

EFFECTS OF THE EURIMAGES FUND ON THE CONTENT OF TURKISH CINEMA
AFTER 1990s

by
Can DİKER

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
PhD
in
Media Studies

Yeditepe University

April, 2015



T.C.

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**EFFECTS OF THE EURIMAGES FUND ON THE CONTENT OF TURKISH
CINEMA AFTER 1990s**

by

Can DİKER

Supervisor:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Defne ÖZONUR

Submitted to the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

PhD in

Media Studies

İSTANBUL, 2015

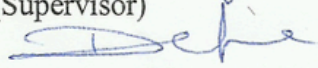
T.C.
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

EFFECTS OF THE EURIMAGES FUND ON THE CONTENT
OF TURKISH CINEMA AFTER 1990'S

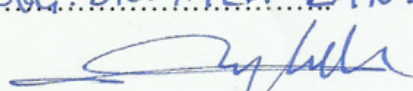
by

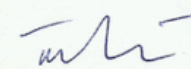
Can DİKER


Approved by:

Doç. Dr. Defne Özönür
(Supervisor)


Doç. Dr. Zeynep Çetin Erus
Zeynep Çetin

Doç. Dr. Ayla Kanbur


Doç. Dr. Ala Sivas Gülgür


Yrd. Doç. Dr. Kaan Tasbaş


**EFFECTS OF THE EURIMAGES FUND ON THE CONTENT OF TURKISH
CINEMA AFTER 1990s**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures.....	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Özet.....	viii
Foreword.....	x
INTRODUCTION	1
Problem	1
Purpose and Significance	11
Method	12
Conceptual Framework	16
Assumptions.....	20
Scope and Limitations.....	21
CHAPTER I: CONCEPT OF THE “WEST” AND THE “WESTERN” PERSPECTIVE IN LINE WITH EUROCENTRISM.....	23
1.1 Formation of the Integration of the Continental Europe and Otherization	24
1.2 Eurocentrism Theory and Eurocentric Approaches	32
1.2.1 The birth of modernity.....	33
1.2.1.1 <i>Spread of the European myths and the effects of Eurocentric thinking.....</i>	58
1.2.1.2 <i>Orientalism and Dependency Theory</i>	72
1.2.1.3 <i>Alienation and Existentialism</i>	79

1.3 Situation of the West after the World War II	93
1.3.1 Post-colonization	94
1.3.2 Self-orientalism and the inappropriate other	96
1.3.3 Neoliberalism and international organizations	101
1.3.4 Cinema as a marketable value	105
CHAPTER II: RELATIONSHIP AMONG COUNCIL OF EUROPE, EURIMAGES AND THE TURKISH CINEMA	109
2.1 European Union, Council of Europe and Eurimages Fund	110
2.1.1 Affiliation of the European national and independent films	130
2.2 Development and Economic Structure of the Turkish Cinema.....	139
2.2.2 The relationship between the Turkish cinema and Eurimages after 1990.....	167
2.2.3 Western film festivals, integration to the West, authenticity and film narration...	182
CHAPTER III: FILM REVIEWS.....	199
3.1 Ask Olumden Soguktur (Love is Colder than Death)	201
3.2 Ciplak (the Nude)	208
3.3 Mavi Surgun (Blue Exile)	217
3.4 Gunese Yolculuk (Journey to the Sun)	224
3.5 Pandora'nin Kutusu (Pandora's Box)	233
3.6 Uc Maymun (Three Monkeys).....	242
3.7 Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da (Once Upon a Time in Anatolia)	252
3.8 Yumurta (Egg).....	265
3.9 Kader (Destiny)	272
3.10 Hamam (The Turkish Bath)	280
CONCLUSION	287

APPENDIX-A: Distribution by Years of the Eurimages Co-Production Projects for the years 1990-2013	310
APPENDIX-B: Distribution by Years of Distribution Projects	316
APPENDIX-C: List of National and International Awards Won by the 10 Films Analyzed within the Scope of the Study.....	318
BIBLIOGRAPHY	323
Curriculum Vitae	341

List of Tables

Table 1: Market Shares of three Major Distributors in the Turkish Cinema and the Number of Turkish Films Distributed (1993 – 2005)	p.169
Table 2: Number of Film Theaters and Distribution among Film Theater Businesses ...	p.170
Table 3: Annual Revenue Reports for the Films Released in Turkey (2005 – 2013).....	p.172
Table 4: Annual Revenue Reports for the Turkish Films in Turkey (2005 – 2013).....	p.172

List of Figures

Figure 1: Semiotic Square Legend.....	p.200
Figure 2: Sample Semiotic Square.....	p.200
Figure 3: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Love is Colder than Death</i>	p.207
Figure 4: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>The Nude</i>	p.216
Figure 5: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>The Blue Exile</i>	p.223
Figure 6: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Journey to the Sun</i>	p.231
Figure 7: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Pandora's Box</i>	p.240
Figure 8: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Three Monkeys</i>	p.250
Figure 9: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Once upon a Time in Anatolia</i>	p.263
Figure 10: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>The Egg</i>	p.270
Figure 11: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>Destiny</i>	p.278
Figure 12: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film <i>The Turkish Bath</i>	p.285

List of Abbreviations

EU: European Union
USA: United States of America
CoE: Council of Europe
ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community
EC: European Community
EEC: European Economic Community
WEU: Western European Union
ERCA: European Research Coordination Agency
EFA: European Film Academy
FACE: Council of Europe Film Award
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GATS: General Agreement on Trade in Services
WTO: World Trade Organization
ITO: International Trade Organization
IMF: International Money Fund
ECHR: The European Court of Human Rights
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Abstract

Turkish Cinema almost came to a standstill in the early 1990s. At this point, important substantial economic aids which Turkish directors basically received was from Eurimages fund of the Council of Europe. Directors who benefited from this fund had the opportunity to make their films and qualified for participating in film screenings held in numerous international festivals. With USA gaining control over the distribution network in Turkey as of 1990s through international film distribution companies and coming to the fore with Hollywood movies in the world's film market, independent films had to unite in a sense and tried to survive. At this juncture, the financial aid Turkish cinema received from Eurimages, which was established to preserve the European culture, to survive brought along a practically substantial price in cultural and political aspects. Assuming that the non-Western wanted to be integrated to the West based upon its Eurocentrism (or Western-centrism in a wider context today), Europe would use the non-Western intellectuals who would exhibit a self-orientalist approach and indirectly otherize the non-West. Thus, directors who became alienated from their own societies in a different sense of aesthetics, started to adopt the orientalist approach whether consciously or not in order to receive fund aids for the films they wanted to make. This study will analyze the Western-centric approach in detail in the perspective of historicity of the modernity, reveal the myths, and try to make sense of the role given to the non-Western cinema in terms of cultural policy. Later on, the content of the Turkish cinema, which is an example to the non-Western cinema to have changed after 1990, following the support from European Union's Eurimages Fund will be analyzed, and this fact will be studied in terms of films within the conceptual framework.

Keywords: Orientalism, Existentialism, Eurocentrism, Inappropriate Other, Turkish Cinema, Eurimages, Neoliberalism, Modernity

Özet

1990'lı yılların başında Türkiye Sineması neredeyse durma noktasına gelmiştir. Bu noktada Türkiye'li yönetmenlerin temel olarak destek aldığı en önemli ekonomik yardımlardan birisi Avrupa Konseyi'nin Eurimages fonu olmuştur. Bu fondan maddi destek alan yönetmenler, filmlerini çekebilme şansı bulmuş ve uluslararası birçok festivalde de gösterime katılmaya hak kazanmışlardır. ABD'nin gerek uluslararası film dağıtım şirketleriyle 1990'lardan itibaren Türkiye'deki dağıtım ağını kontrolü altına alması, gerek Hollywood filmleriyle dünya film pazarında çok etkin bir konuma gelmesiyle birlikte bağımsız sinemalar, bir anlamda birleşmek zorunda kalmış ve ayakta kalmaya çalışmıştır. Bu noktada, Avrupa kültürünü koruma amacıyla kurulan Eurimages'ın Türkiye sinemasını 1990'lardan sonra ayağa kaldırmasının karşılığının, kültürel ve politik bağlamda oldukça büyük bedeli vardır. Avrupa ülkeleri, Avrupamerkezcilik (veya günümüzde daha geniş kapsamıyla Batımerkezcilik) düşünce şekliyle Batı-dışı'nın kendisine eklenmek istediğini varsayarak, oto-şarkiyatçı bir yaklaşım sergileyecek Batı-dışı entelektüellerini kullanıp Batı-dışı'nı dolaylı olarak ötekileştirmektedir. Böylelikle, kendi toplumlarına karşı yabancılaşan '*auteur*' yönetmenler, çekmek istedikleri filmler için fon desteği alabilmek adına bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz oto-şarkiyatçı bir yaklaşıma girmiştir. Bu çalışmada; modernitenin tarihsellik algısı perspektifinde Batımerkezci yaklaşım detaylıca çözümlenerek bu yaklaşımın mitleri ortaya çıkarılacak, sonrasında kültür politikası bağlamında Batı'nın Batı-dışı sinemaya biçtiği rol anlamlandırılacaktır. Ardından, Batı-dışı sinemanın bir örneği olan Türkiye Sineması'nın Avrupa Konseyi fonu Eurimages tarafından desteklenmesiyle birlikte, 1990 sonrası Türkiye Sineması'nın değişen içeriği irdelenecektir. Ulusal ve uluslararası film festivallerinden ödül almış Eurimages fonu destekli yönetmenlerin filmleri, Batımerkezci ideolojinin unsurlarından olan bireysellik, varoluşçuluk ile oto-şarkiyatçılık kavramlarının çerçevesi içinde

değerlendirilecek ve bu dönem sonrasına ait Türkiye sineması filmleri için genel bir tanımlama yapılmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şarkiyatçılık, Varoluşçuluk, Batımerkezcilik, Uygunlaştırılmış Öteki, Türk Sineması, Eurimages, Neoliberalizm, Modernite

Foreword

I'd like to express endless gratitude to my academic advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Defne Ozonur for her guidance during my years as a postgraduate student, her unique teachings during the courses and the awareness she instilled in us, her students. It would be difficult to complete this study if it weren't for her contributions. I'd also like to extend my deepest thanks to Prof. Dr. M. Sitki Erinc who followed the progress of this study with great patience, tirelessly helped me grow mature and always gave countenance to my study, and to Prof. Dr. Isik Ozkan who provided full support since day one and stood by and reassured me during every single distressful and difficult time. I am also indebted to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayla Kanbur and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ala Sivas Gulcur who helped me develop my study further with their interests, suggestions and supports.

I am also grateful for those who were kind enough to wait for my work patiently and support me. I'd like to express my special thanks to my father Umit who was my greatest supporter in every sense during this work and who always set an example for me through his patience, to my mother Handan who familiarized me with academic life since the day I was born and who always stood beside me, and to Begum who cheered me with her presence and affection. I also wish to commend and thank every person who walked into and out of my life from time to time even if we grew apart from each other in time and to those countless individuals who I hold dear to my heart, friends and acquaintances.

I wish all great adventures beginning with a little question would have a happy ending.

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Cinema is a mass communication medium and a branch of art. Assembling images successively through editing to create a meaningful whole with a subjective point of view throughout the history resulted in the ideological use of cinema, as well. Used either expressly as a tool of propaganda or implicatively as a medium which set ground for cultural imperialism to globally spread out throughout the history, cinema still has rather significant importance for the art community and the culture industry today.

The global predominance of the Hollywood cinema of the United States of America at the beginning of the 21st Century is a result of the expansionist neoliberal policies of the country. Those who realized how a great mass communication medium the cinema could be influenced masses using films and never stood back from making the necessary investments in order to reach greater masses. Aside from its cultural effect on the masses, predominance on the cinema market yields a considerable amount of profit. However, this study is intended to examine the effect created by the cinema medium in terms of the relation of culture and ideology.

Ideology means “idea” due to its etymology (*idée*). Ideology is used to express a set of ideas that form a whole, a theory, a system and even a mentality. Accordingly, the entire political, religious, legal, philosophical, aesthetical ideas that direct the behaviors of a government, a society or a class after political and social disciplines are created can be referred to as ideology. Ideology has several meanings and a great role in Marxist studies. According to Engels, ideology means teaching societies false consciousness and imposing it on them (Ryan, 2000). In a capitalist order, individuals cannot get what they deserve for what they

produce since they are imposed false consciousness, and this state results in the alienation of an individual from everything including his self and his labor. Proletarians who exert the greatest effort and get the least reward in the wheels of a capitalist system are unable to step out of the system due to the creation of such false consciousness. Today, such alienation affects not only the proletariat class of a society but also each and every individual whose lifestyle changes due to neoliberal policies. The smooth operation of the services to the upper classes depends on hegemony.

It would be more elucidative to look into the gap, which class conflicts have conceived. The terms “first world” country and “third world” country frequently expressed by the mass media actually stand for developed and industrialized societies who continue in this direction and the societies who are still developing and industrializing. Countries who are included in such economically shaped concepts are globally referred to as “G8” countries¹. Most of these countries are those who are shortly referred to as the “Western countries”. The neoliberal policies has dominated the world since 1980s and designates countries as “developed” or “developing” in economic terms. Following the colonial and imperialist history of the world, are the 'developing' countries able to survive only by depending on their colonizers after the decolonization? According to dependency theories, the answer to this question can be yes (Blaut, 2012). Thus, such status of the countries whose self-control still depends on their colonizers although they are released is referred to as post-colonialism. The economic dimension of the situation has paved the way for the colonizers to maintain the existence of cultural imperialism policies, not directly but rather indirectly, today. Regarding the subject, Edward Said uses the terms Orientalism and Occidentalism for the perspectives of the West and the East use against each other. As implied in the history of modernity, ‘Western’

¹ G8 countries: United States of America, Japan, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Canada and Russia. Russia’s membership has been suspended in 2014 due to political reasons. It would be more appropriate to evaluate the economic/political situation of China, within the frame of a different study, who is considered as one of the most significant economies of the world but cannot be not included in this economic summit.

countries fall further and 'Eastern' countries (the term 'non-Western' would be more accurate today) fall behind relative to each other. Those who exhibit a subjective view towards each other through their conventional notions otherize each other on society base. This attitude appears implicitly or directly sometimes.

At this point, which class do the Western countries who discovered the class system think the intellectuals of non-Western countries belong to? Do these intellectuals exhibit an "anti-modern" attitude or adopt 'Western values'? Moreover, how 'intellectual' can the non-Western thought leaders who have an "anti-modern" approach be in the eyes of the West? As you delve into the origins of these questions, you can see that there are European myths and some rules, which are regarded as taboos, and that there is also false consciousness, which leads one to think that such discourses cannot be questioned, and it would be unreasonable to question such discourses. Thus, knowing the historical process of the Western thoughts, in other words modernity, agreeing with rationality today and understanding the current standpoint of today's modernity at the end of the conflict of the West with the non-West would help us analyze better the ideological reflections of the cinema which is a Western mass communication medium. In this context, it should be mentioned that the notion of Eurocentrism, which first started as a geographical concept and has turned into an ideational concept today, plays a great role along with the notion of modernity. It can be said that the notion of Eurocentrism matches up with both colonial mentality and post-colonial mentality in the way they all assume that the non-Western will join in the West after it loses the war with the West. This context actually shows that modernity has a linear approach towards the history: the adventures of the Western that is always in the front and ahead and always contemporary and the non-Western who has to catch up with the Western throughout the history.

The Western countries who acquired unjust enrichment especially after colonization set up an economical order to prevent the non-Western from improving their state. According to this order, the basic efforts of the European myths have always been to define the concepts of 'developed' and 'undeveloped' and to impose a perception management suggesting that the undeveloped countries' cultures are not developed, as well. Thus, it can be suggested that non-Western intellectuals can regard themselves as ahead of their societies yet still behind the Western societies if they were to adopt the mentioned 'Western values'. According to Antonio Gramsci, these intellectuals exist in order to protect a class advantage and they are called by "Organic Intellectuals" (1992: 3-23). In this order where the single ideational objective is to reach the West which should be caught up with, can one say that these intellectuals put on and see the world through Europe's glasses, whether knowingly or not, and see that the West is always ahead and the non-West is always behind? Can one say that this is a perspective that should be adopted by all in order to be included in the West which is the 'most civilized' in the world? Thus, post-colonization along with the concepts of Orientalism and Otherness cause the Western to switch from an active to passive role in the creation and re-creation of hegemony with the help of non-Western intellectuals because now the non-Western intellectuals become the very active role players.

Accordingly, the creative power of cinema, which is considered as a branch of art, is derived from the 'auteur' directors who provide for a subjective point of view. Directors generally stand out as the members of the intellectual segments of societies. Developing after the invention of "cinematograph" by Lumière brothers in 1895, cinema was introduced to societies as a tool of entertainment. Cinema was depicted as an important communication medium and a cultural phenomenon, and the dominant powers started to market the cinema to the world as a cultural exportation. The art of cinema has started to be produced under the influence of political, economic, ideological and cultural conditions; and film production,

local and global distribution process have rather become important after Hollywood cinema grew into the largest cinema market exported across the world throughout the 20th century and as a result of its attempts to be unrivalled in the market and the fact that cinema gradually became a rather large industry towards 2000s in the whole world.

For many years now, Hollywood films have become one of the most significant cultural merchandises the United States of America exports to the entire world. The expansionist American culture industry has tried to dominate the majority of the markets including the local ones and tried to gain control over the movie distribution and screening networks through neoliberal policies. This situation deeply affected the European cinema, as well; thus, supporting film festivals and creating funds such as Eurimages for the sake of protecting the integrity of culture were all acts in the form of a cultural policy against the United States of America developed by the European countries, the Council of Europe and/or the European Union. Despite the fact that cinema was born in Europe, it continued its existence in Europe in a smaller space when compared to previous times, and this resulted with national and independent cinemas gradually came closer to each other.

According to assertion, cinema in Turkey was officially started with Fuat Uzkınay's documentary film, "Destruction of the Russian Monument at Ayastefanos" during the years between 1915 and 1922, governmental institutions conducted the first serial film production activities. The first governmental institution to make the first movie was the Central Army Cinema Department, which was launched in 1915. In 1940s, a series of steps were taken to preserve the Turkish cinema. The tax imposed by the ministry on the box-office returns was 25% for local movies and 75% for foreign movies. While this law promoted the screening of Turkish movies in movie theaters, it also contributed to the protection of Turkish cinema against foreign movies. Since the box-office returns for local movies were greater, the production of local movies gradually increased and this led to the genesis of the "Golden

Age” of Turkish Cinema. In 1967, switching to color motion picture films resulted in the increase of production costs. Yet, with the popularization of television which started broadcasting in 1968, people started not to think of cinema in Turkey as a cheap entertainment medium any more. Thus, the Golden Age of the Turkish cinema ended for this reason. 1970s are known to be the depression years of Turkish Cinema during when the number of movie theaters, audiences and films started to decrease rapidly (Esen, 2000:35).

With the military coup d'état in 1980, the movie production significantly dropped in number and the plots of the movies tended to change. Directors started to shoot melancholic movies. At the beginning of 1980s, there was a demand for the change of production, distribution and screening processes during when the videocassette entered the Turkish market. American production and distribution companies started to reveal themselves in cinema and video industries due to the neoliberal policies in Turkey and became dominant in the market in 1989. The basic purpose of such law was to end piracy in videocassette industry and to take over the control of videocassette market. It should be noted that the attempts of the major American film production and distribution companies at the governmental level who were disturbed by the financial losses caused by the pirate videocassette market in Turkey had a great role in this development (Ulusay, 2004).

In the late 1980, major American film companies were invited to Turkey through the “Off-Shore Media Project” and to film production and distribution industry in Turkey; however, the public disputes prevented such practice from becoming legal. According to the project, the taxes incurred by American companies would be paid in long-term installments and, in exchange, Turkish crewmembers would be given positions in such American companies. Even though the project was rejected, the amendments made in 1987 in the executive orders no. 17, 30 and 31 in the Foreign Capital Law paved the way for American companies to enter the country. In 1987, Warner Bros. entered the Video market. In 1989, the company started

distributing cinema movies. In 1989, United International Press (UIP) who is the distributor of major production companies such as Universal, Paramount and Touchstone Pictures entered the videocassette and movie market. The American majors found the distribution industry far more profitable. Therefore, they started to control the capital flow. This resulted in Turkish films not being able to find movie theaters for coming to the screen. In 1989, foreign companies conquered the Turkish cinema industry. Therefore, Turkish films had difficulty in entering the distribution network of major production companies.

After 1990s, people starting to produce movies on their own initiatives have caused the growth of 'auteur' cinema in Turkey. The prominent directors of the period such as Nuri bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Dervis Zaim, Yesim Ustaoglu, Semih Kaplanoglu and Ferzan Ozpetek tried to establish their own narratives. Furthermore, they started to seek for financial support for the cinema art they performed. Awards granted during festivals are one of the most substantial finance resources for a film, yet this is not always guaranteed. Aside from this, directors have to create their resources on their own. In the 2000s, Turkish cinema tried several different ways to solve its financial issues. Generally, financial resources was provided by the producers' own resources. If a film was not the first film of a director, the revenue gained from the previous film, television sales revenues, the aids granted by institutions and organizations such as the Ministry of Culture and Eurimages and the revenues gained through sales of DVDs were used as financial resources for the next film. After 2005, some of the distribution companies enabled the integration of production and distribution processes in order to support the production of films at a stage as early as the film production. This was considered as a case, which would help Turkish film industry rise again (Arslan, 2011).

In 1990s, another development in the industry in terms of film production was that Turkey became a member of Eurimages in March 1990. Turkey's becoming a member of this fund

through the Ministry of Culture in March 1990 provided Turkish films with support in production, distribution and screening stages. Co-production including two or three production companies working together at the stage of film production makes it possible for producers to meet the crews of the production companies from other countries and to benefit from their facilities. Eurimages fund also supports the distribution and screening of films. European Cinema allied forces through bringing together the cinemas of its own countries against Hollywood cinema which had the chance to get exported all around the world and intended to create a film narrative different from that of the Hollywood films. For this reason, Eurimages has a great importance for European countries in preserving their own culture, as well as it makes possible to compete with USA on the subject of film market domination in Europe. The intersection of Turkish cinema and Eurimages took place under such conditions. The criteria for selecting which films would receive aid from Eurimages fund had a great importance. In consideration of the last 20 years, it can be noted that the plots consisting of individual stories, which concern a certain segment of a society, are predominantly selected. Now, it is seen that there are no class conflicts or class issues according to the liberal discourse of the era and, discussing social issues or class conflicts are not regarded as a contemporary approach. It is generally seen that directors who want to make a film maintain an individual attitude and prefer addressing to the themes of “Art Cinema” such as lack of communication, alienation and sexuality (Ulusay, 2004).

At the end of the process of acclimatization to the European Cinema thanks to the Eurimages fund, Turkish cinema, which tried to adapt itself to the globalization, is seen to strain at creating a showcase during the period starting from its nomination for the “Best Foreign Language Film” award till its providing support for ‘Art Films’ within the frame of democratization. In the catalogue article titled “Turkish Cinema” and written by Fikri Saglar, the term’s Minister of Culture, in relation to the Cannes Film Festival of 1994, it is said that

“We believe that Europe’s attitude in defending cinema as a form of art, which was concretely expressed for the controversy during GATT is a necessity in terms of the existence of multicultural mosaics”. Ulusay (2004) stated that there is a major interest in the concept of ‘Art Film’ in the new era’s cinema. Directors started to exhibit an orientalist approach for themselves against such case where the globalization and the western values were highly popular.

Orientalism in cinema does not materialize in a single dimension. Film directors might incline towards into a self-orientalist context. This self-orientalist context does not differ from classic orientalist approach: Western civilization is the leading culture in the world and non-West cultures are behind from modernity, trying to clutch Western societies. One of the most important changed situations after the post-colonialist era; West might create self-orientalist thoughts and European myths with the help of “organic intellectuals”. Therefore, modernity can create binary contrast between “modern” and “traditional” countries, which can be seen on national cinemas on various forms. Film themes such as individuals’ incline towards the inner world, solitudute, alienation, otherization, nothingness, ineptitude of outer world etc. might bring existentialist philosophy into the non-Western countries’ national cinema and this might preclude the query of the dominant system which is the cause of the difficulties in these film themes. In this context, hegemonic relationships between West and non-West, even though West uses passive role, are built in favour of West. While West might trying to know the other cultures and re-interprating them according to modernity, it has also hold the power of filmmaking funds and film festival rewards to consolidate self-orientalist perspective in non-West societies. At the same time, “organic intellectuals” might be isolated from their own society, find Western values eminent and embrace them. In order to find out if there is a distinct or latent self-orientalist approach in Turkish Cinema with the use of connection Council of Europe’s Eurimages fund. In this dissertation, evaluated films’

directors are also going to be examined if they create self-orientalist discourse, whether consciously or not.

In the Turkish cinema after 1990s when films narrating highly individualistic stories under the control of the political liberal discourses existed, the self-orientalist approaches of directors in terms of context and how and in which directions the Turkish cinema is shaped by Eurimages which is a European (Western) fund all together constitute the problem of this dissertation.

Therefore this study's hypothesis is as follows: When examining the Turkish films which had received support from Eurimages fund and awarded in national and international film festivals; Turkish film directors needed to shape the content of their films towards Western-centric ideology, with the elements of self-orientalism, individualism and existentialist philosophy in their films, in order to receive support from Eurimages fund.

The first chapter of this study examines the fundamentals of the Western concept and the Western perspective which are developed in line with the Eurocentrism and discusses the formation of European culture in historical dimensions, Eurocentric perspectives (or Western-centric according to the 21st century), the European myths and otherizations which provide basis for such perspective. Following, Western-centric cultural, economic and political developments will be analyzed and what the non-West means for the West beginning from the 20th century until today will be tried to be solved.

The second chapter of the study will discuss the 200-year historical process of the relation between Turkey and the Europe; it will analyze the historical development of the Council of Europe, European Union and their economic competition with the United States of America; and it will further historically examine how the Europe defends itself in the cinema medium in order to preserve its culture. In addition, the study will discuss the characteristics of

Eurimages fund, which was created as a result of such policies; it will investigate into the historical process of the Turkish Cinema, in which direction it changed after establishing a connection with the Eurimages fund and the approaches of ‘auteur’ directors.

The third chapter of the study will analyze the context and language of films of Turkish directors who received awards from significant Turkish and international film festivals for the movies they shot with the funds they were granted from Eurimages after 1990s, discuss the effect of Eurimages on the context of such films and try to reveal the Western-centric approaches (orientalism, self-orientalism, existentialism, conventional-modern study, etc.).

Purpose and Significance

The fundamental purpose of the dissertation titled “Effects of the Eurimages Fund on the Content of Turkish Cinema after 1990s” is to reveal and examine the effects of international powers, who have control over the financing, production and distribution of cinema films in line with the globalization in the world, in the contents of Turkish films in terms of general acceptance.

After 1990s era of Turkish cinema, film themes like individualism, alienation, otherness, loneliness, melancholy etc. occurs. These themes pervades in film festivals and independent filmmakings. The study will analyze the reasons why such type of themes predominantly appears in the Turkish Cinema. In addition, one of the goals of this thesis is to analyze whether there is a relation between such themes and the existentialist philosophy.

The study also intends to answer some important questions like why directors in Turkey apply to international support funds since film production cannot be financed in Turkey due to a series of financial impossibilities even though film production is technically easier today

in the world especially with the advanced technology which are also found in Turkey. The study further intends to investigate whether directors who benefit from international funds approach their own cultures in an auto-orientalist way, as directed to them by the funds or on their own wills; and if so, why they adopt such attitude.

In the studies conducted in relation to the Turkish Cinema after 1990s, there are a couple of fundamental references which are related to the bond of self-orientalism and international cinema support funds with the capitalism. It is seen that there are greater numbers of studies conducted on orientalism and the media; however, there is not any extensive study in terms of examining the ownership relations behind the funds, which might result with self-orientalism.

Method

European myths, origination of the concept of the 'West', capitalist system, neoliberal order and the binaries of modernity will be discussed in this study with the method of historical materialism. Historical materialism is a method theory that analyzes the transition of dialectic materialism, as suggested by Marx and Engels, from the nature to the society and then to the historical dimension.

Marx primarily deals with the dialectic method of Hegel in order to found a basis for his criticisms on the capitalist system in the core of this method. According to the dialectic thinking of Hegel, oppositions and contradictions exist in our daily lives. Such oppositions allow individuals to familiarize with their developments and own selves throughout the process of transition from the nature to society and history. According to Hegel, the reality is contradictory and there is an antithesis for every thesis. Therefore, this relation leads to the

synthesis in terms of dialectics. Thus, a new qualification and solution originate. Marx dissents from Hegel about the concept of reality. Whereas Hegel considers reality as spirituality, Marx suggests that reality is materiality. Marx suggests that the concept of dialectic is upside-down and that, as a matter of fact, the material creates the spirit (Topakkaya, 2008). Marx is inspired from Feuerbach in terms of the idea of materiality. According to Feuerbach, the basis in materiality is the nature. There is nothing else except for the nature. Thought is the product of the nature just like everything else. On the other hand, the thought arises out of the brain, which is a material organ. Thus, materiality is the core of the human existence and the structure of knowledge (Feuerbach, 2010). This leads to the birth of dialectic materialism according to Marx. Just like Feuerbach suggests, Marx interprets the materialist events in the nature with the dialectic method of Hegel. Thus, the interpretation of the nature and the human being is conducted through the dialectic materialism method according to Marx.

The historical materialism method has been developed upon the necessity to set forth the capitalist system criticism of Marx through a historical method. According to Marx, material conditions are important facts that affect the production abilities and times of people. However, material conditions do not develop evenly within the modern capitalist system. In this system, where wageworkers have to sell their labor and “surplus value” to the capitalist or the ruling class, it is not possible to maintain a regulation since the wageworkers will become poorer as the ruling class gets hold of more capital. This means the reproduction of the existing system. The “accumulation” concept of capitalism is a significant fact in terms of the origination of historical materialism method. The capitalist continues thriving and reinvests in himself using the capital he earns via unjust enrichment. This is one of the capitalist production processes. Thus, the material advantage that the capitalist gains from the historical process allows for the reproduction of the system (Topakkaya, 2008).

Historical materialism is used to understand and explain the historical processes of the dialectic materialism that originate in the nature and shift to the society, and it suggests that the production and reproduction of the material foundation of the society is of priority. Thus, the material enrichment of the West and the general structure of its social and cultural relations can be put forward through historical materialism method. Historical materialism is helpful in understanding the historical processes from the purpose of survival and maintaining existence to the primitive approach of the society and from the feudal structure to the capitalist system in addition to understanding production modes (Ozcinar, 2013). In the foreword of its book “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy”, Marx defines historical materialism as follows:

“In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or — this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms — with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From

forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production.” (Marx, 2005)

Historical materialism method will help to analyze the reasons of the formation and development of human consciousness in the aspect of Western-centrism through the centuries, and lately in the content of the films. This study will examine the relationship between the West and the non-West through historical materialism method. Following, the study will examine the production, in the auto-orientalist perspective, of the myth that suggests the superiority of the West over cultural policies and the art of cinema in order to examine the reproducing of the relationship between the West and the non-West.

Semiotic Square analysis method developed by Paris School Semiotics will be utilized in film reviews. This method was designed by Algirdas Julien Greimas especially to meet a number of concepts such as simplicity, complexity, abstractness and concreteness when interpreting a text and to make analyses on logical-semantic relationships, which tell about such concepts in a text. Semiotics has become a scientific tool that is self-sufficient and really autonomous.

According to this school, Semiotics tries to place meaning-making on a general theory. The Paris School prefers analyzing sign systems in itself rather than within context (Rifat, 2009).

The causality relationships to be put forth in this study along with the data to be produced will be synthesized; relationships among Self-orientalism, Existentialism, Western-centrism, Modernity, Neoliberalism, Post-colonialism, Individualism, Culture Industry and Turkish cinema will be established and the evidences of such relationships revealed will be researched through film reviews.

Conceptual Framework

In order to differentiate such concepts from each other, factors causing the cultural and economic state of the Turkish cinema after 1990 and the conditions of filmmaking in Turkey will be conducted. For example, the relationship between the concept of Eurocentrism and self-orientalism will be established over causality relationship and the study will discuss how they differ from each other and gradually affect the Turkish cinema within a historical context.

This study will examine the effect of neoliberal policies on the world and Turkey, investigate into the history of neoliberal policies and discuss how they reveal themselves in the cultural sphere. The effect of culture industry and self-orientalist approach on the intellectuals of

Turkey, culture-art policies and the financial government aid reserved for culture-art will be researched. In consideration of the Western and non-Western cultures, the concept of orientalism which is highly debated in literature is covered within the context of this study, as well.

Accordingly, globalization is to use the political, economic and cultural blend, ideas and opinions, and technologies on a global level, it is the capital circulation going beyond the boundaries of a country and reaching to a worldwide level, it is the appearance of new interaction styles when going beyond the nation-state limits, it is the world getting 'smaller', it is the increase in competition in markets and shortly it is the world turning into a single market (Kacmazoglu, 2002). The ideology that constitutes the economic aspect of globalization is the neoliberal ideology.

According to Edward Said, Orientalism means the interpretation of people, religions, languages, cultures and histories of the "East" through the perspective and science of the "West". Said states that the orientalist discourse leads to the production of the "Knowledge of Truth" by the West knowing about the details of the "East" and therefore the dominance and exploitation of the West over the East. Orientalism is defined as the wrong representation of the truth about the East. Using the same symbols and attributes while defining the East in an orientalist point of view causes a perception that the East never changes. It is seen that, by accepting the West as the best and most developed focus as a result of stereotyping, the concept of progress is referenced to and defined over the Western methods. The culture developed and progress attained outside the West is segregated and cast out. Therefore, orientalism is a result of otherization at the same time (Said, 2003).

Self-orientalism is the effort of individuals and societies in trying to understand and defining themselves using ideas that do not belong to them. The conflict between the concept of

modern as defined by the Western world and the locality is reflected on the media and cinema and has a nature of segregating a society. Eurimages fund's supporting the film scripts, which are 'modern' in the perspective of the West and such films attaining several successes in international festivals, requires the detailed scrutiny of the concepts orientalism and self-orientalism in this study.

