark issues. The relations between secret services, American presence in Turkey and its

¹⁸ <http://www.idefixe.com> Access Date: 10.01.2008-01.02.2008

¹⁹ However, this research is limited to only the “politics” part of the database. The nationalist novels or other literary types could not be detected.

²⁰ The information about the real sale numbers of those books is not available. I tried to find the annual sale numbers from the Publishing Houses of Pandora, D&R, Alkım, Idefixe, Remzi, Nezh and Megavizyon but the necessary information could only be received from Türkiye Yayıncılar Birliği on 26.02.2008 by e-mail. The list includes the top selling ten books of the years 2006 and 2007 and can be found in the Appendix F, however it is not a complete list. So, the sample is composed according to the edition numbers of the books which is not a very accurate indicator but still sufficient to give an opinion.

intentions in the region during the Cold War years are the basis of the book. These “realities” are covered with references to this unusual MİT agent.

Kan Uykusu Hakkari 1993-1995 (fiftieth edition) by Serdar Akinan, covers the struggle against the PKK in the Hakkari region between the years of 1993 and 1995. The book consists of interviews with high, medium and lower ranked soldiers who fought against the PKK during the given years. One of the most important interviewees is the former General Osman Pamukoğlu who also wrote books about terror such as *Unutulanlar Dışında Yeni Bir Şey Yok* (2006) and *Ey Vatan Arkadaşlar Uykudan Uyansın* (2004). Similarly, another interviewee Erdal Sarızeybek also wrote several books about those years *Son Harekat Kod Adı: Yahuda* (2008), *Şemdinli’de Sınırı Aşmak* (2007), *Hesaplaşma Terör, Kaçakçılık, Hudut ve Biz* (2007), *İhaneti Gördüm* (2007), and *Ya Gazi Paşa Duyarsa* (2007).

It is interesting to see how the approaches of soldiers change from the higher to lower ranks. For example while Pamukoğlu explains soldiery as “...a soldier always fights. If his medical condition is good, if he has bullets, if he is not hungry; he fights. A soldier does not consider anything else, just fights...”²¹ (Akinan, 2007: 54) However, a special team leader Nizametti Tayfur tells that he saw a soldier cry because he did not want to accept a dangerous mission. (Akinan, 2007: 203). He recounts another story “We had been walking for thirty days. We were all depressed. It was one of those days when we were begging God to see some PKK groups to have an armed conflict in order to stop walking and get some rest. There was a

²¹“...Asker her zaman çarpışır. Askerin bedeninde bir sorun yoksa silahı çalışıyorsa, mermisi varsa, karnı toksa asker çarpışır. Asker hiçbir şeyi dikkate almadan çarpışır....”

soldier who felt so depressed. He lay down and did not rise. He begged me to shoot him there because he could not walk anymore.”²² (Akinan, 2007: 208-209)

Another soldier Ercan Yılmaz tells how he fell asleep during the armed conflict. He was too tired and fell asleep and two of his team members died there. (Akfirat, 2007: 236) He describes the hardest part of being a soldier in the Southeast, which is the walking. “...Walking is so scary. Because you can be left at road, you can be sick. No one will carry you. You will stay there. Who will carry your bag? Or your gun? Also, if you do not walk, you are noticed. Your team leader or platoon leader. They do not like you anymore. Why don't you walk? If you do not walk, then you destroy the order of the team. Of course, they are all waiting for you. So, everybody wants armed conflict, trust me. No one wants to walk. You carry the backpack, you climb the mountain. Who would want it? Climb, climb; it does not end...”²³ (Akinan, 239)

Bye Bye Türkçe Bir Nev-York Rüyası (thirtyeighth edition) by Oktay Sinanoğlu aims to underline the importance of protecting the Turkish language. He complains about the dominance of English in the education in high schools and universities. He considers it a cruel game against Turkey by imperial-powers and calls for action “Hash of Turkey and the Turk is being settled! Hey, still-honourable

²² “...Otuz gündür yürüyoruz, bunalımdayız. “Allahım ne olur PKK’lı bir grup çıksa da çatışsak, dinlensek biraz diye dua ettiğimiz bir gün.” Çocuk depresyona girdi, yerde bir kaya var. Kayaya yapıştı, kalkmıyor. Gittim yanına “Çocuğum kalk.” dedim ama kalkmaz... “Komutanım beni vur. Ben gelemiyorum, beni vurun burada bırakın.” diye yalvarıyor.”

²³“...Yürümek insanları çok korkutuyor. Çünkü yolda kalma derdin var, hasta olma derdin var. Seni kimse taşımayacakki. Orada kalacaksın. Çantanı kim alacak senin. Silahın falan var. Bir de yürüyemediğin zaman da göze batıyorsun. Tim komutanın olsun, bölük komutanın olsun, sevmemeye başlıyorlar seni. Niye yürümüyorsun? Yürümeyince bu sefer timin düzenini de bozuyorsun. Tabi adam seni bekliyor. Onun için herkes çatışmaya girmek isterdi emin olun. Kimse yürümek istemez. Sırt çantasını taşıyorsun, dağa çıkıyorsun, kim yürür. Çık çık bitmiyor.”

patriots, where are you?”²⁴ (Sinanoğlu, 2000, 128). The book is written in an aggressive tone and based on conspiracy theories about the intentions of dividing Turkey.

The official language of Turkey is Turkish which is the language of the majority of the population. The basis of the indivisibility and eternal existence of Turkey is Turkish. Making the language of education is English instead of teaching it as a second language those who need means; destroying Turkish, dividing Turkey, preventing the development of linguistic and cultural unity in the Turkish world, erasing the name “Turk” from history, making Turkish youth illiterate, prejudiced and colonial-spirited. Those who take a part in this one of the most horrible and felonious games might think again!²⁵ (Sinanoğlu, 2000, 152)

In addition to this specific type, there are also similar examples among novels like *Şu Çılgın Türkler* by Turgut Özakman or *Metal Fırtına* by Orkun Uçar and Burak Turna. *Şu Çılgın Türkler* is an epic story of the Turkish War of Independence. The difficult conditions that the country experienced; the sacrifices made by the people; and the efforts of important figures in mobilizing the people are narrated. The basis of the novel is the damaged pride of the Turks in the Sevres Treaty. The book tells the story of the glorious Turks who achieved the impossible by winning the war in the worst conditions and consequently restoring the damaged pride. The author does not want this glorious past to be forgotten by the next generations. This book is his effort to make this war immortal. At the end of the book, he has a message for the young people:

Dear youth! The War of Independence is one of the most legitimate, the most moral, the rightest, and the most sacred wars in the world. Be proud of your ancestors who achieved to beat imperialism; and to establish a new, modern state

²⁴ “Türkiye’nin ve Türk’ün defteri dürülüyor! Ey ciğeri sağlam kalabilmiş vatanseverler neredesiniz?”

²⁵ “Türkiye’nin resmi dili çoğunluğun anadili olan Türkçe’dir. Türkiye’nin bölünmezliğinin, ilelebet varlığının harcı Türkçe’dir. Yabancı dili gerekene öğretmek yerine eğitim dilini İngilizce kılmak Türkçe’yi yok etmek, Türkiye’yi parçalamak, Türk dünyasında dil ve kültür birliğinin yeniden gelişmesini önlemek, Türk adını tarihten silmek, Türk gençlerini cahil, ezberci, acente ve kalıp kafalı ve sömürge ruhlu etmek içindir. Tarihin en korkunç ve haince oyunlarından bu oyuna alet olanlar iyi düşünsünler.”

from debris. Don't let liars insult your martyr and veteran ancestors!²⁶ (Özakman, 2005, 688)

Metal Fırtına is a series of novels by Orkun Uçar and Burak Turna. The success of the first novel made the authors write others, three by Orkun Uçar and two by Burak Turna. The first book covers a fictional war called "Metal Storm" between Turkey and the USA. The US attacks Turkey without a legitimate reason in order to destroy the Turkish Republic, to clean Turks from Anatolia, to provide lands for Kurds, Armenians and Greeks, to seize rich mineral resources like Boron, Thorium and Uranium. The Americans use all kinds of weapons but Turks resist heroically. However, in the end they fail due to the efforts of a brave intelligence agent. The book has a very negative attitude towards Americans and employs conspiracy theories successfully to invoke the national sentiments. The portrayal of the warfare is so emotional and feeds from the popular terms like "Code Ergenekon" or "Operation Sevres". Greeks, Armenians and Jews are blamed for this brutal war. It is full of striking images which can easily influence the nationalist feelings of the reader.

Bad days were expected; foreign soldiers will walk through the streets where people used to walk and maybe they will try to impose new rules. There will be no Island ferries, American soldiers will live in the buildings in İstiklal Street, İnönü Stadium will be a helicopter runway, generals will toast in Dolmabahçe Palace, Yeşilköy Airport will be renamed New Byzantium Airport. Mansions on the Bosphorus will be given to American bureaucrats. The life in suburbs will be crueler; resistance fighters will strike enemy from there and the enemy will respond with all of its power. The American Symphony Orchestra will give concerts in Atatürk Cultural Center...²⁷ (Uçar and Turna, 2007, 227-228).

²⁶“Sevgili gençler! İstiklal Savaşı, dünyadaki en meşru, en ahlaklı, en haklı, en kutsal savaşlardan biridir. Emperyalizmi ve yamaklarını dize getiren, bir enkazdan yepyeni, çağdaş bir devlet kurmayı başaran atalarımızla gurur duyun, şehit ve gazi atalarımızın onurunu yalancılara çiğnetmeyin.”

²⁷“Kötü günler bekleniyordu, yabancı askerler hep insanların gezip tozmaya alıştığı yerlere ayak basacak ve orada yeni kurallar koymaya çalışacaktı belki de. Ada vapurları olmayacaktı, İstiklal Caddesindeki binalara Amerikan subayları yerleşecekti, İnönü Stadı'na helikopter pisti kurulacaktı, Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda generaller kadeh tokuşturacaktı, Yeşilköy Havaalanının adı Yeni Bizans

The sample of books here is chosen from among a large body of books of similar type. These books are basically written as novels or research books. They have strong nationalist discourses. However, their discourse is not unique. Their linkages are the reliance on conspiracy theories and reaction against Western countries mainly against the US. They also try to enlighten the dark issues.

The Characteristic of New-Nationalist Art

It is observed that there are three broad categories in the popular nationalist art which are comedy, period and -political- action. Comedy is mostly valid for movies.

Comedy movies are usually militaristic. Their stories are based on the military and the common point in all of them is “Every Turk was born a soldier”. Even if a Turk has a mental disorder, or was born and raised in another country, or is a thief, or a hopeless student, or a woman, it does not matter. When their help is needed by their country, they all become perfect soldiers. Like Altınay and Bora (2003: 140-145) claim, being a soldier is not an extension of defense or the army but it is an extension of the *culture*. Being a warrior is accepted as the unchangeable feature of the Turkish race and characteristic of the Turkish culture.

Period movies/series/books usually occur in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. They deal with the collapse of the Empire and the rise of Turkey as a nation. Emphasis on Turkishness is strong (only in this type). That’s why flag, songs and poems are so visible in all of them. They are telling of the birth of a nation, so they

Havaalanı olarak değiştirilecekti. Boğazdaki yalılar üst düzey Amerikan bürokratlara tahsis edilecekti. Varoşlarda yaşam daha da çekilmez olacaktı, direnişçiler oralardan saldıracaktı düşmana ve düşman bütün gücüyle karşılık verecekti direnişçilere. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi’nde Amerikan Senfoni Orkestrası konser verecekti...”

use an epic narrative against imperialism. If they are compared with the popular nationalist movies of the 1960s and 1970s like *Tarkan*, *Malkoçoğlu* or *Karaoğlan*, it is clear that those old movies were also occurred in the past and have a very nationalist narrative. However, those historical-fiction movies differ from the current movies mostly in scale. The new-movies reach more people due to the effects of technology. And also, while new- movies occur mostly in the last years of the Ottoman period, thus narrating a near historical period, old movies narrate the adventures of Turkish heroes in the Byzantine period or in Central Asia. Action movies/series/books are highly political and committed to solving the mysterious relations between state, mafia, and business. Movies and TV series are based on violent methods used by heroic men. Books also employ an aggressive and emotional tone.

The enemy is different for every product, but the recognized enemies are the USA, UK, Israel, Greece, Russia, France, Armenia, the European Union, CIA, secret agents from other secret services from outside, Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, missionaries, corrupted politicians, police forces and state officers, businessmen who are into dark things and the mafia from inside. Turkey is seen as a victim in the region and trust in state authorities is at the minimum level. Most of them underline the dark relations between different interest groups. In order to save the country, some devoted young men take responsibility. These young men are strong, brave, patriotic, and do not hesitate to use violence.²⁸ Women do not play an important role in these movies or TV series. The most important women characters are the loyal girlfriends of the heroes.

28 For further reading for this heroic figure see (Erol, 2004)

Thus, new-nationalist popular art in Turkey after 2000 can be associated with the celebration of the use of violence, masculinity, conspiracy theories, heroism, anti-Westernism, anti-imperialism, and militarism. It also shows stereotypical and xenophobic images of different ethnic groups such as Armenians, Jews, Kurds and so on as well as the glorification of the Turkish “motherland”.

CHAPTER FOUR

KURTLAR VADISI AS A REPRESENTATIVE CASE OF NEW-NATIONALIST ART IN TURKEY

In this chapter, *Kurtlar Vadisi* will be analyzed as a sample which reflects the new-nationalist popular art in Turkey because of its success as both a TV series and a movie. This chapter is broken up into four parts. First the technical details about *Kurtlar Vadisi* will be outlined to show the reason for this choice. Second, academic and journalistic discussions about it will be reviewed. Third, interpretive textual analysis will be made on selected episodes and the movie in order to reveal the denotative meanings.

The Story of Kurtlar Vadisi

The *Kurtlar Vadisi* phenomenon consists of three TV series; *Kurtlar Vadisi*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* and a movie; *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak*. *Kurtlar Vadisi* has broadcast for four seasons on prime-time Thursday night TV (except for the first season),²⁹ since 15 January 2003.

- First season: 15.01.2003 and 18.06.2003 (episodes 1-21),
- Second season: 25.09.2003 and 24.06.2004 (episodes 22-55),
- Third season: 23.09.2004 and 09.06.2005 (episodes 56-86),
- Fourth season: 06.10.2005 and 29.12.2005 (episodes 87-97).

The episodes between 1 and 55 were made by the production company, Sinegraf, and the rest of the episodes (including *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* and

²⁹ The slogan of the TV series is “Kendi günü ve saatinde/On its own day and time”.

Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak) were produced by Panafilm. *Kurtlar Vadisi* started on Show TV but after the third season it was transferred to Kanal D. As can be observed from Figure 1 below, *Kurtlar Vadisi* has not made the same impact on Kanal D.³⁰ Thus, after the fourth season, *Kurtlar Vadisi* returned to Show TV, with a remarkable transfer payment.³¹

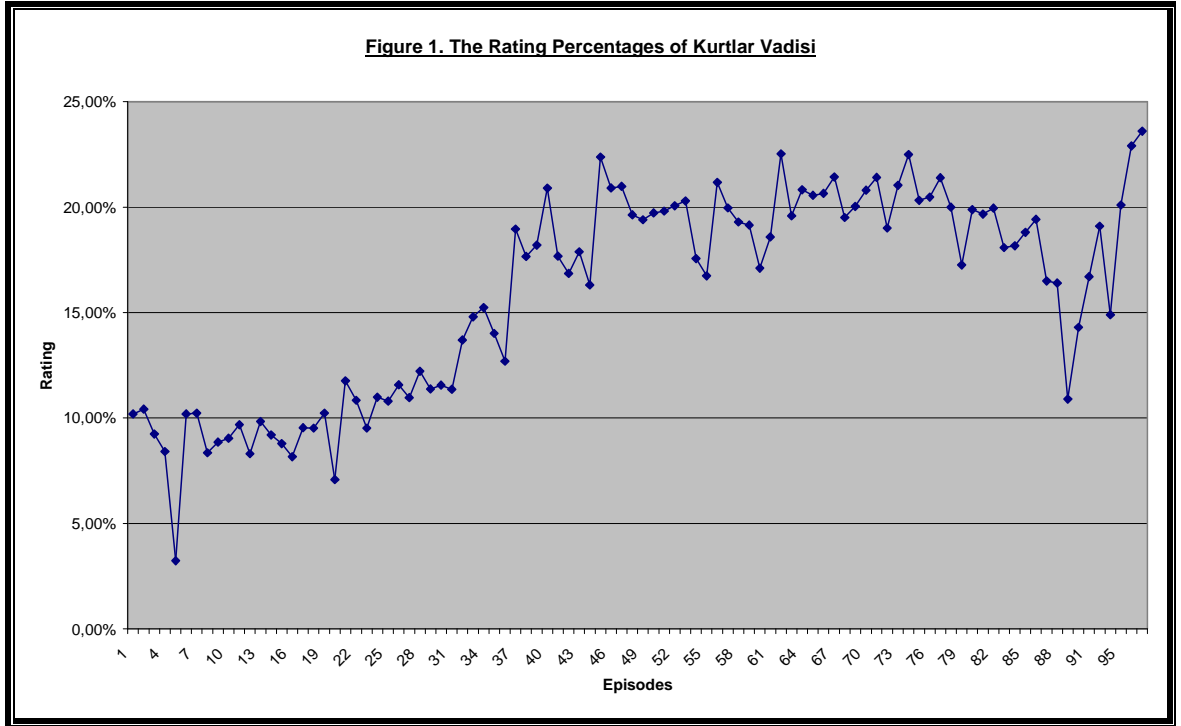


Figure 1 The Rating Percentage of Kurtlar Vadisi

The production team of *Kurtlar Vadisi* has not changed much up until now, except the directors.

- Producers: Osman Sınav and Raci Şaşmaz
- Directors: Mustafa Şevki Doğan, Serdar Akar and Osman Sınav
- Concept Advisor: Soner Yalçın
- Music: Gökhan Kırdar and Loopus
- Camera: Tevfik Şenol and Selahattin Sancaklı

³⁰ Rating percentages of the TV series are obtained from International Advertisement Agency Turkey at 06.03.2008 by e-mail and in the database of <http://www.medyatava.com>; <http://www.arsiv.sabah.com.tr>; <http://www.kurtlarvadisi.com>.

³¹ 1.200.000 dollars.

- Art Director: Yavuz Fazlıođlu and Filiz Ekinici
- Assembly: Raci ŐaŐmaz, Kemalettin Osmanlı and A. Őzdemir
- Wardrobe: GŐzde Giray and Serap Sevgen
- Visual Director: Selahattin Sancaklı
- Dubbing Director: Burhan Őahin

The story of *Kurtlar Vadisi* centers on the leading man *Polat Alemdar*. Polat Alemdar is a government agent who experienced a series of plastic surgeries to hide his real identity. His mission is to join the mafia in order to destroy it. The mafia in Turkey is hierarchical. Polat Alemdar starts from the bottom and with his bravery, loyalty, intelligence, and talents; climbs to the top. He and his friends achieve the goal of destroying the mafia organization which is portrayed as mysterious, ritualistic, having ties with deeper and international organizations who are trying to seize control of Turkey.

Kurtlar Vadisi made a modest entry into the television world. Its first year rating average was only 9.06 % and the number of newspaper news is 56.³² Its boom came at the end of the second season with the death of one of the main characters *SŐleyman Őakır* (played by Oktay Kaynarca). Őakır's death was discussed in the newspapers and associated with the jealousy of Necati ŐaŐmaz (*Polat Alemdar*) of the success of that character. Also, the reaction of his fans was interesting. In Konya, some of his fans wrote their condolences in a local newspaper reflecting their deep grief at the death of Őakır.³³ In Adapazarı, players paid homage for Őakır before a football game.³⁴

³² See Figure 1.

³³ "Kurtlar Vadisi'nin vazgeçilmez karakteri SŐleyman Őakır'ı kaybetmenin derin ŐzŐntüsü ierisindeyiz. Merhuma Allah'tan rahmet, Kurtlar Vadisi'ne, Polat Alemdar'a, Memati'ye, Dayı'ya ve yakın arkadaşlarına ayrıca hayranlarına başsađlıđı dileriz. BaŐımız sađ olsun."
<http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=35810&keyfield=6B7572746C617220766164697369>
Access Date: 24.12.2007

³⁴ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=218199> Access Date: 12.01.2008

Together with its striking plot and methods, *Kurtlar Vadisi* started to climb to the ratings chart and had a significant effect on the audience. Producers decided to end the series in an unforgettable way and the final episode was shot in Hollywood with the special appearances of Hollywood stars Andy Garcia and Sharon Stone. The success of *Kurtlar Vadisi* as a TV series cleared the way for a movie. The movie called *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* and arrived in theatres in February, 2006. 555 news articles were produced about it within the same month. It became the most expensive Turkish movie ever at \$10 million, and the most watched, with 4.256.566 people flocking to the cinema.

The production team of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* is:

- Director: Serdar Akar
- Producer: Raci Şaşmaz
- Scenario: Raci Şaşmaz and Bahadır Özdener
- Concept Advisor: Soner Yalçın
- Scenario Supervisor: Ömer Lütfi Mete
- Assistant Producers: Hasan Kaçan and Mehmet Canpolat
- Music: Gökhan Kırdar and Loopus
- Visual Director: Selahattin Sancaklı
- Assembly: Kemalettin Osmanlı
- Assistant Director: Sadullah Şentürk

The plot of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* can be considered a response to the sack incident which happened on 4 July 2003.³⁵ Polat Alemdar and his crew go to Irak this time, to get revenge for the humiliation of Turkish soldiers by the Americans. The movie created a reaction not only with Turkish public opinion but also world public opinion. The Christian Science Monitor,³⁶ Time,³⁷ Wall Street Journal,³⁸ BBC,³⁹

³⁵ On 4 July 2003, U.S. troops from the 173rd Airborne Division raided the offices housing Turkish Special Forces in the city of Al-Sulaymaniyah, in northern Iraq. They arrested eleven members of Turkey's Special Forces, including a colonel and two majors, and pictures of the Turkish soldiers with sacks on their heads were distributed to the press. This event is infamous as 'the sack incident'.

³⁶ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6053138> Access Date: 03.03.2008

New York Times⁴⁰ ran stories about *Kurtlar Vadisi*. In Germany, the movie was banned from the theatres. In Iran, it became the first foreign movie shown in the theatres after the revolution.

A year later, the second series to be released was announced. It was called *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* and promised to reflect the secrets of the terrorism problem of Turkey with the following generic:

46.000 terrorist attacks were made in Turkey in the last 22 years. 36.628 citizens lost their lives because of terror. 4626 of the casualties were soldiers and police, 1330 of them were village guards, 448 of them were public officers; and 5219 of them were civilians of the region. 508 of our dead citizens were children and 519 of them were women. Approximately 5 million citizens were forced to leave their places. According to official records; the cost of terrorist attacks for Turkey is more than \$100 billion. Our total loss is \$300 billion with indirect costs. \$300 billion means; 7 GAP, 30 thousand km highway, 5 million class school, 350 Boğaziçi Bridge: This number is equal to 83 years of health expenditure of Turkey. Turkey: fully independent, without any debt...⁴¹

This plot created tension between the fans of *Kurtlar Vadisi* and its opponents.

16.597 phone calls and 2191 petitions were received by RTÜK. 87.8 % of the petitions made to cancel the show.⁴² An internet survey by the newspaper *Hürriyet* about the cancellation of the show was held, with 1.076.025 people in the survey:

³⁷ <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1156548,00.html> Access Date: 28.03.2008

³⁸ <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=267145&keyfield=6B7572746C617220766164697369> Access Date: 23.11.2007

³⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4700154.stm> Access Date: 28.03.2008

⁴⁰ http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/14/international/europe/14turk.html?_r=1&scp=9&sq=valley+of+the+wolves&st=nyt&oref=slogin Access Date: 28.03.2008

⁴¹ “Türkiye’de son 22 yılda 46.000 terör eylemi gerçekleştirildi. Terör nedeniyle 36.628 vatandaşımız hayatını kaybetti. Bu kayıpların 4626’sı asker ve polis. 1330u köy korucusu, 448i kamu görevlisi, 5219u da bölgede yaşayan sivil insanlardır. Ölen vatandaşlarımızın 508i çocuk, 519u da kadındı. Yaklaşık 5milyon vatandaşımız terror nedeniyle yaşadığı yerleri terk etmek zorunda kaldı. Resmi kayıtlara göre terör eylemlerinin Türkiye’ye doğrudan maliyeti 100 milyar dolarda fazla. Dolaylı maliyetlerle birlikte zararımız 300 milyar dolar. 300 milyar dolar şu demektir: 7 tane Gap, 30 bin kilometre otoban, 5 milyon derslik okul, 350 tane bogazici koprusu, 75 tane ataturk barajı. Bu rakam Türkiye’nin 83 yıllık sağlık gideridir.

Borçsuz-tam bağımsız bir türkiye...”

⁴² <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=212927> Access Date: 12.01.2008

88.1 % declared “the show should not have been cancelled”.⁴³ Similarly, 83.97% out of 765.874 respondents voted against the cancellation in a survey by *Milliyet*.⁴⁴ The support of its fans was not helpful for *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* but at least created great debate among journalists as to whether it was censorship or not, or whether it was right to cancel it or not.

The first episode was broadcast on 8 February 2007, and cancelled afterwards. The second episode could only be aired 8 months later on 18 October 2007. The advertisement profits of the second episode went to the *Mehmetçik Vakfı* (Martyrs Foundation). It was made by the following team:

- Director: Sadullah Şentürk
- Scenario: Raci Şaşmaz, Bahadır Özdener and Cüneyt Aysan
- Producer: Raci Şaşmaz
- Assembly: Kemalettin Osmanlı
- Music: Gökhan Kırdar and Loopus
- Visual Director: Ferhan Akgün

The cancellation of the show could not deter the producers and they modified their show creating *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*. *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* started on Show TV on 19 April 2007 and it is still going on.

- First season: 19.04.2007-14.06.2007 (episodes 1-9),
- Second season: 20.09.2007 and ongoing (episodes 9-ongoing).

It has been made by the following team:

- Producer: Raci Şaşmaz
- Director: Sadullah Şentürk
- Scenario: Raci Şaşmaz, Bahadır Özdener and Cüneyt Aysan
- Visual Director: Ferhan Akgün and Selahattin Sancaklı
- Music: Gökhan Kırdar and Loopus

⁴³ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/5955050.asp?m=1&gid=112&srid=3601&oid=1> Access Date: 02.02.2008

⁴⁴ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/anket/milliyetanket.asp?aid=203> Access Date: 26.01.2008

- Assembly: Kemalettin Osmanlı

In *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*, Polat Alemdar and his friends are trying to protect Turkey from a secret organization with connections to the “deep state”. At the same time, they are working against a global gang directed by the world’s richest families that aims to dominate Eurasia including Turkey. *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* was far from showing the performance of *Kurtlar Vadisi* at the beginning. However, rating percentages started to increase when the dose of violence increased.

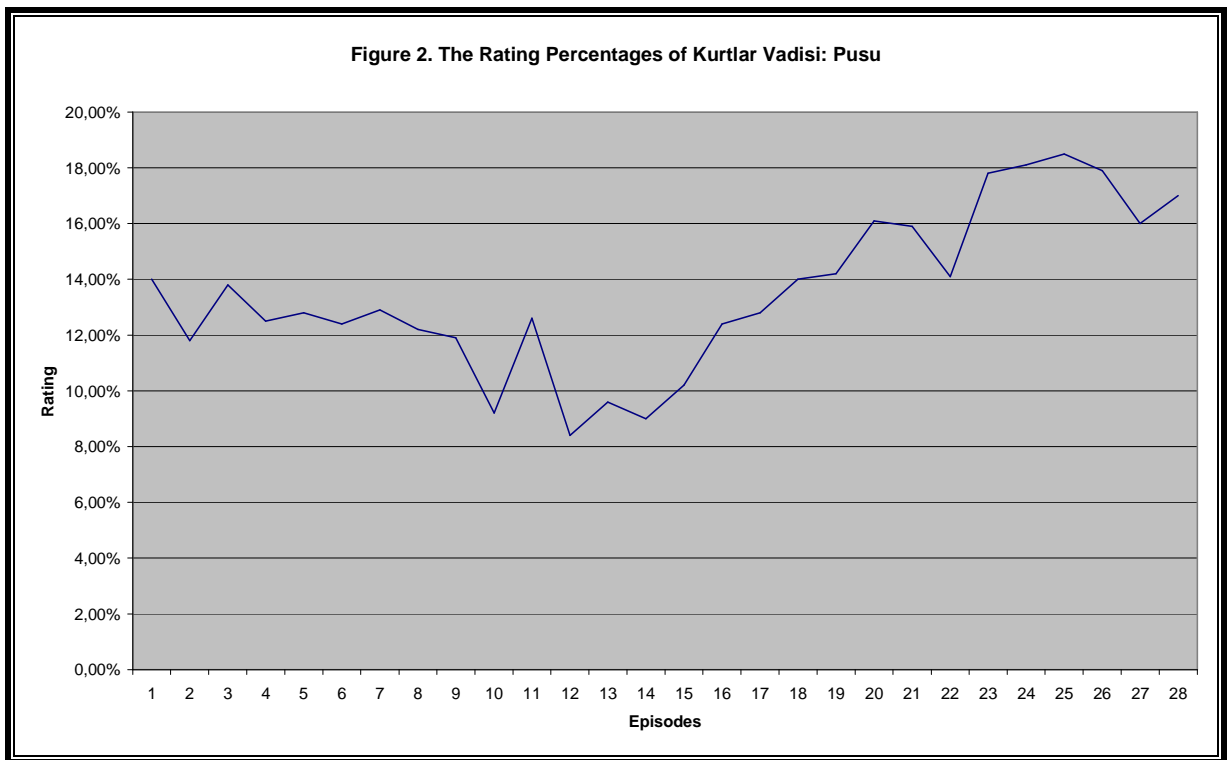


Figure 2 The Rating Percentage of Kurtlar Vadisi Pusu

Academic and Journalistic Debates about *Kurtlar Vadisi*

Academic Debates

The academic studies about *Kurtlar Vadisi* reflect a consensus that is rarely found in the academic world. *Kurtlar Vadisi* is claimed to have nationalist, violent, and gendered tendencies in all of the studies (Gültekin, 2006; İşler, 2006; Büker, 2006, Selçuk, 2006; Erdoğan, 2006; Işık, 2006).

Gültekin does cultural analysis of 55 episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi* to measure its violent and nationalist features. The distribution of violent and nationalist tendencies such as use of weapons; 145, exposure of weapons; 226, conflict; 111, murder; 411, slapping; 155, fight; 175, torture; 110, rape; 3, harassment; 191, bombing; 3, kidnapping, 4, use of the word *vatan*; 128, nation; 142, flag; 240, blood; 13, sacrifice, to die for; 144, country; 164, honor; 123, soldier, army; 255, map; 313, religion; 299, them (skinhead, Jew, American, Kurd, etc.); 513, crescent; 117.⁴⁵ She concludes that “subjects of *Kurtlar Vadisi*, treatment of these subjects and construction of identities were set up to legitimize the illegal ways, violence and murder for love of country and people and defense of the Turkish state” (Gültekin, 2006, 9).