The concept of Eurocentrism is referred to as Western-centrism in the 21st century and accepted as a way of thinking that developed after Europe became geographically integrated within the course of history and after the post-Renaissance developments in social sciences and science that brought together a series of advantages to Europe; and it has caused the manifestation of the concept of modernity that reflects the cultural values of the West (Amin, 2007). The concept of modernity possesses the present time and has an effect of including all the values of contemporary West. It reflects the current position of Europe in terms of intellectuality and perceives the history in a linear dimension (Ilter, 2006).

Existentialism was born as a response to the system of modernity that became institutionalized in the midst of the 19th century. According to Existentialism, persons who have their own will and conscious are 'thrown' into the world of objects that lack will and conscious. Søren Kierkegaard is known to be the first existentialist philosopher. According to Existentialist thinking, scientific thought cannot explain the existence of man and that meaning-making is only possible through the authentic reality of an individual. It purports that existence comes before self and not the other way around while man looks for himself in his own self. The Existentialist philosophy refers to alienation, the feeling of nothingness and the states of mankind while emphasizing that it is not important to seek for objectivity anymore (Crowell, 2010). Therefore, whereas Existentialism directs man more towards his inner world, it skips the importance of the outer world.

In this study, the term “Independent film” is used to define the films that are not under the influence of Hollywood companies who globally possess the film production, screening and distribution networks (Özön, 2000:83). As discussed by Sivas in her study, independency in cinema addresses to the films that are produced outside the industrial system as a result of the works of independent producers and independent directors. There are also experimental cinema, avant-garde cinema, art cinema, alternative cinema, counter cinema, minimalist cinema, auteur cinema and underground cinema that are included among the concepts which indirectly relate to the concept of independency. However, according to Sivas, these concepts are a general symbol of independency and can be considered as a part of independent cinema (2007:5-28). Whereas this study will use the concept of independent cinema, it will also not rule out the discussions on to which extent these productions are independent under the influence of film markets and festivals today.

Edward Said’s “Orientalism” and “Culture and Imperialism” are included among the guiding references of this study in conceptual framework. James Morris Blaut’s “The Colonizer’s Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History” has been a unique reference in understanding how the European myths and capitalist system’s troops emerged. Tugrul Ilter’s article “Modernism, Postmodernism, Post-colonialism” has an eye-opening effect in understanding the Western values. George Novack’s article “Marxism versus Existentialism” suggests that Marxist thinking is rather contrary to the existentialist thinking in opposition to what Sartre mentions. Samir Amin’s book “Eurocentrism” examines the notions ‘Europe’ and ‘West’ in a different view and closely addresses to the Western and non-Western notions. Tulay Celik’s doctoral dissertation titled “Film Production Process in ‘Director Cinema are in Turkey after 1990” has been a reference of great importance which helps understanding the bond between the European cinema and the Turkish cinema thanks to its extensive research. Umut Tumar Arslan-Yegen’s doctoral dissertation titled “Late

Modernity, National Identity and Turkish Cinema” establishes a relationship between Modernity and the Turkish cinema and analyzes the film scripts, which are based upon the binaries of dramatic structure. Ertan Tunc’s MA thesis titled “Economic Structure of Turkish Cinema, 1896 – 2005” examines the economic structure and dependencies of the Turkish cinema in a highly extensive fashion. Eylem Arslan’s article “Evaluation of Production Resources used in the Turkish Cinema before and after 2000s” provides a financial analysis of Turkish cinema, scrutinizes the production resources of Turkish cinema and makes suggestions for equipping the sector with a structure of its own. Dervis Zaim’s article “Your Focus is Your Truth: Turkish Cinema, Alluvial Filmmakers and International Acceptance” issued in the journal “Shifting Landscapes” discusses the phenomena closely related to the subject matter of this dissertation. Zaim’s article has been a substantially important reference in which an academician-director examines the recent era of the Turkish Cinema and which discusses the efforts of directors for the sake of producing films, acceptance of the films abroad, festival atmospheres and the background of the attitudes of the funds towards the films of the directors.

Therefore, the major concepts in this study are the film selection criteria of Eurimages, art of cinema, Existentialist philosophy, Eurocentrism ideology, modernity, capitalism, neoliberalism, self-orientalism, globalization, individualization and post-colonialism.

Assumptions

The basic assumptions of this study are as follows:

- 1- Eurocentrism or Western-centrism are basic ethnocentric concepts that globally shape the art of cinema in the 21st century.

- 2- Western-centric ideology uses modernity, capitalism and neoliberalism in order to segregate non-West from West in the aspects of culture, politics and economics.
- 3- Western-centric economic policies that are popularized through globalization bring along cultural imperialism.
- 4- After the declaration of the Republic, there is a tendency to modernize the society and government in Turkey's state policy.

Scope and Limitations

The principal scope of research for the study is the interaction between the support process and context of cinema in the films shot in Turkey after 1990s and supported by Eurimages fund. Therefore, other films aside from certain films of directors supported by Eurimages in production and distribution will not be discussed in this study within the frame of cinema films. Likewise, films supported by other Western funds will not be covered in the scope of this study. The sample films that will be reviewed in this chapter of the study are chosen as 10 films from 8 different directors, selected among those which have received Eurimages support, won awards in national film festivals, won awards or the right to screening in important international film festivals. In this context, an important director of the Turkish cinema, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, who has received the greatest amount of support from the fund and who has obtained the all-time highest amount of support from Eurimages for his film “*Kis Uykusu*” (Winter Sleep) as of 2014, and Yesim Ustaoglu, who has benefited from the Eurimages fund for four times and who is still actively making a film, will be analyzed with two films each.

The study will analyze the bond of neoliberal policies and self-orientalism and investigate into the bonds between the focuses of self-orientalism as a Westerner and the neoliberal elements. Even though orientalism has lots of imaginative and contextual examples, this study will only look for the clues related to self-orientalism, Eurocentrism and existentialist philosophy found in the films supported by Eurimages.

Along with the highest amount and number of received support from Eurimages, having an award or nomination from a national or international significant film festival has taken into consideration to choose sample films for this dissertation. Films by Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Yesim Ustaoglu, Semih Kaplanoglu and Ferzan Ozpetek will be analyzed within the frame of the concepts specified in the previous chapters. The study will try to detect the contexts, which are in line with what the West desires in cultural and political terms. Scenes that set an example for modernism, existentialism, Eurocentrism and self-orientalism trends will be looked for. Films for film reviews are selected among the films of the directors who are known in Turkey and who have received support from Eurimages for many times; and the total number of these films are limited to 10 films which have been nominated for at least one festival abroad.

In the conclusion chapter, the study will use all such relevant data in trying to understand whether the Western-oriented Eurimages fund has any effect on the Turkish cinema in terms of creating cultural and political contexts of films.

CHAPTER I: CONCEPT OF THE “WEST” AND THE “WESTERN” PERSPECTIVE IN LINE WITH EUROCENTRISM

Cinema was invented by Auguste and Louis Lumière brothers and introduced to the public for the first time in Paris on December 28, 1895. Cinema is a product of Western civilization, art and technology while it is also a mass communication medium. The reasons of aesthetical, technological and theoretical improvement of the art of cinema through its progress in its history of more than a hundred years are harbored inside the European or “Western” society where cinema was born. Today, the art of cinema has stages of pre-production, production, post-production and distribution for screening purpose; and these stages require substantial a budget in economic terms. Therefore, the first of the principal requirements for a director to produce a film is that such director will not have financial problems. Film producers seek for sponsors, grants or funds in order to solve their financial problems. In such case, the institution who will provide for the financial support may have a series of political and cultural criteria when selecting the cinema works to be supported. It is still debated how many of these criteria are explicit and how many of them are implicit. This study will analyze the cultural, economic and political scopes of Eurimages fund provided by the cultural department of the Council of Europe, research into the values of the civilization which such institution depends on and try to solve all of the criteria for film selection.

The civilization which we will principally define as the “West” is a result which is called the new Europe that roots from the Ancient Greek culture and continues to develop under the influence of the Roman Empire’s culture and that finally emerges after the stages of Reform, Renaissance, the discovery of distant continents and the transition to the industrialized society having experienced a stationary period with a feudal economy under the influence of

small feudalities and monarchies following the collapse of the empire. The phenomenon that is tried to be underlined in this chapter will be to set forth how the integrity of language, religion and culture in Europe took shape until a time when regions were considered based upon continental integrity and to solve how this reflects on the cultural, economic and political relations established with other societies. Furthermore, the infrastructure of the changes and transformations experienced after the geographical discoveries will be looked into, whether there is really a “European Miracle” will be set forth, the effects of colonization will be discussed, the sincerity of the ideas that emerge as a result of rationalism together with the Enlightenment will be questioned and the concept of modernity will be analyzed in all dimensions. Following, the study will try to take lessons of historical nature and make references in order to exemplify the relations of the European Union with non-European societies in the second chapter.

1.1 Formation of the Integration of the Continental Europe and Otherization

Understanding the factors that constitute the historical root and essence of the concepts shortly known as the ‘West’ today and its opposite referred to as the ‘East’ or the ‘non-West’ is rather important in terms of being able to completely understand this study. Therefore, one must know the history of the concept of the ‘West’, what it includes since when.

The term ‘West’ carried a geographical meaning during the first age and medieval age. It was related to the fact that the Continental Europe was geographically known to be the farthest west of the world until Christopher Columbus’s exploration of the American continent in 1492 and Vasco da Gama’s touring the world in 1497. Before this period, the farthest destination in the east for the European navigators was the Black Sea, Mediterranean in the

south, English Channel and the North Sea in the west and the Baltic Sea in the north. Persian Kingdom and the European who wanted to trade with India and China were prevented since the commerce routes passed through the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Whereas the Chinese fleet could easily navigate and trade in the Indian Ocean and its vicinity, the Europe was left at the boundaries of the Atlantic Ocean. The Europeans were encouraged by Columbus's setting sail offshore and then the discovery of the American continent in the hope of finding India and China. Thus, they got involved in discovering the rest of the world by navigating and colonizing the locals and lands of such discovered regions (Goldstone, 2009).

The European societies had their own cultures by dint of the continent-wise effect of the Ancient Greek period and especially the Roman Empire until the colonization of the world by the Continental Europe after the year 1500. Conquests took place through the imperial policies in the Ancient Greek era, the lands from the Balkans up to India was under the influence of the Ancient Greek where the first examples of colonization and imperialist policies were seen. The expeditions of Alexander the Great out of the Greek peninsula and towards the east symbolized a new era for the great imperial region he had built because through these expeditions, he eliminated the introversion of the communities of those regions and enabled for the unitization and harmony of the communities under the roof of his own empire. The Ancient Greek carried her own culture to the regions she annexed to the empire, as well. However, even though the Roman Empire which replaced the Ancient Greek annexed the portion of the lands of the Ancient Greek up to the east of Anatolia, she levied tributes and took culture from this region yet gave nothing back from its culture to this region (Amin, 2007:45).

The origins of the languages spoken in Europe today have Latin etymology by virtue of the dominance of the Roman Empire on the Continental Europe and the periphery of the

Mediterranean. The use of Latin language by the Christian churches in the Medieval Age led to the development of European languages under the influence of Latin language. After the Roman Empire was divided into two as West and East, the East Roman Empire imposed various policies in order to suppress the Greek language which was widely spoken in the Balkans region and the existence of Latin language in the Balkan Peninsula gradually became clearer. Yet again, the Greek language and culture was able to survive this oppressive period, however, it was regarded as the ‘other’ of the Europe (Hingley, 2005). Constantine I of Greece started to reign as the first Christian emperor and rule the entire land of the empire. East and West Roman Empires chose Christianity as their official religion upon the decision of Constantine in 325 and Christianity was indoctrinated to the society (Eroglu, 2000).

In consideration of the current structure of Europe inclined towards integrity (European Union), we come across the Roman civilization as an underlying culture. The effect of the Roman Empire during the First Age was intensive especially on the culture of the society within the borders of the empire. The Empire which had an autocratic regime caused the assimilation of other cultures through the methods of “*Romanization*”² and people were started to be directed in line with the values of the Roman Empire (Mattingly D. J., 2004). The oppression of Latin as the official language on the other languages spoken on the continent and the replacement of the Roman gods with Christianity as a religion enabled the Roman Empire to create a common ground in the Continental Europe by virtue of its autocratic power that prevailed over its wide boundaries despite its differences like East-West and Orthodox-Catholic and its relations with other cultures provided materials for areas of

² “Romanization” is an imperialist policy of the era when the people of the areas ruled by the Roman Empire were required to become Romans in cultural terms (Mattingly D. J., 1997a:8). The core of this notion is that there is a divine obligation to civilize the barbarian believing that the empire was assigned with such a divine task (Woolf, 1997). This concept underlines that societies which are not annexed to the empire are perceived as “barbaric” or “indigenous” in the eyes of the West Roman Empire and that they needed to be Romanized.

study such as ‘imperialism’, ‘differentiation’ and ‘subjectivity’ (Hingley, citing Benton & Fear, 2003).

Before discussing the effects of the Roman civilization on the present day, we need to analyze the roots of the term “*modern*”. The term and concept “*modern*” emerged based upon the word “*modernus*” derived from the word “*modo*” in Latin. The word stands for “*right now*” in English³. In this context, the terms *modern* establishes a bond with neither past nor the future. It is based upon the present time as a concept. The concept of modern was first used to differentiate the Christianity of the era from the pagan traditions in the 5th century (Aksakal, 2011:92). Therefore, Christians was also thought to be modern during the 5th century – and even during the Medieval Age.

With the power of Rome and the concept of modern, Christianity started to treat the pagans the same way it was treated before: be intolerant of those who are different. Therefore, harboring a pluralist policy with the advantage of being the official religion, Christianity influenced the present indicated by the term modern and started to attribute additional meanings to the term modern. People who adopted the pagan beliefs were pictured as the different side of the society and were excluded from being modern. People who were previously the believers of other religions but later converted to Christianity were treated rather more tolerantly. Therefore, intolerance of the others was both the “modern” understanding of the era and a government policy. According to Spinoza, it was a moral duty of the knowers of the truth to change the ideas and ways of the ignorant and not performing this duty would actually mean being selfish (Bauman, 1992:xiv).

After the concept of modern was integrated with the Christianity of the era, Christianity found itself a place within the policy of “*Romanization*”. Since Christianity which had the

³ “Modern” article, The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VI. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd Edition, 1970, p.573

“present time” since the 5th century over the concept of modern had its justified reasons to expand within the borders of the Roman Empire, it integrated the empire’s culture and structure into the concept of modern and tried to make the concept of modern dependent on itself in religious terms.

In his book, Hingley discusses in detail that the roots of the present Europe and the United States of America lie deep in the classical era and defines the term “West” accordingly. The starting point of the concept of Eurocentrism, which applies to the new age and the modern age, coincides with the Ancient Greek era together with the concept of *‘humanitas’*⁴; however, it attained greater success with Romanization. The Roman Empire has become a ‘global’ empire until the discovery of new continents and was ruled with a Eurocentric approach. The Roman culture also merged with local cultures through methods of assimilation and adaptation. Therefore, the Roman Culture became successful in turning the understanding of common language, religion and culture into the foundation of Roman Empire within its borders; and since it used violence and oppression it is also called as the First Age Imperialism (Hingley, 2005).

Such ‘acts of civilization’ that was handed down to the governments that emerged after the collapse of the West Roman Empire constitute the basis of the colonial policy following the discovery of the “New World” and justified the use of violence and oppression in its own opinion (Bernal, 1994:119). Martin Bernal puts forth the following suggestion in relation to the modernist perspective, which regards the Medieval Age caused by Christianity as the ‘modern’ and the ancient Roman civilization as the classics:

“Classics has incorporated social and cultural patterns in society as a whole and has reflected them back, to provide powerful support for

⁴ Even though it is generally translated as “civilization” from Latin, it was perceived as ‘being Roman’ during Roman Empire.

the notion of Europe possessing a categorical superiority over all the other continents, which in turn justifies imperialism or neo-colonialism as *missions civilisatrices*.” (Bernal, 1994:119)

We see the ‘otherization’ during the colonization of the “New World” by the European just like it was during the conquest of Europe by the Roman civilization. The Europe-oriented modern civilization defines itself as ‘me’ in the presence of this otherization. It defines itself and creates binaries through otherizing the people on the outside. According to Spivak (1988), Such binaries (civilized/barbarian, old/new, east/west, traditional/modern, me/other, etc.) show where the European societies position the other societies epistemologically and enable ‘the Europeans to know the others through assimilation’.

Races or religions such as American Indians, Mayas, Incas, Arabs, Mongols, Chinese and Muslims, etc. have always been regarded as the ‘other’ in the Eurocentric perspective, and the Europeans have always been intolerant of such races and religions – just like an individual who was not born and raised in Rome could not be quite equal to a ‘true’ Roman. As an example, it is a well-known historical fact that it was the “white man’s burden” for the founders of the USA to ignore the American Indians as the ‘others’, wipe them out, assimilate them and to acquire the lands and wealth of the Indian lands (Ilter, 2006).

In the light of this information, it can be said that the concept of ‘modern’ used to express the communities of the Continental Europe who protected the ‘present time’ and lived within the borders of a global empire in the First Age, who adopted the values of this empire and used them as a foundation for its civilization, who could merge with the local cultures when necessary and who accepted Christianity as the only true religion. The binaries of the modern were intended to distinguish them from the others who were not like them. Therefore, people such as non-Christians, non-Europeans and people who did not share the taste of Roman

architecture who were the subjects of a strong discrimination like in-out – shortly, who had even a little difference – were considered as the “others”. Staszak defines the other and otherness as follows:

"The creation of otherness (also called othering) consists of applying a principle that allows individuals to be classified into two hierarchical groups: them and us. The out-group is only coherent as a group as a result of its opposition to the in-group and its lack of identity. This lack is based upon stereotypes that are largely stigmatizing and obviously simplistic. The in-group constructs one or more others, setting itself apart and giving itself an identity. Otherness and identity are inseparable sides of the same coin. The Other only exists relative to the Self, vice versa." (Staszak, 2008)

In Latin, the term “*alius*” is used and the term “*alien*” (stranger) is also derived from such term. Therefore, it can be said that the term is also connected with the term “alienation”. In another meaning, the term “*ceterus*” which stands for “*the rest*” in English is also used. Shortly, the term “Other” can be defined as the person, group, society or class, etc. who have been categorized, ethnically differentiated or segregated by a culture or a society through their past or present references (Nahya, 2011).

Evaluating the terms “me” and the “other” in the context of the modernity dichotomy, such terms actually create an image and an appearance. These images are created as negative prejudices, stereotypes and labelling. Whereas otherization is only a notion, its manifestation and the practice of identification over such prejudices is called an image (Ulagli, 2006).

The Latin words *Peregrinus/Peregrina* stand for “Stranger” and “non-Roman citizens” and referred to the states of the indigenous people of Iberia Peninsula and the British Isles just

after or before they were accepted into the Roman civilization. After the 4th century, such terms were used to define the persons who were exiled from Rome (Noy, 2000). Otherization found itself a rather wide platform when the other societies of the world fell under the colonization of the Europe through the geographical discoveries after this period. It is still a field of intensive study that covers the period after the Enlightenment era until today.

Even though the term otherization is used to detect the position of the other societies which were not included in the Roman Empire, it was also a phenomenon that existed within the empire. As previously mentioned, its origin was divided into two as the ones born in Rome and the ones born in the rest of Italy during the Roman Republic. Events that resulted in the emergence of the other within the empire took place upon the conflicts between the Roman and Greek cultures when the borders were expanded (Hingley, 2005). The most distinctive differentiations within the empire was the differences based upon the past due to the oppression of the Greek language by the Latin language, the division of the empire into East and West, and the requirement for two different religious leaders for Rome and Constantinople after Christianity was adopted, and based upon the religion like the emergence of churches as Catholic and Orthodox.

Otherization is an act which was and still being exhibited by various societies to define the other who is not one of them. Accordingly, the development of otherization along with modernity and its process, perception and transformation until the 21st century will be studied in the following chapters of the study within the scope and limitations of the study.

1.2 Eurocentrism Theory and Eurocentric Approaches

Eurocentrism is an extensive concept, which is not easy to define since it is not a movement of thought and we come across with it in many aspects of life. Accordingly, it should be pointed out that the concept is based on the understanding of ‘me and the other’, in which ‘me’ represents Europe and ‘the other’ represents the non-European. Even though Eurocentrism looks like ethnocentrism in the way it evaluates the ‘other’ societies, takes its own cultural and social facts as a standard and values itself above the rest; according to Heit, it is not: because Eurocentrism is not defined with an ethno but it has an *ethos*, in other words, a character. The subject character is the European identity (Heit, 2005:728). At this point, it can be said that the foundations of the notion of individualism is laid. Following Continental Europe’s outclassing the other continents after the geographical discoveries, Eurocentrism reached a global dimension and created its own myths claiming that Europe is superior to the rest of the world. This feeling of superiority has been a factor that strengthened the hegemonic structure of Europe (Blaut, 2012; Said, 2003). In his work *Eurocentrism*⁵, Samir Amin states that Europeans did not have the full command of this concept during Renaissance because their capitalist system was not globally built well yet. The superiority of the European identity resulted from the fact that they possessed the Ancient Greek culture and they thought they had a better progress when compared to the ‘others’ (Amin, 2007:88).

Therefore, Eurocentrism is a way of thinking that considers Europe as the ‘core’, labels other cultures and societies as the ‘periphery’ and that has a tendency to see the world from the perspective of Europe or the West. Even though the Eurocentric cultural pressure was officially over after the understanding of colonialism ended following the World War II, its

⁵ Samir Amin’s book *Eurocentrism* offers its readers a detailed research into the concept of Eurocentrism from the ancient ages to our date and intends to base this concept upon a scientific ground.

effects continued in various ways. Concepts like post-colonialism and self-orientalism are believed to have emerged with the still continuing effect of the concept of Eurocentrism in the 20th and 21st centuries. According to Amin (2007:129), Eurocentrism has been internalized with the Western social sciences working out its way without getting noticed most of the time. Therefore, based upon this suggestion, it can be said that social sciences are used to shape Eurocentric thoughts and myths into norms. Wallerstein points out that social sciences are Eurocentric in five aspects. These are writing history, universalism, Western civilization, orientalism and the imposition of the idea of progress (Wallerstein, 2000:189).

Eurocentrism started to pervade rapidly beginning from the 16th century in cultural, economic and political terms. It caused the emergence of the concept of modernism and provided for the cultural union of the continent. In economic terms, the notion progressed synchronously with capitalism and found the chance to pervade larger soils through colonization. In political terms, European governments carried out practices intended to create a series of myths about Europe on the colonized lands and tried to impose the thought that Europe is superior as a fact. The following chapters will discuss what paths Eurocentric thought follows in cultural, economic and political terms.

1.2.1 The birth of modernity

Modernity generally relates to a historical period after conventionalism following the Medieval Age: this period represents a historical process which starts with feudalism and continues with capitalism, industrialism, secularism, rationalism and nation state and its institutions and its supervising patterns (Barker, 2005:444). Even if the thought of Enlightenment plays an important role in the Western philosophy, modernity intends to

supervise the social relations related to the rise of capitalism. Modernity also refers to the trends in the intellectual culture; Marxism, which is interwoven with personal life especially after secularization and industrial revolution, and the emergence of social sciences with existentialism all form a part of the modernity paradigm. In this sense, modernity was identified with cultural and intellectual trends between the years 1436 and 1789 and had an influence on 1970s and even later (Toulmin, 2002:3-6).

The best-known political results of modernity as a result of the philosophical ideas of modernity are the nation state and separation of powers principle, legal and democratic structure protected by constitution, English Civil War that took place as a result of the changing production modes and conflicts between societies and the American and French revolutions. Likewise, the Nazi movement, which was one of the reasons of the World War II, was a notion that emerged for the sake of protecting the German nation-state and the pure German race under the influence of modernity. Therefore, apart from the fact that the concept of modernity went beyond the uniform human model of the Church after the Medieval Age provided individuals with freedom and led to the creation of nation states, it can be said that it also triggered the otherization of such individuals and nation-state societies through nationalist thoughts that emerged with discrimination from the Medieval Age societies and that it gave rise to the problems of otherization even within Europe itself apart from the discriminations experienced by the non-West.

As a cultural and intellectual trend, modernity acted with capitalism, which provided economical support to it. Even though the concept of modernity, which started in Europe and expanded to the whole world, is similar to westernization, it is suggested that there is a difference between those two. Delanty suggests that modernity is not westernization and that its basic dynamics are found in all societies (Delanty, 2007). Considering that modernity refers to the concept of liberation, reasoning, individualization and democratization, these

concept can exist or be found anywhere in the world as suggested by Delanty. However, how can any society acquire such values in the complex process called modernity? If the concept of westernization suggests a non-Western society's abandoning its own values and adopting that of the West, and if the modernity talks about freedom for the entire humanity with a universalist approach, can the difference between the two concepts be regarded as the 'desire to imitate the West'? Can we say that modernity secretly involves the concept of Westernization if Modernity and Westernization were not different from each other? In order to understand the differences and similarities between Modernity and Westernization, one has to know the historical process of modernity and the concepts and events, which supports modernity in its global discourses.

The concept of modern is derived from the term modern. The term modern refers to the Christian societies who were the remainders of the West Roman Empire in relation to the Medieval Age and to the process of these societies throughout the Medieval Age when transiting from feudalism to national monarchy in governmental terms. As it is clear, the concept of modern has existed since the first ages; however, quite a few philosophers believe that the actual way of modern thinking started with the discovery of America in 1492 and continued with the progress of the Western Enlightenment. Such discovery is also considered as the beginning of a new age together with the Conquest of Istanbul in 1453. What is striking at this point is even the historical periods are shaped according to the concept of modernity. First Age, Medieval Age, New Age and Modern Age indicate that the concept of modern and ways of thinking of an era change and such changes result in a sudden step into a new age. Civilization from previous ages constituted a basis for new civilizations and started to be referred to as the 'ancient' or 'classical' period growing away from the concept of 'modern'; because the concept of modern possesses the present time as previously emphasized.

In relation to the progress story of postmodernity which is “the first age – pre-modern – modern – postmodern”, Tugrul Ilter (2006) replies the suggestions that postmodernity comes later than modern by saying that the modern always possesses the now and so it never ends, and thus, he objects to the thinking that the postmodern era has begun.

Expressing that “there is no doubt that postmodern is a part of the modern. Postmodernism lies not at the end of the modern but at its birth, and this is continuous”, Lyotard states that the postmodern criticisms actually question the current position of the modern and keep the modern contemporized by catching up with the dynamics of the era; in other words, the modern should firstly be postmodern (Lyotard, 1984:79). Therefore, the ‘early modern’ period towards the end of the Medieval Age can be considered as the postmodern thoughts under the conditions of that age. As a result of these postmodern thoughts, the oppression of the Church was questioned and which in return brought the Renaissance and the Reform, which were later followed by the ideas of the Enlightenment. Therefore, since mentalities develop on a constant basis, it is possible to say that the postmodern thinking is a part of the modern thinking which always tries to contemporize the latter. Thus, the modern leaves the ‘old’ behind while possessing the ‘new’ idea as the main trend.

The fact that the modern possesses the present time brings along always being dynamic for Europe. An important example to this is the decreasing effects of religion in the Medieval Age following the Renaissance and the Reform and the depiction of religion as an obstruction in the way of progress. Because, in the modern discourse, the “reason” and “rationality” constituted the basis of the new European thinking as its fundamental elements that came along with the Enlightenment thinking. Therefore the Enlightenment and the Renaissance and the Reform that came before it were the most important elements that constituted the concept of modernity.

Enlightenment was a philosophical movement that began with the Glorious Revolution in the 18th Century and ended with the French Revolution. At the core of this movement lies the belief that human beings can break down the oppressive structure of the religion and go beyond its limits, and solve the mystery of humans, nature and the universe through reason and science. The movement of Enlightenment meant liberating the individuals from the restraints of religion, myths, prejudices, zealotry and superstition and bringing an “order of reason”; therefore individuals would be able to solve the problems of their society through reasoning since they would be totally liberated (Saylan, 2002:105-114). The era, which is dominated by the Enlightenment, thinking is also known as the “Age of Reason”. Relying on the reasoning, the Age of Reason stood up for the belief that only the person himself can know what is best for him, and the destiny which was then divine lost its divinity and was left in the hands of man (Tekeli, 2002:1). Therefore, the Enlightenment thinking refused any authority, superior thought or principle that had an outside influence over the decision-making mechanism of man (Wagner, 1992:34).

Enlightenment constitutes the philosophical fundamentals of modernity. Enlightenment stood up against the authority of the Church and replaced it with the authority of nature and science. Therefore, it would not be true to purport that Enlightenment opposes to authority (Cigdem, 2006:16-19). Enlightenment considers science as its pioneer and suggests that the single true concept for humanity lies with the science. Therefore, the ones who want to arrive at the truth need to rearrange their lives in the path directed by the science.

Since the Enlightenment started with the existing values of the philosophers in France, England, Germany, Scotland and America and their criticisms of the social institutions, it is possible to talk about separate nation-wide enlightenment thoughts instead of a single one. Even though Enlightenment thinkers attributed different meanings to concepts such as reason, science, information, religion, god, law of nature and nature and, in return, differed

from each other on philosophical, social and political concepts; they actually represent a whole as the 'West' (Aslan Yasar, 2011).

Enlightenment thinking is in a way the 'West' declaring its declaration of dominance over the present time; because, Enlightenment puts emphasis on the concept of progress and does not believe that history repeats itself. It rather treats history as a process of progress and grasps that each period of the history embraces the accumulation and heritage of a previous period thus gets stronger when progressing. Thanks to the advance in technology, which will produce material wealth with the idea of progress, people will lead a happier and more civilized life (TUSIAD, 2002:356). If the reality is absolute in the way indicated by the Enlightenment and modernity, it can be concluded that all societies who share the same opinion on such progress will go through similar processes. Therefore, it can be said that this opinion laid the foundations of the theory 'undeveloped', which has been widely used as of the 20th century.

The progressive understanding of the Enlightenment thinking has led to the emergence of positivist historical approach and positivist sciences. The positivist phase is the phase that is dominated by science and it is the removal of phases of theology and metaphysics that ruled the society before from the society (Saylan, 2002:178). Positivism is a mode of science that started with Newtonian physics and causality is prioritized: a scientist should not have any comment (standard of judgment, belief, purpose, prejudice, etc.) when producing or revealing knowledge; in other words, science should be free from subjectivity and should be absolutely objective. Pragmatism has an important place as a phenomenon in such understanding of science. According to Bacon, man should learn about and know the nature in order to rule it and transform it into a state in which nature can be useful (Bumin, 2005:19-20). Information can be obtained through science and only this way can man dominate the nature to use it for his own benefits.

In Enlightenment, there are no masses that are directed by the Church; instead, Enlightenment thinking emphasizes the prospered, educated and creative individuals; therefore, well-educated individuals who have their own free ideas will be able to be the pioneers of their societies. Furthermore, individuals will be equal and free in their society and assume the duties of citizenship in the public sphere (Tekeli, 2002:20). The birth of modern state law in line with the inter-human contracts and the secular structure where everybody is treated equally in order to overcome the dogmatic rules of religion were included among the phenomena that originated together with Enlightenment.

Throughout the Medieval Age, the Continental Europe suffered epidemics and wars. Those educated ones who survived started to look for a mentality through which they could enjoy life in the teachings of the ancient era (such as literature and art works, etc.) and to question the restraining oppression of the Catholic Church; therefore, the first steps were taken for the Renaissance and the Reform. Renaissance saw rational information superior to divine and religious information just like during the period before Christianity; the ideas and questions forbidden or underestimated by the Church were tried to be answered through activities. Such activities took shape through geographical discoveries, natural sciences and studies on medicine. Therefore, the feeling of reform was experienced in many aspects from the art to the commerce in Europe; and secularism became the most distinctive indication of Renaissance (Bumin, 2005).

The fact that Renaissance and geographical discoveries took place during the same period is a significant indication that there is a connection between the two. The discovery that the earth was round, discovery of new continents and learning that India could be reached by sea by means of going westward had traumatic effects on Christianity who had developed discourse only within the Continental Europe up to that time. Thus, even if these new lands were created for the sake of humanity, they were not intended for Christianity. There were also the

social rationalities and realities adopted by the civilizations that lived on such soils.

Therefore, the fact that the people lost their confidence in the Church once again and the possibility to discover the unknown constituted the basis for the new era of the Continental Europe.

Renaissance was born in Italy and was experienced between the 15th and 16th centuries. The term *Re-naissance* means rebirth. Following the rediscovery of the Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations, European people preferred discovering the world leaving aside the oppression of the Catholic Church. The rebirth of Europe actually did not take place as completely separated from its past; an era (the Medieval Age) ended and another (the New Age) started due to the transformation of the main idea that was contemporary and that possessed the present time according to the modern paradigm.

According to Amin, if Renaissance defines itself as an important parting of the ways in the history of humanity, it is because European people started think that the conquest of the world was possible from then on. The core that was once located in the east of the Mediterranean, at the 'holy land' where Christianity was born gradually shifted towards the Atlantic Ocean (just like an orient express that takes off in the east and goes towards the west) throughout the ages where it took its central position (Amin, 2007). According to Hingley (2005:21), the Eurocentric discourse shifted its center depending on the governments that implemented imperialist policies: *Pax Romana*, *Pax Hispanica*, *Pax Brittanica* ve *Pax Americana*⁶.

During the later periods of the First Age and throughout the Middle Age, the Continental Europe has been under the influence of Christianity as a belief system. However, the fact that

⁶ Latin: Roman Peace (antic age reference), Spanish Peace (colonial period reference), British peace (industrial revolution reference) and American Peace (neoliberal period reference at the end of the 20th century). At this point, what Hingley emphasize is that the governments that come to power as a result of imperial policies fictionalize their own concepts of 'peace' and that the prosperity of the colonized societies in the vicinity was not important when the prosperity of the society that lived in the center was.

Christianity (especially the Catholic Church) gained strength through becoming institutionalized, that even the kings of the Medieval Age governments had the power to excommunicate, in other words, that they had the power to declare people as the “others” on the grounds that they did not abide by the rules of religion within Europe caused the man’s reason to be at the service of the Church. Martin Luther considered indulgence of the Catholic Church to be absent rationalism and further confronted the Catholic Church and the ecclesiasts suggesting that religion and the Catholicism were incompatible with each other and that they disregarded the man’s reason. Luther signed the birth of a new understanding of religion with his 95 theses he nailed to the door of the Wittenburg Church in 1517.

Protestantism emerged as a rebellion against the institutionalized authority of the church over the society in the leadership of Luther and Calvin. This Reform movement weakened the authority of the Catholic Church and prevented Catholic Church from restraining the thoughts of European societies with its dogmatic pressures (Russell, 1997).

Since Protestantism is included in the history of modernity, it can be said that it is regarded as a line that the Western civilization needed to cross and it was shaped into a norm through forging a link between the other Eurocentric ideas. For example, Max Weber points out that there are supplemental requirements for the ‘Industrial Capitalism’. Weber emphasizes that there are two requirements for the system. These are the emergence of the middle class, technological developments and migration into big cities to become wageworkers and the birth of rational law system. Weber emphasizes that these requirements were born in the West. Protestantism is the supplemental requirement of this system; it is the spirit that defines its character; therefore it is also known as the “Protestant Morals”. Weber (2005) correlates capitalist development with Protestantism and purports that it has an important role in the development of capitalism. The first correlation is that the Protestant population is wealthier and its structure is more inclined to greater investments. The second correlation is that all of

the Western countries who were economically developed after the enlightenment are Protestant according to the study of Weber. Industrial Capitalism did not take place in Catholic countries. The third and last correlation is that the moral values of the Protestantism overlaps with the capitalist moral values: the belief that hardworking, honest and kindhearted men would be awarded by God and the understanding of providence coincides with the capitalist thought that the more you work the more you earn.

Weber conducts otherization through Eurocentric discourses over language, religion and race and tries to rationalize the dark development of modernity that especially took place economically over the colonies. Therefore, he created Eurocentric myths using the post-Renaissance, post-Reform and Enlightenment thoughts and aimed to spread the idea that it is possible to make money through working in the capitalist system and that everybody is equal in this market with a liberal approach; accordingly, he preferred interpreting religious references in this direction. It can be said that the paradigm of modernity that originated with such thoughts pledged itself to go into action in economic and political terms in order to make itself superior to the areas which were considered as the “periphery” according to the Eurocentric thinking; however, even if this movement is centered upon a context of ‘core’ and ‘periphery’, there is an international competition between the countries in the West especially after the emergence of neoliberal policies.

As of the end of the late Roman period, societies lived in different class-based agricultural states and people earned their livings with farming. They would usually give a greater portion of their yields or cash income to the landowning lords, who were the nobles that held lands. This social structure known as feudalism was structured upon serfdom, in other words it was based upon a type of new slavery (Blaut, 2012). Agrarian feudalism exhibited itself as a social structure throughout the Medieval Age. In Feudalism, the central authority is weak whereas local authorities are strong. It has a hierarchical structure that is based upon the

relationship between the protector and the protected and a 'self-sufficient' economy. As opposed to the Roman period, production is not intended for the imperial market; because, the empire was in a difficult position after the money that came from conquests stopped and the collapse of the central market system based on the 'old' style slavery became inevitable. Therefore, small and medium scale vassalages that emerged following the West Roman civilization produced in the amounts that would suffice themselves (Ulgen, 2010).

It is seen that Samir Amin (2007:24) roughly categorizes societies into two as the pre-capitalist societies and the capitalizing societies; he points out that the production in pre-capitalist societies was based upon the continuity of the power and the ideology that justified the power. Therefore, as opposed to capitalist societies, the conditions that need to be solved for the rise, development and evolution of pre-capitalist societies are related to the political ideology rather than the economic ones. In this case, the first element that needs to be discussed in the pre-capitalist societies in order to understand the development of political ideology would be complete culture theory.

Samir Amin states that the type of production used to be colonization over slavery before. He also indicates that feudal production was developed in local regions after the collapse of the West Roman Empire following such period and that lastly that small vassalages united and created monarchies until the Renaissance. Amin uses the definition of "Tributary Societies" for the societies in the Ancient Age whose economy is based on agriculture and who has a government. Even if this definition is similar to the definition of feudal, he accepts that feudalism is only prevalent in Europe. The concept of "Tributary Societies" was derived from the term "tribute" in order to include the societies in the rest of the world within this context. Societies are ruled by the powers known as kingdom/princedom, etc. through a hierarchical system. The term market, which is of great importance for the capitalist period, signifies no

meaning during this period. Government is absolute and the cultural values of the ruling government define how a society is governed.

Briefly speaking, the values of the First Age and the Medieval Age (or only the Medieval Age according to Amin) originated in Egypt and then shifted to the Ancient Greece. The values were carried from the Ancient Greece to the Middle Eastern geography and the Roman culture; which allowed Christianity and Islam to benefit from this Hellenistic culture. According to Amin (2007:46-55), these two religions adopted the syncretism of the Hellenistic era thanks to their Hellenistic roots and both claimed to be universal; actually they resemble each other just like twins. We encounter metaphysics as an important term during this era; because the people of this era tried to understand the 'absolute truth' and the secrets of the nature, earth, space and the human anatomy, etc. through metaphysics because of the yet undeveloped science. Metaphysics constituted the core of the deductive reasoning of the scholastic mentality and religion under the control of the government and the influence of religions. Therefore the holy texts dictated by religion became the source of the things and the secret truth that man questioned; individuals would learn the truth through interpreting these texts. Considering that religions are also metaphysical by their nature, religions tend to become the enemies of science since people add something of themselves to metaphysical questions and try to add something in good faith to the definitions that exist, and religion would burn people alive during the Medieval Age for the sake of protecting the values dictated by the religious doctrines.

Even though Hellenistic culture transferred so many things from itself to the Roman civilization that would be the foundation of the Western (Catholic) Christianity, the Greek culture could not develop after getting under the influence of Rome. Therefore, it is seen that the Christian culture progressed towards the north of the Mediterranean and southern and eastern regions gradually went under the influence of Islam. Western monarchies discovered

the Hellenistic thinking (and that it was actually a sequel to the Greek thought) when the Greek who ran away from Constantinople after it was conquered took refuge in Italy. On the other hand, the scholastic thinking in Islam as a result of the cultural exchange between the Hellenistic culture and the Arabs under the influence of Islam was far denser and stronger when compared to Christianity; because the philosophies of Aristotle and Plato in the Hellenistic era were adopted to the sharia law established by Islam and these were more widely and sharply used with the philosophy and opinion of “*faith seeking understanding*”. The theocratic regime in the geography where Islam was adopted was maintained through integrity of language, religion and race and choosing the tributary production mode as the basis for the government. The rise of Islam accordingly leads to the revival of the weakened Western Christian scholasticism. As a result of the maturation of the objective conditions during the 11th and 12th centuries in the West, the primitive small feudal tributary production mode was replaced with the more advanced absolute monarchy that spread to a wider geography (Amin, 2007:71-74).

The factor that defined the ruling power during the Medieval Age was the religious culture that claimed to be universal. This religious culture could control both Christian and Muslim societies during the Medieval Age through the ruling power. Amin summarizes this state as follows:

“For power must be mindful of what it is: the power of exploitative ruling classes. It prefers to govern the still uncouth masses, who are generally, though not always, content with simple interpretations, hardly preoccupied with philosophy and the reconciliation of reason and faith, and disposed to live according to literally construed texts and formalized ritual. This kind of religious practice, furthermore, is reconcilable with the maintenance of varied popular practices,

ranging from the cult of the saints to astrology, clairvoyance, and even sorcery.” (Amin, 2007:67).

In this context, it is possible to infer that the exploitation of humans over slavery during the first ages took place again during the Medieval Age over religion. The social reflections of this exploitative power took place over the feudal social structure.

According to Blaut (2012:220-224), the rest of the world was ‘pre-agricultural’ societies according to the Eurocentric belief that claimed feudalism to be specific to Europe, and feudalism was a necessary step to be taken for capitalism. Weber states that Europe’s feudalism is unique and so it is the reason of the progress in Europe (Weber, 1981). It is not a Eurocentric perspective that Amin chooses to use the definition ‘tributary society’ instead of the definition of feudalism; on the contrary, he uses such term since the basic elements of a feudal society is seen almost everywhere in the world during the same period. It is still debated today whether agriculture originated in the Western Africa or Southeastern Asia besides the Middle East. The fact that a society does not have cultivated lands or does not live off farming does not mean that such society can be regarded as a ‘pre-agricultural’ society according to the Eurocentric perspective.

It is believed that the fact that vassalages were located in the Continental Europe was a determinant characteristic of feudalism and a very significant development which was unique to Europe, which had a great role in the evolution of capitalism and which lead to private ownership and labor on a large scale. However, this point of view is actually Eurocentric again, because there were partial agricultural vassalages in the demesne land which was located in the southern region of China and India during the same period. Since there is no demesne land agriculture in Europe after the 14th century and the vassalage system existed even partially in non-Europe regions, this cannot be used as a correct statement for the

capitalist transformation of Europe. Once again, it is not possible to purport that the serfdom system was a legacy handed down to Europe by the Late Roman period and did not exist in the rest of the world. Even though serfdom did not exist all around the world, similar practices existed in Asia and Africa. Not all of the agricultural societies are divided into classes; therefore, the fact that they cannot be regarded as feudal does not mean that their production mode was very different from the feudal production mode in Europe. In terms of technology, agriculture was the similar for the rest of the world to what it was in Europe. Shortly, one should consider the fact that Feudal societies and regime could spread over any region in long distances going beyond the boundaries of governments. This gives as a significant clue that the Eurocentric thinking ignored the rest of the world or considered them as backward – for now, in the light of this information (Blaut, 2012:228-229).

Before the geographical discoveries, feudal system exhibited uncertain tendencies in Europe. Geographically tossed aside by Ottoman Empire in the east and African civilizations in the south, European Continent was on the verge of a production crisis also since it was unable to keep hold of the commerce routes that led to Asia. There were no signs that a rapid social or economic change would take place. Even if their towns were getting larger, the population in cities were lesser when compared to many non-European cities (de Vries, 1984). It bore the traces of economic shrinkage instead of growth. Even though Renaissance was experienced in Italy, the city centers there were backward when compared to many non-European cities. This was normal; because Renaissance was not an economic revolution (Thorndike, 1943). The subject that needs to be scrutinized is that how the ‘European Miracle’ was created all of a sudden and without any signs. The study will try to shed light on this subject through geographical discoveries within the historical context, the origination of colonialism and the concepts of Eurocentrism that harbored global discourses within the era that it existed.

Blaut (2012) claims that many theorists misinterpret the situation of Europe before 1492. It is also inferred that the transition from feudalism to capitalism is misconceived through such misinterpretation. According to Blaut, European feudalism was neither advanced nor backward when compared to Asian or African feudalism. The possibility for the feudalism in India to be evolved into capitalism was the same with that of Europe. In a Weberian point of view, it can be said that the transition to capitalism was made possible through the difference of European peasants or the ruling class (or the advanced technology they had claimed to have). However, European peasants were no different from the peasants in Asia or Africa; they were liable to pay rents, tributes or taxes to the landowners and oppressed by the ruling class's ever-increasing desire for surplus value production. The societies which were not separated from each other with definite borders since nation states were not founded yet had easier and more convenient relations when compared to our contemporary world; therefore, it is possible to understand that the structure of the feudal agriculture society progressed almost identically within Asia, Africa and Europe without any restraints. Towards the end of the Medieval Age, there was a change in the cultivated lands of these three continents: there was the possibility that the feudal system would be interrupted and it would collapse, and the course of events indicated a commercialized agriculture and rural capitalism. Asking for more than the amount the farmer produces to suffice himself is a sign of transition from a micro level system to a macro level system. Such system would require commercialization in order to become true. Therefore, the way out of the crisis would be urbanization and commercialization. Towards the end of feudalism, a new economic structuring took shape. It is known that the term 'market', roughly speaking, became a determinant for the trade of the era following a period when people's lives were 'restrained' by religion. Modes of production changed by virtue of the deterministic nature of the market and the term 'sufficient' became meaningless. Merchants who conducted business over the discourses of

rationality had to calculate how much they could sell and thus how much they should produce. Thus, this had led to the birth of commercial rationality (Man, 2011).

According to Gorz, the term 'surplus' had lost its meaning right along with the term 'sufficient'. Whereas it was possible to get enough of something in conventional societies, there was never enough of anything in a society, which was ruled over by the capital. If money was the criterion of richness, there was never an end to how much money one could have. Therefore, the bond between working and need was severed, and the underlying motivation became irrelevant to fulfilling needs or the feeling of satisfaction. Therefore, there was never 'too much' of something any more (Gorz, 2007).

'Proto-capitalism' is a term coined by Blaut to suggest that the transition from feudalism to capitalism is actually not a sharp one and that there is an early capitalist system dating back to capitalism and geographical discoveries (Blaut, 2012:241). It is suggested that feudalism did not exist in some regions of the continents Asia, Africa and Europe: workers were wage earners, the ruling class mainly consisted of merchants and landowners and the economy was defined with agriculture. Mercantile maritime city centers conducted maritime commerce and this actually meant a great deal of profit for the merchants: maritime commerce attracted great demand since the maritime trade routes were not controlled by any of the countries, no taxes were paid and luxury consumer goods other than main consumer goods could be shipped by sea. It also contributed in proto-capitalism since it required intensive use of labor and helped the advancement of nautical technology.

What the Marxist thinking and other philosophers object to at this point is that such state is irrelevant to capitalism. The reason for that was trade or barter existed for thousands of years and capitalism was not about bartering but production. Bartering does not add value to a product. Since this thinking leads us to know that bartering culture will not lead us to

capitalism, it enables us to arrive at the conclusion that the birth of capitalism must be sought in agricultural societies (Brenner, 1985). The definition Blaut used for this process was *spatial movement*:

“When a farmer produces an agricultural “thing,” he or she must not only grow it but also transport it from field to farmstead and then to market, and must also transport [...] labor from outside the farm. Farm production, therefore, involves both change of form and change of place. An automobile assembly line is a process of change both of form and of place. Thus, overall, *spatial movement is part of production*. [...] Therefore, the medieval activities involved in moving commodities over long distances were not, ontologically, “exchange”; they were *spatial transport*. [...] They produced use-value at the destination from commodities that had none, or less, at the point of departure.” (Blaut, 2012:245)

This spatial movement made it possible to trade important products and luxury consumer goods in Asia and Africa and such created a proto-capitalist system for the production of such goods. It can be said that the existence of such system created a suitable foundation for the development of capitalism in Asia and Africa.

Thanks to this spatial revolution that came after feudalism, the proto-capitalist system emerged as an intercontinental trading system since the surplus value asked from the peasant producers could not meet the expectations despite the decreasing rates and due to the tensions between peasants. Therefore, Weber’s belief that the societies ruled by the tyrannizers in the east would be governed with authoritarian regime unless they were liberated under the influence of Europe can be considered as a Eurocentric myth. Proto-capitalist societies were

generally addressed to one by one, they were not included within a rather macro-level policy such as the 'real' capitalism (Blaut, 2012:251).

Capitalism was derived from the term capital. The term capital, which means accumulated assets, was also known as forms of wealth during the time when it was first used. Capitalism started to develop rapidly in the Continental Europe in line with capital's desire to maximize itself. Large amounts of precious metals, moneys and smuggled goods that were seized through colonization were brought in the Continental Europe which in turn boosted the level of welfare in the continent and led to the continent's economic expansion. There were large amounts of accumulated tradable goods in the market, and merchants charged interest on the goods they seized from colonies and led to the propagation of Europe's capitalist mentality – in other words, economic rationality. The process of agriculture-oriented production stopped as opposed to the process in the feudal structure. Since commoditized products caused inflation in European countries, landowners and wage earners got poorer, and instead, owners of the movable valuable commodities got richer. This way, the feudal structure was disrupted and a monetary revolution took place. The welfare that prevailed in the continent certainly accelerated technological improvements and prepared the foundation of the industrial revolution. Invention of the printing machine and the birth of book industry were the results of the capitalist system. Positivist sciences started to invent new machines and production facilities to facilitate the human life. Research and development projects in which investments were made to this end was intended to maximize profit while decreasing costs; management and manpower in companies were divided into hierarchical categories (Wallerstein, 2006:11-38).

With the emergence of Liberalism, it was not possible for the Church to rule the society anymore just like in the Medieval Age. Man should try to improve himself using his innate abilities and should become secular. The birth of individualism took place in this way. For

this reason, Christopher Columbus was regarded as an exemplary individual since he made geographical discoveries and gave a new direction to the Continental Europe. Therefore, social movements went beyond being modern; the endeavors of individual and the success of the system (especially during the neoliberal period) were the new modern. The Enlightenment philosophers invented Liberalism and each nation had her own philosopher who had a different understanding of the Liberalist thinking. Philosophers like Pierre Elliott Trudeau, John Locke, David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Immanuel Kant, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Baron de Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham and Friedrich Hayek developed different ideas about liberalism and contemplated on the relationship between the government and the individual.

Such philosophers asserted that individuals needed to compete under equal conditions and objected to the intervention of governments as social relief providers. ‘Non-profitable’ monetary aids without returns such as social reliefs, healthcare services within the frame of government insurances conflict with the core of liberalism: the individuals with financial impossibilities who want to be offered such services should earn the service they want to receive just like other income-earner individuals. It is possible to say that the understanding of classical liberalism that is widespread today is the liberalist mentality that objects to the diffusive and interventional attitude of government, that wants to limit the powers of government by defining them, that believes in the intrinsic existence of a justice system inside the market economy, that does not harbor the qualities of a social state and that is individualist instead of being socialist (Yayla, 2011).

Private entrepreneurship became widespread along with liberalism. The reason for that is the growing capital accumulated in private sectors. The liberal structure emphasized that it was wrong of the government to intervene in this process; however, new laws were enforced in order to promote economic growth and development. Craftsmanship was abandoned and

merchants purchased the crafts shops and turned their owners into wage earners who now worked for the capital. The products created by craftsmen became copies of each other for the sake of meeting the increasing demand. At the end of the 16th century, small businesses were purchased by larger ones, and thus the capitalist system continued its rapid growth. This course continued until the emergence of industrial capitalism in the 18th century, and the industrial revolution brought along a couple of changes. Industrial revolution enabled the transition from the mode of production dependent on manpower and animals to the mode of production dominated by the machine power. The mode of production changed and the amount of production increased with the transition to machines. Industrial revolution is the single example where the population growth does not prevent economic growth. Increasing raw materials, produced goods, industrial and commercial processes also increased the number of consumers who would buy and the merchants who would sell in the market (Kucukkalay, 1997).

Industrial revolution emerged as a result of the technological developments in scientific and technical studies which were financed by the material welfare of the Continental Europe (such as decrease in interest and increase in investments) derived from the flow of great resources to the continent transferred from the colonies which originated following the great discoveries. The population increased in the cities that were getting industrialized, and these cities attracted great migrations. The flow of manpower with such migrations turned into cheap labor just to maximize the profits of the capitalists. In the light of Enlightenment thinking, this had brought along the belief that the religious doctrines of the Medieval Age needed to be left aside and that man had to attain success on his own within the context of the relationship between time-space and human-nature. This also brought along the ideas of secularism, rationalism and individualism.

As soon as capitalism made itself evident after the feudal system, verbal traditions, personal commitments and loyalties started not to suffice. People wanted that such void of trust was filled with written rules of law; and they did so. Thus, the modern law was born. It became a necessity to regulate the ever-changing social rules through modern law. Tax imposition emerged in European countries for the first time again during the period after Renaissance since the Roman period – due to high economic resources. A new power called bureaucracy originated in order to regulate, collect and calculate such taxes. The middle class that took shape with the emergence of capitalism wanted to guarantee itself, have legal clarity and not have any risks related to his income. Therefore, creation of national law and judiciary union paved the way for the emergence of nation states (Yuksel, 2001:54-55)

In consideration of the French Revolution, nation states are defined as a European invention (Yuksel, 2001); and as the differentiation of government from other organizations as a result of the centralization of the national control under one roof with the coordination of administrative units, its recognizance by other governments and the reciprocal international acceptance of their autonomies (McNeely, 1995:3). Such a system needed to be regulated via a feasible legal system through bureaucracy and so that the central administration could be viable. In the historical context, it is seen that there is a tendency of change from its first emergence as monarchy to nation state and then democracy. Monarchy can be said to be the first form of modern government; therefore, what is necessary is the existence of a monopolistic power that sets and imposes rules (Saylan, 1995:2).

Therefore, nation states originated in order to fulfill the requirements of capitalism and bring democracy for the sake of individualism and started to prepare the government structure needed by the modern Europe. However, we can also come across with nation states as a phenomenon that is not wanted by the capital in the globalizing order because a nation state has the right to not allow the capital, as a monopolistic power, circulate within the borders of

such nation state (Yuksel, 2001). The conflict between nation states and capitalism would become more intense between multiple nation states that were spawned especially in the 20th Century following the World War II and neoliberalism that wanted to economically control the nation states through globalization.

Following the emergence of capitalist system, the global dominance passed to the Continental Europe. There is no doubt that the most significant criticisms in relation to the system were suggested by Karl Marx who evaluated the cultural, social and economic dimensions of this capitalist system. In his studies he conducted on the sociology of the capitalist system, Karl Marx criticized the opportunities offered by the system. In his works, Marx criticized the capital-oriented system of the Eurocentric system that was not human-oriented and emphasized that the system attached more importance to the motivation of reaping profit than humans and humane values, that the masses started to lose their values and that the greed for profit was increasing as people earned more (Kizilcelik, 2011). According to Marx, the unhappiness of humans is related to the order of the modern system of the West. Marx supports the actions opposing the capitalist system created by the West and strongly suggests that the rights of the proletariats should be defended and that they should be internationalized. Marx analyzed the production relationships, class conflicts, labor-capital relationships, exploitation of labor and alienation in the capitalist system and revealed ownership relations using dialectic materialism and historical materialism (Marx, 2005:23). Marx “offers a scientific narrative about the conflictive foundations of the modern society” and discusses the Western order within the frame of capital, land ownership, paid labor, government, foreign trade and world market (Clarke, 2007:311) (Marx, 2005:21). In this way, Marx proved the dominance of capitalist order and the capital on societies and the world and revealed its oppressive structure.

Marxism underlines that economic organization or modes of production are the determinants of social relationships, political and legal systems, ideologies and social moral values.

According to Marxist analysis, the class conflicts within the capitalist system take place between the proletariats who are heavily involved in the production and the minority middle class who are involved in the management of private companies and who turn the surplus values of workers into profits. It is emphasized that a social revolution will be experienced when this conflict becomes apparent within the proletariat class. The socialist system will change the production modes and it will support the production only in amounts that are needed (Marx, 2005) (Marx, 2008). According to Marx, socialism is a step into the path that leads to communism along with the advancing technology and production tools that become more effective.

Whereas socialism is considered as the questioning of capitalism in the Marxist theory, the historical materialist point of view indicates that the economic development will go through a certain historical stage and, at the same time, new production modes will replace capitalism. Accordingly, since mode of production will be defined depending on the usage value, the law of value will not be able to have a direct influence on economic developments, which in return will be way to prevent commodity fetishism. At the same time, socialism is the first step to a classless society (Marx & Engels, 2008). Socialist economic system aims to produce and distribute as much as needed by the individuals in a society and opposes to private enterprises setting personal or corporate profit goals having been encouraged by the accumulation of capital. Therefore, surplus production will be stopped and the surplus value of the proletariat will be left to them. Surplus value means the production of more than the amount required. The paid workers who cannot get a hold of production tools exert greater labor in order to earn more income in the capitalist system. Pointing out the difference

between labor and labor power, Marx conducted studies on how to calculate the surplus value (Marx, 2005).

Even though Socialism in the 18th century originated as a common movement of intellectuals and proletariats criticizing the influence of industrialization policies and capitalism of the period on the society and socialist discourses were made at every point when capitalism was unable to solve its own problems, Socialism in the 19th century was considered as the opposite of capitalism and as a system alternative to capitalism (Giddens, 2009). Whereas capitalism appealed more to the ‘potential infinity’ of the desires of humans with the motivation to acquire more profits, Socialism towards the 20th century was reflected as outdated and old-fashioned by the Eurocentric modern institutions (Bauman, 2013:50). Therefore, capitalism today, in the present time we live in with modernity possessing the now, tries to get itself acknowledged as the best economic system possible. For this reason, in his thesis “end of history”, Fukuyama defines democratic rights and liberalism as two related concepts and emphasizes that the foundations of our present-day civilization created by the relationship between these two concepts are the latest and most effective ideological thoughts in the history of mankind; he also claims that the history has been progressing towards an end since the first ages and that this ‘last’ point is our present time (Fukuyama, 1999). However, considering history as a linear progress is what the modernity wants; in addition, the capitalist order has lots of issues which are already at debate. Claiming that the beginning of the 21st century is the last point mankind will ever have arrived is equal to creating another Western (European) myth in terms of politics and in the global sense and trying to lead people believe this myth.

1.2.1.1 Spread of the European myths and the effects of Eurocentric thinking

Following the discovery of America in 1492, countries in the Western Europe found themselves in a rivalry to discover the 'New World'. Africa, America and the South Sea Islands were colonized during the years between 1500 and 1900 especially by Portugal, Spain, England, France and Holland. This period of colonization lasted nearly until the end of the World War II. Of course this was not the discovery of the European, it is debated that peoples who crossed over Siberia discovered America. In addition, since the Western Africa is geographically closer to the Americas when compared to Europe, it is possible that the Americas were discovered before 1492 (Devisse & Labib, 1984). Even if discovered, Western Africans did not have the desire to acquire new and cheaper financial gains unlike the Europeans who were in the middle of financial problems and felt restrained within the borders of their geography. There are significant researches, supported by archeological excavations and findings, purporting the theory that nomads who travelled from the Eastern hemisphere by sea or passed over Siberia settled down in the Americas before 1492. Therefore, a claim that this continent was first discovered from scratch could only be the product of Eurocentric mentality.

Colonization started at a great pace with the discovery of American by the Europeans. It is possible to say that colonization was successful. The colonization attained success in the end of hundred-year wars with the Native Americans of the continent. Such success did not come because the Europeans outnumbered the Native Americans, they had advanced technology or had superior intelligence specific to their race but because of the mass depopulation caused by the epidemics transmitted by the Europeans (Lovell, 1992). The resistance of the Native Americans ended before it began due to the epidemics that broke out. It is estimated that

three fourths of the Native Americans and nearly ninety percent of the central Mexico population were exterminated during the outbreak of the epidemics (Denevan, 1992) (Lovell, 1992). The traces of the epidemics that the Europeans went through suffering heavy losses between the 6th and 14th centuries had the same effect on the Native Americans. Therefore, the actual war of the Native Americans with the Europeans was not on war but the epidemics they carried.

Right after the conquest of the Americas following the war on the Native Americans that was quickly won, the idea of collecting capital had been the policy that was implemented by the European colonizer countries, merchants, landowners and many others since the very beginning. Many people went to the New World solely for the purpose of making money. The revenue generated in the Americas was used to improve the industries that were related to colonization and that would yield profit (improvements in the ships technology to cross the ocean, investments in the Americas for the purpose of urbanization, etc.). Merchants were involved in the overseas trading of the precious metals (such as gold and silver) in the continent. This business was profitable not only because of the revenue generated over the commodity value of the gold but also because they were able to sell their goods at any price, in any port and exempt from taxes during their sailings. At the same time, the trade of slaves from Africa to the Americas and pirating were other income channels. The gold and silver that entered circulation in the form of customs tariff when the merchants turned back to the Continental Europe contributed as hot money flow in the economies of countries such as Spain and Portugal (Cespedes, 1974) (McAlister, 1984).

It can be pointed out that such profits were not the “primitive accumulation” prior to capitalism as indicated by Marx but the capital of the capitalist system to be founded. These profits were too much to be labeled as primitive. For example, Hamilton states in his work that at least 180 tons of gold and 17 thousand tons of silver were brought in Europe in 1640

(Hamilton 1929). Apart from this, considering the commodity values smuggled into countries and the colonies in Africa, it can be said that much more than the official figures were brought into the continent. According to Hamilton, precious metals such as gold and silver influenced the European economy and contributed in the development of capitalism as a result of the unbalanced rise in the profit rates and intervened in the economic crises that were left behind the feudal system. Such precious metals were also used as an economic opportunity to prevent the proto-capitalist thoughts in non-European societies.

The empty lands acquired in the Americas as a result of colonization and the advantages of cheap manpower derived from the slave trade had never been important for any system until the 19th century as much as it was for capitalism. Acquired precious goods and commercial goods such as sugar cane produced in plantations (considering the transition from micro-level production to macro-level production) yielded great profits in the trades with regions who could not entirely move into the capitalist system yet and helped lower the prices when competing with other producers. Therefore, non-European proto-capitalist investments started to go bankrupt. Rapid capital accumulation had been a significant factor in the transition to capitalism having accelerated the economic change in Europe. It should be noted that the capital acquired through the colonized labor in the Americas was invested in the industries that served as the foundation of capitalism in Europe, yet Europe was still running on the feudal mode of economy. Therefore, the capital flow to Europe started to transform the continent and led to urbanization and increase in rural settlements and the trade economy; it also caused technological and demographical transformations – together with Renaissance (Blaut, 2012:278-286).

The colonization system that was founded in the 16th century increased its influence in the 17th century and turned into a great source of income for the capital. If it weren't for this new capital, it would not be possible for Europe to improve in such a short time with its economy

before 1492 in the Medieval Age. Since the most important necessity of capitalist enterprise is to survive, there was always a need for possessing capital. Europe entered a period when the production in the colonies in other continents increased and never sufficed because of the increasing demand for luxury consumer goods, convenience goods and gold and silver. This capital the Continental Europe lacked during the Medieval Age, the colonization system that originated following the geographical discoveries, increase in slavery, official and unofficial usage of surplus value for the countries of the Continental Europe did not only prepare the financial grounds for capitalism but also served as a dark system to establish the superiority of Europe to the other civilizations in the world which progressed equally throughout the history. European countries who economically dominated the colonized continents of America and Africa did not only make war in these regions. In the Eurocentric point of view, the 'core' countries started to transfer their cultures to the colonies, which were the 'periphery'.

The fact that Europe's traveled to overseas continents, conquered and colonized them and economically accumulated capitals from such colonies should not be regarded solely in the economic aspect. This also meant the global expansion of the European culture. Europe's own characteristics such as its Latin languages, Christianity, technology, etc. were spread to the new world that was conquered during colonization. This global expansionism is also known as imperialism. The European imperialism was the peak level of capitalism in the Marxist thinking and it also brought along a series of cultural impositions on the colonies apart from economic impositions.

The countries in the Continental Europe started to create their own myths in the colonized countries. These myths have survived until today, and they are still influential. Such myths that idolize European culture can be basically listed under a series of main titles: Racial

characteristics, Geographical Differences, Rationalism, Technology, Government, Church, Class and Family (Blaut, 2012).

Racial approaches are based on the myth that Europeans are superior to other races. What is implied with the superior race is the 'white people'; and it was the general belief that this 'white race' was subject to categorization and segregation in itself. As a short example for such beliefs, it is possible to talk about 'scientific racism' since white people were superior to black people in terms of IQ. Likewise, it is a popular myth that white people do not thoughtlessly reproduce with demographic concerns since Europeans are thoughtful people (Blaut, 2012:107). However, just like F. Hassan states, "each society has a method of population control" (Hassan, 1978). According to Weber, who emphasizes the superiority of Europe and supports the Eurocentric approach with a moderate racism, Africans are not skilled at working in factories (Weber, 1981:299, 379), the Chinese have a flow like 'idiocy' (Weber, 1951:231-232) and the "rationality" of Europe is actually based upon genetics (Weber, 2005). Such discriminating thoughts tended to decrease with the emergence of liberal policies and pro-liberation ideas in the 19th century; however, the protection of the 'superior race' in Europe in 1920s turned into a concept that was integrated into modernity in 1930s and the essential argument of Nazism: its consequences were devastating for the humanity. It can be said that classical racism is replaced by cultural racism and a Eurocentric approach is exhibited the moment the racist approaches try to find the source of the argument not in the genetics but in the culture. However, the interracial differences that are scientifically determined cannot be a determinant of culture and intelligence in any way (Boas, 1940).

The theory of environmental determinism is one of the most common theories that is used when explaining the superiority of Europe. In short, these are the arguments that relate that the European environment contributes in its superior qualities and its rise and that the

disadvantageous conditions of the non-Europe prevent improvement. In several studies, it is claimed that the working capacity is low in Tropical African regions (Collins, 1988), the Arid Asia is not arable and thus not suitable for agricultural development since it is droughty, people living in colder climates tend to be more energetic⁷ and moderate European climate is the most suitable climate for development (Mann, 1986).

Europeans considered these 'natural' causes as an explanation while creating their own myths and supported the Eurocentric myths with their cultural theses. "Rationalism" among cultural theories clearly depicted how the core Europe regarded the periphery colonies:

"Europeans also now controlled the entire world and this, too, had to reflect some intellectual and probably also moral superiority. [...] Few people doubted the doctrine's basic proposition: Europe develops; non-Europe does not develop or does so more slowly; Europe's development is based ultimately in some intellectual or spiritual principle; the normal and natural way for non-Europe to modernize and progress is by receiving the diffusion of rational Europeans ideas, brought by European colonial administrators, settlers, planters, missionaries, and purveyors of commodities (Blaut, 2012:151)."

This claim was a process that the non-Europe needed to experience in the modernist thinking; therefore, they would follow the path of Europe and have the chance to catch up with or get closer to them. The reason is, as mentioned earlier, modernity possesses the present time. Today, if Europe is 'better' and 'more advanced', non-Europe is still in the past. Therefore, it is only possible to talk about equality if non-European cultures were to experience a cultural advance 'from the past to our day'. Modernity divides history into eras according to its own

⁷ It is mentioned in Montesquieu's work "Spirit of Laws" (Blaut, Chapter 2, Footnote 40, 2012)

Eurocentric approach; if non-European people had ‘primitive intellects’ equal to that of the ancient ages (Levy-Bruhl, 1966)⁸, then they would have to start going through a process of advancement beginning from such age. At this point, it is of course not debated why their economy should be dependent on Europe.