Tanıl Bora puts more emphasis on the artistic dimension of this use of violence. He argues that violence is a part of human nature and it is also true that the economic, societal and political system that we are living in increasingly produces violence. However, the distinctive feature of *Kurtlar Vadisi* is the fact that it

⁴⁵ <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/02/23/gny/yaz1277-70-111-20070223-200.html> Access Date: 15.02.2008

visualizes and makes the use of violence aesthetically pleasing. Hence, *Kurtlar Vadisi* helps violence gain an artistic form and it is especially dangerous for teenage boys.⁴⁶

Işık (2006, 240-242), similarly argues that one of the basic characteristics of *Kurtlar Vadisi* is the aesthetic use of violence. She connects it with the failure of producing modern selves and the rise of local nationalisms. Local nationalism uses the popular culture to emit its ideas with a very masculine and violent language. Seçil Büker studies the ideology of masculinity in *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* and claims it is represented by the attitudes of aggression, power and control and it is displayed by the mythic figure of the hero Polat Alemdar. He does not show his masculinity with a muscular body –unlike Hollywood movies. Instead his cold-blooded acts represent his masculinity (Büker, 2006, 137).

Another aspect of the articles about *Kurtlar Vadisi* is its anti-Westernism. Ayhan Selçuk explores the representation of the identities of different groups in the movie and argues that while the Middle Eastern and Anatolian people are represented as sentimental; Americans and Jews are represented as pragmatist. İrfan Erdoğan, in his very long and sentimental article, criticizes the movie for being ultra-right and for exploiting the emotions. On the other hand he justifies the reasons it was shot with reference to capitalism, means of production, imperialism, culture industry, etc. (2006, 71-136).

⁴⁶ <http://www.yenisafak.com.tr/arsiv/?ie=ISO-8859-9&oe=ISO-8859-9&cx=017300299260394644477%3Ae8fyn46yzze&cof=FORID%3A11&q=kurtlar+vadisi&sa=Arama+yap#1099> Access Date: 14.03.2008

Journalistic Debates

The news about *Kurtlar Vadisi* was reviewed in ten national newspapers published between January 2003 and December 2007. The sample was selected among the national newspapers which have internet archives. The sample was consisted of the following newspapers; *Zaman*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Star*, *Milliyet*, *Takvim*, *Akşam*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Radikal* and *Birgün*.⁴⁷

Table 5 The Number of *Kurtlar Vadisi* News 2003-2007

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
Zaman	42	137	97	236	189	701
Hürriyet	2	141	181	372	179	875
Sabah	42	242	250	377	320	1231
Star	-	52	44	149	105	350
Milliyet	5	59	83	185	107	439
Takvim	-	28	51	82	108	269
Akşam	12	33	53	45	23	166
Yeni Şafak	1	9	24	37	45	116
Radikal	3	35	46	124	65	273
Birgün	-	24	24	67	63	178
Total	107	760	853	1674	1204	4598

As Table 5 shows, the total amount of news about *Kurtlar Vadisi* is 4598 for five years in the ten newspapers reviewed. At most 1674 different news articles were published within one year. It was in February 2006 when the maximum amount of news were produced with 555 articles written. This was the month when *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* was released. In 2007, 1204 articles were published, mostly in February 2007 (405 articles). This was when *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* was taken of air.⁴⁸ *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* were the papers which published most of the news about *Kurtlar Vadisi*, 1231, 701 and 875 articles respectively. They are also the papers with the highest circulation. The three of them sell around 1.700.000 per a day. All ten

⁴⁷ The ordering of newspapers is according to the newspaper circulation data obtained from <http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj.asp> at 21.12.2007.

⁴⁸ The numbers of the news according to months can be seen in Appendix C.

newspapers sell 3.002.585 on any given day.⁴⁹

These 4598 articles about *Kurtlar Vadisi* were also analyzed according to their contents. The content of the news can be divided into four broad categories. The first type of news is usually in the television pages about the subject of that particular day's *Kurtlar Vadisi*, stories about it or interviews with the cast members. The second type is discussions about *Kurtlar Vadisi*, usually among the columnists. One of the most prominent subjects among columnists is the masculinity of the show. *Kurtlar Vadisi* was criticized to be macho and discriminative towards women.

Only 5 out of 39 continual cast members are women. Liberate the show from this macho image!⁵⁰

-You cannot call me all the time but you have to answer all of my calls. I do not like to read unnecessary texts, so do not text me all the time. You will introduce me to all your friends and you will not see the ones I do not like. You will quit modeling. You will be a housewife.- This romantic speech is made by Memati to his girlfriend... These are the messengers of the pressures that will be put upon the women with inspiration from the show. Shame on you! Are *Kurtlar Vadisi* script writers treating girlfriends like this in real life? These kinds of men would take a woman; make her sit at home and chase the others on the streets. Being a man is not something like this!⁵¹

Another subject of discussion is the violent narrative of the show. Some of the columnists think it is normal for the series to have a violent narrative while some others argue it is unacceptable.

Kurtlar Vadisi is blamed for its violent scenes and for provoking violence. However, it is a show which tries to shed light on the realities of the country. If the realities necessitate violence; it is impossible not to show it.⁵²

⁴⁹ These are approximate values taken from <http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj.asp> Access Date: 02.03.2008

⁵⁰ <http://www.milliyet.com/2007/05/31/magazin/yazali.html> Access Date: 20.01.2008 Ali Eyüboğlu from Milliyet.

⁵¹ <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/12/18/gny/gulsan.html> Access Date: 17.02.2008 Rahşan Gülşan from Sabah.

⁵² <http://www.aksam.com.tr/haber.asp?a=33557,4&tarih=24.03.2006> Access Date: 29.01.2008 Serdar Turgut from Akşam.

They blame leftist intellectuals as hypocrites to remain silent about the censorship of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*. However, it is not rational to make such a claim because defending freedom of speech is one thing. Defending mortal productions which legitimize violent murders in the name of the deep state and making it aesthetic is another thing.⁵³

The debate around the rise of nationalism is also connected to the success of *Kurtlar Vadisi* by columnists. Similarly, there is no consensus about the rise of nationalism or its relevance to *Kurtlar Vadisi* but the issue constitutes an intrinsic part of the discussions.

Flag, nation, patrie, faith are all sacred. Some are worried about rising nationalism and criticize it, and some call themselves ulusalçı. Whether they like it or not, nationalism is always there and *Kurtlar Vadisi* unites the nation. This movie will find its place in history books in the future.⁵⁴

It is not nationalism which is rising. It is anti-Westernism. Turkish people are reactive against the concessions to the EU, Kurdish state in Iraq and the Armenian issue. *Kurtlar Vadisi* must be seen as proof of these Anti-Western feelings.⁵⁵

The success of *Kurtlar Vadisi* does not reflect the voters' preferences. There is no evidence for a nationalist or ulusalçı boom in the election polls.⁵⁶

The third type of *KurtlarVadisi* news article is usually placed on the third page of the newspapers. They cover real-life stories about violent incidents like shooting, stabbing, fights and other such happenings. The relevance to *Kurtlar Vadisi* comes from the statements of the witnesses or suspects. In these statements, the admiration of suspects for *Kurtlar Vadisi* or its actors are pointed out as the real cause of the incidents.

⁵³ <http://www.birgun.net/archive.php> Access Date: 12.02.2008 Uğur Kutay from Birgün.

⁵⁴ <http://www.aksam.com.tr/yazar.asp?a=27659,10,17&tarih=13.02.2006> Access Date: 19.02.2008 Burhan Ayeri from Akşam.

⁵⁵ <http://www.zaman.com.tr/yazar.do?yazino=492862&keyfield=6B7572746C617220766164697369> Access Date: 13.12.2007 Ali Bulaç from Zaman.

⁵⁶ <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=178743> Access Date: 25.02.2008 Haluk Şahin from Radikal.

It was claimed that the murder plans of Yusuf Erenkaya -35 years old Karataş/Adana Major- and his sister Çınar -31 years old- were made with inspiration from some scenes from *Kurtlar Vadisi*.⁵⁷

In Antalya, K.D. -16- who experienced an injection attack, claimed that the suspect İlyas Ü. was influenced by the thirty-fifth and forty-first episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi*; the episodes in which an injection ring is used as a murder weapon.⁵⁸

In Kırıkkale, high school student Mustafa Bölükbaşı -16- was killed in a horrible way by his friend U.K who said “I am influenced by Polat Alemdar in *Kurtlar Vadisi*. I will be Polat Alemdar” when he was captured.⁵⁹

In İstanbul, in a primary school, eighth grade student C.B. stabbed his friend F.C. in his heart during a fight. F.C. is in a coma. A witness claimed that C.B. was a fan of Polat Alemdar, and trying to be popular by carrying different kinds of knives.⁶⁰

Ramazan Bay, who stabbed the priest of Saint Antuan Church Adriano Franchini, was arrested and put into Buca Kırıklar F Type Prison. Bay declared that he was influenced by the Polat Alemdar character and the murders of Priest Santoro and Hrant Dink. He said he wanted to be famous and a hero just like the perpetrators of those incidents.⁶¹

The fourth type of news article does not have any direct relation to *Kurtlar Vadisi*.

Kurtlar Vadisi is only used as a reference point to describe a situation that somehow everyone knows is connected to *Kurtlar Vadisi*. These kinds of situations are usually violent or connected with illegal acts.

The new video clip of Kutsi is nothing less than *Kurtlar Vadisi*. In a scene, Kutsi's best friend is stabbed and Kutsi gets his revenge by stabbing him back. The details of these incidents are shown with violent scenes.⁶²

DSP Erzurum Chairman Yaşar Özen was threatened in *Kurtlar Vadisi* style. He received a threat message rolled in a cartridge.⁶³

⁵⁷ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5437383> Access Date: 27.12.2007

⁵⁸ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=5178744> Access Date: 27.12.2007

⁵⁹ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=306561> Access Date: 04.01.2008

⁶⁰ <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/03/23/gnd112.html> Access Date: 19.01.2008

⁶¹ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=7897636> Access Date: 05.01.2008

⁶² <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/05/10/gny/gny126-20060510-200.html> Access Date: 23.01.2008

⁶³ <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=439792&keyfield=6B7572746C617220766164697369> Access Date: 24.02.2008

Halil Mutlu answered the doping claims “If there is a guilty one, then it is me. I did not pay enough attention to what I ate. This is *Kurtlar Vadisi* but I tried to live like a lamb.”⁶⁴

A Critical Analysis of the Selected Episodes and the Movie

As a TV series, *Kurtlar Vadisi* has 97 episodes, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* has 2 and *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* has 28.⁶⁵ 32 were selected as the sample according to the criteria of rating percentages. The most watched 20 episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi*, 10 of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*, both episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* and the movie *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* were analyzed with the method of interpretive textual analysis. Table 6 shows the sample of episodes.

Kurtlar Vadisi, TV Series

Table 6 Selected Episodes

Episode	Date	Description	Rating	Ranking
97	29.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	23,60%	1.
96	22.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,90%	1.
62	18.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,53%	1.
74	10.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,49%	1.
45	08.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,37%	
67	23.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,43%	1.
71	10.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,41%	1.
77	07.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,39%	1.
56	23.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,17%	
73	03.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,03%	1.
47	22.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,98%	
46	15.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,91%	
40	19.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,90%	
64	02.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,82%	1.
70	03.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,80%	1.
66	16.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,65%	1.

⁶⁴ <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=353116> Access Date: 25.12.2007

⁶⁵ *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu* is still been broadcasting. 28 episodes until the date of 08.03.2008.

65	09.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,56%	1.
76	31.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,47%	1.
75	17.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,32%	1.
53	10.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,29%	
1	08.02.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör	19,00%	1.
25	07.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	18,50%	1.
24	31.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	18,10%	1.
26	14.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,90%	1.
23	24.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,80%	1.
28	28.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,00%	1.
20	06.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	16,10%	1.
27	21.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	16,00%	1.
21	13.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	15,90%	1.
19	29.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,20%	1.
22	27.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,10%	1.
2	18.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör	12,70%	1.

The subject of *Kurtlar Vadisi* is the mafia-state-business relations in Turkey. The main character is *Polat Alemdar* played by *Necati Şaşmaz*. Polat Alemdar is a government agent whose duty is to destroy the mafia organization in Turkey. In order to achieve this, he is placed under the protectorate of an old and respected bully (*Duran Emmi*) in a small neighborhood. Duran Emmi is one of the old bullies who was repressed after the 1980 coup and has connections with the state. Polat's superior *Aslan Bey* places him with Duran Emmi.

The real identity of Polat is *Ali Candan* who is a young diplomat, adopted by a devoted religious family and living with them in peace. His parents and friends think he is a diplomat, without any awareness of his secret identity. He gets engaged with *Elif Eylül*, his first love, on his last night as Ali Candan. After that night, Ali Candan is shown to be dead and he has lots of plastic surgery. He starts a new life as Polat Alemdar for his new mission code named: *Kurtlar Vadisi*. He starts his mission at the bottom of the mafia pile next to Duran Emmi but with his courage, talents, and intelligence he proves himself and becomes friends with *Süleyman Çakır*. Çakır is also a rising-star mafia member who follows the execution orders of the mafia

leaders. He is also son in law of one of them (*Laz Ziya*). Çakır becomes one of the Polat's best friends as well as Çakır's right hand man; *Memati*. Together with *Seyfo Dayı* and his nephew *Güllü*, they constitute the team. The murder of Duran Emmi by Aslan Bey also opens the way for Polat to rise in the mafia.

Çakır and Polat rise in the hierarchical structure of the mafia but Çakır is murdered by a rival group known as the *Cerrahpaşalılar*. Polat takes his revenge by killing six men in one night. Polat continues his rise after the death of Çakır and he manages to pique the attention of the *Baron-Karahanlı*; the leader of the mafia in Turkey. It is then revealed that Polat is the missing son of Baron. His real name is *Efe Karahanlı* who was kidnapped when he was a young boy. Aslan Bey kidnapped and raised him as a government agent to use him against Baron. When Baron is killed by the upper-organization of Barons, Polat replaces him as the new Baron learns the secrets of the organization and destroys the mafia in Turkey. In the last episode, Polat and his friends turn themselves in to the police and go on trial. They are found "not guilty" and so cleared of all of the accusations.

Mafia members are known as businessmen in the public but they all conduct illegal business. There is a division of labour in the carrying out these illegal jobs. The mafia in Turkey is directed by an organization which is known as the "Council". The Council is a secret organization that rules the underground world. The leader of the Council is a well-known businessman called "Baron". The Council has strict rules about security and membership. All of the members take oaths to remain silent. The Council consists of 8 members including Baron. Every member has an area of specialization in the underworld. Laz Ziya-shipping and transportation, Nizamettin-legal problems (since he is a lawyer), Hüsrev Ağa-drug trafficking; Testere-

gambling, Sam-(never mentioned), Kılıç-right hand of Baron, İplikçi-dominates their finances. They all have their own men to do their business and are organized in a hierarchical way. All leaders have their own lieutenants and they have their own. Leaders are akin to feudal land-lords. They live in their castle-like houses, drive expensive jeeps, wear quality (always dark) suits without a tie, work in well-designed offices, and are surrounded by lots of armed bodyguards. Their words are accepted as unquestionable commandments even if it means to make an attempt on somebody's life. The punishments for unwanted attitudes are directly handled by the organization without any questioning.