The concept of technological improvement has been one of the most important factors when narrating the Eurocentric history. It is a common belief that Europeans dominated the world thanks to their superior technology, which they advanced thanks to their intellects. For example, Michael Mann claims that the discovery of iron rationally transformed the European peasants into making better discoveries in agriculture (Mann, 1988). Lynn White’s famous arguments were also included in the theories of other Eurocentric historians that created European myths. According to Lynn, there are three inventions that are a triangulation for Europe: Plow, horse collar and three-field rotation. Lynn, who asserts that people turned back to open field agriculture system with the use of plow, also suggests that some social patterns emerged due to the collective work of people. The invention of horse collar led to the discovery of horse power which in return increased the agricultural production. Distances got shorter, villages expanded, children got closer to education and people started to communicate with distant settlements thanks to the availability of horses. Lastly, Lynn states that (Lynn, citing Blaut, 2012) the three-field rotation led to a population boom with improved nourishment, expansion of the cities and revival of the commerce.

Of course Europe went through some technological developments. However, what goes unnoticed here is the technological statuses of other societies. Other societies in the world too went through the technological advance experienced in Europe, depending on their

⁸ Disciplines of Psychology, Sociology and other social sciences try to create norms as to what ‘primitive’ and ‘traditional intellect’ are. In Dalal’s book “Racism of Jung” (1988), Jung’s conclusion that only the European male individuals are rational is also debated. The further chapters of the study will further elaborate on the European individuals trying to prove their superiority in physical sciences and social sciences.

geographies either slowly or rapidly. China, which was the most mentioned of all, was both superior to and backward from Europe in some aspects. The historians, who considered that the progress of China stopped at a certain point of time, divided into two groups due to its reasons: the despotic oriental culture would eventually stop the improvement or the development of China would slow down rather than coming to a dead stop after possessing the best technology of the era. Likewise, Chinese has some of the industrial technologies like the textile industry, mechanic clocks and printing techniques (Needham, 2004). Therefore, the acceleration of technological developments in Europe was merely the technological advances intended to strengthen the European continent after the societies of the continent prospered with the serious amounts of money derived from the colonies after 1492. It is doubted whether Europe had a technology highly superior to the other regions of the world before 1492.

As mentioned earlier, the government model was founded on the culture of Roman civilization that was inherited from the Greek civilization; the empire was ruled under the dominance of the Church which later got disintegrated into small feudal states and then transformed into large monarchies; yet, there was no modernization in today's concept during that period. However, Eurocentric researchers tend to add a series of modern elements – which actually do not exist – to this historical process. This is intended to ensure the historical integrity of modernity. Jones's work "European Miracle" states that the Medieval European countries cooperate with each other even though they are in a competition and they march towards modernity together as a continent. Accordingly, the characteristics of a modern nation state are visible in the Medieval European countries: public service, liberal development of economy, first steps to democratic rights, etc. (Jones, 2003). However, on the contrary to this argument, there had never been such a government structure until the midst of the 17th century. Such arguments which are deliberately developed have always been

intended to justify the European myth that European people are always one step ahead of the rest. In the chapter of this study which elaborates on liberalism, the analysis on the political transformation of Western governments with the effects of modernity will be continued.

The Church had always been one of the most important elements for the medieval European culture. As mentioned in the earlier sections, Christianity united the Continental Europe under the roof of a single religion. Yet again, this fact is not unique to Europe; both Islam and Chinese Empire united and ruled over a certain geography with the same thought on mind. Hall suggests that the advanced countries of Europe were able to appear thanks to the protective power of Christianity (Hall, 1985:135). Weber, on the other hand, underlines the importance of the Protestant reform and states that such reform is one of the most essential elements of the transformation of Europe (Weber, 2005).

Even though Christianity seems to be a distinctive characteristic for Europe since the Medieval Age, the emphasis on the religion in this study is somewhat different. It is rather more important what shape Christianity took when Europe was economically transforming than how Europe changed thanks to Christianity because the concept of Christianity was integrated with the term modern until 1492 as mentioned earlier. It continued its existence in the colonies in order to expand following the transformation it went through with the Reform after 1492 because the power of the Catholic Church had weakened with Enlightenment in Europe. How did Christianity gain its power back in the world of colonization? According to Woodberry's answer, European colonizers wanted the Native Americans in the colonies to respect and submit to colonizers through assimilation. Missionaries seemed to have opened the doors of the Church to those colonized: either missionaries would answer to the basic needs of those colonized and provide them with the education of the modern world in the church (in line with their own ideologies) or the colonized people would be enslaved by the colonizers. The Catholicism and Protestantism that acted as missionaries here had a structure

independent from the colonizer countries. The roles in the good cop/bad cop game are predefined: missionaries were the protectors of the colonized people while the European governments were the colonizers. Therefore, missionaries influenced the colonized masses using religion and built a bridge between the colonized people and the colonizers. According to Woodberry (2004:20, 75, 130, 185), since British colonies forbid slavery earlier than other European countries, used lesser violence and entitled a series of human rights to the colonized people before other countries; missionaries were able to attain their mission more easily in the British colonies. Missionaries provided the colonized people with education to teach them Latin alphabet; and as a result, created a society who adopted the Medieval European culture under the heavy influence of Christianity and who believed that such adoption would be a way out of slavery. Such ‘harmonized (or tried to be harmonized) others’ were turned into a class who would be influential in the decision-making processes of the administrations of the non-West societies in terms of education, economy and politics; they would position themselves – beside or against – according to the West using their democratic rights vested in them during the post-colonial period and arrange their domestic and foreign policies accordingly.

Lastly, we need to address to the last of these myths characterized as the European miracle: the last myth mentioned is the concept of class and family. Whereas the class society of Europe defined the rest of the world as classless societies, the same definition is also used to infer that classless societies are also stationary. This thesis is not true; African societies were not classless societies and they also had a proto-capitalist structure before 1492 (Blaut, 1987). It is stated that the tribes, which are characterized as ‘barbaric’ in Europe during the First and the Medieval Ages, are inclined to progress in the direction of the modern paradigm; however, this progress served the European societies as a foundation for their language, religion, class society, understanding of slavery and imperialist policies that were inherited

from the Roman period and enabled them to improve such inheritance according to the era. Therefore, the European colonial governments continued to implement the same global imperialist policies of the era that were implemented by the Roman Empire while conquering the rest of the Europe within the modern context after 1492.

In Baechler's work (1988), we see a Eurocentric class approach. Accordingly, the Medieval European class system is the essential element for the Europe to leap forward. Beachler discussed why modernity emerged in Europe rather than other continents and believed that the Indian aristocracy was disrupted; however, according to him, this system was implemented sturdily in Europe. He stated that villages in Europe were an example of the democratic life and that capitalism originated from peasants who had the instincts to invest, make profit and accumulate capital. Peasant families started to found nuclear families instead of traditional extended families in the same period. All of these can be actually considered as the adaptation of the post-Enlightenment European ideas to the Medieval Age ideas.

Marxist theorist Robert Brenner states that the rise of capitalism in the Medieval Age is a result of the class conflict in Europe (Brenner, 1977). Brenner also states that the fall of feudalism in the Britain results from the depopulation and that the concept of peasantry changes and farmers who could rent and cultivate larger fields come to the fore. This rising class started to get commercialized and follow technological advances in order to profit more and thus took their first step towards capitalism. Blaut, who is a Marxist anthropologist, opposes to Brenner and suggests that British peasants were not landowners during that period and that capitalism grew more rapidly in large settlements rather than rural areas. Therefore, according to Blaut (2012:201), the statements of Brenner are nothing more than another product of Eurocentric thinking.

The essential argument of the Eurocentric ideas is that the peasant families in the rural areas started the first capitalist enterprises. At this point, it would be helpful to shortly mention the changes of difference between the traditional families and nuclear families, which are other binaries of the modernity. Traditional family definition is considered as a concept that originated since peasant families of pre-industrialized societies who worked in their fields were crowded during the period when the concept of time was not discovered yet. The society who stayed as nuclear families by having less children after the industrial revolution resemble a more modern structure since their relationships with other families and other family members tended to decrease. This is also referred to as the modernization of family:

“In the modernization theory of the family, the non-European World of underdeveloped countries would go through essentially the same transformation as it modernized. Extended family households would be replaced by nuclear family households. This would instill modern prodevelopment attitudes: people would have fewer children (thus combating overpopulation), and they would tend, now, to think more individualistically and thus entrepreneurially.” (Blaut, 2012:203).

Modernist approach is seen to perceive the history of the concept of family in a unidirectional linear dimension: traditionalism belongs to past and the old. What belongs to present time is the individual nuclear family that looks out for itself. So, what is the approach towards those who does not adopt such model of family? It is suggested that the societies, which are aware of the ‘requirements’ of the era but still have extended families, actually cannot control their sexual urges and therefore cause an uncontrolled increase in the population. In other words, in the primitive thinking, it can be said that extended families are described with the implication that they are closer to the *homo erectus* rather than the *homo sapiens* or with the concept of *irrationality* instead of the rationalism possessed by the modern human. As a

result, it is possible for the progress to stop because families cannot find the time improve themselves and accumulate capital when getting busy with the problems of their own family members. However, individualism is prioritized in Western societies. For example, individuals who leave their nuclear families and start their own lives are considered as a result of modernization. Therefore, if the evaluation of such arguments will be profitable in terms of capitalist mentality, it refers the 'good' sides of the argument to the European culture while labeling the 'bad' sides to the rest of the world. In other words, it can be said that Eurocentrism and capitalism have become an integrity that create a whole today (Blaut, 2012). Eurocentrism would be referred to as Western-centrism or Modernity in the studies to be conducted in future years due to the cultural definitions (and the myths created) that Eurocentrism influenced the USA and Japan too, and it would serve as an explanation of the cultural activities in the world after the colonization period of the West.

The myths of the European miracle that originated in time were indoctrinated to the colonies likewise. Due the fact that Europe is the core and the rest of the world is the periphery, the level of modernity is defined depending on the distance of the periphery societies to the core, yet they can never be like Europeans no matter how much they try to imitate Europe – even though they have completely adapted their culture to Europe, some myths will not apply to them such as environmental factors and genetic superiorities, such myths will make Europe (and the USA after the World War II or the West, in short), who is always modern, in other words, who always possesses the present time, the most advanced power in the world in terms of economy, politics and culture and allow the periphery countries to find themselves in an endless attempt to catch up with the core countries and lead them to go after a dream which will actually never come true, and in return, allow the Western countries to come out ahead in this situation.

Here we see another apparent example for the unidirectional linear flow of the history of modernity. European governments very rapidly increased their welfare level with the enormous amounts of money they made in the other continents they colonized and became a world-wide imperialist power. Therefore, European societies analyzed the inheritances of the Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations and benefited from the opportunities provided by the Renaissance and Enlightenment thinking; and they also carried their level of civilization a step further. However, they did not take this civilization level to the countries they colonized: there was a slavery system just like the one in the First Age; in addition, the missionaries of the Christian Church made the peoples of this newly colonized world experience the previous eras of the Europe just like they did in the Medieval Europe. The Church, which lost its power in the Continental Europe, continued its mission in the new world thanks to the colonization. The reason was that Christianity had been the center of the modernity concept throughout the Medieval Age, and if the colonies wanted to be modern one day, they would have to have faith in this religious foundation. The key to the civilization was to be modernized; and Christianity was a stage of this modernization process. However, as a difference, the Continental Europe had the control over its own economy and progress during the First and medieval Ages. Colonies were made believe that they were backward; their economic powers were being exploited for the sake of modernizing them – the mission of making them respect and abide by the European culture and people and adopt Christianity is also known as the “White Man’s Burden”, and they were also imposed the culture and politics of Europe. Therefore, when Europe was experiencing its New Age, it was forcing other continents to follow them behind and continuing its own progress with the power derived from their economies.

1.2.1.2 Orientalism and Dependency Theory

In the modernist discourse, Western countries (European countries, the United States of America and later Japan) were directing the world as the leaders of civilization, development, technology, developed economy and well education. Asia, Africa and Southern America represented the opposite of Western countries in terms of modern binaries: traditionalism, underdevelopment, primitiveness, poverty and ignorance were the terms attributed to the governments or individuals in these continents. Therefore, Edward Said's *Orientalism* is a significant work in understanding the "core" Western civilization's view of the "periphery" civilizations as a term also emphasized by Amin. Orientalism represents and tells about how the West sees the East. According to Said, the West's look of the East and the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is a part of the relationship between me-the other done through otherization. Even though Said (2003) revolves around the Middle Eastern geography in his work, he underlines the fact that one can come across the relationship of me-other in the other colonized countries where the colonizer is the same.

Said assumes that the term East is not a stationary natural phenomenon and exhibits his first approach that the East does not represent an exact place just like the West. Classifications like the East and the West are manmade, in other words artificial. He suggests that each society creates an "other" against itself and that the West created the East as the other.

Orientalism is the creation of a Western hegemony to dominate the East. It became more urgent for the West to create hegemony thanks to land acquisitions in the East as a result of wars, in other words, to create the idea of orientalism. The superiority of the West over the East is created in several cultural aspects thanks to Orientalism. First of all, a Western individual stands before the East as a European or American thanks to this superiority whereas that individual's identity comes second. Orientalism is a discourse shaped with

political, ideological, cultural and moral powers; it is the epitome of the West's will to shape the non-West. The fundamental condition of Orientalism is externalization and to be understandable for the West. Societies classified as the Eastern do not exactly know that they are categorized as the Eastern; the real meaning of the word east is shaped in the West. The West gives a meaning to orientalism since it is the West that creates and shapes this artificial concept and makes it perceived as it wishes. Said believes that the societies who are exposed to Orientalism become aware of being Easterner and position themselves according to the dominant culture. At this point, historicity is missing. As Gramsci suggests in his *"Prison Notebooks"*, "The starting point of critical study is the arrival to the awareness who the individual is in reality; it is to 'know' the 'self' as the product of a historical process that reaches up to now; this historical process burdens you with infinitely many marks without leaving a list of those marks", he emphasizes the importance of the historical materialist method. On the other hand, Said indicates that this text has not been included in a single English translation for some reason. Said underlines that Orientalism is an important project by suggesting, "Orientalism is not a European imagination related to the East; it is a body of theories and applications in which significant amounts of money have been invested for generations" (2003:11-37).

This relationship shapes the cultural structure of the colonized country in terms of politics and economy; and allows the colonizer discourse to reveal itself. The phenomenon that controls, shapes and spreads this colonizer discourse in terms of politics and economy is the modern Western discourse. There are three dimensions to this discourse. Discursive dimension is the first one: it tries to represent and introduce the East as the opposite of the values of the West in terms of the modern binaries. The second one is the academic dimension: especially social sciences researches of the West (such as anthropology, archeology, sociology, history and philology) allow Europe to create Eurocentric myths – or

the Western-centric myths in the current century, in the global discourse – against the East. The third dimension is the fictional dimension: whereas it is a mentality that is established onto the ontological and epistemological difference between the West and the East, it uses descriptions in line with Western-centric myths over cultural mediums (such as media, cinema, literature, art works, etc.) and reorganizes the relationship between the West and the East by having created a negative perception of the East among the masses (Said, 2003:2-5). Orientalism that minimizes the eastern identity to certain basic elements through these myths causes people to internalize certain ideas that are not true about geography and the people living in such geography they have never seen or known about. The definition of the Eastern culture as the opposition of the Western values (Modernity) is also an indication what Europe is not (Said, 2003:68-77). Said tries to solve the difference between imperialism and colonialism in his work *Culture and Imperialism*. According to him, imperialism is the formation of an idea in relation to a foreign policy as a result of the theories and attitudes of a center that dominates another region and colonization is the realization of such ideas (Said, 2013:44-47). Suggesting that a discourse cannot be neutral upon colonization, Said further purports that trying such thing would only serve imperialist policies and those who do it would be supporting the origination of the term the other. Said states that it is possible through the concept of polyphonic reading to reveal the colonization-oriented discourses that are hidden between the lines of a text in the modern archive. The acts of violence assumed to be practiced by the East are used to justify the historical actions (Roman Empire's inclination to violence), the legitimacy of which is dubious, which are still politically debated in the East⁹.

While defining the concept of “culture”, Said suggests that it is the practices that aesthetically exist in general within autonomy relative to the economic, social and political areas and one

⁹ Edward Said analyzes this issue in detail in his work *The World, The Text and The Critic*.

of the primary purposes of which is pleasure like description, communication and show arts. The first example given by Said, who analyzes a novel in his study, is Robinson Crusoe. He thinks it is not coincidental that the novel is about a European man looking for somewhere to call home on an island outside and far from Europe. According to him, it is a small example of the West starting to lay its hands on the non-West as a result of the conquests and bringing along its own cultures and imperialist policies (2013:12-13). Together with the spread of Western-centric imperialism, a consciousness is created through a lot of cultural supports. This consciousness is composed of a set of ideas previously called as European myths that the West is better than the non-West in many aspects. The mentioned “historical superiorities” justifies colonialization, allows the West to rule the world and legitimizes the cultural horizon. In this case, “integration” becomes important. Said mentions that the non-West remains silent in the presence of the globalizing discourses of the West and this results in the West melting, embracing, overseeing and forcing the non-West. It is hardly ever accepted that it is necessary to know about the ideas of colonized peoples. This way, the dominant culture and the dominant system require the non-West’s integration to it. The domination of the West over the non-Western world is now at a global scale, and dominance is a dynamic phenomenon that settles in the language of cultural areas (books, popular culture products, history, philosophy, geography, etc.), describe and reproduce the imperialist thinking. For instance, considering the example given by Guha (1982:5-7), the “unhistorical history writing” in the colonized India is emphasized to be written by ignoring the “people’s policies” in favor of the nationalist elites created by the English. Thus, the people cannot protect their own heritage.

The creation and clinching of an ideological structure realized through and supported by not direct dominance and use of physical power but several persuasion methods through cultural products take place. The most fundamental particular emphasized by Alatas in his book *“The*

Myth of Lazy Native” is the creation of the idea of “lazy native” and the reproduction of the colonialist ideology in the non-Western societies by the leaders of such societies. According to Alatas, false consciousness twists the reality. For example, the government party in Malays seems to have taken over the government from the British whereas they are able to do so without an independence war unlike in India, Indonesia and Philippines. The reason for that is there is no severance of bond to the ideologies of the British because the party management consists of executive officers and middle class Malay teachers and civil servants trained by the British. Therefore, the West uses the individuals who act upon the post-colonialist policies of the West, who adopt the ideas of the West but who are not one of them while dominating the society (Alatas, 2006:152). The culture of resistance to the imperialist policies that popularize through the cultural tools starts to originate in time. Said talks about the rise of nationalism particularly in India and the continental Africa. Even though the colonized states won their national independencies as a result of their national resistance to the imperialist Western policies, the imperialist policies in the new era create through cultural phenomena the necessity of the non-West integrating into the West. According to Said, however, the opposing and resistance culture suggests a theoretical option to re-perceive the human experience within a non-imperialist frame. This way, definitions of identity the imperialist thinking tries to indoctrinate into the individuals that they are easterners or westerners is questioned and it is put forward that the individuals of the non-Western societies are not a single thing opposed to the imperialist discourses thanks to the opposing and resistance culture.

The Orientalism theory of Edward Said is a theory that is a theory of global importance today along with the concepts of Eurocentrism, modernity and otherization. It is a significant theory, which will help us understand how the West sees the East or the non-West, in a more general perspective. The contrast between the West and the non-West is also related to the

West's desire to dominate the non-West. It is debated that, even though most of these countries that have been exploited during colonization achieved their national independence after the World War II, these countries are claimed to be dependent on their own colonies in terms of economy, culture and politics since they were underdeveloped. These theories are discussed either as underdevelopment theories or dependency theories. The dependency theory refuses the linear historical model offered by modernity and suggests that underdevelopment and dependency are the results of the capitalist order rather than the backwardness left from any previous periods. Dependency brings along conditioning; the development of the country on which a country depends reflects the same way on such dependent country. The dependent country is not only destined to experience such reflection but also open for exploitations. Thinking outside the Eurocentric perspective, it can be questioned for whom, for what and for which reason the concept of development is aimed when the values of modernity are not considered to be universal; and therefore such questioning would reveal that capital accumulates at certain places. Dependency theories suggest that the imperialist countries' need for exploitation spread to the entire world in a new form during the World War II after the colonization. Such theories purport that the development of any domination over the world is only possible over a society, masses and individuals. Transfer of surplus values from the periphery countries to the core countries, spread of technology to the periphery countries except for the patents and to the extent allowed by the core countries (especially only consumer goods such as television and domestic appliances) and the required dependency on the dominating country in terms of economy are the results of such theory. Dependency theorists perceive the spreading as a negative concept as opposed to modernist theories; and they emphasize that the underdevelopment of such countries is not caused by their own backwardness as suggested

by the myths created, but instead, they are not allowed to develop since they are put into a position where they are exploited at the hands of capitalism (Erdogan, 2000:152-157).

According to a characteristic of the classical dependency theory based on Marxism, international division of labor is a fundamental concept. Accordingly, more skilled workers are located in the core countries whereas the less skilled workers are located in the periphery countries. Another characteristic emphasizes that the development in the periphery countries is insufficient. The fact that the surplus value derived from the production which exceeds consumption within the boundaries of a nation state is distributed to the foreign investors who have shares in the industrial production or the landowners who earn income based on agricultural production or unearned income just like in the feudal system instead of reserving such surplus value for the development of the state results in the underdevelopment of the periphery countries in addition to making them dependent on the core countries who possess the necessary capital and technology. Therefore, the surplus value produced based on theories prevents the development of periphery countries and nourishes the metropolises of the core countries (So, 1990).

After the dependency theory became an important subject of research within a short period of time, first steps were taken in elaborating the theory. While the current dependency theory was studied as a method in the classical method, the historical structure was also examined in the new theories. Whereas colonization was on the boil as the external conflict factor, the necessity of pointing to the class conflicts as the internal conflict factor emerged; and this resulted in considering the dependency theory as being sociopolitical, which is mostly considered as economical. One of the important theories of the dependency theories is the World System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein. According to Wallerstein, the concept of world system is actually a global division of labor. The world countries are categorized into three in this context: Core, semi-periphery and periphery countries. Whereas the core

countries are based on more skilled and capital-oriented production, the rest of the world is focused on the lesser skills and production and raw material production with more workers. This results in the periphery countries toiling for the core countries, the core countries becoming more and more powerful with the contributions of the periphery countries and the periphery countries facing the fact of underdevelopment (Wallerstein, 2000).

In this context, it is no surprise that underdeveloped and dependent countries are not from within the West, but they are non-West. While Modernity defines the West and its opposite non-West, it also puts the non-West countries in a position where they are exploited and made dependent on the West inside the capitalist system. This dependency leads the periphery countries to believe that the core country is superior, better and more contemporary and that their final objective must be modernization. Such problems experienced at the social level in the non-West countries have also reflected on the private lives of the individuals in such societies, led them to perceive their own culture as superior, intervened in the modes of production and consumption habits, and as a result, caused individuals to get alienated.

1.2.1.3 Alienation and Existentialism

Karl Marx's theory of alienation can be listed in four main categories. The first one is the alienation of the worker from the product of his own labor, the second is the alienation of the worker from the work, the third is the alienation of the worker from himself and the last one is the alienation of the worker from other workers. Therefore, man gets alienated from himself, the product own his own labor, his labor, the world and the life. Marx tries to elaborate on the position of alienation inside the system, the production modes of which change, through the concept of commodity fetishism in his later works.

Marx first puts forward and then criticizes the basic concepts of the political economy. He suggests that political economy separates the concepts of private ownership, labor, exchange value, capitalist profit and ground rent, and worker is lowered to the 'most miserable' commodity level inside the system of capitalist economy. Marx sets forth that such circumstance of the worker is inversely proportional to his labor and the size of his labor in production, in other words, the more he works and produces the more he will deteriorate and get poorer. As a result of this inverse proportionality, the producing worker gets alienated from the product of his own labor as if it were a power independent from the producing worker. Political economy defines the conduct of labor as the objectification of labor. However, Marx believes that this is again inversely proportional to the worker and means the loss of sense of reality. In this context, objectification reflects as slavery to the object and the concept of possession reflects as alienation on the worker. Therefore, as a result of all, the worker's relationship with the product of his own labor is the same with his relationship with a foreign object (Marx, 2007:19-22).

According to Marx, the alienation of the worker from his own labor is related to the mode of production of the system. The fact that the object created is not unique and not a product of intellectual accumulation is a sign that the worker is forced to use his labor. As in the assembly line production in Fordism, the worker does not know what he produces since he is a part of the assembly line production and he only produces a certain part, thus he gets alienated from the object of his own labor. Alienation from labor leads the individual to get alienated from himself, the nature and his own active function. A person who is this much alienated from his life also gets alienated from other people, he describes other people as the "other" (Marx, 2007:23-27).

Therefore, the alienation process takes place when the worker is not able to recognize the product of his own labor, later gets alienated from the concept of work which he starts to

dislike because of being have to repeat the same cycle during certain times of the day every day, and as a result, he gets alienated from his own self and then the other workers and the society. It is not a right idea that exerting more effort in order to earn more will yield positive results for both the capitalist and the worker. The production of such false consciousness can be explained through the cultural hegemony concept of Antonio Gramsci. The middle class creates a false consciousness through cultural hegemony and leads the proletariats to misconceive this inversely proportional equation as if it were directly proportional.

Gramsci uses the term Hegemony to describe the relationships among social classes. One social class can have a hegemonic influence on another class, exercise power on and rule such class under coercion or with the consent of the class ruled. The term cultural hegemony emerges with Marx's definition of economic class with infrastructure and superstructure and Gramsci's use of hegemony to understand social classes. The hegemonic cultural norms of a societies controlled by the ruling class is perceived by the society to be natural and inevitable. According to Gramsci; a worker, who believes that voluntary working that is inversely proportional to the labor exerted by the worker is a natural and inevitable must of a society, is under the influence of cultural hegemony and controlled by the ruling class through false consciousness (Gramsci, 2011).

At this point, we need to understand how the ruling class turns the hegemonic discourse into a social norm and how they make sure that the production relationships are reproduced.

Accordingly, the Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) will be helpful to understand. Unlike the government's persuasions through forcing its oppression apparatuses, ISA tries to shape the consciousness of the individuals in a society in the way desired by the ruling class. Althusser states that ISA are found in religious, educational, familial, legal, political, syndicate, communicational and cultural forms: ISA ensures the

functioning of the system and reproduction of the production modes winning the consent of societies and without conflicting with the ideology of the ruling class (Althusser, 2006).

Despite the sense of alienation in the society, the hegemonic discourse is created again and again in different aspects for each and every individual through ideological state apparatuses while the proletariat is made serve the ruling class through a false consciousness created with cultural hegemony. Such situation intensifies the feeling of alienation and leads to a more severe separation from the society.

The individual who is not content with his labor and what he produces looks for the problem in himself rather than questioning the system due to the ISA and the created false consciousness because there is nothing wrong with the system and it runs smoothly, yet the individual can fail in the system according to the perception that is created over the press. Even though basic criticisms of the system are in line with what is purported by Marx, there is not any progress towards communism as suggested by Marx as of the beginning of the 21st century and the capitalist system continues to dominate the whole world. A set of negative feelings which are grown under the influence of the capitalist system that isolates and alienates the individual from himself and the nature change the mentality of the individuals of a society in the negative way. Therefore, the philosophical trend Existentialism originated so that man could make sense of himself and his nature.

Even though there is not a certain definition that has been coined for the term yet, in general terms, Existentialism is a philosophical thought that considers the existence of the individual as the starting point, tries to understand the position and value of the individuals in the world and in the presence of others and the society and it seems to be a philosophy of ethics and values that understands and feels the responsibility that lies in the core of actions (Gursoy,

1987). According to existentialist thinkers, existentialism separates into two opposite directions which are religious and atheist.

Existentialism relates to the experiences of individuals and the freedom of such experiences; it considers that such facts are essential in understanding the nature of human beings.

Additionally, existentialism suggests that people who have their own will and consciousness are 'thrown' into the world of objects that lack will and conscious. Thus, individual freedom and individual responsibility are the philosophical essentials of existentialism. In this philosophical thinking that was developed individualistically, subjective decisions are important, and this thinking refuses the spiritual and linear existence in idealism and believes that nothing exists without the individual's existence. Therefore, the concept of "nothingness", one of the important doctrines of existentialism, emerges: it is also assumed that existence develops itself and precedes essence. The starting point of individual in existentialist philosophy is known as the "existentialist attitude"; this attitude means a sense of disorientation and confusion in the face of an apparently meaningless or absurd world (Solomon, 2004:1-2).

Even though Søren Kierkegaard is generally considered to have been the first existentialist philosopher, he did not use the term existentialism. Kierkegaard believed that the answer to the question how human beings could live in this world was found in religion. Kierkegaard proposed that each individual is solely responsible for giving meaning to life and living it passionately and sincerely, in other words 'authentically'. Whereas Sartre, as an atheist, studied on how an individual could create more convenient conditions for himself having gained his own experiences to make life more meaningful and emphasized that existence preceded essence (Colette, 2006).

According to Heidegger, existence is related to an individual's connecting with his being. Man is here, so man means existence. Every individual exists once and should realize his essence through a series of opportunities life offers him. Every human has two important forms of existence: "existing in the world" and "existing together". Our way of encountering with life should be over tools. Tools lead to a larger set of tools and larger set of tools turn back to human: a man can saw woods using saw, drive nails using a hammer and build a cabin where he can live. The form of "existence together" describes the desire to be concerned about other people. Man has to live with other, and he will be concerned about other people in a positive or negative way as long as he lives. Living with other people is a secondary existence. Here, the factors that secondarily affect the existence of man are described as "them" by Heidegger. The term "them" dominates everything; it gets involved in everything. The term "them" can be attributed to nobodies, masses and collectives (Ergul, 2002).

The basic concepts that existentialist philosophers emphasize reflect the essential way of thinking for the existentialist philosophy. While such concepts are still debated, they can be discussed as existence precedes essence, facticity, authenticity, the other and the look, absurd, angst and despair in this study.

1- Existence precedes essence: It reverses the traditional philosophical view that the essence or nature of a thing is more fundamental and immutable than its existence. According to existentialist, human beings create their own values and set a meaning to their life since the human being does not have any natural identity or value in the beginning. After each act that contributes to him, his existence becomes more significant. Even if Kierkegaard first suggested this idea, it was approached as a concept by Sartre in his works in the 20th century. Accordingly, personality cannot be built over a previously designed model, in other words the essence, because human

being himself chooses what kind of an individual he will be through his own existence. Sartre, who puts emphasis on the journey of the human being himself without completely denying the idea purported by Spinoza that man is shaped by what surrounds him, also states that the surrounding factors can turn into intolerable situations. Therefore, if the individual is not happy with his world, he can change his own world after he is able to find his own truth (Sartre, 2012) (Kierkegaard, 2013).

2- Facticity: Even if the past of a human being is considered as a supporting and essential key which helps him become who he is, the effects of the facts of the world lived in are also the essential elements that influence the present time and the future. Facticity can be regarded as both a constraint and freedom. According to existentialists, the facts that are related to the human being but beyond his control (physical characteristics such as hair color, height or place of birth or the conditions of the surrounding he was born in) are regarded as the constraints of the facticity whereas the idea that character cannot be restrained under such circumstances and that human being possesses the ability to change his life the way he wants is regarded as freedom. Yet again, it would be an unauthentic attitude if the human being refused his own past. The human being should accept his past but not allow it to affect his present character. When facticity restrains the sense of freedom, it produces the angst. Likewise, the values of the human being are as important as his responsibilities towards the facticity. Freedoms and responsibilities are dependent on each other; as long as the responsibility exists in the facticity, the freedom of a human being is restrained in relation to the entirety of his values (Crowell, 2010).

5- Absurd: As a concept, Absurd is based on the idea that this world has no value other than the value we set on it. This meaninglessness also includes the terms inequality and despair in the world. There is no such thing as a divine power that sets everything on track in the universe; anything can happen anytime because everything in this world is absurd. Authors like Franz Kafka, Dostoyevsky, Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre narrate the human profiles in their stories who have encountered the absurdity of this world (Crowell, 2010).

6- Existential Angst: “*Angst*” is a term coined by Kierkegaard and used by many existentialist philosophers; it refers to the concepts such as despair, anxiety and tediousness intensely experienced in the inner world of the individual. This situation is considered to have resulted from the individual’s understanding of the uncertain nature of the world, and it is claimed that the angst caused by this situation leads individuals to create their own values and be authentic. Another factor that builds angst is the loneliness of the individual in the world and that he is fully responsible for his decisions, which he will make alone. The individual has to bear the responsibility of the decisions he will make and accept them as a part of himself even if such decisions are wrong. The individual, who faces with the world when he steps into adulthood, is seized with fear and falls into depression (Crowell, 2010).

7- Despair: When the individual is about to lose the work or hobby he produces, earns his living from or he is skilled at, this world starts to lose its own subjectivity. If a painter loses his hand, this means that the situation which has made him who he is will no longer become reality, which drives the individual to despair. According to Kierkegaard, despair consists of three stages: the first stage is to ignore the despair as long as possible, the second is to accept that he is in despair yet not to identify himself with despair and the last one is to internalize the despair in his essence and become a

whole with it. The third stage is the bottom stage one can reach in despair: the person is aware of his own despair, and even though he tries to relieve it, he cannot because nobody helps him. Therefore, the individual shuts down himself for any external help; and from this point on, the individual starts enjoying his own despair, this situation has now become the way the individual perceives and interprets life. This situation causes an existentialist crisis: the person feels himself isolated and alone in this world and believes that the external world has no purpose; he looks for and questions the meaning of life. The perception of facticity of the person gets fragmented and he comes to realize what kind of a place the world really is; he becomes aware that the individual is free and thinks about the responsibility of whether accepting such freedom. Such crises can come after an important turning point in life: such as the death of someone the individual knows, marriage or the celebration of a specific birthday (Crowell, 2010; Kierkegaard, 2013).

The existentialists first refuse the definition that individuals are rational beings and refuse positivism and rationalism along with it. Existentialism emphasizes that humans make their decisions with their own subjective thoughts and experiences rather than making rational decisions. Humans limit their lives with daily tasks due to their despair and fear resulting from their awareness of death; they now give up their freedom and totally and unquestioningly accept being seen as the “Other” by another person (Sartre, Existentialism, 2012).

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the rather unknown philosophy of existentialism which was studied by the thinkers such as Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Nietzsche became a well-known philosophical thought after the World War II. Camus, de Beauvoir, Merleau-Ponty became the important thinkers of the existentialist movement.

The World War II strengthened the existentialist thinking because of the unpleasant experiences of the war. Due to the severe conditions resulted from losing the World War I against the allied powers, especially the other western states, Germany integrated the chauvinism and Nazism into the government. Through Nazism, the superior German race project found life, the people who were not from the German race were regarded as the “other”, and the World War II broke out mainly because German did not accept the outcomes of the World War I. Factors such as the governments’ desire to make more profit and continue the colonization as a mentality of the capitalist system and the desire of the countries such as Germany who could not get a slice of the cake to get their share were the economic reasons of the World War II at the governmental level. This situation is the peak point of the global reflections of the Eurocentric look that constitutes the basis of the modern thinking: the technological developments designed for the sake of humanity were used for the sake of killing one another; the Nazi otherized with fanatical patriotism the other people who were not from their race and especially massacred the Russian and the Jew; imperialist countries used their peoples in the fight on how to share the world among such imperialist countries. As a result, the societies and individuals were made to pay great prices.

People started to question the human value in this world after tens of millions of people lost their lives; and it can be said that the war revealed the distance between the corporate structure (government, bureaucracy and the church, etc.) and individuals at the end of the Modernity process. The individual started to exhibit a passive resistance against the “rational” corporate structure who dictated them how to live, how to behave and how to die; take an inner journey and look for the solutions in his inner world. Tens of millions of people dying in the World War II which was extremely violent, the possibility that people can face death anytime and anywhere – especially in the Continental Europe during the war and the fact that humans, what they experienced and the importance of human life were the least

valued nurtured the existentialism and turned it into a popular philosophy of the era. Existentialism showed its effects in many art forms including cinema and television, literature and drama, and contributed in them through thinking.

For Sartre, the existentialist thinking can merge with the Marxist thinking. Marxist thinking can be analyzed through an existentialist thinking. Sartre points out that Marxism means humanism. According to Sartre, the period of Descartes and Locke comes first and then the period of Hegel and Kant follows; and in our contemporary world, we live the period of Marx. Emphasizing that Marxism is the insurmountable philosophical objective of our contemporary time, Sartre states that the only valid interpretation of the history of the humankind is Marxism or Dialectical Materialism and that existentialism is supported by such concepts (Sartre, 2008).

Even though Existentialism seems to oppose the capitalist modern system, a series of differences originate when criticizing the system with Existentialist and Marxist thoughts together. This situation was discussed and tried to be analyzed by the Marxist philosopher Novack who compared Existentialism and Marxism. For example, universe is irrational for existentialism whereas it consists of a body of rules. Considering that existentialism sees everything in despair and interprets the world as meaningless, Marxist thinking questions why the philosophy that looks for the meaning of human life outside such context is different. According to dialectical materialism, facticity exhibits a normative behavior and can be considered as rational. The rationality of man and nature is always moving: the characteristics and evolution of objects that are created within the causality relation can be explained through events that are related to each other. However, the dialectical materialism that interprets the relationship between events and objects does not exclude the concepts of absurdity, accident and indeterminism but adopts them. Such characteristics of the facticity that randomly occur can be scientifically explained within the inner laws of the nature. The

concept of chance has its own specific rules, and the statistical possibility of occurrence can be calculated through certain scientific methods that explain the causality relationship. Marxism does not accept the irrationality of the world in the scientific context; and claims the fact that many things can be scientifically explained today and that there are scientific developments are the evidence of that suggestion. It is possible to interpret the irrational approach of the existentialist as the lack of confidence in science. It is important for the Marxists to understand the rationality of the facticity, to support it scientifically and to interpret the events in the end. This way, it is possible to explain the extreme abnormality (without forgetting that the Western values impose the norms) concepts of the nature, the society and the individual. For the existentialist, uncertainty is an important external concept that influences the existence of the individual. If the world was ruled with chance, everything in the world would inevitably and inexplicably be uncertain; therefore, the laws of nature could not be explained through certain scientific formulas and the individual could be stuck in a chaotic situation; however, since the laws of universe is formulated through a positivist approach in the physical sciences, there is not any obscure situation that affects the entire world; on the contrary to what is emphasized by the existentialism, social and physical sciences have different rules. The most discusses of all are that the positivist approach can be useful for physical sciences however its usage in social sciences can be interpreted differently in the ideological level and that it could have political outcomes depending on the ideology which it serves (Novack, 1965:2-3).

There is a difference of opinion between Existentialism and Marxism in relation to the objective and subjective aspects of human life and the social and private lives of humans. Marxism suggests that nature precedes humanity and it is independent from humanity. Human existence is dependent on the nature as a part of it. Existentialism does not separate the objective and subjective sides of the individual; it believes that the subject can build the

world in the way it wants. The external world exists whether the individual has a relationship with it. The existentialist thinking is entirely structured upon the conscious individual's definite awareness of everything that is objective. Marxism believes the opposite. Marxism believes that nature precedes the society and the society precedes the individual. Nature, society and individual exist together in the world and in a relationship based on mutual interest. This relationship is shaped with the individual's acts of changing the world, and therefore, subjective interpretations can be derived from the objective facticity. Subjectivity comes from objectivity and there is a constant relationship between the two. Existentialism severs the individual from this organic bond of the facticity, recommends the individual to "be yourself" and aims to minimize his relationship with the external world. Novack emphasizes that an existentialist individual should not have any deadweights so that he can improve himself; however, his discontentedness with organized mass movements prevents him from finding a solution to the circumstances that are considered as problems for the majority of the people. Therefore, existentialists cannot conform to social rules; therefore they are not revolutionists. This situation of the individual does not question the capitalist system and does not pay attention to the social development and the external world. The individual generalizes the system which is the determiner of the environmental elements and its rulers using the term "them" and he is discontented with "them". The individual's accepting "them" as an uncontrollable negative fact and his turning to his inner world create a circumstance that benefits the capitalist system (Novack, 1965:5-7).

Novack analyzes Samuel Beckett's famous "*Waiting for Godot*"; he states that the work was created with an existentialist approach because the story is about an endless waiting and it ends without anything happening. The expectations of the main characters turn into disappointment, they start to believe that their existence is futile and they desperately and hopelessly alienate themselves from the world. The vision of the existentialism is like this:

the individual who is surrounded with the limitations of the concepts of time, history and death will lose all hope in life.

The historical materialist view emphasizes that human kind was able to progress from the primitive ages to our contemporary space age, could improve their living conditions and societies got liberated having overcoming similar obstacles. Therefore, Marxist studies focus on the method to eliminate the obstacles that limit the human development instead of an alienation from the society and the world (Novack, 1965:8-10).

Both Marxism and Existentialism suggest that people have lost their own authenticity due to the alienation they experience in our contemporary times. However, existentialism considers this alienation as a part of the human nature and suggests that it does not have a beginning or an end. Existentialists try to overcome their fates; even if social developments seem to have a minimizing effect, it does not put an end to alienation. Free people try to find the subjective way, as a purpose, that is more suitable for them in order to overcome alienation; however their attempts are futile: alienation always exists and they are bound to a melancholic fate as long as it exists. On the other hand, Marxist thinking makes a historical research on the reasons of alienation and reveals that alienation is caused by the capitalist system and production modes that have no organic bonds with human life. Freedom of masses, their authenticity of production and that they shape their lives is a kind of modern slavery for the upper classes of the society, thus the proletariat experience the alienation. Marxism suggests that this outdated capitalist system needs to be changed through the revolution of the masses. Therefore, masses will break the hegemony of the upper classes and define their own destinies, then, the alienation will disappear and a new era will begin for the mankind (Novack, 1965:14-17).

Marxism and existentialism seem not to have a lot of common characteristics in agreement in the light of such information. Existentialism refuses Marxism because Marxism does not prioritize the domination of subjectivity and respectability of the individual as much as the existentialists. Instead, they analyze the factors that undervalue humans as ordinary objects through materialist theories. Novack claims that the concepts of dialectical materialism and existentialism are two poles apart which conflict with each other in terms of philosophy, sociology, morals and politics. Existentialism does not question the external factors that lead to the problems of the individual but directs them to their internal worlds to look for the answers. This has a similar emphasis when compared with the theory of the liberal discourse that “the system is faultless and it is available for development, yet if there is anything wrong this can be the failure of the individual”. In conclusion of this discussion, Novack states that liberalism and individualism combined together give birth to the latest product of our era, the philosophy of existentialism, and claims that existentialist philosophy is a mentality that serves the ruling ideology and it cannot have any bonds with Marxism (Novack, 1965:18-21).

1.3 Situation of the West after the World War II

The World War II officially begun when Germany, who refused the sanctions of the Treaty of Versailles, invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 and ended when Germany surrendered on August 15, 1945. In the wake of the war, the USA and the USSR rose to become the two ‘super powers’ of the world and the European countries, who were too weak to carry the weight of their colonies, chose to decolonize their colonies. The USA and the USSR supported this process which would be fruitful for their interests with the United Nations.

The 20th century was a period when the colonization which was very profitable for the European countries ended, new imperialist mechanisms emerged, globalization gradually

accelerated and technological developments took place. Cinema became a communication medium and a field of art during the 20th century and turned into a commodity that can be globally marketed and a cultural industry. How the 20th century and the new theories of its contemporary world developed under the influence of the Western thought reflected on today's art of cinema, will be discussed with the concepts of globalization, neoliberalism, post-colonization, self-orientalism and inappropriate other.

1.3.1 Post-colonization

The term Orientalism coined by Edward Said brought along the discussions of post-colonization. Study of the cultural products of imperialism and colonization constitute the core of this concept. The effects of the ruling powers, which exploited the locals, their products and lands, on the locals were begun to be studied together with the dependency theories that emerged after the colonization. Post-colonization theories that questioned and allowed for the reproduction of the perception of culture also studied how the core countries and the periphery countries regarded each other in terms of their cultural differences.

According to the capitalist and modern ideology, there was a difference between the core countries and the periphery countries and it was possible to make up this difference with a modern historical improvement that exhibited a unidirectional linear progress. However, even if the direction of improvement were to be linear in the modern sense, the West would be more advanced the moment the non-West arrived at the point where the West is located; thus, it would be impossible to catch up with the West. Accordingly, it can be said that the non-Western culture is regarded to be inferior to the Western culture. According to modernity's this perception, West has a tendency to move forward, but the East has to be behind of West always in this role. Running in cycles in itself is the only way for East to stay behind of West

in this modernity's historical context. This Eastern-cycle ensures that colonized states will be in control of colonizer states in the aspects of culture, and economy politics.

When the colonial states utter global discourses over modernity, the colonized cultures are claimed to have stationary, ordinary and simple elements or to imitate the colonist culture at the best. The post-colonial theory emphasize that it is necessary to resist against the Eurocentric thought that otherizes the non-Western cultures. The colonized societies should claim back their own cultural identities as a part of this resistance. In his "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*", Spivak discusses how the societies whose culture was oppressed by the ruling ideology could express themselves. He states that "left-wing intellectuals who romanticize oppressedness, [...] and internalize having been oppressed actually repeat the colonial discourse they claim to have criticized". By saying this, Spivak states that the colonial thought automatically exists (self-orientalism) and the ones who lead to the existence of such self-orientalism are the non-Western subjects who have received education in Western institutions or have adopted the Western culture. In addition, he also sets forth that the periphery country who is in the middle of a post-colonial independence chooses to play the role of the colonized in the 'international distribution of work' among the colonized and the colonizer (Spivak, 1988). The subjects involved in this process are the inappropriate Others who are appropriated to the core countries and the intellectual individuals according to their society, and standing at the intersection point of the Western and the non-Western circles. When the individual represents himself to be a non-Western, he actually makes the Western culture and thoughts sovereign. There is nothing wrong with a subject coming from the non-West saying that he is not from the West; he even materializes and consolidates the role given to him which is the Eastern that is the opposite of the Western (Ilter, 2006:11). Instead of discovering the self-reality of the modernity's term the Other, Spivak chooses to use the term "subject of study" or "information-provider local" to define the subject that is the Other

in order to fictionalize the Other the way the Western wants and purports that imperialist thoughts are built over the post-colonial system and attracts attention to the concept of “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1988:293).

At the end of the World War II which could be considered as a fundamental incident to have started the postcolonial period, even if the West seemed to have been prevented by the nation states becoming independent and the interstate treaties that were signed from colonizing the other world countries using its own set of rules, the West, by staying superficially passive during the post-colonial period, started to implement a set of indirect policies which would cause the previously colonized countries to be dependent on the West. As a result of making the countries, who are referred to as the third world countries today, internalize that they definitely need to have the technologies, education and law systems and cultural elements of the West, it can be said that such countries have become dependent on the West leading to the start of the post-colonial period which enables the West to exploit the non-West either through dependency or with the non-West willingly.

1.3.2 Self-orientalism and the inappropriate other

It is not directly the West that has caused orientalism to turn into the hegemonic discourse (Dirlik, 1996). While discussing the dependency theory, Todaro mentions about the creation of the elites who are economically and ideologically dependent on the outer world instead of a country, among the characteristics seen in international sovereignty and dependency (Todaro, citing Erdogan, 2000:155-156). The essential element that needs to be used at the intersection point of modernization and orientalism is the “carrier individuals” used to disseminate the modernization process among the non-Western societies in order to

universalize it. Such individuals are the elites and intellectuals of the non-Western societies. These carrier elites are the individuals who are first to recognize the superiority perception created by the West. Societies that get modern (or that are made modernized) become the objects of imperialist policies under the influence of the West in a direction from colonization to post-colonization, orientalism to self-orientalism¹⁰ especially after the liberalization policies. Therefore, the carrier elites who adopt the Western values accept that their values are inferior to that of the West and turn into the hegemony as soon as they start to implement the Western-centric policies in their societies. Such elites carry the Western civilization, in other words the modernity, to their own societies, which are backward in the historical linear progress of the modernization, and they choose to influence the masses having become the opinion leaders in their society who are supported by the West. (Cifci, 2013:18-19;).

According to Pratt, carrier elites are shaped within a “contact zone”. A contact zone is a space where the elites of colonized societies are in contact with the colonizers at the locations where the colonizing powers have an impact on the colonized society (Pratt, 1991). The point of origin for the term “historical bloc” coined by Gramsci may be the “contact zone” defined by Pratt; the increase in the contact zones would create the concept of historical bloc and modern revolutions at superstructure level would take place in the third world countries. Therefore, the ones who adapted his own society and culture to the Western values and who wanted to see the reflections of this mentality in his personal philosophy and his works would turn into the intellectuals who could not actually become entirely Western. According to Gramsci, these intellectuals are become ‘organic intellectuals’ and defend the benefits of a social class. Self-orientalism can be regarded as a stage of Gramsci’s theory, which he defines as “Organic Depression” (Cifci, 2013: 20-21; Gramsci, 1992: 225).

¹⁰ The concept referred to as “self-orientalism” by Cifci will be mentioned as “self-orientalism” in this study.

Self-orientalism can be defined as the act of causing the objectification of the authentic subjective characteristics of a society by the local pioneers and/or the elite intellectuals of such society having adopted the Western values and the self-otherization or Easternization of the carrier individuals as adopted by them through modernity. There are several definitions and names attributed to self-orientalism in academic literature¹¹. The first step in self-orientalism is the internalization of Western values with the individual's essence which is followed by the distortion of the representation of the individual's society by the same individual. (Cifci, 2013:27-30).

Self-orientalism is able to create more easterner objects within itself through regional and national descriptions. For example, while Japan is an "Easterner" who has adopted the Western values, Asia is more "Easterner" when compared to Japan (Cheng, 2009). It is possible for this to take place within several groups of a nation state. Furthermore, self-orientalism can be considered as the outcome of adopting a post-colonial understanding or a society's own willingness to get integrated to the modern values of the West (Tutuncu, 2007:44). Such desire to get integrated is imposed on the individuals of a nation through rules of law prior to which a non-Western society becomes a nation state. In this context, Ruskola emphasizes that the law has an orientalist structure, because it has Eurocentrism in its historical process. The non-Western nation states build their law that is a western-oriented concept and their constitutions and other statutes which define the law through the set of rules again derived from the laws of the West. The 'carrier elites' who bring in such values can rank as the rule makers as the 'dominant self' in their own societies and contribute in the revelation of the dominant culture and ideology. Therefore, the intellectual individuals,

¹¹ The term has a variety versions including Self-orientalism, Hidden Orientalism, Self-orientalism, Opposite Face of Orientalism, Official Orientalism, Strategic Orientalism, Neo Orientalism, Internal Orientalism, Modern Orientalism, Complicit Orientalism, Cumulative Orientalism, Voluntary Orientalism, Local Orientalism, Internalized Orientalism, Ottoman Orientalism, Orientalization, Opposite Orientalism and Minor Orientalism. For detailed information, please see (Cifci, 2013 p. 28).

control their habits of production and consumption according to the Western values, in other words the ‘dominant self’ of the societies, after local communities switch to nation state system (Ruskola, 2002:197-227).

The mass communication tools of the popular culture step in so as to strengthen the self-orientalist discourse. Television, cinema, newspapers and fashion are the most basic tools of popular culture. The “dominant self” takes control of all corporate positions in individuals’ own non-Western societies, and thus, the carrier elites shape the popular culture. In visual representations, the dominant culture is widely affirmed whereas the local culture of a society is reflected as the sub culture. The visual representation of local culture is made through the dramatization of tradition and with use of rituals at extreme levels and use of costumes; the difference between the Western and non-Western cultures are represented visually by means of a powerful contrast. The segregating policy of self-orientalism also leads to the segregation of different minorities in non-Western societies and the origination of a secondary self-orientalist thought within such society (Cifci, 2013:51-55).

Actors taking part in the enabling and dissemination of self-orientalist thinking within a society are tried to be conceptualized through definitions such as ‘carrier elites’, ‘dominant self’ and the ‘intellectuals in contact’. The basic definition used for such individuals as suitable for the conceptual framework of this study is the term “Inappropriate Other” which is known in the academic literature.

The term “*Inappropriate Other*” was coined by Trinh T. Minh-ha during the late 1980s (Minh-ha, 1989:146). An individual of a non-Western society, knowing that the West sees itself in the teleological sense as the final or the ne plus ultra of humanity and that neither the non-Western subject nor himself is involved in this situation, can have an idea, whether aware of how and under which circumstances the Westerner accepts the non-Westerner the

“other” or not. The non-Western subject has to foresee the possible questions which a Western frame of mind can ask and their answers; he directs himself accordingly and thus develop a good dialogue with the West. Trinh Minh-ha uses the phrase “*not quite the same, not quite the other*” for those individuals who get exposed to Western influence and change to emphasize that those individuals get alienated from their culture and start thinking in the Western mentality yet they still have a bond with their own cultures from the past; their discourses against the individuals in their society shuttles between ‘I’m like you’ and ‘I’m different from you’ (Minh-ha, 1989:218). This alternating situation actually rationalizes the life of such individual making him believe that he leads his life freely and the way he wants.

The Inappropriate Other may have been a suitable term to define the elites of the other societies which were regarded as non-Roman locals or barbarians who were exposed to the Romanization process at historical level. As previously mentioned, the elites of the non-Roman societies ranked first among those who got in line to get integrated to the Roman civilization that was considered to be ‘better’. Even though the policy the West implemented to spread its own culture by means of influencing the colonized societies during colonization period did not have a great significance during that period – because the West, as the invaders, exploited the non-Western countries economically, socially and culturally under inhuman conditions and unlawfully – things got different when Western states discovered that colonies’ gaining independence would pose an economic loss for the Western states as a result of the independency policies implemented after the World War II. Therefore, the self-orientalist thinking that the West indirectly implemented and the inappropriate others the West used in order to realize this thinking became an important ground for the modern culture and capitalist policies of the West, whether knowingly or not.

1.3.3 Neoliberalism and international organizations

The economic policies the West implements along with cultural policies has rapidly reached a global dimension thanks to factors like the advancements in technology, facilitation of transportation and increase in the communication tools. The liberalism policy tries to influence the entire world through globalization after the world has turned into a global village under the influence of such developments (McLuhan & Powers, 2010). Neoliberalism can be defined as the policy of spreading the capitalist ideology globally and without boundaries. The basic difference between neoliberalism and the traditional liberalism is that neoliberalism does not accept the government intervention when the system comes to a deadlock and that neoliberalism believes the public pressures should not be against the private enterprises. Neoliberalism is transnational since it is global, and it intends to rule the entire world with capitalism over the cultural values and discourses of modernity (Duman, 2011). According to Campbell, the definition of neoliberalism is rather basic: “Neoliberalism is a global organization of capitalism” (Campbell, 2005).

During the term before neoliberalism, the developed countries of the world went through economic crises in the 1970s and the social welfare state structure was wounded. The Keynesian understanding of social welfare state is a regime in which the working class is politically powerful yet the workers still cannot earn what they deserve in exchange for their labor. The loss of power in such economy resulted in the replacement of the right-wing capitals with a neoliberal system, and neoliberalism grew stronger thanks to the transnational competition and the expansion of globalism. Thus, neoliberalism has had the authority to criticize the social politics of the governments on the grounds that social policies affect the earnings of the private sector. As the new right movement, neoliberalism considers the social authority, discipline and the nation concept of nation states to be the opposite of itself

because of its understanding of limited government and unlimited market economy. Emerged in order to give a new direction to the capitalist system in the middle of a crisis, neoliberalism has led to the discontinuation of government aid to public sectors such as healthcare, education and press, etc.; and claimed that poverty and unemployment originated from irresponsible individuals with its right-wing moral sentiment. Margaret Thatcher used the phrase TINA – “there is no alternative” for the neoliberal system stating that the only solution in the world was through such system. Following such expression, theories like the “End of History Thesis” emerged in parallel with such discourse. During a period when failures of individuals were expressly emphasized, it stood as a concrete example when Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States of America, vacated the nursing homes showing that the government could not assume the responsibility of looking after the people in nursery homes. The scope of responsibility of the government is regarded to be unauthorized against the ‘incompetency’ of individuals in the present system. The subject of neoliberal states is the market (Inac & Demiray, 2004:164-169).

The public is regarded to be the major deficiency in a neoliberal state; the single element as to the existence of the public is considered within the frame of being ‘consumer’. The elimination of the ruling of the society composed of individuals, the transition from welfare state to competition state and the fact that organizations started to serve corporations are a couple of outcomes of the attempts of neoliberalism trying to transform the nation state. As a result of the increase in the need for solidarity against impoverishment and marginalization and that the sub-identities got ahead of nation-identities, nation states cannot prevent the sub-identities from getting influenced by the external world anymore and cannot not suppress the sub-identities. Since nation states seem to be an obstacle in the way of neoliberalism that utilizes globalization, neoliberalism benefits from most of the things that wear out nation states; neoliberalism has reduced the whole world to the level of a single market and left this

market at the hands of global corporations to rule (Inac & Demiray, 2004:170-176; Ozkazanc, 2009).

Another factor that weakens the authority of a nation state is the international organizations. Organizations such as NATO, IMF, European Union (EU), UN, ECHR and UNESCO which represent elements such as global peace, alliance and economic union, etc. allow international organizations to intervene in national governance. For example, in terms of international law, ECHR is positioned at the top of the national law of a country who is a member state of the European Union or have membership application; in addition, laws defined in accordance with international law standards such as European Convention on Human Rights and United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights are positioned at the top of national laws. Furthermore, the UN council is authorized in deciding who has committed the war crime in case of a conflict between two countries; and UN countries are vested with authorities to impose an embargo, several sanctions or even military intervention. Such organizations are controlled by the global capital, in other words the neoliberal ideology. Nation states are actually surrounded in terms of economics, law, politics and culture by agreements that include their own governments (Yuksel, 2001:104-135; Gambetti, 2009).

GATT¹² has been one of the most significant organizations of the globalization utilized by the global capital in order to conduct their economic activities by seeping into nation states. GATT has been founded in order to liberalize the world trade, decrease customs tariffs and eliminate other obstacles in order to implement activities to develop the global economy. Economic policies of IMF and the World Bank and such objectives complement each other. The neoliberal order that has become widespread after 1980 has emphasized that the regulation by governments is bad and the market order is good; basic elements such as

¹² GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It was signed and executed by 23 countries on January 1, 1948. World Trade Organization (WTO) was founded on January 1, 1995 replacing the GATT.

deregulation, global dissemination of capital movements, privatization of public enterprises and the downsizing of governments have turned into the arguments asserted by the organizations such as GATT and other Western organizations. The claim that the states that go through such process are included in the modernization process and that they have reached a Universalist discourse can be suggested as the attempt of the neoliberal ideology in trying to sell its own values as a monopoly to the whole world. Likewise, WTO, founded to replace the GATT, has allowed the new capitalist understanding to intervene in the foreign investments, technological requirements, export quotas, work life of member states; and the organization has removed certain regulations and brought in some new in line with the objectives of the neoliberal policies. In the first conference held in Uruguay, WTO included the Audiovisual Services within the scope of the GATS¹³. With the restraints of USA, cinema films have opened into international commerce and have commoditized by GATS. In the event of not implementing such, the objecting countries would be imposed certain sanctions. Thus, national governments can be subdued by international organizations (Yuksel, 2001:157-162; Zafir, 2009).

Factors such as the ability of nation states to control the global capital flow as a monopolist element within their own boundaries and to nationalize the privatized enterprises are regarded as obstacles in the way of neoliberalism that has emerged to spread the liberal order to the world. However, as mentioned earlier, the nation state system is a must in order to guarantee the assets of the ruling class; thus, such an international law system should be accepted and

¹³ GATS: The General Agreement on Trade in Services. During the Uruguay Round negotiations during the years between 1986 and 1994, it was included in GATT within the frame of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; and later it was transferred to scope of the World Trade Organization that was launched in 1995. Being the first multilateral treaty regulating the service trade, GATS defines the basic concepts, rules and principles in connection with international service trade. GATS provided for an international discipline for the service sector conducted according to diversified and complex national regulations of countries. During the treaty of GATS in 1994, it was decided on restarting the negotiations in 2000. The negotiations of GATS are continued within the frame of the World Trade Organization. GATS negotiations are conducted under 11 major subjects within the frame of the WTO. One of these 11 major subjects is communications including Telecom, postal services and audiovisual communication services.

implemented by states. Factors such as the arrangement of a set of policies by the governments to regulate the economic life, attaining a macro stability, increasing the educational, cultural and healthcare levels for citizens and using the ideological apparatuses of the state in order to invest in neoliberal policies emphasize that nation states should be involved in the system as regulators even if neoliberalism does not favor this involvement (Yuksel, 2001:145-148).

1.3.4 Cinema as a marketable value

Mass communication is the realization of the transfer of information and meaning to a certain target group after the invention of the printing press and the rapid development of technology; and it is a communication concept involving mass communication tools through which the individual, under the influence of the mass communication tool, is made re-experience the societal facts from politics to art via the visual language used and through the own interpretation of the communication tool; it is also a concept of communication through which such facts can reproduce themselves through mass communication tools (Buyukbaykal, 2012; Gonenc, 2012).

Communication process is categorized into three elements which are the sender of the message (source), receiver of the message (target) and the message during the process (message). The group to interpret the message conveyed by the source during the communication is the target group. The target group is influenced by mass communication tools such as newspapers, television, radio, cinema an internet and lead to a transformation in the social life. According to Schiller, mass communication tools which are also referred to as the media are regulated according to the macroeconomic necessities and therefore they have a direct relationship (Schiller, 2005:24, 61, 67). According to Murdock and Golding, the

political economy of the mass media means that the media is comprised of industrial and commercial enterprises that produce and distribute commodity. Furthermore, media also explains the ideological functions of the commodities. In this context, media can be regarded as an industrial medium where the sovereign ideology is reproduced any time. Political economy theorists suggest that the importance of the media should be related to changing social ideologies rather than individuality. This thought also suggests that media is used by the dominant ideologies and classes to create a false consciousness among the proletariat. Therefore, as Marx suggests in his alienation theory, the alienation of the worker to his labor, his society and himself takes place more quickly and effectively through the use of mass communication tools (Golding & Graham, 2000).

There are a couple of disagreements between the private media organs, which mushroomed during the neoliberal policy, and public media organs. It can be suggested that these disagreements basically arise from the fact that the classical neoliberalism supported the interventionist attitude of the government and that the neoliberal ideology intends to weaken the government. Even if they differ from each other in their methods of profiting, it should be noted for both ideologies that the economy of media is run with profit-oriented capitalist thoughts and that media contributes in the concept of false consciousness serves both ideologies. Mass communication media is one of the cultural commodity forms that are dependent on the profit mentality and market competition. It is controlled by the business industry and advertisers (Fung, 2006).

Communication industry produces commodities, and these are the secrets to a 'good life': automobile, insurance services, cosmetics, etc. This industry is mostly controlled and owned by the private capital thanks to increasing neoliberal policies. In this context, when the government gets weaker in the presence of neoliberalism, the public channels of the government broadcasts and produces commodities in line with the desires of the private

sector. The private sector that holds the control of the media can also shape the message produced by the source the way it wants (Murdock, 2006). Marx explains the ownership relations as follows:

“The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.”
(Marx & Engels, 2011).

The ruling neoliberal ideology that is controlled by the production medium of the mass communication liberates the media consumers in the market also controlled by them with the concept of ‘let them do’ and claims that not the media but the individuals have the power. It is made sure that it is not questioned who controls the media contents by means of disseminating the thought of ‘consumer sovereignty’. The fact that media ownership and the capital act together leads to the transformation of media corporations in a way to serve the capitalist class (Murdock, 2006). Schiller suggests that there are five myths on the

manipulation of media. Among them, the myth of media pluralism is based on how consumers can watch, read and choose the media medium they want. However, Schiller points out that actually there is not much variety, all of the media corporations who seem to be great in number actually serve the ruling ideology and they are all the same in their core; and thus there is a manipulation. The messages conveyed by these mediums intend to dictate the adoption and continuation of a system of consumption based on profitability and private ownership and to strengthen the status quo (Schiller, 2005:33-40).

The USA's Hollywood cinema can be given as an example to understand how the political economy of the mass communication works with globalization. American governments aided the Hollywood cinema through tax relief plans and small business management loans for decades (Miller & Maxwell, 2006), thus, having gradually become economically powerful, Hollywood went beyond the global limits and became dominant in all film markets of the world. This success of Hollywood was a result of the availability of the national film markets to the screenings and distribution of international films following the implementation of liberality policies in other countries through deregulation. Hollywood films, which came into a free market thanks to organizations like WTO and GATT, have spread the globally disseminating Western culture and ideology to the rest of the world via cinema medium (Jin, 2011). It can be said that this contemporary understanding of cultural imperialism has been successful in creating a perception among societies that having 'good life standards' comes with modernization after having triggered the desire to become Westernized through use of concepts like the 'American dream' and through the fact that large amounts of revenues derived from the sales and distribution of cinema films have gone into the pockets of the ruling ideology. The monopolization of Hollywood in the global film market through neoliberal policies after the World War II allowed the ruling ideology to dictate the way of thinking it desired especially to the masses of the non-West.

CHAPTER II: RELATIONSHIP AMONG COUNCIL OF EUROPE, EURIMAGES AND THE TURKISH CINEMA

The first chapter discussed the development of the West and Europe in the historical process. The study discussed economic, political and cultural aspects of this development and analyzed how the Eurocentric thinking turned into a global concept; how the modernization, having reduced the world history to a unilateral linear progress, made the non-West countries believe they were backward from the West countries and how the ‘third world’ countries became dependent on the core countries in all such aspects. In the light of this information, it is claimed that the two world wars that took place in the 20th century were fought with a Eurocentric approach and resulted from the debates on how the non-West countries would be ‘shared’ between the core countries. The dependency on the Western countries resulted from the fact that the non-West countries were exposed to the cultural imperial policies of the core; the intellectuals of the non-West countries imitated the West and got alienated from their own societies since the Western myths were tabooed and accepted as the absolute truth. Even if the actual colonization ended after the World War II, cultural imperialist thoughts caused the rise of post-colonization and succeeded in dictating to a larger part of the world using this method that history had a unilateral linear progression as suggested by modernity.

This chapter will analyze the position and attitude of Europe, where the Western world originated, regarding the globalization after the twentieth century, the process implemented by Europe in terms of the European Union and Council of Europe. Following, the study will discuss the scope and purpose of Eurimages fund organized by the Council of Europe’s in order to protect the art of cinema from Hollywood mainstream films and not to minimize the cultural effects of Europe on the other Western countries that it competes with and the non-

West countries; the relations of Eurimages with the recent period Turkish cinema will be closely analyzed. This way, the historical development of Turkish cinema will be discussed along with such information and the creative power, industrial sector of Turkish cinema and the position where the Turkish cinema puts itself will be analyzed in the light of economic, political and cultural parameters.

2.1 European Union, Council of Europe and Eurimages Fund

Following the destruction of the World War II, it became necessary to restore and maintain the welfare and peace in Europe. It is a known fact that Europe's capitalist system almost collapsed due to the 'communism' threat created by the Soviets. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded as an international organization to stand up against such threat in unity. NATO was the most important factor in maintaining the capitalist peace. The Soviets Union had an influence over the Eastern European countries after the war and supported the nations who were loyal to her. In addition, Greece had served a memorandum to Turkey demanding bases and land and wanting to control the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (Dogan, 2005).

Another factor in the establishment of the NATO was the position of Germany and the problems she had caused during the both world wars. In particular, the conquest of Germany by France during the World War II posed as a rather big obstacle in the way of maintaining the permanent peace in Europe. The takeover of the Czechoslovak government by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia through military coup with Soviet backing (Czechoslovak coup d'état) in 1948 accelerated the establishment of the NATO in Europe. Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg signed the Treaty of Brussels and undertook, in the event an armed assault took place in one of the state parties, that all other

state parties would do anything in their power to help stop such assault. After the war, Germany was divided into two as the East Germany which was ruled with a communist regime under the influence of USSR and the West Germany ruled with the capitalist regime. The USSR wanted to take over the entire Berlin, which was divided into two, and thus, this situation turned into the Berlin blockade threatening the rest of Europe geographically. Thus, the Czechoslovak coup d'état and the Berlin Blockade caused the USA to revise its foreign policy in order to restore the capitalist system in Europe. It also caused the Europe, even though devastated, to sign a treaty with the capitalist states to maintain security. Therefore, the USA, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Britain, Italy, Iceland, Canada, Luxembourg, Norway and Portugal signed the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1949 (Dogan, 2005).