Baron is also a member of another secret organization in which the language Latin is commonly used as well as symbols and symbolism which reminds of the Masonic organizations. There are several references to Illuminati, secret texts and cryptic messages. This organization is highly ritualistic and shown only in one episode. In this episode, Baron enters an old stone building, passes down the corridors and arrives at the meeting place. He is wearing a robe like the others. The others around him are wearing red robes and at the top of the building there is someone else with a stick, wearing a golden robe. They are all wearing masks and repeat a certain phrase in Latin.⁶⁶

After this opening ritual, Karahanlı kneels and says "I did not come to do what I want; I came to do what Great Baphomet wants, the father of the all humanity and our peace temple". Baphomet is the name of an idol used by the Templar Knights. Eliphas Levi argues that the name "Baphomet" comes from the phrase

⁶⁶ "Make effort to bring peace to everyone. To talk too much is not without sin. Life and death are in the power of the tongue. Person should even avoid saying the good things. I have always kept my mouth. Eat your bread in silence. It is given to everyone in accordance with their needs. Test the soul to see if it is coming from the God or not. Exclude the bad ones."

“Templi Omnium Hominum Pacis Abbas” which means “the father of all humanity and the Sun Temple” (Crow: 2002, 194). The usage of Baphomet and the showing of the ritual is an attempt to connect them with a deeper secret organization. Then they start a trial. Karahanlı is accused of not helping his brothers when they need help which is against their seven gold rules. Baron has to show more effort to make Turkey send troops to Iraq during the intervention. However, he fails. The guy at the top is portrayed as a leader of the deeper organization which rules the world and aims to realize the Great Middle East Project.

We know that if Iran, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan remain as the places that keep the hatred against our brothers alive, they will raise the terrorists and conduct the actions which will threaten our security. So, freedom has to dominate the Great Middle East. Our brothers intervened in these places for the future of humanity... Yes, my brother you did not believe the bringing of the democracy, the establishment of our economic systems, or providing the cultural transformation into the Great Middle East... We will determine the future of the world as always... And, the ones who opposed our policies on that day, soldiers of politicians, they will all pay their dues. The Great Middle East Project is above the people and countries.

This speech is a clear indication of American intentions on Turkey. By connecting real incidents to conspiracies *Kurtlar Vadisi* makes a convincing case for its claims. The conspiracy theories are supported with anti-EU and anti-American attitudes. The EU and the USA are seen as the hypocrites who are trying to divide and weaken Turkey. As Polat says “My country has already been changed, transformed and trapped. I saw lots of places in the world. I met so many people. I have never seen people like our people. I have never seen a nation that good, pure, talented, naïve and smart. But, I have never seen a nation that is exploited that much either. I look at the exploiters. They are not as capable as the sheep that Erhan has in the village. However, they are well-paid response to their service and they do their service well.”

Israel, Greece, Serbia, Russia are occasionally mentioned as enemies and as the competitors in the illegal world of the region. While trying to escape from a sniper, Polat understands that the hit man is Serbian because “he conceives everything he sees as targets, objects, women, and children. It does not matter for him. He only determines the timing he will shoot and Serbs have always been the loyal hoods of the Russians.”⁶⁷ He continues “It is pity that we could not clean them out in Kosovo... In Afghanistan there are Russians, in Chechnya there are Russians, in Serbia there are Russians, in Laleli also there are Russians! Who is left in Russia then?”⁶⁸

The subject of the series varies around state-mafia-business relations. The problems of Turkey such as poverty, drugs, missionaries and Kurds are dealt with in addition to foreign policy themes such as Cyprus or the European Union. The former President of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Rauf Denktaş made a cameo appearance in the ninety-seventh episode. In this episode, Denktaş found a nice platform to explain his thoughts about the Annan Plan. He claims “the USA wants to divide the Balkans, Caucasia, Georgia. Why do they want to unite Cyprus? The EU wants Cyprus as a whole because it wants to prevent the US building a military base in Cyprus. A military base in Cyprus is one of the most important steps in the Great Middle East Project.”

What is seen in the discourse of Polat is the holiness of the mother land or

⁶⁷ “Gördüğü herşeyi nesne olarak düşünür. Eşya, kadın, çocuk fark etmez onun için. Sadece vuracağı zamanı o belirler ve her zaman Sırp Rusların sadık tetikçileri olmuştur.” Kurtlar Vadisi, Episode 53. http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-53.-Bölümü_260 Access Date: 24.03.2008

⁶⁸ “Polat: Kosova’da bunların hepsini temizlemedik ki! Gerçi hangi birni temizleyeceksin. Bir yere harp girdi mi herkes oluyor profesyonel asker. Harp bitti mi de herkes oluyor paralı asker. Ruslar da bunun membağına düştü. Afganistan’da Ruslar, Çeçenistan’da Ruslar, Sırbistan’da Ruslar. Laleli’de de Ruslar. Daha Rusya’da kim var?” Kurtlar Vadisi, Episode 53. http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-53.-Bölümü_260 Access Date: 24.03.2008

vatan. Ethnic nationalism based on Turkishness is not explicitly pronounced. Instead the emphasis is on the holiness of the land. “We have only one aim, to give our last breath for this *vatan*.” “I know everything about you, all of your system. I will remain silent but I want only one thing: get your bloody hands out of my land.” “A child can grow up without a father but not without a mother. We have only one mother, *vatan*.”

In *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, Polat starts to deal with the Kurdish problem and he continues his efforts in *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*. It is accepted that the Turks and Kurds are brothers and all of the problems are external. The attempt is to give the impression that they believe that Turks and Kurds are equal. The enemy is not the Kurds but the outside forces which are trying to divide Turkey. Like Polat says, “This nation died, dies, will die. However, this nation, Turks and Kurds, will never obey the dishonored; will never bow down before it.” However, the portrayal of Kurdish characters is far from this discourse. The most important Kurdish character, (his ethnic identity is revealed in *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak*, not in one of the series), Abdülhey is one of the men in Polat’s team. He was also raised by the state and given to Polat to protect him. He is good because he works for the state. He does not think or talk too much. He only follows Polat’s orders and protects him. He is ready to die or kill for him. Until *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, the other Kurdish characters were mostly heroin-smugglers.

In the first episode of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, a terrorist attacks a bus going through Southern Anatolia. Terrorists check the IDs of the passengers. A picture falls from the wallet of an old man, a picture of his police son. He says he is from the Southeast too but they separate him from the other passengers anyway. They ask a

young man if he is a soldier or not. An old man says he is his nephew but he bravely says he is a soldier. They also separate the young teacher who is reading Tolstoy and engineers who are there to build a dam. And execute them all. In a different scene of the same episode, the villagers call soldiers to help a pregnant woman in the difficult winter conditions. Soldiers help the woman in the snow but terrorists attack the soldiers and kill them all. In another place, they destroy a military base with a rocket. In all of these scenes, the courage and honor of the Turkish soldiers and policemen are underlined. They are fearless and ready to die for their country; while PKK terrorists are brutal and ready to kill. The Kurdish issue continues in *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*, too. The connection of the PKK and other Kurdish groups to the state and business world are mentioned. Kurds mainly deal with the smuggling of drugs and weapons and there are strong forces who support them including deep state.

There is no room for women in this world. The daughter of Laz Ziya as well as the wife of Çakır, *Nesrin* and Polat's fiancé *Elif* are the most important female characters in the series. Nesrin is portrayed as a strong woman but she also has deficiencies as Polat notes after she tried to commit suicide: "It does not matter whose daughter she is. She is still a woman".⁶⁹ Nesrin defines the life of a wife in the men's world as: "Would you still love him, when you spend 30 years in hospital corridors, all alone at home, in cemeteries while he is in meetings, with other women, or about to die, but always far away from you?"⁷⁰ Or Laz Ziya tells Nesrin

⁶⁹ "Polat: 1. Yaptığımızı bir daha asla konuşma, 2. Eğer birinin intikamını aldıysak bunu asla gidip sahibine iletmekle yaşama hırsı olsun, 3. Kimin kızı olursa olsun o bir kadın! Memati: Haklısın abi." *Kurtlar Vadisi*, Episode 56. http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-56.-Bölümü_263 Access Date: 26.03.2008

⁷⁰ "Nesrin: Sen seviyor musun o herifi? Meral: Evet. Nesrin: 30 sene boyunca hastane koridorlarında, yapayalnız evinde, mezarlıklarda, toplantılarda, karıların koynunda, Azrailin pencesinde ama hep senden uzakta olsa da sevecek misin? Meral: Evet. Nesrin: Yalan söylüyorsun! Ben bile şimdi Çakır'ı beklerken ondan nefret ediyorum. Ya beni terk ederse diye." *Kurtlar Vadisi* Episode 45.

when she wants to have a say in her father's business "You have been my daughter for 37 years. In this world, women only have a say in their home furniture. Couldn't you learn this yet?"⁷¹ As clearly indicated, women can only be wives or girlfriends. Even Elif, who is portrayed as a successful lawyer and very stubborn and smart, needs Polat's help all the time. It is Polat who saves her from all the trouble. Still she is described as a different example by Nesrin "In this world, a woman and a man cannot be friends. A woman can only be a wife or mistress. In this world, there is no other example than you, of a woman who can enter the room of a mafia leader without knocking, who talks with a loud voice or discusses right or wrong."⁷²

One of the reasons of the success of the series is the subject of *Kurtlar Vadisi*. It always relates to current hot topics which remain unsolved in real life such as the Susurluk accident, Ergenekon case, Yargıtay attack, Hrant Dink assassination and so on. *Kurtlar Vadisi* sheds light on these dark issues and helps people to understand the links between them. It creates a solution, a way out for ordinary people to deal with these complicated issues. The characters are influenced by real characters and they fill the gaps. The claims are based on conspiracy theories but they increase the level of reality with real-life incidents and characters.

The *Kurtlar Vadisi* series have a very violent narrative. The violence has

http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-45.-Bölümü_252 Access Date: 21.03.2008

⁷¹ "Nesrin: İşlerde benim de söz hakkım olsun. Ziya: Kaç yaşındasın? Nesrin: 37. Ziya: 37 yıldır benim kızımısın. Bu alemde kadınların sadece evinin eşyası üzerinde söz hakkı vardır. Hala öğrenemedin mi? Nesrin: 37 yıldır gün gün yaşlandım baba. Bizlere çok şey bıraktın ama yarın sen öldüğünde ben hala bu evde oturup neyi beklediğini bilmeyen bir kadın olmak istemiyorum. Ziya: Kendinden büyük şeyler istediğine göre hala kadınsın. Ne benim ne de Polat'ın ayağına bir kadının dolanmasına asla müsaade etmem." *Kurtlar Vadisi*, Episode 64. http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-64.-Bölümü_270 Access Date: 19.05.2008

⁷² "Nesrin: Bu alemin konuşulmayan kuralları vardır. Sen herkesin gözünde yengesin. Elif: Ne kadar ayıp biz arkadaşız. Nesrin: Bu alemde kadından arkadaş olmaz. Kadından ya eş olur ya metres. Bu alemde senden başka kadın örneği yokki senin gibi mafya babasının ofisine çalmadan girecek, yüksek sesle konuşacak doğruyu yanlış tartışacak." *Kurtlar Vadisi*, Episode 67. http://diziler.tv/diziizle_Kurtlar-Vadisi-67.-Bölümü_273 Access Date: 22.05.2008

different dimensions, ranging from threats or warnings to torture and mass murder. None of the main characters are afraid of or hesitate to use violence. It is their way of life. They have to be tough and cold. They have strong ties amongst each other but still these ties are highly dependent on obedience to the leader.

Kurtlar Vadisi has all of the characteristics of new-nationalist art. It is based on the dark relations between different groups who are trying to exploit Turkey. The state is seen as too weak to react to these threats. So, a heroic man takes responsibility and brings justice. The show is highly masculine and violent. The integrity of Turkey is more emphasized than Turkish ethnicity. Enemies are both from inside and outside and very numerous.

Kurtlar Vadisi, the Movie (Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak)

The starting point of the *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* is the real incident that happened on 4 July 2003 in Suleymaniye. American soldiers descended on Turkish headquarters and captured them, covering their heads with sacks. This incident created huge reaction in Turkey and has been discussed for a long time.⁷³

The movie starts with the telling of this story in a letter written by a Turkish soldier, Süleyman to Polat Alemdar. Süleyman writes the real story of the sack incident and we witness it in flashback. A group of soldiers direct their weapons on a building. Among them is a civilian dressed totally in white, he watches this scene. While watching he hums Ninth symphony of Beethoven in his jeep. He gives the image of a Western colonial officer with his clothes. The melody he is whispering is

⁷³ See Endnote 34 for more information.

ironic since it is the song of the European Union and the lyrics written by Schiller mean fraternity and peace. This Westerner (we later learn that his name is Sam) making joke of this war-like situation and obviously enjoys his power.

It is understood that the building is the headquarters of Turkish soldiers in the city. The phone rings and the reactions of the Turkish soldier, reveals that the order is “not to get involved in a military conflict”. The soldier insists on giving a response to the Americans. “We are 11 people here. We can shoot half of the 100 American and 60 local soldiers” which shows the power and the ability of the Turkish soldiers. Nevertheless, they are not allowed to show their power and in desperation they let the Americans enter. After that point, proud and honorable Turkish soldiers show their anger and disturbance at every chance they find but they can not prevent the result which is being taken into custody, handcuffed and put over a sack their head. As in TV series *Kurtlar Vadisi*, the movie “show the reality” of a mysterious, dark issue.

Süleyman writes this story and finishes it with his last wish from Polat “we could not die for justice and honor. Now I ask it from you” and he commits suicide. The death of Süleyman tells us two things. First of all Turkish soldiers are always ready to die for their country, which is their job, if no one interferes. Secondly, they are the legitimate representatives of the Turkish nation. The state is seen as weak and unable to solve these problems. This is why Polat Alemdar gets involved in the issue. The weakness of the state necessitates his actions and so he solves the problem by getting the revenge from Americans and restoring the lost pride of the Turkish nation.

In the next scene, Polat Alemdar goes to Iraq with his black jeep and two friends, Abdülhey and Memati. They are all dressed in dark suits. Abdülhey drives the car and Memati sits next to him, leaving Polat alone at the back seat. From now on, we sense the conflict between Kurds and Turks in their response to a roadblock. First with Polat's reference to the Kurdish flag, second by describing the Kurdish police as "police in the city, soldier on the mountains", and lastly by responding to "Why are you here?" by saying "We heard that people are cheap here. We are here to buy them". This is a clear indication of American-Kurdish co-operation in the region. In the end, the Kurdish police order them to lie down and Polat shoots them all. Polat leaves all of the questions of the local authorities unanswered, and humiliates them but still he is the one who makes the first shot and kills them all. There is no legitimacy for his acts. This is a clear reflection of what is sensed from all of the movie, insult and contempt against Iraqi Kurds.

The next thing Polat and his friends do is visiting a luxury hotel. While they are at dinner, Kurdish soldiers appear and want them to take to the police station. Polat's response to this demand is parallel to his overall attitude against Iraqi Kurds. He asks which country's station is that and when he gets the "Iraqi Kurdistan" answer, he says "I do not recognize you. Call me the manager of the hotel". He is not recognizing Kurdish officers as his equal. He calls the American manager of the hotel to have a talk. Again, tension rises between the two sides. The Kurds seem to have the advantage but when Polat shows the remote control of a bomb they are obliged to retreat.

The manager, Mr. Fender comes and the Kurds leave the scene. Mr. Fender is nothing less than a conceited American until he learns there is a bomb in the hotel.

At that point he becomes more cooperative but he rejects Polat's demand to see Sam William Marshall. Mr. Fender denies Sam's connection to the hotel and Polat says "Why? Don't you pay his salary? Isn't American capitalism the owner of the American soldiers?" Here, Polat implies the role of American corporations in the American foreign policy. As a result, the manager calls Sam and he comes to the hotel instead of going to the Kurdish leader's but he makes little kids come with him. Polat, Memati, Abdülhey and Sam sit around the table and another bomb under Sam's chair starts to work when he sits (and it will explode if he stands up). Polat tells Sam that he wants only one thing, to make American soldiers wear the sacks he brought with him and for journalists to take pictures of them.

- Sam: Look Turk! I've been in this region for 15 years. I know Turks very well. They love praising themselves. You have your own rules, your own red rules. You have unchanging policies for Iraq. You always say that nothing can be done here, if you don't want it. Let me tell you something. We've already erased all the red lines. We screwed your policies for Iraq. I don't get it. This doesn't bother you, but two stupid sacks do. Let me tell you what you really feel offended by. The US has been paying you for the last 50 years. We supply even the rubber for your underpants. Why can't you produce anything? You want money and we send it. Is this why you cheat each other? You wanted arms, we sent them. You wanted to fight, but you started negotiating before sending in your troops. And then again you wanted money. How can you forget that you've been begging for us to save you from the communists! It's obvious why you're offended. We don't need you anymore.
- Polat: I am not a political party leader. Not a diplomat, nor a soldier. I am a Turk, as you pointed out very well. I wreak havoc upon those who put a sack over a Turk's head! Now, shut up and put this on!

Polat emphasize his civilian character at this point – he is the 'every Turk'. He does not have any official mission so he does not have to lose time with diplomatic politeness or political discussions. He is just a Turk who was disturbed about what happened. He does not have to follow the established rules. He is free to use his own methods and he is ready to detonate the bomb. However, Sam makes him stop and a

group of children enter the room. Polat cannot detonate the bomb because of the existence of the children in the room and Sam sees this as a weakness. He says this is the difference between Polat and him. He would not care about the causalities in realizing his aims. In the first confrontation of Sam and Polat, Sam wins. Polat leaves the hotel without detonating the bomb.

Another aim of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* is to reveal American policies in Iraq. This revelation is made in a wedding story. We witness a traditional local wedding among Arabs. They enjoy themselves until a guest starts firing in the air. After that, American soldiers waiting outside interrupt the wedding claiming “they are terrorists now”. The atmosphere is very tense and it is obvious that something will happen. As a result of an accident armed conflict begins. The Americans ruin the wedding by killing many of the guests – including women and children- as well as the groom, and arresting the surviving males, accusing them of terrorism. Then the captives are loaded onto a truck in order to be transferred to Abu Ghraib prison. However, one of the American soldiers warns his commander that the Iraqis cannot breathe and they will suffocate. As a response, the commander rakes the container with a machine gun, killing the people inside as he says “I am opening air holes so they will not choke to death”.

In Abu Ghraib, where the Americans keep their captives, soldiers torture and humiliate the prisoners. They beat them up, take their naked pictures and forbid them to pray. Even the female soldiers participate in these actions, strengthening the idea that ‘all Americans are bad’. Only a Jewish doctor shows a reaction to the inhuman conditions of prisoners. When the truck full of dead or wounded Iraqis reaches to Abu Ghraib, the doctor protests saying “They are not animals! They are human

beings!” However as he continues to speak, it is revealed that he is there to harvest the organs of prisoners and sell them to the U.S, Britain and Israel and he is angry with the American soldiers only because they were damaging the organs by their excessive use of force on the Iraqis.

Polat’s next move is an assassination attempt on Sam. He waits on a roof in the bazaar because there will be a meeting among Kurdish, Arab, Turcoman leaders and Sam in a restaurant in the bazaar. In addition to Polat, a suicide bomber (father of a kid who was killed by Americans in the wedding) is also waiting for Sam to kill him. Memati, Abdülhey and Leyla (the bride of the ruined wedding) are wandering around, too. All of them are united under the cause, to kill Sam. However, none of them achieve this. The suicide bomber explodes the bomb and again armed conflict begins. Polat and his friends kill all of the American soldiers and run away. Leyla sees their escape and helps them hide. The relationship between Polat and Leyla is limited to their common cause, killing Sam. They do not have any emotional attachment other than this.

Polat tries another attempt on Sam by putting a bomb in his piano but he fails again. In the end, Polat and his friends shelter under the Sheikh’s complex with Leyla and Sam. Another gun battle occurs and as a result Sam kills Leyla and Polat kills Sam.

One of the most important features of the movie is the representation of the different ethnic groups. All of the representations are highly stereotypical and biased; even racist against Americans and Jews. Turks are portrayed as smart, proud, honest, brave, and talented, while their enemies the Americans are violent, barbarian, and villainous. Iraqi Kurds are worthless American puppets, and Jews only care about the

money they make. Arabs and Turcomans are the real victims of the Iraqi war.

Turcomans are civilized, Arabs are friendly but weak, needing to be protected.

There are three remarkable exceptions for this good/bad dichotomy of the representation of different ethnic groups. The first is the good American soldier who opposes the inhuman conditions of prisoners taken from the wedding. He wanted to stop Dante and killed by him, indicating that there is no chance for a good American who opposes the Iraqi policies. The second one is the objection of the Kurdish leader of Sam's plans to destroy Sheikh Abdurrahman Haris Kerkuki, who is a well-known, respected religious person in the region. He did not act as an American puppet for the first time. He made his objection bravely to Sam. His fear of God is more than his fear of Americans. The Muslim character of Kurds is emphasized here. The last exception is made by Memati by telling Abdülhey that "He is different". Abdülhey is different because he is from Turkey. Reminding us the fact that, Kurds from Turkey and Kurds from Iraq are different.

Religion is an important aspect of the movie. A comparison is sensed among three religions; Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Islam is represented through the personality of Sheikh Abdurrahman Haris Kerküki as Christianity with Sam and Judaism with the doctor. The Sheikh is a calm, dignified, knowledgeable, moral and helpful person. He helps all of the needy in the region regardless of their ethnic roots or religious sects. He is against all of the violent activities planned by Islamic radicals like suicide attacks or kidnapping. On the other hand Sam is heartless, ambitious, immoral, deceitful and violent. He clearly indicates that he is capable of killing everyone for his purpose and it seems like his purpose is to build the kingdom of Jesus upon earth. He justifies his actions in Iraq as a continuation of the judgment

of Babel. Thus, he associates the American foreign policy in Iraq with holy texts and himself as the implementer of both American foreign policy and the holy texts.

Lastly, the Jewish doctor does not care for human life. He only cares for money. He, himself emphasizes the merchant character of the Jews. So, the movie is not only stereotypical against ethnic roots but also it is stereotypical against religions. The dichotomy of good/evil shows its face in religions. Islam, Christianity and Judaism are compared and Islam is represented as the best. Islamic radicals are also mentioned but it is clearly indicated that those kinds of people are not related to the true Islam.

The only important woman character of the movie is the bride of the ruined wedding; Leyla. Leyla is devoted, honorable, brave and committed to getting her revenge from Sam. What is shown is the image of a typical Eastern woman. What is portrayed as a typical Western woman is the American soldier who tortures and humiliates the prisoners in Abu Garib. There is no sexual or emotional relationship between Polat and Leyla unlike the expectation. Their relationship is built upon the admiration of Leyla for Polat, and Polat's respect for Leyla.

Another important point is the emphasis on the weakness of the state in response to the Americans' behavior and its failure to defend its rights and dignity. Polat Alemdar and his friends are getting revenge for Turkish soldiers, and so for all Turkish nation. They are not there on an official mission. As he says "I am not a political party leader, a diplomat or a soldier. I am a Turk like you said. And, I will break the world apart on the man who puts a sack on a Turk's head". In this way, he legitimizes his illegal actions because he is doing them for his nation because he is doing the job that legal action could not handle. So, he is above the laws.

As with the TV series *Kurtlar Vadisi*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* also has all of the characteristics of new-nationalist art. A male hero goes to restore the lost pride of his nation against various enemies because the state is incapable of doing it. And the box office numbers shows that the movie became very successful to restore the lost pride of the Turkish nation and gave the necessary satisfaction to the Turkish audience, even if it is in the imagination.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The starting point of this research was the observation that nationalism in post Cold War Turkey has been on the rise. However, it was not clear whether nationalism was rising or it was just becoming more visible. As I looked at the matter more closely, I found out that post Cold War nationalism was not only rising but also was becoming different from the nationalism of the previous decades, both in form as well as in content.

Nationalism underwent a major transformation during the last two decades. Thus, it is more appropriate to name it “new-nationalism”. The most important characteristic of the new-nationalism is the role of popular culture in its production and consumption. As the most prominent example, *Kurtlar Vadisi* was chosen as the case study to investigate new-nationalism. When I started this project, it had been four years since *Kurtlar Vadisi* was first released. From the very beginning onward, this show has been in the spotlight of the media and the public. *Kurtlar Vadisi* has been at the center of heated public discussions because of its distinctive features.

Before getting into the detailed analysis of the show, I started my research with the backstage story of the TV series. *Kurtlar Vadisi* consists of three TV series (*Kurtlar Vadisi*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*) and a movie (*Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak*). *Kurtlar Vadisi* began to be broadcasting in Show TV and then it was transferred to Kanal D. It consists of four seasons which makes 97 episodes between 15.01.2003 and 29.12.2005 with an average rating of 19.51%. The movie “*Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak*” followed the series and it was seen by a total of 4.256.566 people. With

Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör, the TV series returned to Show TV. *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör* could only be broadcast for two episodes, in February 2007 and October 2007, with an average rating of 15.85%. “*Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*” was discontinued in response to many critics that it might incite violence into the already tense ethnic relations in the country.

Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu has been broadcast since April 2007 and it is still on air with an average rating of 13.50%. In order to see the range of discussions on the TV series and the movie, academic studies and newspapers were reviewed. Academic studies generally agreed on the nationalist, violent and gendered messages of the series. As a next step, a media review was conducted to further examine the discussions about the nature of the show. Ten national newspapers, which have internet archives, between the period of January 2003 and December 2007 were reviewed. The sample consists of *Zaman*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Star*, *Milliyet*, *Takvim*, *Akşam*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Radikal*, *Birgün*.

The total amount of news articles on *Kurtlar Vadisi* is 4598. The news articles can be divided into four categories. The first type of articles appear in the normal television pages, covering a particular day’s episode of *Kurtlar Vadisi*. The second type of news articles consist of the critical discussions about *Kurtlar Vadisi*, usually by the columnists. Some of the journalists have been supportive of the series and tend to adopt a sympathetic approach with regard to its political messages, while some others have been opposed to it because of its masculinity, violence, nationalism and anti-Westernism. The third type of news articles linked real-life stories about violent incidents like shooting and stabbing to *Kurtlar Vadisi*, mainly because the suspects avowed their admiration for *Kurtlar Vadisi* as their source of inspiration.

The fourth category of news articles consist of pieces that tell story of real-life incidents while drawing analogies with the fictional events and characters of *Kurtlar Vadisi*.

After this background research, interpretive textual analysis was applied to the series and the movie. 32 episodes were selected, based on the criterion of rating percentages. Thus, 20 most-watched episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi*, 10 most-watched episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu*, the 2 aired episodes of *Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör*, and the movie *Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak* were analyzed.

The basic claim of the fictional TV series was that it was revealing real-life political secrets. The story-line of each episode was parallel with a then current national political event. Thus, the episodes were purportedly “explaining” the “hidden” causes behind such critical and complex incidents as the Susurluk case, the Ergenekon case, and the assassination of Hrant Dink. *Kurtlar Vadisi* aimed to “clarify” these mysterious issues and “help” ordinary people understand the reasons behind them. The show’s main method of “explaining” real-life political mysteries was the “conspiracy theory”. Thus, “conspiracies” by the USA, the EU, the Vatican, the Jews, the Illuminati, and a series of other foreign powers were offered as the “final” explanation for what happened, why it happened the way it happened, and what might happen next.

The USA and the EU were therefore presented as enemies number one of Turkey, closely followed by Israel, Greece, Serbia, Russia, drug traffickers, Christian missionaries, and, of course, Kurdish terrorists.

Polat Alemdar, the number one hero of the series, is brave, smart, and patriotic. He is the main carrier of the nationalist discourse in the series. However,

his nationalism is not based on a specific emphasis on ethnicity. His discourse mostly evolves around the holy motherland. It is emphasized that all of the ethnic problems Turkey was facing was incited by external powers, and when not externally provoked Kurds, Armenians, Jews and other ethnic groups have no harmful intentions against the Turks. However, non-Turkish ethnic groups are not shown as equal to the Turks. For example, Kurds are mostly portrayed as terrorists or drug-dealers while non-Muslims are shown as greedy and unreliable. The “external factor” is thus ascribed to the principal “agency” in the main political developments of the country, quite in line with the series’ conspiratorial approach to politics.

Kurtlar Vadisi has a masculine undertone. All of the important characters are men. It is a man’s world out there, and there is no room for needy, sensitive, and weak women in it. Men should never hesitate to use violence when necessary and they always have to be tough and hardhearted. Hierarchy and obedience are the norms even with close friends. Leaders are like feudal lords, whose orders are accepted without questioning. They live in castle-like houses, drive expensive SUVs, wear haute-couture suits, work in well-designed offices, and they are always surrounded by armed bodyguards.

Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak is a fictional response to a real incident that happened on 4 July 2003 in Suleymaniye, northern Iraq. American soldiers attacked and captured a group of Turkish soldiers and covered their heads with sacks. The incident caused a public uproar and was depicted in the media as a case of national dishonoring and humiliation. The movie is an attempt to “explain” this infamous “Sack Incident”. In the movie, Polat Alemdar and his friends, disappointed by the inaction of the Turkish state in the face of national humiliation, feel free to get revenge from the Americans

and restore the lost pride of the Turkish nation. The most important message of the movie is the weakness and unwillingness of the “official” Turkish state to give an appropriate response to the humiliating actions of the Americans and to defend the Turkish nation’s honor and dignity.

After the examination of *Kurtlar Vadisi*, I looked at the other popular art products exhibiting new nationalist tendencies. For example, between the period 2000 and 2007 one can pinpoint 16 movies out of a total of more than 250, with new-nationalist tendencies. These 16 movies can be grouped under three categories; comedy, action and period movies. Similarly, during the period between January 1999 and April 2008, 33 out of 489 TV series can be said to have new-nationalist tendencies. TV series can also be divided under the same three categories of comedy, action and period. When we look at the books, after 2000 there has been a boom in the number of books with new-nationalist tendencies, both fiction and non-fiction. An examination of the books under “politics” in the online database “idefixe” shows that 217 books out of 3000 can be said to have new-nationalist tendencies.

The analysis of all of these products showed that there are three broad genres in the new-nationalist popular art namely, comedy, period and political/action. The comedy genre mostly belongs to movies and almost all of them have military settings. Period movies or books deal with the collapse of the Empire and the rise of Turkey as a nation. They use an epic narrative supported by anti-imperialist feelings. The works in the action genre are highly political and they are committed to solve the mysterious relations between the foreign powers, the state, organized crime, and the business world.

In the early twenty-first century, new-nationalist popular art in Turkey has been associated with the celebration of the use of violence, masculinity, conspiracy theories, heroism, anti-Westernism, anti-imperialism, militarism, stereotypical and xenophobic representation of different ethnic groups such as Armenians, Jews, and Kurds. The principal enemies have been the USA/CIA and the EU, followed by Israel, Greece, Russia, France, and Armenia. These external enemies were coupled with such internal enemies as Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Christian missionaries, corrupt politicians, crooked policemen, greedy businessmen, and the mafia. Turkey is conceived of as the victim, and there is huge mistrust against the state. In the absence of a strong state, a few heroic young men take responsibility and action to deter the enemy. These young men are strong, brave, patriotic, and do not hesitate to use violence. Women do not play an important role in these movies or TV series. Women characters' roles are no more than being the loyal girlfriends of the male heroes.