The military structuring of NATO took place in the aftermath of the Korean War. Believing that the USSR was also a military threat against the world, the Western countries for the first time allowed for an alliance treaty to turn into an international organization with its own army, headquarters and personnel. Even if armament of the West Germany against the East Germany and the USSR was not considered to be a good idea, it was implemented with the pressure of the USA, and Greece and Turkey threatened by the USSR was included in the NATO in 1952. The West Germany was included in the Treaty of Brussels; therefore, the line drawn between the communist states and the capitalist states became thicker (Dogan, 2005).

During this period, the USA wanted to restore the capitalist order in Europe in addition to the military investments. In Europe, where the purchasing power was reset to zero, endangered the production plans of the USA as well. Furthermore, only a capitalist Europe united against the USSR could stop the spread of communism. Therefore, it was necessary to provide Europe with financial support. In the light of these thoughts, the USA decided to implement the "European Recovery Program", generally known as the Marshall Plan, in order to support Europe. In 1947, the needs of the Europe were defined during the European Economic

Cooperation Conference through which the relief policy of the USA was shaped. This way, the USA had the chance to transform Europe both militarily and economically the way she wanted and to keep it under control in case of the possibility of communism. Even if Turkey was not at first considered to be eligible for the Marshall relief, Turkey insisted on demanding financial relief from the USA and signed the Economic Cooperation Treaty with the USA in 1948. The USA made several investments in Turkey in the name of grants, supports, direct aids and technical supports (Ertem, 2009).

The divided state of Germany as the East and the West was a major problem in terms of the integration of Europe while certain small-scale economic efforts were taking place. In April 1946, the Benelux economic union was founded by Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. In September 1946, Winston Churchill stated during his Zurich speech that he wanted to establish a federalist United States of Europe with the cooperation of France and Germany. This way, in December 1946, the European Federalists Union was founded. The foundation of NATO was the start of the Cold War period and was the proof that the security of Europe was under threat. The European states whose economies were ameliorated with the Marshall Plan had founded the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (even if known as OEEC, it would be referred to as OECD in the future). In May 1948, the European Congress assembled with the participation of 16 states and set forth the idea of an integrated Europe where people, ideas and commodities could move freely. Therefore, the European Convention on Human Rights was drawn up, the European Court of Human Rights was founded and the European Parliament was constituted. Britain objected to the idea of a parliament defending that it would exceed the boundaries of national sovereignty and the Council of Europe was founded at the end of the negotiations. This Council was in the form of a forum where international cooperation was ensured, though which was practically ineffective (Piodi, 2010).

The French, who believed that containing Germany within its boundaries would not help them protect the order in Europe, founded the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in the leadership of Jean Monnet that would Germany in the mutual production. Benelux states, France, German and Italy (the Six) were the signing parties of this treaty in 1952. With the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, customs union, freedom of movement, free competition, collective trade policy and community agricultural policy was created and the European Economic Community (EEC) was founded. In 1967, the Treaty of Brussels and EEC was united to found the European Community (EC). The economic integration of Europe was intended to start from a commercial industry and to spread over other industries, which later would lead to the political integration thanks to the increasing cooperation. In addition, the superiority of international organizations and treaties to the national rules by virtue of international or supranational integration made it necessary, in a sense, to meet on a common ground in terms of politics. It was aimed to control the practicability of the rules through a legal integration. Creation of a common order of law and establishment of a jurisdiction mechanism over the national laws would protect the validity of these treaties. Such ideas laid the foundations of the European Union (Piodi, 2010).

Europe found the opportunity to expand towards the Eastern Europe thanks to the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1990, end of the cold war period and the acknowledgement of Germany by the EC as a single nation after the West Germany and East Germany united. With the acceptance of the Copenhagen criteria to be imposed on the members who would want to join the community, the Treaty of Maastricht was put into effect in 1992. The name European Union was used for the first time with this treaty. The European Community was abolished in 2009 with the Treaty of Lisbon. The European Community which started off with six founding members, known as inner six, in 1957 gradually expanded; and as of 2014, the community which is referred to as the European Union consists of 28 sovereign states.

Iceland, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey are the five countries who expect to join the union as of 2014. Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina are the countries who are officially recognized candidates.

The European Union has a wide range of subcommittees from security to legal rights, development policies to education and research programs. This study will analyze the audiovisual media services policies within the frame of the social and cultural policies of the EU. Due to the developments in the satellite broadcasting in the 1980s and the technological superiority of the USA to the EC, Europe started to conduct studies in order to catch up with the technology of the USA. In 1997, the European Commission prepared a study for the “Integration of Telecommunication, Media and Information Technologies Industries”. A framework was drawn in order to increase the cultural diversity by diversifying the consumer preferences. The Audiovisual Policy is integrated to the Treaty establishing the European Community and defined under the cultural aspects in the Article 151 (Uyanik, 2006:7-9).

As a result of the studies, the European Community prepared the “Television without Frontiers Directive”. Later on, the communication of “Principles and Guidelines for the Community’s Audiovisual Policy in the Digital Age” was issued. The contents of the communication emphasized that significant changes were expected in the production and transmission of new type of contents within the frame of the audiovisual policy. It is seen that the European states incurred a loss at approximately 7 billion dollars in consideration of the audiovisual trading equilibrium between the EC and the USA; and this is regarded as one of the greatest reasons for issuing the communication. The communication addressed to the significance of audiovisual policies for the transfer of social and cultural values to the next generations and suggested that the activities in this field should be supported and managed with a contemporary perspective. It suggested that it was necessary to organize the MEDIA program through the principles like the complementarity of the national values and the

European values, increasing the added value of the community and harmonization of the implementations. The EU aimed to get to a position where it could compete with the USA with the preparation of the MEDIA program in 1986; and it is considered as the second significant development in improving the Audiovisual policies of the EU. The Community reserved 200 million Euros for the “Media I” program during the term 1990-1995. It reserved 310 million Euros for the Media II” program during the term 1996-2000. “Media Plus” program had a budget of 400 million Euros for the term 2001-2006 whereas the “MEDIA 2007” program had a budget of 755 million Euros for the term 2007-2013. The program Media I was intended to improve the audiovisual distribution and production projects of films and to train professionals. The Media II program invested in the training and improvement of cinema professionals and the distribution of cinema works. 60% of the Media Plus program fund was reserved to support the international distribution of European films and programs, and just like the other programs, it was intended to train professionals of the industry and support the production and distribution of movies while providing aids to cinema festivals (Uyanik, 2006:7-20; Soydan, 2008:135). The MEDIA program reserved a budget of 1.46 billion Euros for the “Creative Europe” program for the years 2014 – 2020.

The audiovisual policies of the EU includes three fundamental elements in terms of its foreign relations. These are the preparations of the EU for expansion, the multilateral commercial negotiations within the frame of the WTO and cooperation with the third countries and other international organizations. Audiovisual services was considered within the frame of the GATS; however, the EU and other member states had no commitments in relation to the enforcements. In addition, there are activity programs in order to improve the cooperation between the EU and the third countries in order to develop the cultural and lingual diversity. It is believed that such diversity will yield fruitful results for the enrichment of this diversity through dual and regional cooperation. The EU intended to create a “mutual

European culture space” and to contribute in the audiovisual industry by means of protecting the national and regional diversity and promoting cultural policies. The revenue from this industry is believed to have increased by 70% during the years between 1997 and 2005. The new members to join the EU have undertaken to comply with the audiovisual regulations of the EU. Cultural diversity has become one of the most basic areas of activity for several organizations (Uyanik, 2006:26-28).

The fact that cultural policies are financed more and more is actually related to the economic rivalry of the EU with the USA. The EU states have taken a couple of precautions in order to protect its own cinema industry from that of the USA and prevent the USA from creating a ‘false consciousness’ through its ideological expansion on the masses using the cinema and television industry. In the years following the implementation of cinema policies that started with the acceptance of the MEDIA program in 1986 and continued with the implementation of Green Book in order to regulate the telecommunication services in 1988, the EU supported the competition through a secondary fund which was Eurimages in addition to the MEDIA fund in order to compete with the American film industry. During the Conference held in Paris in 1989, the EU discussed the use of the mass communication tools in Europe, which were the financial source of the audiovisual industry of the USA and decided on taking precautions, and thus, signed the agreement of the European Research Coordination Agency (EUREKA). This way, the political and economic integrity of the EU would not be disrupted from the outside through mass communication tools thanks to EUREKA, but it would rather serve as an integrating power. This initiative started in French language because France was the most powerful state in the cinema industry during that time in Europe, who provided the highest number of employment in the cinema industry among the other European states with 70 thousand people. The French cinema industry incurred the greatest damage from the

American films which had the opportunity to be screened in the movie theaters in Europe (Soydan, 2008; Ulusay, 2003).

The Council of Europe took part in the economic rivalry with the USA having allied with the European Union. The Council of Europe was established on May 05, 1949 as the first political organization of Europe with the objective of strengthening democracy, human rights and the rule of law principle. Considering the purpose of establishment of the Council of Europe, it is seen that the purpose is to protect and realize the ideals and principles which are common heritage and to reach a more powerful alliance among the members in order to facilitate economic and social advances. This objective is comprised of discussing issues of common interest, going over economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative issues, protecting and improving human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Council of Europe consists of 47 members while the European Union has 28 members. All members of the European Union are also the members of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe is not authorized to enforce laws that are binding on the member states unlike the European Union. Even though the European Union and the Council of Europe appear as separate organizations, they share the same flag and anthem in addition to having the same members. It is seen that there are many parallelisms in terms of the purposes and values of these two organizations. Just like the efforts to protect the common European heritage, there are instances of cooperation between the European Union and the Council of Europe in many areas. In cinema, the Eurimages fund helps produce co-productions among the members of the Council of Europe and the European Union. In summary; considering the purposes, vision and missions of the European Union and the Council of Europe that exhibit a clear parallelism, it is clearly seen that both organizations basically have the same tendencies in spite of their independency from each other and that they are in a significant cooperation (Juncker, 2006).

In addition to the economic and ideological struggle of the European Union, the Council of Europe also had a series of studies in this sphere. National cinemas, which were unable to fight with the globalizing power of the American cinema industry, tried to struggle with it through mutual productions, and thus, steps were taken to create the “Pan-European Cinema”. Therefore, a need of another filmmaking fund has been emerged; suchlike of MEDIA programme not only European Union members can benefit from but also Council of Europe members can also apply. The resolution for the Council of Europe’s Eurimages fund, which is the Support Fund for the Coproduction and Distribution of Creative Cinematographic and Audiovisual Works, was adopted in October 26, 1988 and it was put into effect on January 1, 1989 (Ulusay, 2003).

The Eurimages fund consists of 36 members. These are Albania, Georgia, Russia, Austria, Germany, Poland, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Iceland, Serbia, Croatia, Ireland, Slovakia, Cyprus, Italy, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Latvia, Spain, Denmark, Lithuania, Sweden, Estonia, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Finland, Holland, Macedonia, France, Norway and Turkey (Eurimages, 2014).

Eurimages fund is intended to improve the audiovisual industry of Europe through providing financial support to fiction films, animated films and documentaries. This way, the fund allows the members states to co-produce films. The Eurimages fund has a budget of 25 million Euros. This financial source is derived from the contributions of the member states and the returned loans. The board of management of Eurimages decide on the productions to be supported having defined the policy of the fund under the leadership of the chairman of the board. Each member state has her own representative in the board which convenes four times a year in different European cities. The secretariat is responsible for implementing the resolutions made by the board of management. The Eurimages fund has four funding

programs. These are the supports for coproduction, for movie theater distribution, for screening and for digitization (Eurimages, 2014).

In 2013, the Eurimages fund granted support amounted to 24 million 447 thousand and 940 Euros. This support was distributed for co-production, distribution, exhibition and digitization activities by 92.11%, 3.46%, 2.97% and 0.46%, respectively. In addition, 1% of the support fund was spent on the promotional activities of the fund. The Fund supported certain activities such as EFA awards, FACE awards, Odyssey-Council of Europe Prize, and participated in European Film festivals such as Cannes and Berlin and introduced the fund. Eurimages renewed its agreements and awards in 2013 with Istanbul International Film Festival, Strasbourg Festival and Seville Film Festival (Eurimages, 2014).

Major part of the regulations concerning co-production support for full-length feature films, animations and documentaries are like the following (Eurimages, 2013);

“Projects for feature films, animations and documentaries of a minimum length of 70 minutes, intended for cinema release, are eligible. Projects submitted must be co-productions between at least two independent producers, established in different member states of the Fund. Projects submitted must comply with the legislation of the countries concerned, the bilateral treaties in force between the co-producing countries or, where applicable with the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production. For the purposes of these regulations, the awarding of national public support will be considered, where appropriate, equivalent to national accreditation (co-production status certificate) issued by the competent national authorities.

Projects submitted must conform to the cultural objectives of the Fund. Projects of a blatantly pornographic nature or advocating violence or openly inciting to a violation of human rights are not eligible. Projects must include a digital master copy for cinema release.

Financial support may only be awarded to European natural or legal persons governed by the legislation of one of the Fund's member states, whose principal activity consists in producing cinematographic works, and whose origins are independent of public or private broadcasting organisations or telecom companies. A company is considered European if it is majority owned and continues to be majority owned, either directly or indirectly, by nationals of the member states. A production company is considered independent when less than 25% of its share capital is held by a single broadcaster or less than 50% where several broadcasters are involved. Producers who have previously received support from Eurimages must have met all their contractual obligations to the Fund, in particular the submission of revenue statements for any project(s) previously supported by Eurimages and the reimbursement of any outstanding amounts due.

In the case of a multilateral co-production, the participation of the majority co-producer must not exceed 70% of the total co-production budget and the participation of each minority co-producer must not be lower than 10%. In the case of a bilateral co-production, the participation of the majority co-producer must not exceed 80% of the

total coproduction budget and the participation of the minority co-producer must not be lower than 20%. Notwithstanding the above, in the case of bilateral co-productions with a budget superior to €5 million, the participation of the majority co-producer must not exceed 90% of the total co-production budget.

The structure of the co-production shall be attested by a duly signed co-production agreement. For the purposes of the project selection procedure, a deal memo may exceptionally be accepted provided it contains detailed provisions on the following essential aspects of the co-production:

- clear indication of the participation of each co-producer in the financing of the project;
- joint ownership of all the rights;
- sharing of the revenues between the co-producers (exclusive and/or shared territories);
- definition of the total budget, spending requirements and the event of overbudget;
- reference to the treaties applicable.

Co-producers from non-member states of the Fund may participate in the project provided that their combined co-production percentage does not exceed 30% of the total co-production budget. The Executive Director may carry out any verification he or she considers appropriate in order to ensure that control of the project remains in the

hands of the co-producers from the member states of the Eurimages Fund.

Projects must display artistic and/or technical co-operation between at least two co-producers established in different member states of the Fund. This co-operation will be assessed on the basis of the nationality and/or residence of the heads of departments (director, scriptwriter, composer, director of photography, sound engineer, editor, art director, costumes) and of the main roles (first, second and third roles), as well as on the studio or shooting location, and the location of the post-production and laboratory facilities and service providers. However, a co-production with an exclusively financial contribution from one or more co-producers is also eligible on condition that it has access to national accreditation in the co-producing countries.

Projects submitted must comply with the copyright regulations in force in the European co-producing countries, inter alia with regard to decisions concerning the final cut. The negative must be jointly owned by all co-producers. Projects should have the benefit, in each of the co-producing countries, of either public support, or a television pre-sale, or a minimum guarantee or any other financing arrangement verifiable by and acceptable to the Executive Director (except for equity investments, deferrals and in-kind contributions). At least 50% of the financing in each of the co-producing countries must be confirmed by formal undertakings or agreements in principle such as contracts, deal memos, letters of intent with amounts, confirmations

of public support and bank statements. However, a bank statement cannot be the sole confirmation that the financing threshold has been met. Deferrals (including producers' fee and overheads) and in-kind contributions shall be accepted as confirmed sources of financing only up to a maximum of 15% of the total co-production budget.

The Executive Director may request any further evidence he or she may consider necessary in order to assess the financial capacity of the co-producers or financiers. The production budget shall clearly include the costs necessary for the completion of a digital master copy for cinema release.

For selection of projects; The Executive Director will provide the Board of Management with a systematic and detailed analysis of each project. In doing so, it will carry out a comparative analysis of the applications submitted, upon the basis of the following selection criterias:

Artistic Criteria:

Quality of the script/level of development:

- Story and theme (originality of content, subject);
- Characters and dialogue;
- Narrative structure;
- Style (director's intention cinematic vision, genre, tone);

Contribution of the creative team (including experience, track records):

- Director and author(s);
- Producers;
- Cast and crew.

Production Criteria:

- Artistic and technical co-operation;
- Circulation potential (festivals, distribution, audience);
- Financing (consistency and level of confirmed financing).

For nature of financial support and amounts; financial support is provided in the form of a conditionally repayable interest-free loan (advance on receipts). Financial support shall not exceed 17% of the total production cost of the film and shall in no event be superior to €500.000. The budget, the financing plan and the amount of support requested from Eurimages will be assessed and verified by the Executive Director. The financial support shall be allocated to each co-producer according to the proportion of his or her financial participation in the co-production. Eurimages financial support may be allocated disproportionately, except in the case of financial co-productions. Such disproportionate allocation to one of the co-producers shall not be lower than 10% nor exceed 50% of the total amount allocated by Eurimages to the co-production concerned. In

such cases, the Eurimages contribution shall not exceed 50% of the total financing of any of the co-producers. Nevertheless, the repayment of the amount awarded will be in proportion to each producer's percentage in the co-production.

The validity of any decision to support the co-production of a cinematographic work will expire if no agreement between Eurimages and the co-producers has been entered into within a period of twelve months from the date of the Board of Management meeting at which the decision was taken and if principal photography has not commenced within the same period. In the event of duly justified reasons, the Executive Director may extend such a period by a maximum of three months. The Executive Director may, at his or her own discretion, terminate the support agreement 10 years after the first commercial exploitation of the film.

Unless otherwise agreed by the Executive Director of Eurimages, payment will be made in three instalments. The first instalment of 60% of the total amount awarded is payable after the signature of the support agreement and the first day of principal photography. The second instalment of 20% of the total amount awarded is payable after confirmation of completion of the digital answer print from the laboratory; after receipt of distribution guarantees and/or pre-sales upon which binding agreements have been concluded before the answer print of the film has been completed; after approval of the credit list by the Executive Director; if appropriate, after signature of the collection account agreement. The third instalment of 20% of the

total amount awarded is payable: after confirmation of cinema release in the co-producing countries or, if appropriate (documentaries only), selection in at least one significant film festival; after receipt and approval by Eurimages of the total final costs of the production and the expenditure of each co-producer, presented in a standard form approved by Eurimages and certified by a qualified chartered accountant independent from the production companies involved, showing any variations in the costs compared with the budget approved by the Board of Management; after receipt of the final financing plan; after receipt of the evidence of the payment of the minima guarantees included in the financing plan and the list of deductions approved by Eurimages. Minima guarantees paid in cash shall not be accepted; after receipt and approval by Eurimages of the publicity material for each co-producing country and receipt of 50 copies of the DVD with English or French subtitles; after confirmation of attribution of definitive national accreditation. Should the co-producers conclude a completion guarantee, Eurimages must be a signatory to the contract and have the status of beneficiary.

Eurimages support must be mentioned clearly and visibly in the main credits at the beginning of the film, as high as possible after the producers and in accordance with its financial contribution, as well as in major publicity material for the film. The draft front and end credits must be submitted to Eurimages for prior approval. Failing this, Eurimages reserves the right to refuse payment of the outstanding balance of the support awarded.

For repayment of support; The support amount is repayable, from the first euro, from each producer's net receipts at a rate equal to the percentage of the Eurimages share in the financing of the film, and after deduction – if formally approved by the Secretariat – of distribution guarantees and/or pre-sales necessary for the financing of the film upon which binding agreements have been concluded before completion of the answer print. Where part of the distribution minima guarantees is financed by “Sofica” and/or other financial institutions (e.g. gap financing), these sums shall not be recouped before Eurimages. Any other deductions or comparable financing arrangements are to be approved by the Board of Management. Each co-producer shall be proportionally responsible for repayment of the share of the support allocated to him or her. Repayment is due up to 100% of the amount awarded. In the case of disproportionate allocation of Eurimages support, the repayment of the support awarded will be in proportion to the co-production percentages. When there is a group of national co-producers (i.e. co-producers within the same member state), one co-producer responsible for reporting obligations and repayment of the sums due by the whole group shall be appointed. Failing this, Eurimages will appoint one.

All receipts resulting from exploitation of all or part of the film and from any products derived from the film in the territories exclusively allocated to the producers, as well as in the territories other than those exclusively allocated to the producers, after deduction of “deductible costs” linked to the exploitation of the film. These net receipts shall

constitute the basis for the reimbursement of the support. Any pre-sales and distribution guarantees in excess of the financing necessary to cover the production cost approved by Eurimages as well as those concluded after completion of the answer print are considered as net receipts for the purpose of repayment to Eurimages. The Executive Director must have received valid documentation before payment of the second instalment of the support.

For revenue statements; Starting from the first commercial exploitation of the project, co-producers shall, without prior request, provide Eurimages at the end of each half-year period for the first two years and at the end of each calendar year thereafter with revenue statements concerning the exploitation of the film. These statements shall be presented in a clear and detailed format, showing the exploitation results of the film for each type of media, clearly indicating the “deductible costs”, and shall include a copy of the royalty statements from distributors and sales agents, as well as a copy of all sales and licence agreements. Eurimages reserves the right, if necessary, to request producers to use a standard form approved by Eurimages for the presentation of revenue statements. Each co-producer is obliged to provide Eurimages with a copy of all contracts for the exploitation of the film or any part thereof. For projects with a budget of €3 million or more, the setting up of a collection account by a collection agency shall be obligatory. For projects with a budget of less than €3 million, Eurimages reserves the right to demand the setting up of a collection account by a collection

agency. In all cases, Eurimages must be a signatory to the subsequent agreement.

For projects with a budget of €3 million or more, the setting up of a collection account by a collection agency shall be obligatory. For projects with a budget of less than €3 million, Eurimages reserves the right to demand the setting up of a collection account by a collection agency. In all cases, Eurimages must be a signatory to the subsequent agreement. Any substantial modification of the artistic or financial structure of the project must be approved by the Board of Management. Any other changes shall be approved by the Executive Director. Should the final production costs of the film be more than 10% lower than the budget described in the support agreement between Eurimages and the producers, the support granted by Eurimages will be reduced proportionally to the decrease exceeding 10%. Eurimages financial support shall be cancelled if the film is not completed or theatrically exhibited in each of the co-producing countries within the time limit set in the support agreement. It shall also be cancelled or immediately repayable if a producer fails to meet the terms of the regulations or the obligations contained in the terms of the support agreement.”

Herewith, the Eurimages fund of the Council of Europe protects the European culture with the Eastern Europe, certain neighbors of EU member states and candidate states which are not EU members, and therefore cannot benefit from the MEDIA program, and supports the

cooperation of the professionals of the European audiovisual industry with their colleagues in other countries. Thanks to the Eurimages fund and the MEDIA program, the European films, which try to compete with the Hollywood cinema of the USA, have their own cultural and artistic foundations instead of being the copies of the mainstream Hollywood films. The emergence of these films and their internalization as the European style date back to the beginning of the 20th century.

2.1.1 Affiliation of the European national and independent films

According to Hayward, the art cinema stands for a certain experimental branch of the European cinema in terms of the technique and narrative of the European cinema. The French coined the term “Cinéma d’art” in 1908 in order to provide for a legitimacy to pull the middle class in the cinema (Hayward, 1999:9). However, the art of cinema was commoditized as a result of Hollywood’s marketing the art of cinema across the world and its attempts to spread its own ideology through films. Following, the concept of art cinema has gathered under the concept of “independent film”, and it represents the films of the film industry, which are produced without any profit motive. On the other hand, the national cinema defines the auteur films produced under the protection of the government within the boundaries of a nation-state (Celik, 2009:28-63).

Independency in cinema addresses to the films that are produced outside the industrial system and originates as a result of the works of independent producers and independent directors. There are also experimental cinema, avant-garde cinema, art cinema, alternative cinema, counter cinema, minimalist cinema, auteur cinema and underground cinema that are included among the concepts which indirectly relate to the concept of independency. However,

according to Sivas, these concepts are a general symbol of independency and can be considered as a part of independent cinema (2007:5-28). In this context, it will be better to understand the term of 'independent' as 'independent from USA's filmmaking industry'.

Europe's attempts to protect the national cinema are observed in Germany during the World War I. Whereas 90% of the movies made all over the world was made in France in 1914, 85% of the movies produced in the world were made in the USA in 1928. When the film corporations in Europe lost control of the European film market, Germany tried to protect its independency from the Hollywood cinema. Europe took precautions against the importation of foreign films, built a national film industry and tried to enter other film markets through building a prestige. In this, Germany's desire to understand and use the propaganda power of cinema was influential. The German film production gained a great speed through legal regulations during this period when we encounter the examples of the German expressionist films (Rhode, 1976:118; Mattelart, 2000:95).

In 1930, the world film market was divided into two between the USA and Germany during the Treaty of Paris. The invention of the sound film was the reason for signing this agreement, because the revenue yielded from the use of sound machines would be shared between these two states. The treaty did not equalize the German films with Hollywood; on the contrary, Hollywood continued its dominance while the German films turned in on itself and tried to confront the intervention of Hollywood (Mattelart, 2001:57-58). After the 1950s, the German film industry was not fruitful since it was severely damaged due to the war. Its film market was limited whereas the distribution and exhibition opportunities were highly limited. The new German cinema bears an economic resemblance to the Turkish director cinema after the 1990s.

Italian cinema was in a state to compete with the French, German and American cinemas during the 1910s. Italians limited the importation of Hollywood films after the World War I. After 1920, the government used its power and censorship mechanism was employed: scripts were controlled and the international film distributions were regulated by the government. The taxes imposed on imported films were used in the production of local films. However, the European nations, who incurred damages in all aspects, lost their share in the film business to Hollywood. After the representatives of the United Nations put the Hollywood films in the Italian film market, Italy started to import 600 units of Hollywood films per year. In 1949, Italy signed the Treaty of Andreotti and cut down the film importation from Hollywood to half (Celik, 2009:90).

France also implemented a set of policies so as to protect its own cinema. The Herriot Decree issued in 1928 allowed for the importation of 120 American films per year. As a result of the increase in the costs of production that came along with the sound films, the small-scale film companies were shut down and it became more difficult to protect the national cinema. CNC (National French Cinema Center) was founded in 1946 in order to prevent the importation of particularly Hollywood films. CNC started to co-produce films with other European nations. The films directed by Alain Renais and Godard were also co-productions of the period. On the other hand, the USA tried to go beyond these limitations within the scope of the Marshall Plan. Screen quota was implemented instead of import quota; however, the import quota was brought back due to the diminishing number of French productions but the screen quota was not removed. In 1948, a new supportive system was brought, through which the taxes imposed on foreign films were allocated to the production of national films (Mattelart, 2000:95-96; Celik, 2009:91).

Hollywood tried to overcome the national quota limitations by means of co-productions. In the British law, the productions which included American corporations and American

directors, screenwriters and actors but yielded a certain amount of profit to the British technicians were considered national productions (Mattelart, 2001:58). Therefore, nationality existed in terms of formality whereas the contents of the films were all American style. Hollywood continued its existence within local industries in exchange for money and produced the mainstream films from within the nations.

In 1953, France emphasized the values of art, culture and education in cinema together with the renewal of the law on the development of cinema industry. In cinema, the importance of education and art was underlined and their benefits in the protection of quality and culture and the transfer to the next generations are pointed out. Young talents were awarded, and thus, an important sphere of support was created for the French New Wave cinema. At the same time, co-productions were continued; Godard's film *Le Mepris* was shot as a co-production with an Italian producer (Biryildiz, 2012:86-87). France started the implementation of interest-free advance payments over the box office returns in order to support the distribution and projection of the art cinema. The film production continued effectively during the 1960s and 1970s thanks to the populated culture and art centers. Considering the film industry as an important tool of exportation across the world, France started to organize the Cannes Film Festivals in order to pick out the international audiences and purchasers and led to the foundation of Unifrance for promoting French films (Monaco, 2002:286; Celik, 2009).

The Hollywood dominance over the global film market resulted in the emergence of a defense mechanism in Europe and implementations were put into effect believing that it was necessary to protect the national films. In this sense, according to Monaco, a new cinema rose against the mainstream Hollywood cinema and particularly thanks to the French New Wave cinema; and this new no-genre cinema, which was able to compete with the Hollywood cinema, had a new understanding of aesthetics and new talents (Monaco, 2002:286).

The term national cinema is considered to have four different definitions in “The Concept of National Cinema” of Higson: economic-based, text-based, audience-based and national heritage – art relations-based cinema (Higson, 1989). If we were to have a critical approach in the light of these concepts, we could see that the national film economies were still weaker than the Hollywood cinema with the effects of globalization despite several protection laws implemented. The effects of neoliberal policies started to reveal themselves in the context of the films. Attracting the attention of the audience from the national cinema to the foreign cinema was doing damage to the national cinema, as well. The art films of the national cinema were able to stand up against the mainstream Hollywood films, yet, they could hardly survive. In this context, it can be suggested that such four aspects of the national cinema incurred severe damages since the film industry could not gain its economic independence.

In this context, the art cinema coincides with the national cinemas in terms of the global economic conditions. The production of mainstream films by Hollywood and its dominance over the global film market caused other nations to develop protective policies. In this sense, the European cinema considered its own national cinemas as its cultural heritage and molded the national cinema together with the art cinema, because the art cinema was also limited within the national boundaries in terms of history. This way, the art cinema produced films with themes based on the artistic heritage of the nations, thus had a national theme and contributed in the artistic creation of national identities. Therefore, the national cinemas could economically survive and continue their existence – to the extent permitted by Hollywood – only through the internationalization of the national cultural values (Neale, 1981:34-35). Furthermore, Ulusay states that the national – art cinema was nourished with the different styles of the ‘auteur’ directors of the genre and supported by official institutions through festivals and screenings. Ulusay also suggests that it is the identity of the European cinema in the world market (Ulusay, 2008:127).

Upon glancing through the history of the European cinema, it is clear that there is a close relationship between the economy of the cinema industry and the identity of the cinema. international trading agreements and communication policies constitute the foundation of the determinant conditions required for the production of cinemas. Tim Bergfelder comments on the historical intersection and the future of the art and national cinema as follows:

“The renewed urgency of this topic has on the one hand been linked to the need to protect a vaguely defined yet strongly perceived European film heritage, which supplied the major rhetorical tool for European member states (led by France), to resist American media dominance during the GATT talks in 1993 and 1994. The desire to establish or reaffirm a pan-European production base had, since the mid- to late 1980s, given impetus to new film funding and film-making initiatives such as Euro-Aim, the European Commission’s MEDIA programme, and the Council of Europe’s production fund Eurimages.” (Bergfelder, 2005)

Therefore, the most basic concern was to protect the European film heritage against the Hollywood now. Celik also states in her study that the protection of the heritage is also related to the economic concerns and that the economic process should be evaluated along with the cultural process in film production (Celik, 2009:95).

In his “Screening Modernism”, Kovács closely analyzes the art cinema of the period 1950 – 1980 and puts forward his evaluations. Accordingly, the fundamental difference between the traditional and modern art cinema is that the plot is derived from the conflict of a certain character with the surrounding defined in traditional films whereas we do not encounter a

surrounding in modern films and characters tend to be abstract beings with intrinsic approaches. According to Jung, we come across the ‘modern spirit’ and the materialization of the ‘abstract individual’: “The modern person is always alone... What is more, he can only be modern when he arrives at the boundaries of the world... Together with the Nothingness in front of him, that is the source of everything” (Jung, 1960 cited (Kovács, 2010:69).

The expressions of Jung indicate that the point where modernity crosses with the existentialist philosophy is the final point that modernity has arrived. Accordingly, it can be said that we come across the art films of the Western nations, who are the pioneers of the world in terms of the ‘advanced’ values such as technology, human rights and democracy, as the questioning of their own existence following their historical triumph at the struggle with the nature or other humans at the point of experience arrived at by the western individuals who have overcome several obstacles. Kovács can provide for a general definition for the alienation of the abstract individual in the western art cinema:

“Jung’s man is free from his social determinants, free from any desires such as love, greed or ambition that link him to another person or would drive him to physical action whether or not he is suffering from this “freedom.” This man is free from his past, and his future is hazy. The world is outside of him, and he is totally absorbed by his inner psychic life, which however cannot be organized into a rational system leading to planned acts. This inner universe consists of fragments of memories, dreams, and fantasy, mixing with real-life experience that can be organized in random combinations. “The man” is a mystery or a black box from the interior that will be never revealed, and a totally random specimen of his species from the point of view of the outside world, and who seems not to do what he wants

because what he wants does not differ from whatever happens to him.

[...] The greatest examples of modern cinema are those that give the most radical and complex image about the estranged “modern individual”: the films of Antonioni, Federico Fellini, Bergman, Tarkovsky and Jancsó.” (Kovács, 2010:69)

Accordingly, the fundamental characteristic of the modern narrative is about an “alienated man, who has lost all of his essential connections with the others, with the world, with the past and the future, and even with the essence of his own character”; the more the alienation of this man gets radical the more the modernist character of the narrative can get radical (Kovács, 2010:70).

According to Kovács, the most basic art film models are rooted from the traditional melodrama. In terms of genre, melodrama has a deterministic approach; and the emotional conflicts in melodrama can be very successfully adapted to emphasize the despair of the individual. Accordingly, the melodramatic subjects in a movie become passive when in despair against the oppression of the external world and add unhappiness to their desperate situations. In the modern melodrama, the character cannot understand him or herself and is in pain and worried with an existential feeling. According to Kovács, the ability to understand the despair depends on chance in the modern melodrama; the reason why the characters in the modern melodrama cannot notice their own desperate situations is that the ‘greater powers’ do not appear before the audience in some material shape. Thus, this is a good description of the unknown about the external world in the existentialist philosophy. Kovács states that Sartre adds concreteness to the abstract concept of nothingness in order that the feeling of nothingness can be apprehended and gives the statement of Sartre as an example “Individual gives birth to nothingness”. Thus, he suggests that nothingness is the expectation, disappointment or the memory of an individual. According to Sartre, the concept of

nothingness means “the transformation of the human existence into the modern experience”. The ‘modern authentic individual’ accepts nothingness as the basis of his own freedom and likes neither the traditional metaphysical values nor the traditional forces that impose the mass culture (love, history, nature, destiny, etc.). If the modern individual is free, this is only because he has confronted the nothingness. Kovács states in his work that the concept of nothingness is a part of the existentialist philosophy and it is included in the modernism, which is a trend of art (Kovács, 2010:95-98).