The analysis of the artistic field proved that visual popular culture is replacing written culture for the spread of new-nationalist ideas. This new-nationalism, invented and popularized after the 2000s, has been formulated in the field of popular culture. In this way, it can be distinguished from the previous nationalist ideologies since it is mostly prevalent in the cultural area rather than in political area.

What makes new-nationalism "new" can be summarized as follows: a decreasing trust in the state, salvation through mythical figures, a sense of abandonment; violence as a legitimate and sole way to reach the goals; a broadening of the enemy concept; a broadening of competing ideologies; nationalists turned into the consumers of nationalist products; a growing emphasis on the holiness of the

motherland, masculinism, a growing fear of losing pride, and an appeal of the new-nationalist ideas to very diverse social groups and classes.

New-nationalism shows its face through diverse artistic productions and it does not have a central political organization to produce it. The impact of new-nationalism in visual culture may diminish unless there are new and successful TV series and movies, replacing the old ones. However, new-nationalism in the print culture will continue to exist for a long time. New books keep appearing with new-nationalist titles and themes.

It is not likely that new-nationalism will be united under a unique discourse and that it will be organized under a single organization. Apparently, all the existing political parties, on the right and on the left, have in one way or another adopted this or that aspect of the new-nationalist discourse, produced and disseminated in the field of popular culture. On the other hand, rather than committed militants, new-nationalism has consumers. Thus, new-nationalist ideas and values are becoming an integral part of the daily discourses of large groups of people, drawn from diverse segments of the society.

In order to make a better conceptualization of the phenomenon, further research should be done in three areas. First of all, to complete the analysis of the supply-side of the new-nationalism, interviews with producers, authors, actors or scriptwriters should be done to have a better understanding about the intentions. Secondly, audience analysis should be conducted to see the formative effects. Lastly, new-nationalism can be analyzed with a comparison to similar movements from all around the world.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Turkish Movies

Table 7 List of Turkish Movies

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
1	Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak	03.02.2006	26	4.256.566
2	G.O.R.A	12.11.2004	29	4.001.711
3	Babam ve Oğlum	18.11.2005	67	3.831.945
4	Recep İvedik	22.02.2008	4	3.487.234
5	Vizontele	02.02.2001	49	3.308.320
6	Vizontele Tuuba	23.01.2004	23	2.894.802
7	Organize İşler	23.12.2006	29	2.617.452
8	Hababam Sınıfı Askerde	14.01.2005	31	2.586.132
9	Eşkiya	29.11.1996	57	2.572.287
10	Kahpe Bizans	21.01.2000	38	2.472.162
11	Hababam Sınıfı 3.5	06.01.2006	24	2.069.720
12	Kabadayı	14.12.2007	14	1.982.880
13	Beyaz Melek	16.11.2007	18	1.922.402
14	Asmalı Konak-Hayat	17.10.2003	22	1.790.197
15	Hokkabaz	20.10.2006	22	1.707.148
16	O Şimdi Asker	21.03.2003	16	1.657.051
17	Hababam Sınıfı Merhaba	16.01.2004	24	1.580.535
18	Komser Şekspir	16.02.2001	37	1.331.462
19	Güle Güle	04.02.2000	39	1.275.967
20	Herşey Çok Güzel Olacak	27.11.1998	41	1.239.015
21	Propaganda	05.03.1999	44	1.238.128
22	Maskeli Beşler: Irak	12.01.2007	34	1.238.023
23	Sınav	20.10.2006	31	1.161.226
24	Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali	19.01.2007	33	1.084.452
25	Neredesin Firuze	20.02.2004	20	1.064.162
26	Deli Yürek: Boomerang Cehennemi	07.12.2001	35	1.051.352
27	Keloğlan Kara Prens'e Karşı	06.01.2006	25	997.238
28	Maskeli Beşler: Kıbrıs	11.02.2008	9	958.857
29	Hırsız Var!	21.01.2005	32	934.612
30	Gönül Yarası	07.01.2005	38	897.000
31	Çılgın Dersane Kampta	11.01.2008	10	890.373
32	Ağır Roman	28.11.1997	-	873.883
33	Abuzer Kadayıf	29.09.2000	17	864.312
34	Okul	09.01.2004	37	836.521
35	Çılgın Dersane	26.01.2007	26	783.120
36	Maskeli Beşler	28.10.2005	15	778.241
37	Hemşo	19.01.2001	11	756.526
38	Cumhuriyet	30.10.1998	54	753.070
39	Son	11.01.2002	19	737.006
40	Gelibolu	18.02.2005	28	673.556
41	Rus Gelin	07.02.2003	30	657.546
42	Hacivat Karagöz Neden Öldürüldü?	17.02.2006	19	646.274
43	Eğreti Gelin	18.02.2005	26	637.839
44	Dondurmam Gaymak	24.11.2006	31	632.112
45	Kutsal Damacana	21.12.2007	13	623.454
46	Döngel Karhanesi	28.10.2005	14	622.584
47	Mutluluk	16.03.2007	35	590.104

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
48	D@bbe	10.02.2006	30	539.381
49	120	15.02.2008	5	521.693
50	Ulak	25.01.2008	8	517.108
51	İstanbul Kanatlarımlın Altında	15.03.1996	-	474.571
52	Yol	12.09.1999	33	459.016
53	Dünyayı Kurtaran Adamın Ođlu	15.12.2006	24	451.284
54	Beynelmilel	29.12.2006	33	431.600
55	Balalayka	29.12.2000	14	427.580
56	Yeşil Işık	05.04.2002	26	401.599
57	Küçük Kıyamet	22.12.2006	26	382.907
58	Şans Kapıyı Kırınca	28.01.2005	19	382.497
59	Amerikalılar Karadeniz'de 2	26.01.2007	23	379.744
60	Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu	20.04.2007	8	379.329
61	Gönderilmemiş Mektuplar	28.03.2003	23	368.663
62	Salkım Hanımın Taneleri	19.11.1999	17	357.467
63	Takva	01.12.2006	26	349.322
64	Eve Giden Yol 1914	22.12.2006	16	345.008
65	Semum	08.02.2008	6	320.167
66	Mumya Firarda	27.09.2002	14	318.655
67	Musallat	16.11.2007	16	300.658
68	Duvara Karşı	12.03.2004	28	294.273
69	Duruşma	31.12.1999	34	294.152
70	Yaşamın Kıyısında	26.10.2007	16	287.954
71	Mavi Gözlu Dev	09.03.2007	26	276.295
72	Beyza'nın Kadınları	17.03.2006	17	272.227
73	Yazı Tura	24.09.2004	14	267.225
74	İlk Aşk	17.11.2006	16	266.835
75	İnşaat	21.11.2003	6	263.481
76	Hoşçakal Yarın	23.10.1998	33	260.471
77	Dansöz	06.04.2001	-	255.457
78	Ömerçip	02.05.2003	18	254.650
79	Sınır	07.01.2000	24	242.826
80	Barda	02.02.2007	17	236.604
81	Eve Dönüş	03.11.2006	24	230.574
82	Şellale	16.11.2001	22	230.001
83	Harem Suare	24.09.1999	20	223.429
84	Polis	16.02.2007	13	206.277
85	Bize Nasıl Kıydınız	04.11.1994	-	205.861
86	O Şimdi Mahkum	15.04.2005	22	205.845
87	İş	24.03.1995	-	205.735
88	Abdülhamit Düşerken	18.04.2003	16	204.018
89	Hamam	24.10.1997	10	200.440
90	Anlat İstanbul	11.03.2005	26	191.400
91	Kısık Ateşte 15 Dakika	19.05.2006	17	180.320
92	Plajda	29.02.2008	3	176.517
93	Gen	07.04.2006	24	173.112
94	Romantik	02.03.2007	12	161.974
95	Avrupalı	12.10.2007	9	161.966
96	O Kadın	14.12.2007	10	157.436
97	Hayatımın Kadınısın	24.11.2006	19	151.264
98	Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat	19.01.2007	28	149.748
99	Karışik Pizza	20.02.1998	18	142.672
100	Dar Alanda Kısa Paslaşmalar	08.12.2000	13	141.111
101	Filler ve Çimen	05.01.2001	13	139.875

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
102	Büyük Adam Küçük Aşk	19.10.2001	21	139.450
103	Bay E	10.03.1995	-	136.120
104	Işıklar Sönmesin	25.10.1996	-	133.988
105	Banyo	02.09.2005	15	127.065
106	Araf	06.10.2006	2	126.545
107	Duvar	20.10.2000	19	125.712
108	Eylül Fırtınası	11.02.2000	26	125.039
109	Şeytan Bunun Neresinde	03.01.2003	14	124.959
110	Mum Kokulu Kadınlar	01.11.1996	-	120.972
111	The İmam	14.10.2005	13	108.611
112	Pardon	04.03.2005	22	105.784
113	O da Beni Seviyor	12.10.2001	-	102.101
114	Gülüm	07.02.2003	15	98.816
115	Dava	14.12.2001	-	95.056
116	Bayrampaşa: Ben Fazla Kalmayacağım	22.02.2008	4	92.406
117	Oyunbozan	27.10.2000	14	91.597
118	Son Ders: Aşk ve Üniversite	08.02.2008	6	89.417
119	Adem'in Trenleri	02.03.2007	14	81.473
120	Asansör	26.11.1999	13	81.281
121	Balans ve Manevra	11.03.2005	12	80.755
122	Mustafa Hakkında Herşey	19.03.2004	22	80.122
123	Nihavend Mucize	27.10.1997	9	79.883
124	Zincirbozan	13.04.2007	10	74.412
125	Hititler	09.05.2003	24	73.645
126	Mektup	26.09.1997	6	73.385
127	Güneşe Yolculuk	03.03.2000	19	73.324
128	Neşeli Gençlik	09.02.2007	8	72.324
129	2 Genç Kız	29.04.2005	24	71.274
130	Kolay Para	06.12.2002	4	71.190
131	Uzak	20.12.2002	-	62.494
132	Fasulye	05.05.2000	18	60.267
133	Cenneti Beklerken	15.12.2006	25	59.281
134	Sis ve Gece	23.02.2007	8	57.342
135	Kız Kulesi Aşıkları/Hera ile Leandros	08.04.1994	-	53.720
136	Yengeç Sepeti	18.11.1994	-	52.838
137	Sözün Bittiği Yer	04.05.2007	28	52.367
138	Bana Şans Dile	05.10.2007	10	52.129
139	Masumiyet	24.10.1997	5	49.410
140	Gomeda	23.02.2007	8	46.751
141	Bir Kadının Anatomisi	29.09.2005	-	44.618
142	Hiçbir yerde	20.09.2002	14	44.137
143	Sürü	10.03.2000	20	43.109
144	Bir İhtimal Daha Var	09.03.2007	8	41.881
145	Şahmaran	11.02.1994	-	36.221
146	İstanbul Hatırası: Köprüyü Geçmek	27.05.2005	18	36.096
147	İklimler	20.10.2006	20	35.211
148	Avcı	06.03.1998	13	34.921
149	Gizli Yüz	01.01.1991	-	34.514
150	Eski Açık Sarı Desene	10.10.2003	12	34.409
151	Korkuyorum Anne	17.03.2006	20	34.068
152	Yumurta	09.11.2007	6	33.585
153	Sır Çocukları	20.12.2002	-	30.038
154	Cazibe Hanımın Gündüz Düşleri	01.01.1992	-	29.735
155	Herkes Kendi Evinde	08.05.2001	-	29.273

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
156	Mavi Sürgün	01.01.1993	-	28.325
157	Kader	17.11.2006	25	26.176
158	Sıfır Deddiğimde	02.11.2007	8	26.113
159	Anka Kuşu	09.11.2007	17	24.645
160	Fotoğraf	02.11.2001	-	24.267
161	Mayıs Sıkıntısı	10.12.1999	22	24.082
162	Tersine Dünya	07.01.1994	-	23.996
163	Çinliler Geliyor	08.12.2006	12	23.890
164	Yumuşak Ten	19.08.2004	-	23.817
165	Ayın Karanlık Yüzü	15.04.2005	17	23.644
166	Beş Vakit	29.09.2006	10	23.568
167	Melekler Evi	17.11.2000	11	23.130
168	Otostop	27.09.1996	-	22.969
169	2 Süper Film Birden	29.09.2006	9	22.630
170	Miras	14.03.2008	2	21.871
171	Janjan	12.10.2007	9	21.595
172	Çocuk	18.01.2008	7	21.222
173	Bulutları Beklerken	07.01.2005	29	20.761
174	Aşk Ölümünden Soğuktur	08.12.1995	-	20.155
175	Dün Gece Bir Rüya Gördüm	17.02.2006	12	19.448
176	Hayattan Korkma-Sacayağı	07.03.2008	3	19.405
177	Ölümsüz Karanfiller	20.10.1995	-	19.326
178	Umut Adası	16.03.2007	10	18.778
179	Beşinci Boyut	14.01.1994	-	18.400
180	Şaşkın	10.11.2006	7	17.395
181	Bir Erkeğin Anatomisi	21.02.1997	2	17.368
182	Drejan	14.02.1997	7	17.297
183	İtiraf	03.05.2002	-	16.639
184	Kuşatma Altında Aşk	14.11.1997	2	16.604
185	Gemide	04.12.1998	18	16.218
186	Sen Ne Dilersen	25.11.2005	5	15.632
187	Üçüncü Sayfa	29.10.1999	11	15.234
188	Kaç Para Kaç	17.12.1999	21	15.200
189	Çamur	03.10.2003	10	14.384
190	Kayıkcı	08.10.1999	17	14.105
191	Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar	01.04.1994	-	13.274
192	Usta Beni Öldürsene	14.11.1997	4	13.200
193	Maruf	26.10.2001	-	13.005
194	Yazgı	09.11.2001	-	12.986
195	Sinema Bir Mucizedir/Büyülü Fener	21.10.2005	10	12.613
196	Hicran Sokağı	14.12.2007	9	12.494
197	Cumhurbaşkanı Öteki Türkiye'de	21.09.2007	8	12.322
198	Anne ya da Leyla	05.05.2006	10	12.048
199	18	09.03.2007	8	11.852
200	Akrebın Yolculuğu	02.05.1997	3	11.307
201	Kaçıklık Diploması	16.10.1998	9	10.697
202	Girdap	21.03.2008	1	10.428
203	Şarkıcı	28.09.2001	-	10.285
204	Derviş	13.12.2002	3	10.078
205	Aura	06.04.2007	7	9.911
206	Leoparın Kuyruğu	15.12.1998	13	9.899
207	Yolda/Rüzgar Geri Getirirse	08.04.2005	9	9.870
208	Saklı Yüzler	23.11.2007	5	8.878
209	Gülün Bittiği Yer	22.10.1999	12	8.846

Order	Name	First Date	Week	Number
210	Yaşama Hakkı	05.02.1999	4	8.420
211	Unutulmayanlar	17.11.2006	9	8.014
212	Oyun	10.03.2006	17	7.719
213	Karılar Koğuşu	01.01.1990	-	7.677
214	Gece 11:45	13.05.2005	16	7.552
215	İnat Hikayeleri	05.03.2004	12	7.439
216	Tabutta Rövaşata	15.11.1996	-	7.101
217	Türev	18.11.2005	9	7.024
218	Karşılaşma	26.12.2003	-	6.875
219	Takım Böyle Tutulur	25.11.2005	6	6.828
220	Yara	04.02.2000	10	6.282
221	Bekleme Odası	27.02.2004	10	6.267
222	Papatya ile Karabiber	03.09.2004	10	6.208
223	Köpekler Adası	14.03.1997	3	6.200
224	Kasaba	28.11.1997	4	6.000
225	Hoşgeldin Hayat	03.12.2004	4	5.701
226	Babam Askerde	21.04.1995	-	5.600
227	Meleğin Düşüşü	04.02.2005	22	5.340
228	80. Adım	06.12.1996	-	5.200
229	Sevgilim İstanbul	13.04.2007	13	5.144
230	Böcek	25.08.1995	-	4.806
231	Çanakkale: Son Kale	30.04.2004	7	4.599
232	Sekizinci Saat	19.05.1995	-	4.351
233	Crude/Fırsat	21.09.2003	-	4.299
234	Zeynep'in Sekiz Günü	30.11.2007	7	4.066
235	Aşk Üzerine Söylenmemiş Herşey	09.02.1996	-	3.496
236	Kardan Adamlar	22.09.2006	9	3.150
237	İyi Seneler-Londra	28.12.2007	9	2.911
238	Laleli'de Bir Azize	12.03.1999	9	2.903
239	Çözümler	06.05.1994	-	2.843
240	9	15.11.2002	4	2.801
241	Suna	23.11.2007	5	2.611
242	Acı Gönül	08.05.2001	-	2.584
243	Çıplak	11.03.1994	-	2.388
244	Mülteci	07.03.2008	3	2.362
245	Tramvay	28.07.2006	8	2.284
246	Sen de Gitme Triandafilis	05.06.1998	2	2.105
247	C-Blok	26.08.1994	-	2.000
248	Hollywood Kaçakları	02.01.1998	2	1.785
249	Sokaktaki Adam	15.12.1995	-	1.750
250	Karanlık Sular	25.08.1995	-	1.738
251	A Ay	30.11.1999	-	1.604
252	Yanlış Zaman Yolcuları	21.09.2007	9	1.320
253	Ara	21.03.2008	1	1.207
254	Renkli-Türkçe	26.01.2001	2	1.040
255	Hazan Mevsimi	29.02.2008	4	752
256	Fikret Bey	09.11.2007	4	641
257	Rıza	14.01.2008	1	378
258	Martılar Açken	03.01.2003	3	349
259	Gönlümdeki Köşk Olmasa	10.01.2003	3	258
260	Kara Kentin Çocukları	17.11.2000	2	256
261	Buluşma	11.11.1994	-	220
262	İntiharın El Kitabı	07.11.1997	1	216

Appendix B: Television Series between 2000-2008

Table 8 TV Series in 2001-2000-1999

	2001		2000		1999
1	Karanlıkta Koşanlar	1	Dikkat Bebek Var	1	Ah Bir Zengin Olsam
2	Benim İçin Ağlama	2	Bizim Evin Halleri	2	Sır
3	Tatlı Hayat	3	Parça Pinçik	3	Baba
4	Benim İçin Ağlama	4	Güneş Yanıkları	4	Ayrılısak da Beraberiz
5	Aşkına Eşkîya	5	Zor Hedef	5	Yüzleşme
6	Nasıl Evde Kaldım	6	Yedi Numara	6	Sen Allahın Bir Lütfusun
7	Dedem, Gofret ve Ben	7	Evdeki Hesap	7	Bücür Cadı
8	Yeditepe İstanbul	8	Artık Çok Geç	8	Evimiz Olacak Mı?
9	Bizim Aile	9	Eskici Baba	9	Sır Dosyası
10	Aşkım Aşkım	10	Köy Kahvesi	10	Aşkın Dağlarda Gezer
11	Yeni Hayat	11	Baykuşların Saltanatı	11	Köstebek
12	Bizim Otel	12	Merdoğlu	12	Bize Ne Oldu
13	Dünya Varmış	13	Zehirli Çiçek	13	Çatısız Kadınlar
14	90-60-90	14	Hayat Bazen Tatlıdır	14	Zilyoner
15	Vay Anam Vay	15	Ana Kuzusu	15	Günaydın İstanbul Kardeş
16	Benimle Evlenir Misin	16	Dadı	16	Küçük Besleme
17	Derman Bey	17	Eyyah Kızım Büyüdü	17	Hayat Bağları
18	Kör Talih	18	Evdeki Yabancı	18	Yılan Hikayesi
19	Çifte Bela			19	Deli Yürek
20	Cinlerle Periler			20	Kurt Kapanı
21	Gölge				

Table 9 TV Series in 2002

1	Deliboran Destanı	25	Aşk Meydan Savaşı
2	Mihriban	26	Canım Kocacığım
3	Kibar Ana	27	Teyzemin Nesi Var?
4	Dumanlı Yol	28	Hızma
5	Seni Yaşatacağım	29	İki Arada
6	En Son Babalar Duyar	30	Yarım Elma
7	Kuzenlerim	31	Yaz Gülü
8	Ekmek Teknesi	32	Bulutbey
9	Ah Yaşamak Var Ya	33	Berivan
10	Cabbar	34	Bayanlar Baylar
11	Efsane	35	Bana Abi De
12	Zeybek Ateşi	36	Yıldızların Altında
13	Zerda	37	Koçum Benim
14	Kurşun Asker	38	Keje
15	Pembe Patikler	39	Asmalı Konak
16	Ev Hali	40	Yalanın Batsın
17	Aşlı ile Kerem	41	Asayiş Berkemal
18	Azad	42	Çekirdek Aile
19	Biz Size Aşık Olduk	43	Aşk ve Gurur
20	Gülbeyaz	44	Beşik Kertmesi
21	Unutma Beni	45	Çocuklar Duymasın
22	Hastayım Doktor	46	Yeter Anne
23	Karaoğlan	47	Anne Babamla Evlensene
24	Kınalı Kar	48	Baldız Geliyorum Demez

Table 10 TV Series in 2003

1	Şöhretler Kebapçısı	19	Pilli Bebek
2	Umutların Ötesi	20	Lise Defteri
3	Toprağa Kan Düştü	21	Büyümüş de Küçülmüş
4	Hekimoğlu	22	Şarkılar Seni Söyler
5	Dilan	23	Serseri
6	Patron Kim	24	Yuvam Yıkılmasın
7	Çınaraltı	25	Aşk Olsun
8	Kasabanın İncisi	26	Hayat Bilgisi
9	Eyvah Eski Kocam	27	Estağfurullah Yokuşu
10	Gurbet Kadını	28	Zalim
11	Bir İstanbul Masalı	29	Şih Senem
12	Sihirli Annem	30	Çaylak
13	Ölümsüz Aşk	31	Kurtlar Vadisi
14	Kampüsistan	32	Hürrem Sultan
15	Evli ve Çocukları	33	Mühürlü Güller
16	Hadi Uç bakalım	34	Bir Yıldız Tutuldu
17	Kurşun Yarası	35	Sultan Makamı
18	Alacakaranlık	36	Kırık Ayna

Table 11 TV Series in 2004

1	Türkü Filmi	35	İstanbul Şahidimdir
2	Brindar	36	Dayı
3	Büyük Umutlar	37	Sahra
4	Aşk Mahkumu	38	Çemberimde Gül Oya
5	Aynalar	39	Ağa Kızı
6	Yadigar	40	Bir Dilim Aşk
7	İyi Aile Robotu	41	Haziran Gecesi
8	Yağmur Zamanı	42	Tam Pansiyon
9	Çocuklar Ne Olacak	43	Uy Başuma Gelenler
10	Hastane Önünde İncir Ağacı	44	Tatil Aşkları
11	Fırtına Hayatlar	45	Metro Palas
12	Azize	46	Müjgan Bey
13	Kadın İsterse	47	Bizim Karakol
14	Çınaraltı	48	Harput Güneşi
15	Ruhun Duymaz	49	Cennet Mahalesi
16	İyi Saatte Olsunlar	50	Mihrali
17	Çocuğun Var Derdin Var	51	Camdan Papuçlar
18	Büyük Buluşma	52	Canım Benim
19	Mavi Rüya	53	Bütün Çocuklarım
20	Perçem	54	Yusuf Yüzlü
21	Büyük Yalan	55	Gece Yürüyüşü
22	Yabancı Damat	56	En iyi Arkadaşım
23	24 Saat	57	Zümrüt
24	3. Tür	58	Omuz Omuza
25	Şubat Soğuğu	59	Sil Baştan
26	Mars Kapından Baktırır	60	Ah Be İstanbul
27	Şeytan Ayrıntıda Gizlidir	61	Karım ve Annem
28	Sayın Bakanım	62	Dişi Kuş
29	Aşkımızda Ölüm Var	63	Arapsaçı
30	Şeytan Sofrası	64	Altın Kafes
31	Size Baba Diyebilir Miyim	65	Hayalet
32	Mavi Kolye	66	Melekler Adası
33	Aliye	67	Avrupa Yakası
34	Sevinçli Haller	68	Kasırga İnsanları

Table 12 TV Series in 2005

1	Beşinci Boyut	43	Çılgın Yuva
2	Acı Hayat	44	Sessiz Gece
3	İnadım İnat	45	Tadımız Kaçmasın
4	Tuzak	46	Asla Unutma
5	Zeynep	47	Emret Komutanım
6	Nehir	48	Davetsiz Misafir
7	Pembe ve Mavi	49	Afacanlar Kampı
8	Affet Beni	50	Sevda Tepesi
9	Ver Elini İstanbul	51	Son Yüzleşme
10	Nefes Nefese	52	Ateşli Topraklar
11	Kısmet Değilmiş	53	Kısmet
12	Alanya Almanya	54	Aşk Oyunu
13	Çapkın	55	Üç Kadın
14	Yine de Aşığım	56	Aşk Her Yaşta
15	Zaman Tüneli	57	AB nin Yolları Taştan
16	Hırsız Polis	58	Kırık Kalpler Durağı
17	Masum Değiliz	59	Naciye'yi Kim Sevmez
18	Kırık Kanatlar	60	Dolunay
19	Ölümüne Sevdalar	61	Şeytan
20	Yeniden Çalıkuşu	62	Ev Hapsi
21	Ters Köşe	63	Kezban Yenge
22	Maki	64	Kapıları Açmak
23	Kayıt Dışı	65	Haylaz Babam
24	Deli Duran	66	Şifre
25	Ödünç Hayat	67	Yanık Koza
26	Şöhret	68	Çat Kapı
27	Kanlı Düğün	69	Seni Çok Özledim
28	Beyaz Gelincik	70	Kızma Birader
29	Belalı Baldız	71	Kaynana Semira
30	Erkek Tarafı	72	Zeytin Dalı
31	Misi	73	Ne Seninle Ne Sensiz
32	Sonradan Görme	74	Sen misin değil misin
33	Düşler ve Gerçekler	75	Aşka Sürgün
34	Bendeniz Aysel	76	Köpek
35	El Bebek Gül Bebek	77	Saklambaç
36	Canın Sağolsun	78	Gümüş
37	İlk Göz Ağrısı	79	Seher Vakti
38	Rüzgarlı Bahçe	80	Sensiz Olmuyor
39	Güz Yangını	81	Dönme Dolap

40	Ihlamlar Altında	82	Eylül
41	Kadının Sessizliđi	83	Savcının Karısı

Table 13 TV Series in 2006

1	Bebeğim	34	Maçolar
2	Yeşeren Düşler	35	Eksik Etek
3	Hayatım Sana Feda	36	Hayırdır İnşallah
4	Doktorlar	37	Sırça Köşk
5	Bir Demet Tiyatro	38	Karınca Yuvası
6	Eksi 18	39	Hatırla Sevgili
7	Ezo Gelin	40	Kadın Severse
8	Dök İcini Rahatla	41	Sıla
9	Köprü	42	Ahh İstanbul
10	Rüya Gibi	43	Erkekler Ağlamaz
11	Binbir Gece	44	Selena
12	Yalnız Kalpler	45	Sağır Oda
13	Karagümrük Yanıyor	46	Daha Neler
14	Tarık ve Diğerleri	47	Acemi Cadı
15	Yağmurdan Sonra	48	Adak
16	Aynı Çatı Altında	49	Kız Babası
17	Erkeksen Seyret	50	Tutkunum Sana
18	Delî Dolu	51	Yaşanmış Şehir Hikayeleri
19	Taşların Sırrı	52	Güldünya
20	Yaprak Dökümü	53	Kaybolan Yıllar
21	Dilan Gelin	54	29-30
22	Kod Adı	55	İlk Aşkım
23	Yalancı Yarım	56	Rüyalarda Buluşuruz
24	Ah Polis Olsam	57	Esir Kalpler
25	Arka Sokaklar	58	Hasret
26	Kördüğüm	59	Anadolu Kaplamı
27	Sahte Prenses	60	Kızlar Yurdu
28	Ümit Milli	61	Sev Kardeşim
29	Fırtına	62	Hacı
30	Felek Ne Demek?	63	Azap Yolu
31	Sevda Çiçeği	64	Kuşdili
32	İşte Benim	65	Hayat Türküsü
33	İki Aile	66	Gönül

Table 14 TV Series in 2007

1	OKS Anneleri	52	Annem
2	Parmaklıklar Ardında	53	Eksik Etek
3	Sinekli Bakkal	54	Çok Özel Tim
4	Mahşer	55	Fikrimin İnce Gülü
5	Suç Dosyası	56	Zeliha'nın Gözleri
6	Tek Türkiye	57	Senden Başka
7	Aşk Yeniden	58	Ayda
8	Çemberin Dışında	59	Hayat Apartmanı
9	Gönül Salıncağı	60	Nazlı Yarım
10	Senin Uğruna	61	Kaptan
11	Yeni Evli	62	Korkusuzlar
12	Fedai	63	Benden Baba Olmaz
13	Kelebek Çıkmazı	64	Yalan Dünya
14	Küçük Semazen	65	Hayat ve Gerçek
15	Demir Leblebi	66	Aşk Kapıyı Çalınca
16	Aşk Eski Bir Yalan	67	Zoraki Koca
17	Çatı Katı	68	Genco
18	El Gibi	69	Sana Mecburum
19	Küçük Adımlar	70	Son Tercih
20	Dağlar Delisi	71	Kurtlar Vadisi Pusu
21	Sevgili Dünürüm	72	Gemilerde Talim Var
22	Dudaktan Kalbe	73	Duvar
23	Pars Narkoterör	74	Kısmetim Otel
24	Sessiz Gemiler	75	Hepsi 1
25	Gençlik Başımda Duman	76	İki Yabancı
26	Sır Gibi	77	Kavak Yelleri
27	Asi	78	Hırçın Kız
28	Kara İnci	79	Üç Tatlı Cadı
29	Evimin Erkeği	80	Dede Korkut Hikayeleri
30	Hakkımı Helal Et	81	Yersiz Yurtsuz
31	Tatlı Bela Fadime	82	Baba Oluyorum
32	Eşref Saati	83	Hayat Kavgam
33	Tılsım Adası	84	Kara Duvak
34	Kartallar Yüksek Uçar	85	Kader
35	Bez Bebek	86	Yemin
36	Arka Sıradakiler	87	Yıldızlar Savaşı
37	Karayılan	88	Kayıp
38	Tatlı İntikam	89	Fırtınalı Aşk
39	Oyun Bitti	90	Yaralı Yürek

40	Sessiz Fırtına	91	Dicle
41	Oğlum İçin	92	Elveda Derken
42	Fesupanallah	93	Düş Yakamdan
43	Leylan	94	Kod Adı Kaos
44	Pusat	95	Ters Yüz
45	Menekşe ile Halil	96	Ayrılık
46	Elveda Rumeli	97	Şöhret Okulu
47	Komiser Nevzat	98	Gurbet Yolcuları
48	Bıçak Sırtı	99	Yolcu
49	Ertelenmiş Hayatlar	100	Geniş Zamanlar
50	Vazgeç Gönlüm	101	Affedilmeyen
51	Kuzey Rüzgarı	102	Cumhur Cemaat