Accordingly, Kovács emphasizes that there are three general thematic environments that are repeated in modern films: 1 – Alienation of the human from his surrounding, 2- subjective, mythological and conceptual redefinition of the understanding of facticity, 3- the explanation of the idea of nothingness behind the superficial facticity (Kovács, 2010:215). These three themes are related to each other and the subjectivity of the modern genre takes place when the auteur approaches things using these genres. Facticity has always been the focus of the modern cinema; however, modernism has approached the facticity as a mental being rather than a social being; and this has led to the ‘auteur’ director cinema to create its films using the myths (Kovács, 2010:398). The Modern European cinema reflects the individual settling accounts with his existence at the final point that the modernity has arrived. In this case, the facticity and the social structure are obscurely described or not described at all, and this has had an influence on the cinemas of other nations on which the Europe has been influential. Therefore, it can be claimed that certain type of films are economically supported as well as a result of such type of films being internalized and preferred against the Hollywood cinema. Thus; since it is a question of discussion to what extent such films, which are previously defined as “independent cinema”, in general are actually independent, it would not be proper to define these films as “independent cinema” or “art cinema”.

2.2 Development and Economic Structure of the Turkish Cinema

It would be a realist approach to think that the Turkish cinema has been influenced by the events that took place around it in the presence of the political, economic and cultural changes experienced in the world and Turkey. Accordingly, evaluating the history of cinema in Turkey within the frame of economic, political and cultural circumstances and taking a historical approach on the Turkish cinema supported by Eurimages after 1990 would help discuss the period to be analyzed in this study more reliably and from a broader perspective.

After the first cinematographic screening of Lumière brothers in 1895, operators left France for shooting films for several countries. Cinema was first time allowed in the Ottoman Empire with the intervention of the French ambassador in 1896 during the reign of Abdulhamid II. This projection was made by a French named Bertrand for the sultan of the period Abdulhamid II in Yildiz Palace. Magic Lantern and Théâtre Optique was already used in Beyoglu town of Istanbul to project moving images. It is known that the majority of the viewers were foreign nationals. Following the first projection in the Palace, the first public film screening was presented by Sigmund Weinberg in Sponeck pub in Pera. Later, Weinberg rented Fevziye Coffeeshouse and started to present regular film projections (Korkmaz, 1997:6-9). During this period, film introductions were made in French, German, Greek and Armenian languages. The “minority groups” in Beyoglu were actually the majority when compared to the Muslim population in the town, and they could easily integrate any Western novelty and technological development into their lives (Scognamillo, 1990:13).

Until the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, cinema projections continued their existence as a secondary show in entertainment centers such as theaters and casinos. This was because Abdulhamid II did not allow for the utilization of electricity for long durations in

Istanbul. Therefore, cinema developed more quickly in other cities such as Thessaloniki and Izmir (Ozon, 1975:475).

In the last years of the Ottoman Empire, film theaters were controlled by the minorities. The “National Cinema” enterprise of Murat Bey and Cevat Boyer that launched on March 19, 1914 was the first continuous cinema business run by the Turks. The first film theater to be run by the Turks was Fevziye Coffee House that was turned into a film theater in 1914 (Scognamillo, 1990:15).

The first Turkish film is known to be the film produced on November 14, 1914 depicting the destruction of the Ayestafanos Monument built by the Russian in Yesilkoy in 1897. The producer of the film was Fuat Uzkinay, who has been considered by historians as the first Turkish filmmaker (Tunc, 2006:9). However, Prof. Dr. Sami Sekeroglu found out in Moscow in 1973, when he was searching for a film of Milton and Yanaki Manaki brothers that he needed for the script of the film “Ulysses’ Gaze”, that the film shot by the Macedonian Manaki brothers that depicted Sultan Mehmet Resat V visiting Thessaloniki and Manatir was the oldest film in the Turkish history. In the film, Sultan Mehmet Resat V gets off the train; and Milton Manaki approaches the Sultan among the crowd before he goes for the cab that is waiting for him but the guards of the Sultan prevent him from getting closer. The Sultan understands the situation and tells his guards “Let the kid play” (Korkmaz, 1997:19).

Whereas the first movies brought from abroad and the first film theater opened were the products of private enterprises, the first regular film production activities during the years between 1915 and 1922 were mostly conducted official institutions. Accordingly, the first film production activities in Turkish cinema was conducted by the army-affiliated Central Cinema Directorate established in 1915 (Onaran, Sinemaya Giris, 1999:13). In 1917, Sedat Simavi came to the National Defense Committee and offered to make thematic films on

behalf of the Cinema Directorate. The Committee accepted the offer considering that no films had been coming to the country for a long time due to the war. Sedat Simavi filmed the drama “The Paw” of Mehmet Rauf from the *Servet-i Funun* (Wealth of Knowledge) journal, the story “The Spy” and the Alemdar Event with the contribution of Burhan Felek. Muhsin Ertugrul made a harsh criticism on the film *The Paw*. *The Paw* and *The Spy* were the first thematic Turkish films that could not survive until today (Ozguc, 1990:17-18).

Following the Armistice of Mudros, both the Central Army Cinema Directorate and the National Defense Committee were liquidated, and their possessions were transferred to the Wounded Veterans Committee. Fuat Uzkinay, who started working here, filmed the fifth thematic film of the Turkish cinema named “*Murebbiye*” (Tutoress) that he adapted from the same-titled novel of Huseyin Rahmi Gurpınar; however, the screening of the film was banned by the occupation forces. The film “*Binnaz*” shot in 1919 cost 1.500 TL, yet its box office return was 55.000 TL; the film had yielded an economic success (Ozguc, 1990:24; Ozguc, 1993:15). The most important aspect of the early Turkish films was that they were the adaptations of works and drama from the local literature. Ertan Tunc stated in his study that the national cinema had its share from the nationalist inclinations of the period and started to produce films under the influence of nationalism. He further stated that the Turkish cinema was born in the occupied homeland and the local enterprises that produced films were under a psychological oppression due to the war and occupation (Tunc, 2006:11). Kemal Film, the first private film production company was founded in Istanbul on October 1, 1921. Kemal Film shot 28 journals on the Turkish War of Independence. On the other hand, Asiye Korkmaz states in her study that the Army Film Production Center of the Grand National Assembly shot documentaries on the Turkish War of Independence at the helm of Fuat Ozkinay (Korkmaz, 1997:31-32).

Kemal Film agreed with Muhsin Ertugrul, who was a famous drama actor during the period, on producing the first thematic Turkish movie in 1922. Muhsin Ertugrul asked for an indoor studio, and therefore, they turned one of the warehouses of the old Headgear production building in Eyup town of Istanbul into a studio, which was the first studio of the Turkish Cinema. Muhsin Ertugrul and Kemal Film produced six films together until 1924. During the years between 1924 and 1951, the film production was paused; and instead, they started to import films and were granted the Turkish representation offices of Columbia and Universal Pictures (Korkmaz, 1997:32-34).

After the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey in 1923, the government did not have any direct interventions on the cinema. It is also clear that there were not any official arrangements for the nationalization of the cinema. It is known that the government had positive attempts in the cinema business as of 1932 such as screening educational and introductory films in community centers. In 1935, a total of 713 films were presented in 124 community centers (Korkmaz, 1997:39). The filmmakers were complaining about the law that imposed 33% tax on the films; thus, Ataturk had the tax decreased to 10% upon such complaints (Erkilic, 2003:42).

The period between 1922 and 1949 in Turkish Cinema is referred to as the Private Film Studio Period. The most famous film studios of the period were Kemal Film (1921 – 1924) and Ipek Film (1928 – 1976). Muhsin Ertugrul, who took the political and corporate powers of the period in his hand and turned them into a monopoly, was the director of the films which were adapted from dramas (Tunc, 2006:14). The first film Muhsin Ertugrul and Kemal Film worked together on was “İstanbul’da Bir Facia-i Ask (Sisli Guzeli Mediha Hanimin Facia-i Katli)” (“*A Love Tragedy in Istanbul*”) dated 1922 (Scognamillo, 2003:40). Since the box office return of the film covered its production expenses, Muhsin Ertugrul decided to have Kemal Film turned into a studio. The fruitful box office return of this film was also an

indication that the audience – cinema relationship that defined the mode of production of the Turkish Cinema in terms of economy would get its money's worth. Muhsin Ertugrul made the film "Nur Baba" ("The Bosphorus Mystery") (1922) and adapted Halide Edip Adivar's novel "Atesten Gomlek" ("The Shirt of Flame") (1923) for the screen. The films he would make after this period would be less popular. His films "Leblebici Horhor" (1923) and "Kizkulesi'nde Bir Facia" (1923) failed through and he fell out with Kemal Film. Therefore, first the studio was shut down, and then the film production stopped. The fact that the cinema in Turkey and its infrastructure built for filmmaking collapsed at its first economic crisis revealed that the effect of the box office returns was very critical (Tunc, 2006:15). From that point on, Kemal Film continued its existence through running film theaters and importing films and became representatives of international film distributors such as Columbia, Universal and UFA until 1951 when the company would turn back to make films.

The study carried out on cinema by the American Consulate in Istanbul on 1926 is also very important. This document provides information on the number, quality and capacity of film theaters during the first years of the Republic, the inclinations of audience, ticket prices and tax rates, etc. (Erkilinc, 2003:34). Accordingly, cinema was popular in Anatolia; the public liked the cinema and they showed great interest in Turkish films. The document also states that the film importation was carried out over Vienna and the prices of the films ranged between 60 and 500 dollars. It is also seen that some films were imported for 1000 dollars. American films were pirated to Turkey over Europe. Italian, French and German movies were projected as weekly programs whereas comedies and adventure films were preferred from the American cinema. In 1926, the population in Istanbul was 1 million, and 50 thousand of them were film viewers. The daily customers of the cinemas were estimated to be 3 thousand people while the ticket fees would change depending on the locations in the film theater. The document does not give information on Kemal Film and Ipek Film for some

reason. The list is filled with foreign film agencies. The most important aspect of the report is that it is one of the most comprehensive studies. According to the report, the cinema in Turkey started to become industrialized in 1926 and turned into a type of entertainment with hundred thousands of film viewers (Tunc, 2006:17).

Muhsin Ertugrul went to Russia in 1925 where he shot three films and when turned back to Turkey in 1928, he started to work together with Ipekci family who had started off a film production business; and thus started the Ipek Film period. Ertugrul, who was also in charge of Istanbul City Theaters, directed films in his spare times. The film “Ankara Postasi” met with 16.675 viewers and won their favor. Later on, Ertugrul took an interest in sound films and shot “Istanbul Sokaklari”; he convinced Ipek Film to open a sound studio in Istanbul instead of sending the film to France for the sound recording. “Istanbul Sokaklari” which was a coproduction of Turkey, Greece and Egypt was the first Turkish sound film, the first coproduction Turkish film and the first Turkish film with songs (Ozguc, 1990:38-39). The Wealth Tax that was exercised in 1942 put Ipek Film to economic trouble; Ipekci brothers who paid a tax of 460 thousand Liras and ranked as the second among the highest tax payers took a break in filmmaking for four years. In his study, Ertan Tunc explains the capital structure of the Turkish Cinema in its early period:

“The analysis of the capital structure of the Early Turkish Cinema (until 1950) reveals that first the semi-official institutions and organizations and then the private corporations that imported films and run film theaters had a command of the capital. Kemal Film and Ipek Film, which were private film studios, were the businesses of families who derived the financial sources they reserved for the local films from the cinema sector. Turkish Cinema, that could only export films to Greece, Syria and Egypt, was one step behind the cinemas of

other countries expanding out. The box office returns of a films would generally not cover for its production expenses. [...] The budgets, intellectual accumulation and the equipment did not reach the requirements for making quality films in Turkish Cinema. This resulted in difficulty in attaining the high quality that would attract the audience to the film theaters. There were not any directors other than Muhsin Ertugrul who was observed to have exerted great efforts for the Cinema. [...] It can be said that the “Directive on the Censorship on the Films and Film Scripts” issued in 1939 was influential on the decrease in the quality of the films. From this point of view, the “low quality”, which was the biggest internal obstacle in the development of the Turkish Cinema, prevented the creation of domestic demand which would yield returns that would exceed the film production cost (Tunc, 2006:21-22).”

In 1940s, the film studios increased; and now there were also film studios which wanted to shoot high-budget and high-quality films as a mode of production aside from the film studios with commercial concerns, who preferred shooting low-budget and lower quality films. Since the film distribution was limited and the film exportation was very little, the number of low-budget and less artistic films would increase and silent films were being made in order to lower the production costs. As of 1940s, silent films replaced the quality productions that were filmed during the Ipek Film period. In 1948, in accordance with the Municipality Revenues Law that regulated the film production, the tax rate defined as the share the Municipalities would receive from the box office returns was defined as 25% for Turkish films and 75% for foreign films. The films made during this period were released but for the film studios due to such development. Whereas this law was intended to promote the

presentation of Turkish films, it also protected the Turkish cinema against the foreign films. Nevertheless, According to Tunc, thanks to a profit-oriented perception, low costs and low taxes, the quality and authenticity of the cinematic language of the Turkish films were not at high standards for a long time since there were little number of foreign films to compare them to; and the pursuit of a cinematic language was put forward to the future time (Tunc, 2006:26-77).

In 1948, local enterprises were encouraged by the fact that Municipalities implemented an almost fifty percent tax reduction for the film theaters that would project Turkish films. Therefore, the screenings of films from the Egypt cinema stopped and the attention of the public was distracted from American and European cinemas and attracted to Turkish films during this period. This way, the foundations of the period 1960 – 1975 which is defined as the “Golden Age” of Turkish Cinema were laid. The capital accumulation in the cinema sector in 1950 was short of meeting the increasing demand for films, and thus, producers and directors took interest in co-production projects (Scognamillo, 1998).

One of the most important developments in Turkey in 1950s was the transition to the multi-party system. During this period, substantial developments took place in the cinema industry. 22 films were produced in 1950, 79 films were produced in 1959 and 126 film studios were established within a decade, however a little number of them could survive. 360 films out of 560 films produced in 1950s, 65% of the total amount, were co-productions. The total number of 20 million viewers in the late 1940s tripled to 60 million in the late 1950s (Tunc, 2006:33). In 1951, the first legal regulation was brought in on copyrights in Turkey with the Law no. 5846 on Intellectual Property rights (Erkilic, 2003:68).

As a result of this development, the filmmakers of the early period such as Kemal Film and Ipek Film turned back to the Turkish Cinema; however, this time, the market was trying to

survive with an economic structure that financed itself and got its strength from the revenues of its own local films instead of the foreign capital. At the same time, Regional System was started in Yesilcam. In 1960s, Turkish Cinema reached its peak in the number of films produced. Films, which were distributed by the film studios before, were now being distributed by the regional distribution agencies located in Adana, Ankara, Samsun, Izmir and Zonguldak in Anatolia (Abisel, 1994:102). Lutfi Omer Akad who became famous for this film “Vurun Kahpeye” in 1949 left his mark in the period along with the other famous directors of the period such as Metin Erksan, Memduh Un, Osman Seden and Muharrem Gurses. Akad worked with both Kemal Film and Ipek Film in 1950s. The term “Jön” (“Young Man”) entered Turkish Cinema with Ayhan Isik who played the starring role in Akad’s film “Kanun Namına” (1952), and this paved the way for creating a consumption pattern over film stars and doing well at the box office over the film stars. According to Erkilic, the cinema became industrialized but not institutionalized in 1950s (Erkilic, 2003:74).

According to the report prepared by the “Turkish Filmmakers Guild”, filmmaking in 1950s was an industry and branch of art with a total value of 21 million Turkish Liras consisting of a turnover of 8 million TL, establishment fund of 7 million TL, active capital of 4 million TL and passive capital of 2 million TL (Tunc, 2006:35). According to the data of Istanbul Municipality, the total number of film viewers that went to 63 indoor film theaters and 75 open-air film theaters were 25.684 in the year 1957; and there were 21 film studios which was launched that year (Ozon, 1968:132). The devaluation in 1958 shook the economic structure of Turkey from its core. The increase in the loan amounts and inflation due to high cost of living, the higher loss in the agricultural support prices, inability to meet the basic consumption goods following the limitation on importation, the limitation imposed on the use of foreign currency and the substantial decrease in the amounts of the loans given to the

private sector put the economic policies into a vicious cycle and resulted in the depreciation of Turkish Lira. Whereas 1 American Dollar was valued at 2.80 Turkish Liras in August 1958, Turkish Lira was devaluated and as a result, 1 American Dollar was valued at 9 Turkish Liras. Therefore, the depreciation of Turkish Lira was more than 300%. This situation caused a substantial decrease in the film exportation and a boom in the number of Turkish productions. However, the conditions of the domestic sector was not favorable, thus, there was a demand on increasing the ticket prices. Despite the economic recession, there were more than 28 million film viewers in Istanbul in 1958. This intense interest was a sign that Turkish productions were appreciated by the public (Ozon, 1968:134-137; Tunc, 2006:40-41).

Up until that point, it had not been possible for the Turkish Cinema to create its own language. The reason was that Muhsin Ertugrul was the single man who did something about Turkish cinema until 1938, that new directors appeared in the business rather slowly after such time but again they were influenced by the theatrical narration. In 1950s, the actual recovery period started; it is believed that the rise of new schooled actors, actresses and technicians, emergence of film criticism, starting of printing film journals and books and the studies of the intellectuals in Turkey on cinema have had a great influence on the creation of the cinematic language and it is considered as the beginning of the search for an artistic identity (Cakir, 1997). In 1960s, the filmmaking in Turkey started to develop a national identity and maintained a certain level of quality; at the same time, these were the years when the number of production reached its peak. Turkish cinema had started to address to social themes such as migration and transformation and, this way, was able to empathize with the society. In addition, the interest in cinema was great since it was still an affordable entertainment. Political events, military interventions, issues of migration between the country and the cities would be addressed to in the cinema. The coup of 1960 would lead to

the enactment of the 1961 constitution which provided the cinema business with a rather autonomous space. Certain ideologies and ideas such as Realism, which the filmmakers could not touch upon due to their anxieties, were started to be addressed to. Therefore, Turkish Cinema looked for its language and characteristics in the form of a cinematographic trend in concepts like National Cinema, Public Cinema, Revolutionist Cinema and Social Realism that originated during that period.

The Social Realism trend provided the opportunity to address to social issues that had not been discussed before in Turkey. Metin Erksan's *Gecelerin Otesi* (1960), *Yılanların Ocu* (1962), *Aci Hayat* (1963), *Susuz Yaz* (1963) and *Suclular Aramızda* (1964); Halit Refig's *Yasak Ask* (1961), *Sevistigimiz Gunler* (1961), *Sehirdeki Yabancı* (1963), *Gurbet Kuslari* (1964) and *Haremde Dort Kadin* (1975); ErtemGorec's *Karanlikta Uyuyanlar* (1965); Atif Yilmaz's *Dolandiricilar Sahi* (1961); Nevzat Pesen's *Ikimize Bir Dunya* (1963); Orhan Elmas's *Kanlı Firar* (1960); Duygu Sagiroglu's *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965) and Omer Lutfi Akad's *Tanri'nin Bagisi Orman* filmed between 1960 and 1965 in addition to his earlier films at the late 1950s were among the most important films of this trend (Cakir, 1997). These film were influenced by the Italian Neorealism trend and were the first productions of the social realism in the west.

Social Realism met with the audience in Turkey with the intention of reflecting the sociopolitical conditions of the period on the silver screen and under the stylistic influence of the trend cinemas in the world. Even though directors had different inclinations, this did not disrupt the integrity of the movement. Metin Erksan was influenced by modernity themes, Halit Refig was influenced by the Yön (Direction) Movement¹⁴ which had a national socialist

¹⁴ The Yön (Direction) Movement is named after the journal *Yon Dergisi* (Direction Journal) first published on December 20, 1961. Just like the *Kadro* (Cadre) Movement, Yön Movement suggested that the class conflicts in Turkey, an Eastern society that has not been fully capitalized yet, can be prevented before they fully develop

style whereas Ertem Gorec was influenced by socialist realism. It can be said that the movement was about the search for an identity, in general. This movement did not object to modernity and what it brought along. They were considered with the definition of ‘bourgeoisie realism’ as defined by Lukacs; they did not have the ‘sharp’ discourses intended to eliminate the claims encountered in revolutionist discourses. The Social Realism movement lost its dynamism due to the right-wing policies of the new government after the elections of 1965. In contrast to the Neorealism movement in Italy, this movement in Turkey did not hand down any stylistic or contextual legacy to the next generations of the cinema (Daldal, 2005).

The terms “National Cinema” and “Public Cinema” compared by Halit Refig in his book “National Cinema Quarrel” offer us the points of views of the directors and critics of the period. According to Refig, Turkish cinema is not imperialist since it was not built by the foreign capital, it was not bourgeois since not established by the national capitalism and not the state cinema since it was not structured by the government. Turkish cinema is a “Public Cinema” based on labor and not the capital and born out of the Turkish people’s need to watch films (Refig, 1999:87). Accordingly, Refig considers each film produced with stories and starts liked by the public and with the national capital as the “Public Cinema”; Refig states that the “Public Cinema” that started with the Yesilcam cinema has now parted ways with Yesilcam with the starring system and public-based bond system. Yesilcam Cinema has lasted for 10 years and was replaced with the “Public Cinema”. The Public Cinema was based on the historical background of Turkey and was able to develop its own cinematic language regardless of the West or the communist ideas. While this is still debated, we come across the concept of “National Cinema” as purported by Refig in this period.

and that there was the need for an understanding of statist economy. For further information, please see <http://ydemokrat.blogspot.com.tr/2010/10/dogan-avcoglu-ve-yon-hareketi.html>

The concept of National Cinema emerged as of the years 1966-67. Refig stated that national independence was born as a result of the resistance against the imperialist expansionism and the national cinema was a movement that could be maintained with a conscious government policy in case of the lack of public support. The intention of the National Cinema should be to raise awareness of the public and it can have a national characteristic if it acts together with the other branches of art (Refig, 1999:89). According to Cakir, what the Nationalists understood from this concept was Ottomanism and it did not contain any westernization in it. What the “Nationalist Filmmakers” who addressed to religious issues understood from the nationalism was only to create a concept based on Islam religion. Even though nationalists and nationalitarians united together on right-wing oriented ideas against the revolutionist filmmakers, the nationalists were suspicious of the nationalitarians during that time since the nationalists were rooted from the left-wing (Cakir, 1997:18).

The first development that led to the emergence of the Revolutionist Cinema was the “Genc Sinema” (Young Cinema) movement and the “Genc Sinema” (Young Cinema) journal published first in 1968 by a group of young people who had left Turk Sinematek Derneği (Turkish Sinematek Association) that was founded by the left-winger authors and intellectuals and that promoted the production of films in the contemporary and Western style. The Young Cinema proponents wanted a revolution in Turkey and in the cinema at the same time. The Young Cinema filmmakers recorded the significant political events of the era, particularly “Kanli Pazar” (the Bloody Sunday) and the worker protests of June 15-16, just like Vertov and Godard did. The Young Cinema movement ended upon the military intervention on March 12, 1971 and the members of the movement were arrested and their films were seized. The Young Cinema filmmakers were able to make a little number of films since they could not adapt their revolutionist theoretical discussions into films (Kesapli, 2010). At this point, we need to open a parenthesis for Yilmaz Guney. Yilmaz Guney, who

starred in gangster films in 1960s, earned and went by the name “Cirkin Kral” (the Ugly King). He made his first successful work as a scriptwriter with the film *Hudutlarin Kanunu*. His first biggest production as a director was the film *Seyit Han* shot in 1968. In 1970s, he would make the film *Umut* which holds a significant place in the Turkish cinema and would achieve a phenomenal success in the most revolutionist films. The film successfully depicts the period and emphasizes the irregular developments in urbanization and socio-politics. The film, which included scenes just like the ones in the *Bicycle Thieves*, which is one of the most significant examples of the Italian Neorealism movement, was not realistic according to Halit Refig. Refig suggested that the film depicted a class that was not suited to the Turkish social structure and that the film had a narrative that resembled the Christian theology with a Western approach instead of the Sufi belief of Anatolia (Refig, 1999:153-155). At this point, since what the film tried to emphasize was the sharp transformations of the past and that the social structure was changing, the fact that the film did not depict the traditional structure in the right way, as criticized by Refig, was actually intentional and the film intended to show the negative effects of capitalism on Turkey and to invite people to contemplating. Even though Yilmaz Guney is not considered as a “revolutionist filmmakers” in terms of cinematography for his films that he shot during the years 1960-1980 and that had a universal language, he has been one of the directors closest to the definition of the “revolutionist filmmaker” in Turkey thanks to the contextual aspects of his films (Kesapli, 2010).

In 1960s, while the search for a cinematic language in Turkey was continuing through the cinema trends, the “Public Cinema”, which could be defined as the “mainstream cinema” now, took a few steps to improve its industry that was profit-oriented. In 1960s, the mode of distribution called “Regional System” turned out to be a profitable financial resource for film production. Thus, the cinema industry in Turkey developed, however this caused a decrease in the quality in the long term. This was because the directors and producers of the cinema

which became a non-stop business preferred producing similar type of films that could yield box office revenues, and thus, they grew away from creativity. As of 1968, the regional system in Turkey was divided into regional distribution agencies with head offices in Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Adana, Samsun and Zonguldak. Each region could ask for different films based on the different demands of the audience. For example, whereas historical films were preferred by the audience of Izmir, the action and adventure movies yielded greater box office returns in Adana region (Tunc, 2006:46).

In this context, the fact that the cinema sector became an important industry revealed that the economic conditions affected the context of the Turkish cinema. Therefore, it is necessary to have a better grasp of the Regional System. Regional distributors reported to producers on which type of films the viewers liked and the producers continued shooting the type of films that drew interest. In his study, Erkilic stated that the producers were given advance payments by the regional distributors as a part of the film budgets, and those advance payments made in checks or bonds were negotiated and cashed in the market later to be used by bankers as the hot cash inflow (Erkilic, 2003:104). This situation made it impossible for independent productions to emerge and the lack of capital prevented the creation of different type of films, and as a result, films with resembling scripts continued to be produced. During the period of serial films produced at low costs, several directors and actors and actresses made tens of films in a rather short period (Tunc, 2006:44).

Another factor that contributed in the economies of the regional distributors was the demand for star actors and actresses. The star actors and actresses led to an increase in the costs of actors and actresses and the films started to be remembered with the names of these star actors and actresses. The leading stars of the era included Ayhan Isik, Belgin Doruk, Filiz Akin, Fatma Girik, Hulya Kocyigit, Ediz Hun, Muhterem Nur, Sadri Alisik and Turkan Soray. Due to the standardized scripts and disregarded creativity, those stars always had to

play the same roles, act and speak the way the public got used to and wanted. Even though the increase in the cost of stars contributed in the increase of the box office revenues, it also led to the gradual increase in the expenses related to the costs of those actors and actresses every year. Aside from later creating a huge economical problem for the producers, this situation also led to the limitation of Turkish cinematic language and art. In 1963, 13 producers issued a communication in order to boycott the system that prioritized the star actors and actresses and decided on not shooting more than six films per year with star actors and actresses (Ozon, 1995: 341 citing Tunc, 2006: 47).

The increase in the number of films caused problems in deciding which film would be screened in which film theater and when. Therefore, the film studios introduced a new system called the combined system, which is still implemented today. This way, film studios would agree with film theaters on which film would be screened and when it would be screened and make reservations for their films. Apart from this, the “Cinema Feet” system introduced a classification system that would categorize films according to their qualities and the condition of the film theaters. Whereas films were categorized as the first, second and third class; film theaters were categorized according to the quality of the film. These systems developed together by producers led to an oligopoly structure for the market. The ones which were not included in this system were unable to find any film theaters where they would release their films or they could hardly release their films in the 3rd class film theaters. In 1967, the film production costs increased with the introduction of color motion pictures. When television that started broadcasting in 1968 became popular, the cinema in Turkey was now considered to be a cheap form of entertainment. As of 1975, the producers stopped filming black and white films, and this way, the Golden Era of the Turkish cinema ended. The color motion pictures were produced in poor qualities due to the inability to find the required crew, equipment and laboratory (Tunc, 2006:50).

1970s are known to be the depression years of the Turkish cinema. During these years, there was a significant drop in the number of film theaters, viewers and films. The main reasons for this were the increase in the inflation, costs of color motion pictures, the television that became the new entertainment medium of the public and the tensions of the heated political discussions. As a result, the rates of unemployment in the cinema business increased and the incomes dropped due to the production costs. This way, this period continued with lesser number of copies and films. This resulted with the producers deciding on changing the target audience and shooting sex films in order to turn the scales (Esen, 2000:35). In this period, the revolutionist cinema also continued its existence through Yilmaz Guney who made harsh criticisms on social issues such as unplanned urbanization and domestic migration. The Directorate of Cinema was founded with the Ministry of Culture, which implemented heavier censors. The Audit Regulation issued on September 20, 1977 was intended to protect the general morals whereas its true intention was to censor the feature-length films that made criticisms on social issues (Erkilic, 2003:129-131).

When the television broadcasts reached across the country, film viewers grew away from the cinema and started to take an interest in the television. This had led to a significant drop in the number of film viewers. The influence of the television was not only seen in Turkey but also the whole world. The USA, who had started major productions, was the country who was the least affected from this development. Thanks to the high capital of the Hollywood and its pretty wide distribution network, it was possible for the television viewers to see in American films the visual richness they were unable to see on the television. Nevertheless, certain important films were produced in Turkey during this period. The films *Gelin* (1973), *Dugun* (1973) and *Diyet* (1974) filmed by Lutfi Akad who focused on the issues of migration in these films became the important social realism films of the era. Yavuz Ozkan's *Maden* (1978) and *Demiryol* (1979), Omer Kavur's *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979) were the important

examples of the revolutionist cinema of the period (Kirac, 2008:102). However, these films had to cope with the problem of censorship in the midst of the political arena of the period. Even if the film *Yusuf ile Kenan* was censored, the festival jury objected to this decision and the other producers retracted their films from the festival. It was quite difficult to provide for the conditions required for the film *Yusuf ile Kenan* to express itself. Moreover, a group of people who were connected with Ulku Ocaklari (the Grey Wolves) launched a raid on a film theater that was screening the film and stopped its screening. The efforts in screening the film *Maden* in Antalya Film Festival before the film was censored was an important example in understanding the political pressures that dominated the era (Esen, 2002:54).

Social events and the increasing anarchic actions in Turkey caused people to believe that it was dangerous to go outside of their home and they preferred watching the television at their homes. Furthermore, the television was a cheaper medium of entertainment when compared to cinema. The decrease in the number of film viewers put the cinema industry in a difficult position and caused hundreds of film theaters to shut down due to economic concerns.

Business owners even tried to attract the attention of the film viewers by giving them the privilege to watch 4 films with a single ticket, placing a television in front of the screen until the film started and raffled presents off with the film tickets. Yet again, the Turkish Cinema industry was unable to keep its industrial power and tried to continue its existence having lost its previous potential before the military coup in 1980 (Tunc, 2006:58-62).

One of the most significant events that took place in 1980s in Turkey was the military coup d'état of September 12, 1980. The military coup led to rearrangements in political, economic and social spheres in Turkey, and the military regime that almost lasted for 3 years laid the foundations of a new rightist mass. In doing so, the regime stipulated the passivation of the masses and paved the way for the implementation of neoliberal policies in Turkey. The two important factors that need to be considered while evaluating the connection between the

cinema and the coup are the paths followed in the foreign policy and the economy. These two aspects were not touched upon; the economic stabilization program of Suleyman Demirel's government was continued. The fact that Ozal, who had close relationships with the IMF and the World Bank, was in charge of the economy was its indication; and it is clear that the military junta adopted the economic policies favored by the USA (Ahmed, 2008:217). The power of the government lessened and the integration to the global capitalization speeded up due to the switch from the national developmental policies before 1980 to the neoliberal policies under the supervision of the military (Suner, 2005:20). The World Bank started to support privatization after 1980 and promoted the inflow of foreign capital to the countries that were integrated. This situation increased to film production costs, and thus, had a negative impact on the cinema industry (Onaran, 1996:84).

Ryan and Kellner put forth that the global policy would not ignore the world cinemas, that the political interests in the cinema were significant in the way they formed the social reality and thus the global politics would be influential in the cinema sector while directing the common ground and creating a global culture (Ryan & Kellner, 1997:38). Global culture can be defined as the circulation of the Western-centric and particularly the American-centric cultural products across the world (Ulusay, 2008:28). In this context, many countries were having problems in their cinema policies. This could be shortly referred to as the relationship between the cultural values and the marketing strategies. The primary concerns of the ministers in marketing the neoliberal policies in the cinema sector had been in which foreign markets the exported films would be offered for sale, what the problems and earnings related to the production of the national cinema by a different country were and what changes, manipulations or falsifications were required in the cultural values to earn more profit or attract the attention of the audience.

The Frankfurt School carried out studies on the cultural and economic aspects of the cinema, and philosophers like Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin and Kracauer had some certain determinations on the subject. Suggesting that cinema was used as a tool of economic and political domination, Kracauer claimed that the false consciousness created by the cinema could be changed through critical reading. Kracauer also addressed to the sociopolitical issues of the film production and studied on the factors such as the preferences of the film theaters and the government censors. According to Kracauer, it was necessary to understand the social conditions of that day and pay attention to the confessions of the film industry. Accordingly, a limited number of similar themes were repeated among tens of films and these themes were useful in understanding what kind of a society the films expected to see in front of them (Hidiroglu, 2010:29-30). The basic practices of the cinema industry are film production, distribution and screening; however, a film also has its own market: the idea to maximize the profit through action figures of the characters, t-shirts, soundtracks, computer games adapted from the script of the film, etc. is what the USA wants from the cinema sector. With the capital circulation going beyond national boundaries thanks to globalization, it is possible to attain the goal of absolute domination through which all dynamics of nation states will be ruled with the Western dominance. It became possible to put into practice the neoliberal policies and uniculturalism projects thanks to the freer and easier circulation of international films (particularly the American films) in Turkey after 1980 and the policies of the right-wing government that took shape in the late 1980s. A set of new ideas that would have a significant influence on the 1990s emerged until that period, even though these ideas were not as strong back then in the period of the national-art cinema of Turkey.