Table 15 TV Series until April 2008

1	Paramparça	15	Üvey Aile
2	Çorap Söküğü	16	Ateşten Koltuk
3	Dizine Dursun	17	Serçe
4	Yalancı Romantik	18	Sevgili Düşmanım
5	Komedi Türk	19	Kolay Gelsin
6	Limon Ağacı	20	Yalan Dünya
7	Yaban Gülü	21	Sınıf
8	Benim Annem Bir Melek	22	Aşkım Aşkım
9	Ateşle Barut	23	Gazi
10	Kollama	24	Geç Gelen Bahar
11	Ölüm Çiçekleri-Saraybosna	25	Görgüsüzler
12	Dur Yolcu	26	Göl
13	Beni Unutma	27	Havalimanı
14	Hayat Güzeldir		

Appendix C: Kurtlar Vadisi News According to the Months

Table 16 The Number of Kurtlar Vadisi News in 2003

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Zaman	5	2	3	2	1	6	2	-	-	2	8	11	42
Hürriyet	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sabah	2	6	8	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	17	42
Star	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Milliyet	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5
Takvim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akşam	4	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	12
Yeni Şafak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Radikal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
Birgün	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	12	12	12	9	4	7	2	1	3	5	12	28	107

Table 17 The Number of Kurtlar Vadisi News in 2004

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Zaman	6	11	9	14	25	20	5	7	3	11	13	13	137
Hürriyet	1	5	3	16	18	18	14	9	10	16	17	14	141
Sabah	8	16	10	19	25	27	9	3	16	40	41	28	242
Star	-	-	2	7	3	7	3	5	3	2	9	11	52
Milliyet	-	2	3	9	4	-	6	12	1	9	5	8	59
Takvim	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	3	1	5	5	1	28
Akşam	1	1	-	7	-	1	5	-	3	4	2	9	33
Yeni Şafak	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	3	9
Radikal	1	4	4	3	7	5	2	3	-	1	2	3	35
Birgün	-	-	-	-	6	4	-	1	3	4	2	4	24
Total	17	39	31	75	89	82	59	45	40	92	97	94	760

Table 18 The Number of Kurtlar Vadisi News in 2005

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Zaman	11	9	15	6	9	7	4	6	2	8	7	13	97
Hürriyet	17	29	27	20	9	5	4	7	10	24	6	23	181
Sabah	35	-	34	34	20	37	10	11	11	17	10	31	250
Star	1	3	3	3	5	4	3	2	-	6	1	13	44
Milliyet	8	6	10	6	8	11	5	1	1	14	5	8	83
Takvim	2	4	5	6	-	5	2	3	3	5	5	11	51
Akşam	6	4	10	4	6	7	-	1	1	6	2	6	53
Yeni Şafak	-	-	4	1	2	4	2	-	1	1	-	9	24
Radikal	4	5	7	5	2	4	2	1	-	4	2	10	46
Birgün	1	6	4	2	2	-	-	1	2	2	1	3	24
Total	85	66	119	87	63	84	32	33	31	87	39	127	853

Table 19 The Number of Kurtlar Vadisi News in 2006

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Zaman	13	74	38	22	13	12	9	10	6	9	18	12	236
Hürriyet	29	147	50	24	22	24	15	13	8	9	16	15	372
Sabah	37	114	56	30	22	26	16	13	17	16	18	15	380
Star	11	45	20	13	5	11	4	8	10	12	6	4	149
Milliyet	12	81	30	14	9	7	4	7	5	5	5	6	185
Takvim	-	-	6	16	7	9	7	3	10	11	6	7	82
Akşam	4	21	8	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	1	4	45
Yeni Şafak	7	16	4	4	1	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	37
Radikal	10	46	18	14	7	7	4	3	3	4	3	5	124
Birgün	10	11	13	3	5	6	3	3	4	1	4	4	67
Total	133	555	243	142	92	105	64	61	65	67	78	72	1677

Table 20 The Number of Kurtlar Vadisi News in 2007

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Zaman	7	74	20	11	13	10	3	5	13	10	11	12	189
Hürriyet	18	74	15	19	10	8	5	4	1	9	5	11	179
Sabah	20	79	25	31	28	12	8	20	17	21	27	32	320
Star	6	25	16	7	4	4	12	4	3	10	6	8	105
Milliyet	6	38	11	7	3	3	5	8	2	11	4	9	107
Takvim	13	25	4	10	5	3	7	9	6	8	8	10	108
Akşam	2	17	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	23
Yeni Şafak	-	22	3	2		5	3	1	2	5	1	1	45
Radikal	7	31	8	2	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	65
Birgün	7	20	9	7	3	2	2	1	5	2	3	2	63
Total	80	405	112	97	70	48	46	54	51	81	66	88	1204

Appendix D: Ratings of Kurtlar Vadisi

Table 21 Rating of Kurtlar Vadisi

Episode	Date	Description	Rating	Ranking
1	15.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,19%	
Repeat	21.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	5,76%	
2	22.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,42%	1.
Repeat	28.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,59%	
3	29.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,24%	
Repeat	31.01.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	5,12%	
4	05.02.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,41%	3.
Repeat	07.02.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,64%	
5	12.02.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,23%	
6	19.02.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,19%	2.
7	26.02.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,23%	4.
8	05.03.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,35%	5.
Repeat	11.03.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,07%	
9	19.03.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,86%	4.
10	26.03.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,04%	3.
11	02.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,68%	
12	09.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,31%	2.
13	16.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,83%	1.
Repeat	21.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,68%	
14	23.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,20%	3.
Repeat	28.04.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,20%	
Repeat	05.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,99%	
15	07.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,79%	
Repeat	12.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,02%	
16	14.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,16%	
Repeat	19.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,51%	
17	21.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,54%	
Repeat	26.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,05%	
18	28.05.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,52%	
Repeat	02.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,38%	
19	04.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,24%	
Repeat	09.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,62%	
20	11.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,08%	
Repeat	16.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,64%	
Repeat	18.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,85%	
21	18.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,76%	
Repeat	23.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	2,97%	
Repeat	25.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,58%	
Repeat	30.06.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	2,41%	
Repeat	28.07.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	2,37%	
Repeat	17.09.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,35%	
22	25.09.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,84%	
Repeat	29.09.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	5,34%	
23	02.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,52%	

Repeat	06.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	6,27%
24	09.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,99%
25	16.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,80%
26	23.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,58%
27	30.10.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,97%
28	06.11.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,22%
29	13.11.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,38%
30	20.11.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,56%
31	04.12.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,36%
32	11.12.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	13,70%
33	18.12.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	14,80%
34	25.12.2003	Kurtlar Vadisi	15,24%
35	15.01.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	14,01%
Repeat	21.01.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,22%
36	22.01.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,69%
Repeat	28.01.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,35%
37	29.01.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,96%
Repeat	04.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,72%
38	05.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,66%
39	12.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,19%
40	19.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,90%
41	26.02.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,68%
Repeat	02.03.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,02%
42	04.03.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,85%
Repeat	11.03.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,54%
43	18.03.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,88%
44	25.03.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,31%
Repeat	07.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,94%
45	08.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,37%
Repeat	14.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,63%
46	15.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,91%
47	22.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,98%
48	29.04.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,63%
Summary	06.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,92%
49	06.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,40%
Summary	13.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,13%
50	13.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,72%
Summary	20.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,16%
51	20.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,81%
Summary	27.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,63%
52	27.05.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,06%
Summary	10.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,53%
53	10.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,29%
Summary	17.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,01%
54	17.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,56%
Summary	24.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,40%
55	24.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,74%
Repeat	30.06.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	6,81%
Repeat	03.08.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	3,27%
Repeat	20.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	5,26%

Repeat	21.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	6,42%	
Repeat	22.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	6,08%	
Repeat	23.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,82%	
Summary	23.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	15,51%	
56	23.09.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,17%	
Summary	07.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,98%	2.
57	07.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,96%	1.
Summary	14.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,77%	2.
58	14.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,29%	1.
Summary	21.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,12%	2.
59	21.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,15%	1.
Summary	28.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,70%	2.
Repeat	28.10.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,86%	1.
Summary	04.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,33%	3.
60	04.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,10%	1.
Summary	11.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,56%	2.
61	11.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,59%	1.
Summary	18.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,90%	2.
62	18.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,53%	1.
Summary	25.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,63%	3.
63	25.11.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,59%	1.
Summary	02.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,34%	2.
64	02.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,82%	1.
Summary	09.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	13,22%	2.
65	09.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,56%	1.
Summary	16.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	13,22%	3.
66	16.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,65%	1.
Summary	23.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,22%	2.
67	23.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,43%	1.
Summary	30.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,51%	2.
68	30.12.2004	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,51%	1.
	06.01.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,48%	1.
	13.01.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,04%	3.
Summary	27.01.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,94%	2.
69	27.01.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,03%	1.
Summary	03.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,73%	2.
70	03.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,80%	1.
Summary	10.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	13,01%	2.
71	10.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,41%	1.
Summary	13.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	2,60%	48.
Repeat	13.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	5,39%	12.
72	17.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,01%	1.
Repeat	24.02.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,30%	2.
Summary	03.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,51%	2.
73	03.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,03%	1.
Summary	10.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,23%	2.
74	10.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,49%	1.
Summary	17.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,44%	2.
75	17.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,32%	1.
Repeat	24.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	11,53%	1.

Summary	31.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,22%	2.
76	31.03.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,47%	1.
Summary	07.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	13,56%	2.
77	07.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	21,39%	1.
Summary	14.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,44%	2.
78	14.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,00%	1.
Summary	21.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,46%	3.
79	21.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	17,26%	1.
Summary	28.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,54%	2.
80	28.04.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,88%	1.
Summary	05.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,79%	2.
81	05.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,67%	1.
Summary	12.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,40%	2.
82	12.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,95%	1.
Summary	19.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,90%	2.
83	19.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,08%	1.
Summary	26.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,93%	2.
84	26.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,17%	1.
Special	26.05.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	4,15%	8.
Summary	02.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,37%	2.
85	02.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	18,80%	1.
Summary	09.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	8,17%	2.
86	09.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,42%	1.
Summary	16.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	2,82%	11.
Repeat	16.06.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,37%	2.
87	06.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,50%	1.
88	13.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,40%	1.
Summary	13.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,90%	2.
89	20.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,90%	2.
90	27.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	14,30%	1.
Summary	27.10.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	7,40%	3.
91	17.11.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	16,70%	1.
92	24.11.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	19,10%	1.
Summary	24.11.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,50%	2.
93	01.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	14,90%	2.
94	08.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi		
95	15.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	20,10%	1.
Summary	15.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	9,90%	5.
96	22.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	22,90%	1.
Summary	22.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	12,50%	2.
97	29.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	23,60%	1.
Summary	29.12.2005	Kurtlar Vadisi	10,90%	2.

Total Individuals Universe: 36,114,723

Table 22 Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör

Episode	Date	Description	Rating	Ranking
1	08.02.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör	19,00%	1.
2	18.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Terör	12,70%	1.

Table 23 Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu

Episode	Tarih	Description	Rating	Ranking
1	19.04.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,00%	1.
2	26.04.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	11,80%	1.
Summary	26.04.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,00%	2.
3	03.05.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	13,80%	1.
4	10.05.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,50%	1.
5	17.05.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,80%	1.
6	24.05.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,40%	1.
7	31.05.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,90%	1.
8	07.06.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,20%	1.
9	14.06.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	11,90%	1.
10	20.09.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	9,20%	3.
Repeat	20.09.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	4,40%	7.
11	27.09.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,60%	1.
Summary	27.09.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,80%	4.
12	04.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	8,40%	3.
Summary	04.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,00%	4.
13	11.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	9,60%	1.
Summary	11.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	4,60%	6.
14	25.10.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	9,00%	2.
15	01.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	10,20%	2.
16	08.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,40%	1.
Summary	08.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,10%	6.
17	15.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	12,80%	1.
Summary	15.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,80%	3.
18	22.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,00%	1.
Summary	22.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,30%	7.
19	29.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,20%	1.
Summary	29.11.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	5,50%	8.
20	06.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	16,10%	1.
Summary	06.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,80%	7.
21	13.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	15,90%	1.
Summary	13.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	5,60%	11.
22	27.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	14,10%	1.
Summary	27.12.2007	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,40%	8.
23	24.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,80%	1.
Summary	24.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,30%	9.
24	31.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	18,10%	1.
Summary	31.01.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,40%	7.
25	07.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	18,50%	1.
Summary	07.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	8,40%	4.
26	14.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,90%	1.

Summary	14.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,90%	9.
27	21.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	16,00%	1.
Summary	21.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,40%	9.
28	28.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	17,00%	1.
Summary	28.02.2008	Kurtlar Vadisi: Pusu	6,70%	6.

Appendix E: List of the New-Nationalist Books

1. Aan, Necdet. *Derin Devletin Peşinde*. İstanbul: Karakutu Yayınları, 2005.
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Appendix F: List of Best-Sellers

Best-Sellers of 2006

1. *Baba ve Piç*, Elif Şafak, Metis Yayınları
2. *Tarihimize Yüzleşmek*, Emre Kongar, Remzi Kitabevi
3. *Efendi 2 Beyaz Müslümanların Büyük Sırrı*, Soner Yalçın, Doğan Kitap
4. *Latife Hanım*, İpek Çalışlar, Doğan Kitap
5. *Leyla'nın Evi*, Zülfü Livaneli, Remzi Kitabevi
6. *Kokoloji*, Isamu Saito, Okuyan Us Yayınları
7. *Gazi Paşa*, Atilla İlhan, İş Kültür Yayınları
8. *Aşka Şeytan Karışır*, Hande Altaylı, Okuyan Us Yayınları
9. *Osmanlıyı Yeniden Keşfetmek*, İlber Ortaylı, Timaş
10. *Küçük Şeyler 2*, Üstün Dökmen, Sistem Yayıncılık

Best-Sellers of 2007

1. *The Secret*, Rhonda Byrne, Mia (Ovvo) Basım Yayın
2. *Musa'nın Çocukları*, Ergün Poyraz, Togan Yayınları
3. *Olasılıksız*, Adam Fawer, A.P.R.I.L.
4. *Veda*, Ayşe Kulin, Everest
5. *Musa'nın Güllü*, Ergün Poyraz, Togan Yayınları
6. *İşgal ve Direniş*, Hulki Cevizoğlu, Cevizkabuğu Y.
7. *Kovulduk Ey Halkım Unutma Bizi*, Emin Çölaşan, Bilgi
8. *Derin Devlet*, Cüneyt Arcayürek, Detay
9. *Şeytan Yemini*, Jean Christophe Grange, Doğan Kitap
10. *Ruhsal Gelişim ve Kader*, Ender Saraç, Doğan Kitap

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Avrupalı, Director: Ulaş Ak, 2007.

Çinliler Geliyor, Director: Zeki Ökten, 2006.

Deli Yürek Bumerang Cehennemi, Director: Osman Sınav, 2001.

Emret Komutanım: Şah Mat, Director: Taner Akvardar, 2006.

Eve Giden Yol 1914, Director: Semih Aslanyürek, 2006.

Filler ve Çimen, Director: Derviş Zaim, 2000.

Hababam Sınıfı Askerde, Director: Ferdi Eğilmez, 2004.

Kabadayı, Director: Ömer Vargı, 2007.

Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak, Director: Serdar Akar, 2005.

Maskeli Beşler: Irak, Director: Murat Aslan, 2006.

O Şimdi Asker, Director: Mustafa Altıoklar, 2002.

Pars: Kiraz Operasyonu, Director: Osman Sınav, 2006.

Polis, Director: Onur Ünlü, 2006.

Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali, Director: Mustafa Şevki Doğan, 2006.

Yazı Tura, Director: Uğur Yücel, 2003.

Zincirbozan, Director: Atıl İnanç, 2007.

120, Director: Özhan Eren, Murat Saraçoğlu, 2007.

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