According to Gundogdu, while the depolitization process caused by the coup of 1980 was clearing off the revolutionist discourses and the social realist determinations from the Turkish cinema, the films referred to as the 'depression' were started to be made. These films are

referred to as September 12 films. Even though these films were intended to be progressivist from time to time, they were shaped by the reactionism of the coup environment and the directors of the films took refuge in the marginality and nostalgia. Even if the September 12 films wanted to readdress to and understand the history, it fed off of the values of the past since it could not express itself because of the problems of the inability to create and depression (Gundogdu, 1997). When this determination is evaluated in the light of Eurocentric approach, it is a factor that is close to the existentialism. Riza Kirac suggested that the intimidation after September 12 dragged the Turkish cinema away to the themes of physical and spiritual escape with the influence of existentialism and gave the director Omer Kavur as an example (Kirac, 2008:106). Omer Kavur states that he produced films keeping the politics in the background even though it was a political period; however, he accepts the fact that the traumatic period affected everybody's psychology (Akpinar, 2005:13-15). In this period, woman's films also came into prominence. It is possible to evaluate this situation as the desire to get away from the political ambiance and as a part of the depolitization process. Esen categorizes the woman's films of this period into two as the Yesilcam followers and the ones with the realist view (Esen, 2000:42-43). Stating that the focus was on the script in the 1980s, Esen mentions about the efforts of directors who tried to create a cinematic language and their concerns for aesthetics in the films. On the other hand, Kirac purports that this notion was not grounded enough in Turkey and the intellectual awareness only existed among the directors of Turkey through emulations (Kirac, 2008:131-132). According to Gundogdu, the social realism was not grounded enough in the films even though they tried to take a look at the society by means of including 'marginal' characters in films such as tramps, prostitutes, homosexuals and dwarfs from the subculture (Gundogdu, 1997). This situation is considered to have lessened the interest of the audience and as an artificial language that did not appeal to the society and that was unable to depict the depression and the reality (Celik,

2009:154). The director Umit Unal suggests on the search for a cinematic language that this period had an issue of 'issuelessness'. According to Unal, directors were filming the issues of others or a literary text believing that doing so would keep them 'in the West' even though they did not understand them (Unal, 1996:298). This situation has a similarity to the film production process of the film festivals in 1980s and has a connection to the fact that how the production process changed in order to get supports from the Western film production funds, which is the subject matter of this study.

The art cinema in 1980 produced films along with such ongoing discussions. After his films *Hazal* (1979) and *At* (1982), Ali Ozgenturk made the films *Su da Yanar* (1986) and *Ciplak* (1996) in which there were dense symbolic and stylistic narratives. It can be said that the film analyzes the inner worlds of the characters in the third person point of view with an individualistic approach instead of a social general view in terms of the context. Whereas Ertem Egilmez's film *Arabesk* (1988) is considered to be an important critical film, Nesli Colgecen's *Zugurt Aga* (1985) and *Selamsiz Badosu* (1987) are considered among the other films that criticize the social transformation. Tunc Basaran became one of the prominent directors with his film *Ucurtmayi Vurmasinlar* (1989) in which he told the story of a child who stayed with his mother in prison. Among the important directors of the era, Omer Kavur produced films from 1974 to 2000. Esen's study purported that the cinema of Kavur was influenced by the political and social developments yet his cinematic language stayed unchanged. Esen further stated that Omer Kavur was an 'auteur' director due to his unchanging cinematic language. Whereas we see the themes of alienation, pursuit and power in Kavur's film *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), the dominant themes in his film *Ah Guzel Istanbul* (1981) are alienation, exclusion, loneliness and insecurity. In 1990s, these themes were supported with the themes that questioned time and death (Esen, 2002:422).

In the films of Kavur, characters are dragged away without their wills and controls; and this results from the conditions rather than their destiny, to which the characters do not object. Ali, the main character of the film *Gece Yolculugu* (1996), is a character who used to hold left-wing political views and whose brother is the victim of an unresolved murder. Following, he sinks into psychological depression, ends his marriage and turns back to his village. In the village, Ali is in a state of deep loneliness, he does not talk much and the viewer does not clearly know what Ali is going through. Ali's pessimism and depression become quite apparent with one of the most important quotes of the film "I feel as if the time has stopped, it entwines my whole essence and I think I'm getting used to it"; and the film intends to emphasize that this is caused by Ali's own pessimist world rather than the system in which he lives. Even if his pessimist world is address in the film, actually, the reason why the character is pessimist is the coup of September 12. Therefore, as it is also clear in the example from this film, film characters do not take the external world into account while trying to solve the problems they experience and they find themselves in a deep depression. It is possible to interpret the artistic thoughts of the filmmakers and directors over the psychologies of the characters with the use of this narrative.

In her study, Celik analyzes the relationship between the art cinema and the film festivals in 1980s. According to her, the local film festivals increased the expectations of the audience whereas international film festivals led the directors to different pursuits. Festivals, important platforms where the 'auteur' cinema could put in an appearance, contributed in the intellectual development of the director's cinema after 1990. Directors in Turkey were competing with each other for producing films for the festivals; however, this led to negative outcomes since it also led to the origination of an artificial cinema. Omer Kavur, Orhan Oguz and Sahin Kaygun were selected in three independent sections of Cannes Film Festival in 1988. Whereas this meant the 'inclusion' of the 'other', it was also an exploitative behavior

(Celik, 2009:158-159; Ulusay, 2008:411). Celik discusses that the films from Turkey that participated in Cannes during this period should not be generalized. However, in terms of the representation of the other either as an orientalist or a post-colonialist or an existentialist or as an inappropriate other, in other words, in terms of the Eurocentric approach, it can be said that the selected films had the Eurocentric narrations of the intellectuals of a nation who wanted to get integrated to Europe but had to go through the linear historical progress of the modernity in itself¹⁵. Yet again, since this period is outside the scope of this study, the importance of this period can be underlined in the way it has laid the foundations of a frame of mind for the next period 1990s

It can be said that government did not make any important attempts to develop the cinema industry in 1980s. The step taken by the government in 1989 to purchase films from abroad had caused damages to Turkey just like in other nations. This way, while the Public Cinema that originated in Yesilcam gradually faded away under such conditions, directors tried different ways to shoot their own independent films with their personal efforts, to possess their own cinematic language and to attract interest to such narrations; at the end, they started to think about establishing their own companies. Since he was not accepted as a director, Omer Kavur launched his own company and tried to hold the screening rights of his films as their producer. Since Ali Ozgenturk could not find a producer that was suited to his ideas and style, he established his own company “Asya Film” in order to protect his freedom.

Ozgenturk’s film *Hazal* (1979) became successful in international festivals and his success indicated that a director can gain accomplishment on his own in the international cinema

¹⁵ The films that participated in the competition awards of Cannes during the years 1980-1989: Yol (Yilmaz Guney, Serif Goren, 1982), Elveda Yabanci (Tevfik Baser, 1991), International Critics’ Week Prize: 0 Metrekare Almanya, (Tevfik Baser, 1986), Dolunay (Sayin Kaygun, 1988), Benim Sinemalarim (Gulsun Karamustafa, 1990), Robert’s Movie (Canan Gerece, 1991), Directors’ Fortnight Prizes: Umut, (Yilmaz Guney, 1971), Hazal (Ali Ozgenturk, 1980), At (Ali Ozgenturk, 1982), Dilan (Erden Kiral, 1987), Her Seye Ragmen (Orhan Oguz, 1988), Sis (Zulfu Livaneli, 1990), Un Certain Regard: Yer Demir Gok Bakir (Zulfu Livaneli, 1987), Gece Yolculugu (Omer Kavur, 1988).

community. Ozgenturk was put in prison during the montage of his film in 1982 due to political oppressions (Akpınar, 2005:157).

Therefore, to summarize the cinema sector of Turkey in 1980, it can be said that the number of film productions significantly dropped and there were thematic changes in films due to the army seizing the government in 1980. During this period, films with melancholic themes, woman's films and films starring singers were produced. At the early 1980s, there was a demand for the change of production, distribution and screening processes, and the videocassettes entered Turkish market.

In the USA, the cinema industry started to change and it was called the "new Hollywood" in 1970s. The videocassette market started to make significant profits from films such as *Star Wars* (1977) which yielded box office returns amounted at hundreds of millions of dollars. In addition to this, using its available technological opportunities, the videocassette market was able to make sure that two out of every three homes in the USA had a videocassette players as of the year 1989. This way, Hollywood started to use this system in its own favor, which it criticized at first but then realized its profitability. In 1990, videocassette rentals and sales yielded more than 10 billion dollars to the videocassette sector. The films which did well at the box office were distributed in videocassettes to reintroduce them to the audience in order to double the profit earned (Gomery, 2003:538-539).

In 1989, the merger of Time and Warner resulted in a capital of 20 billion dollars to circulate in the Hollywood studios. This situation led to the dominance of Hollywood over the international cinema market throughout 1990s. Hollywood started to sponsor multi-story shopping malls in order to release more films synchronously. This way, Hollywood merged with bigger companies and pushed the smaller businesses outside the sector causing them difficulty in releasing their films. This put the cinemas in the whole world in a difficult

situation and brought the Turkish cinema to a standstill after 1980 and particularly during 1990s (Gomery, 2003:539-540; Balio, 1998:70).

This way, the cooperation between videocassette market and cinema started in Turkey. The main reason for this was the Law no. 3257 on Cinema Video and Music Works that was enforced in 1986. Meanwhile, the American production and distribution companies started to appear in the cinema and video businesses thanks to the neoliberal policies in Turkey and they were quite active in the market in 1989. The fundamental purpose of the law was to put an end to pirating of videocassettes and to control this market. It should be also noted that the attempts of major American film production and distribution companies at the governmental level, who were disturbed by the financial losses caused by the pirate videocassette market in Turkey, during the same years played an important role in this development (Ulusay, 2004).

The effect of the Law no. 3257 on the production process was reflected on the production of documentaries and animated films. The Ministry started to finance up to 40% of the budget of a certain number of films every year through a support fund. However, the actual effects of this law was seen to the benefit of the American studios who started opening their own offices in Turkey and distributing their own films first-hand (Kaya, 2009:11). This way, in 1987, Warner Bros. entered the Video market. In 1989, United International Press (UIP) who is the distributor of major production companies such as Universal, Paramount and Touchstone Pictures entered the videocassette and movie market. The American majors found the distribution industry far more profitable. Therefore, they started to control the capital flow. This resulted in Turkish films not being able to find film theaters for coming to the screen. In 1989, the cinema sector was conquered by the foreign companies. Therefore, Turkish movies had difficulty in entering the distribution network of major production companies; otherwise, their movies would never had the chance to meet with the audience (Dorsay, 2004:12).

The USA objected to the Articles 4 and 7 of the Law no. 3257 on Cinema Video and Music Works and wanted to change the paragraph “Cinema film and video work producers, distributors or companies operating in Turkey, of foreign nationality or the 50% of the capital of which is owned by foreign capitals have to spend 40 percent of their revenue in the cinema business. Turkish national or foreign national real and legal persons who market cinema films and video works in exchange for copyrights are liable for using 40 percent of the amounts, which are transferred abroad out of the revenue gained from the works marketed, in the development of the cinema industry in Turkey. Cinema business owners are required to screen thematic Turkish films at the rate of 25% in each film theater within a calendar year. This rate cannot be less than 25 percent between the dates October 1 and April 30 and less than 25 percent between the dates May 1 and September 30. The foreign cinema films and video works released in Turkey can be available with Turkish subtitles. They cannot be dubbed. Educational cinema films and video works are not included” (Cokyigit, 1989 citing Tunc, 2006:76).

Ertan Tunc states that the Etude on the Problems of the Turkish Cinema and their Solutions prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1988 addressing to the fundamental elements of the cinema industry focuses on “the lowness of the competitive power of the Turkish Cinema” and on the industry-specific structure; he puts forward the results of the report as follows:

“The etude shows that most of the producers in the Turkish cinema business are poorly educated and not very sophisticated. As the profit and competition power decreased, the qualified producers had to retract from the market, which led to the dominance of cheap/poor-quality films over the market. [...] Also with the effect of the demand profile created by the domestic market, producers started to approach

films in commercial concerns instead of artistic concerns; thus, this led to a delay in making the Turkish films ready to compete with the foreign films. There is a little number of scriptwriters who can produce high-level scripts. The reason for this scarcity is the demand on poor-quality productions. The messages conveyed by film scripts are wrong or powerless most of the time. The risk factor which is a result of the supervision have resulted in the production of scripts with no concerns of giving messages. Thus, the Turkish cinema was condemned to be of low value. [...] The high demand on cheap and poor-quality films prevent producers from preparing the substructure for creating high-quality films. The foreign capital abstains from laying a foundation for cinema due to economic and political structure of Turkey. The poor-quality of film theaters, their lack of comfort, the fact that videos and the television attract the audience, the negative influence of the pirate videocassettes and that the alternative uses of film theaters were less risky and more profitable played a role in damaging the industry in another way. [...] The audience too as a role in the inability of Turkish cinema in reaching a certain effectiveness and competence. The audience built a barrier in front of the improvement and development of the cinema industry with its huge demand on the poor-quality films. [...] In 1989, plans were made for the solution of the issues but they could not be practiced.” (Tunc, 2006:77-79).

Even if the decrease in the quality of the Turkish Cinema due to several reasons was an influential factor as suggested by Tunc in his study, the Turkish cinema almost came to a

standstill before the 1990s due to the appearance of Hollywood majors in film screening and distribution industries thanks to neoliberalism, the fact that the developments in the art cinema were under the influence of the social psychology, the intellectuals' desire to imitate the West and the impact of the videocassette market on the Turkish cinema industry.

2.2.2 The relationship between the Turkish cinema and Eurimages after 1990

At the beginning of 1990s, Turkish Cinema was in the middle of a difficult situation because of both its loss of economic power and the entrance of American film distribution companies in the Turkish market. In 1989, the obstacle preventing American companies from entering Turkey was removed with the amendment made in the Foreign Capital Law. This way, first Warner Bros. started to distribute the productions of Columbia, Tri Star and Touchstone Pictures in addition to its own productions and later United International Pictures started to distribute the films of MGM, United Artists, Paramount and Universal film production companies (Ulusay, 2008:108).

Therefore, the interest of the viewers in the Turkish productions rapidly decreased. During the years between 1984 and 1994, the loss of Turkish film audience was 95%. In 1995, the total number of Turkish film viewers was 442.512 whereas the number of viewers who watched the American animated film *The Lion King* was almost the double with 815.651 viewers. Therefore, the film theaters in Anatolia started to shut down. The owners of the film theaters in big cities had to transfer their businesses to foreign distributors after 1989. Due to the advancing technology, film theaters with more comfortable facilities and higher sound and visual qualities attracted audience while the independent film theaters without capital support and continuous film circulation found themselves in an economic distress. These were the beginnings of the monopoly in the film screening market. The American companies

which distributed the films made sure that Hollywood films would be screened in several saloons preventing the movements of the Turkish productions within the country. Having the opportunity to show itself in many places, the Hollywood cinema created a great influence on the young generation and started to materialize its own culture in the minds of the youth. Therefore, the Turkish Cinema lost almost all of its audience at the beginning of 1990 (Celik, 2009:164).

According to Onat Kutlar, the public support is significant with its contribution to the culture; and “the culture cannot be left to the control of the market because it represents the identity of the nation” (Kutlar, 1995:114). However, the government policies which had never had any direct relations with cinema throughout the history were observed not to have changed their attitude in an extensive way after 1990. At this point, the film production support fund which was started in 1988 by the Ministry of Culture did not cause any important dynamism in the cinema industry. The rapidly increasing inflation caused the supports to lose their efficiency in this period. In addition, there were rumors about the unequal and unjust distribution of the fund and that the fund was granted to certain acquaintances who did not shoot any films. Even if the fund, which is known as the “Fund for Supporting the Cinema and Musical Work” was established in 1986, its implementation started in 1992 while many directors complained about the insufficiency of the fund. Therefore, directors had to spend their own money in order to shoot their films in addition to being obligated to find sponsors or others who would support them financially (Celik, 2009:167).

During this period, even though the government designed the Off-Shore Media Project with the intention of encouraging western-centric film production companies to come to Turkey, found their own studios and bring in their film technologies through long-term tax payment opportunities, the public disputes prevented such project from becoming legal (Erkilic, 2003:145).

The film distribution market in the film theaters that gradually started to become monopolized after 1990 was shared between three major corporations: United International Pictures (IUP), Warner Bros. (WB) and Ozen Film, which is the Turkey distributor of the 20th Century Fox corporations since 1990. The following table gives the markets shares and the number of Turkish films distributed.

Table 1: Market Shares of three Major Distributors in the Turkish Cinema and the Number of Turkish Films Distributed (1993 – 2005)

	Corporation's Market Share (%)			Number of Distributed Turkish Films		
	UIP	WB	Ozen	UIP	WB	Ozen
1993-1994	38	35	25	0	4	2
1994-1995	40	37	21	0	2	0
1995-1996	45	31	23	1	1	2
1996-1997	34	43	19	0	4	3
1997-1998	31	34	28	0	3	2
1998	32	31	26	1	4	2
1999	29	46	21	1	4	6
2000	31	38	25	1	6	6
2001	28	45	22	0	3	11
2002	26	46	18	0	4	4
2003	24	52	16	2	7	3
2004	23	51	19	2	6	6
2005	24	26	34	4	4	12

Note: The annual data for the years 1993-1998 covers the season that starts in the middle of August and lasts until August of the next year. The following years are based on the calendar year.

Source: (Erus, 2007:11)

Accordingly, the market share of Ozen Film could not exceed 30% until the year 2005 and the number of Turkish films it distributed could reach double figures only in the year 2001. Aside from this, it is apparent that the American corporations made sure that Hollywood cinema dominated the market and became the mainstream cinema in Turkey. It can be said that the film theaters under the heavy influence of Hollywood cinema sought an agreement with these foreign film distributors in order to change their economic condition and then they also took control of the film screenings. At this point, company mergers and monopolization started in Turkey due to the neoliberal policies that took place rather quickly after 1990s. This situation affected the cinema industry which is one of the significant tools facilitated in spreading the cultural imperialism. This way, the film theater owners started to monopolize across the country and to show the Hollywood films in a widespread manner.

Table 2: Number of Film Theaters and Distribution among Film Theater Businesses

Film Theater Businesses	Number of Film Theaters	Share by Total
The Largest 6 Cinema Business Chains	354	%29,8
AFM	140	%11,8
Cinemars & Tepe Cinemax	67	%5,6
Tuze Group	66	%5,5
Cinemall	28	%2,4

Ozen Film	28	%2,4
Cinecity	25	%2,1
Individual Businesses	835	%70,2
Total in Turkey	1189	%100

Source: (Erus, 2007:12)

The merger of a certain business chains in 2012 among the largest 6 major companies according to the 2006 figures was an important development. AFM and Cinemars & Tepe Cinemax Group merged and turned into a film theater monopoly under the name Cinemaximum¹⁶. Likewise, Avsar Film and Tuze Group merged and caused the film screening network to become more monopolized¹⁷. In 2004, the attempts of Kenda distribution company to distribute the Turkish productions and Ozen Film's inclination to distribute more Turkish productions seem to be rather positive for the Turkish cinema. The total number of audience exceeded 50 million viewers and 88 Turkish production films were released as of 2013 (Radikal, 2014). Accordingly, 9 out of 10 most viewed films were Turkish productions. At the same time, 10 Turkish films met with a considerable audience having made the cut of one million viewers for the first time. They changed the stationary state of Turkish cinema at the beginning of 1990s.

Table 3: Annual Revenue Reports for the Films Released in Turkey (2005 – 2013)

Year	Total Viewers	Change	Total Revenue (TL)	Change	Most Viewed Film
2013	50.295.805	13.4%	504.347.109	18.5%	Dugun Dernek

¹⁶ The internet news on the merger can be seen at <http://www.beyazperde.com/haberler/filmler/haberler-52102/>.

¹⁷ The internet news on the merger can be seen at <http://www.cnnturk.com/2007/ekonomi/sirketler/07/05/avsar.film.ve.tuze.grup.ortak.oldu/372137.0/index.html>.

2012	44.339.527	4.8%	425.630.292	6.9%	Fetih 1453
2011	42.294.040	1.8%	398.294.091	3.9%	Eyvah Eyvah 2
2010	41.534.146	12.5%	383.369.769	24.5%	New York'ta Bes Minare
2009	36.904.345	-3.9%	307.972.617	2.1%	Recep Ivedik 2
2008	38.414.342	23.3%	301.505.935	24.4%	Recep Ivedik
2007	31.151.309	-10.7%	242.328.644	-0.4%	Beyaz Melek
2006	34.866.233	25.4%	243.265.499	32.0%	Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak
2005	27.801.064	-	184.286.279	-	Hababam Sinifi Askerde

Source: <http://www.boxofficeturkiye.com/yillik/> Box Office Turkey (2014)

Table 4: Annual Revenue Reports for the Turkish Films in Turkey (2005 – 2013).

Year	Total Viewers	Change	Total Revenue (TL)	Change	Most Viewed Film
2013	29.042.078	39.2%	270.759.522	47.8%	Dugun Dernek
2012	20.857.220	-1.7%	183.241.062	-0.3%	Fetih 1453
2011	21.226.563	-4.3%	183.722.310	-3.5%	Eyvah Eyvah 2
2010	22.185.976	17.7%	190.403.534	28.9%	New York'ta Bes Minare
2009	18.850.366	-17.6%	147.760.918	-13.9%	Recep Ivedik 2
2008	22.882.355	88.4%	171.669.329	95.2%	Recep Ivedik
2007	12.144.256	-32.8%	87.961.784	-26.2%	Beyaz Melek
2006	18.066.487	57.6%	119.269.126	63.8%	Kurtlar Vadisi: Irak
2005	11.461.275	-	72.802.146	-	Hababam Sinifi Askerde

Source: <http://www.boxofficeturkiye.com/yillik/> Box Office Turkey (2014)

According to the data given in the table, whereas the box office revenue of Turkish films was 72.8 million TL in 2005, this figure went up to 270.7 million in 2013. At the same time, Turkish films started to yield more box office revenues when compared to foreign films. Drastic changes are observed in the years 2006, 2008 and 2013. Six films out of the 10 most viewed Turkish films were comedies.

Therefore, the viewers' attention was attracted to Turkish productions as of 1990 until 2014. At this point, here is the question that stands out: how did Turkish cinema that was once in demand manage to turn back after it lost its position to Hollywood? A more detailed look reveals that six out of 10 most viewed Turkish films in 2013 were comedy. Only two of these productions were drama and one of them was a religious drama. Therefore, it would not be a misstatement to say that the audience generally preferred going to mainstream films just for entertainment. Upon examining the transition from a period during when the Turkish cinema market is dominated by foreign films to a period when most of the box office revenue comes from Turkish films today, it can be claimed that the reason for this transition is that American companies pulled their cultural policies back a little maybe thinking of a little variety in the theaters and allowed the Turkish productions, which would yield the most box office returns, circulate in their own distribution networks. Since this means producing films with themes that resemble the basic concepts of Hollywood films (themes that keep people away from daily life, films with happy endings, etc.), it can be said that producers, in one sense, intend to get integrated to the Western cinema, and particularly its technique in order to make profit.

At this point, it can be said that the Turkish productions with cultural contexts and social themes are considered to be in a position where the national cinema and art films intersect just like it once was in France. The art films are the only examples of the films that reflect the national or social cultural values now. It is known that films with cultural films can only be

released in a couple of independent film theaters and several film festivals after the domination of Hollywood or its likes over the large film theaters and important major distribution networks. The little support provided by the Ministry of Culture for these films and the fact that the audience does not quite favor them makes it difficult to produce these kinds of films. According to Scognamillo, only 78 out of 407 Turkish films that were produced during the years 1989-1996 were released to the screen and the rest of them could not be presented. This was because the regional distribution system was ended, the video sector was not given as much credit as in the past, private broadcasting started in Turkey, the demand for Turkish films decreased and the competition and distribution of Hollywood films was controlled by the American companies. All of these factors had a negative influence on the production process of the Turkish cinema (Scognamillo, 2003).

The producers sought for different financial sources in the face of these disadvantages. Certain directors involved in the advertisement business tried making films as producers in this period. Directors such as Yavuz Turgul, Osman Sinav, Omer Vargi and Sinan Cetin transferred the revenues they earned from the advertisement business to the cinema films. As a result, the Turkish cinema entered a new decade in 2000 with lack of capital and the search for new financial resources also continued in this period.

After 1990s, people starting to produce movies on their own initiatives have caused the emergence of 'auteur' cinema in Turkey. The prominent directors of the period such as Nuri bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Dervis Zaim, Yesim Ustaoglu, Semih Kanlanoglu and Ferzan Ozpetek tried to establish their own narratives. Furthermore, they started to seek for financial support for the art of cinema they performed. Awards granted during festivals are one of the most substantial finance resources for a film, yet this is not always guaranteed. Aside from this, directors have to create their resources on their own (Arslan, 2011).

At this point, Eurimages fund of the Council of Europe came to Turkish Cinema's rescue. Turkey became a member of the Eurimages fund in March of 1990. Whereas the Ministry of Culture and Tourism paid a fee of 47.5 million French Francs in the years between 1989 and 2000, it also received a support of 73 million 250 thousand French Francs in total¹⁸. Co-production including two or three production companies working together at the stage of film production makes it possible for producers to meet the crews of the production companies from other countries and to benefit from their facilities. Eurimages fund also supports the distribution and screening of films (Ulusay, 2004).

In the 2000s, Turkish cinema tried several different ways to solve its financial issues. Generally, financial resources was provided by the producers' own resources. If a film was not the first film of a director, the revenue gained from the previous film, television sales revenues, the aids granted by institutions and organizations such as sponsorships, the Ministry of Culture and Eurimages and the revenues gained through sales of DVDs were used as financial resources for the next film (Arslan, 2011).

As also mentioned earlier, the Eurimages fund was founded for two purposes, being cultural and economic. Its cultural purpose is to support the productions that narrate many aspects of the European society that is composed of a single culture whereas its economic purpose is to invest in productions with a potential of commercial success that can emphasize that cinema is also a branch of art. Projects which support violence, include pornographic images or violate human rights are never granted support. Whereas projects were equally evaluated in the past regardless of their qualifications and budgets, the criteria sought for were first the production's marketing potential and then the reflection of the cultural diversity of the European cinema. The greatest problem Turkey experienced during the first years after it

¹⁸ http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR_80309/eurimages-uyeligi-ve-sanat-filmi.html Date of Access: April 20, 2014

became a member of the Eurimages fund was the inability to find co-producers. The biggest factors in this may be the fact that the cinema industry in Turkey in 1990 became rather smaller, the distance of Turkey from the European culture and the little support and interest in cinema (Ulusay, 2004).

The paths of Eurimages and Turkish cinema crossed under these circumstances. The criteria for selecting the films that will be granted support by the Eurimages fund are rather important. A general overview of the last 20 years reveals that there has been an increase in the selection of individual stories that relate to a certain segment of the society in terms of the theme of films. According to the liberal discourses of the era, there are no class conflicts and class issues; therefore, dealing with social issues and class conflicts would not be a contemporary approach. Therefore, it is seen that the directors who want to make a film generally maintain an individual attitude and prefer addressing to the themes of lack of communication, alienation and sexuality. The films resemble the French cinema in terms of style. Moreover, some critics suggest that the Eurimages fund supports the production of cinema in French style and want to instill to the rest of the Europe similar films with French style aesthetics and narrations through co-productions (Ulusay, 2004). French style productions are generally known to be the films in which man questions his own existence, the inner world of the individual is narrated and which has a slow pace; actually, it can be said that this style is compatible with the existentialist philosophy.

A look into the source of the problem reveals that the concept of culture industry plays a significant role. Culture industries are the media and entertainment companies, an important example being the Hollywood cinema. Major corporations control the production, distribution and consumption processes for the entertainment products. Therefore, the products produced by these corporations are produced in the form of commodity in order to increase the revenue. The intention in producing these commodities is not to liberate the

consumer or develop a critical understanding among them but to keep them busy. These products reproduce the dominant values of the industry. Cinema, radio and press is used to spread the dominant ideology across the audience instead of spreading the idea of enlightenment. In the culture industry, the orientalist point of view in European cinemas except for the Hollywood can coincide with a point of view similar to that of the post-colonial understanding; the marks of the foreign global capital, which have a say on the cinema sector of Turkey and which have gave a form to it, on the culture of this society and the reflection of their mentality in the films can be discussed. With the opportunity of receiving supports for western-oriented films, the directors who cannot have an economic and ideological freedom in Turkey have tried to adapt themselves to the differences in terms of working styles and context starting from the production till the release of the films which are found suitable for the criteria of Eurimages (Jurgen, 1998:68).

At the end of the process of acclimatization to the European Cinema, Turkish cinema, which tried to adapt itself to the globalization, is seen to strain at creating a showcase during the period starting from its nomination for the “Best Foreign Language Film” award till its providing support for ‘Art Films’ within the frame of democratization. In the catalogue article titled “Turkish Cinema” and written by Fikri Saglar, the term’s Minister of Culture, in relation to the Cannes Film Festival of 1994, it is said that “*We believe that Europe’s attitude in defending cinema as a form of art, which was concretely expressed for the controversy during GATT is a necessity in terms of the existence of multicultural mosaics*”. Ulusay states that there is a major interest in the concept of ‘Art Film’ in the new era’s cinema. Directors started to exhibit an orientalist approach for themselves against such case where the globalization and the western values were highly popular (Ulusay, 2004).

In her study, Celik shortly addresses to the criticisms of several critics on the films shot during the first half of the 1990s. These criticisms were about the analysis of unrealistic

issues, fake lives, unintelligible dialogues, meaningless long takes, keeping low tempos in order to give a depth to meaning, selection of ‘marginal’ themes and characters, that directors did not know what they were saying, becoming distanced from the society they live in and the reality of their society, superficiality and shallowness (Celik, 2009:177).

The success of the film *Eskiya* that was released in 1996 has been a milestone in the Turkish Cinema history. The film *Eskiya* was able to get through to the audience and was internalized by the society. It was both supported by Eurimages and showed that the Turkish cinema could stand up against the Hollywood cinema. Independent films did poorly at the box office. *Eskiya* met with 2.572.287 viewers whereas the film *Tabutta Rovasata* was watched by 7.101 viewers the same year. Most of the ‘auteur’ films of the period were not able to pass the threshold of 140.000 viewers. Among the most viewed films, *Filler ve Cimen* (2000) met with 139.875 viewers and *Buyuk Adam Kucuk Ask* (2001) was viewed by 139.450 viewers. *Mayis Sıkıntısı* (1999) by Nuri Bilge Ceylan was watched by 24.082 viewers while *Uc Maymun* (2008) was watched by 127.283 viewers. The film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu’da* (2011) has been the highest grossing art film with 161.181 viewers. The film *Bal* (2011) that was awarded the Golden Bear award in Berlin Film Festival was watched by 31.910 viewers¹⁹. The concept of ‘Director’s Cinema’ started to be told in Turkey with the release of the film *Tabutta Rovasata* (1996). Dervis Zaim, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Yesim Ustaoglu and Serdar Akar are known to be the important directors of this new cinema trend in Turkey. According to Celik, the cinema of these directors has a language that has grabbed the universality of art; and they are different from the classical Yesilcam Cinema or the mainstream Hollywood cinema (Celik, 2009:181).

¹⁹ <http://www.sinematurk.com/gise/gelmis-gecmis/> number of Turkish film viewers, Date of Citation: April 14, 2014.

The directors' finding their own unique film narratives is related to the 'auteur' director concept of the French cinema. The Director, who is in charge of the creative process, independently practices his own art through cinema. The plain themes, long takes and the search for a meaning that have met with the audience since the mid-1980s have turned into a genre which is today known as the 'Director's Cinema' with the contribution of the Eurimages fund from which Turkish productions could benefit as of 1990. In this context, the evaluation of the historical progress of Turkish cinema reveals a local cinema industry that was wounded by the coup of 1980 and the invention of the television before that. Later, the American film distributor companies gained control over the distribution market in Turkey; companies started to merge, film theaters started to build monopolies through purchases. The Hollywood films had been released in several film theaters in many cities for many years, which in return weakened the position of Turkish films in the market at the beginning of 1990s. The support provided by the Ministry of Culture was not enough alone, which in return caused the directors to look for further financial sources; and finally, the Eurimages fund of the Council of Europe would provide financial support as of 1990. Therefore, the general overview of the Turkish cinema market in 2010s reveals that the market is dominated by the Hollywood cinema, mainstream Turkish films, most of which are comedies (yet, the revenue is collected by the foreigners), and the art films supported by Eurimages.

Other funds providing support to cinema should be mentioned in short. Among these funds, the "Directive on the Support of Cinema Films" dated November 13, 2004 of the Ministry of Culture is still an important fund that many directors and producers apply to. This fund also provides support for the filmmakers who will shoot their first feature-length films. The amount of support given changes every year and both real and legal entities can apply to the support. The support is divided into categories as the project support, production support and post-production support. The first criteria of evaluation are the cultural, artistic and

aesthetical values whereas the contribution in the introduction of national values is the second criterion. On the other hand, the directive also designs censors and auto-censors with an extensive title “The protection of public order, public moral and the mental health of children and adolescents, the compatibility with human dignity and the other principles stipulated in the Constitution”. Applicants who previously benefited from the fund are required to have implemented their projects or to have made their repayments in full. The amount of project support cannot exceed 50% of the total cost of the project whereas the amount of production support cannot be more than 30% of the total production costs. The granting of the support is subject to providing a collateral. If the repayment is made, the amount of production support for the next application can be increased up to 50%. Repayments are made out of the revenue of the productions; if the production does not yield any revenue, repayment is not sought for such production. However, the director and producer of such film cannot obtain support from the fund for 3 years. The single exclusion for this condition is applied when a film festival awards the selected film. If the selected film receives any award from the festivals (or approval of participation for some festivals) designated by the Ministry of Culture²⁰, the director and producer of such film will not be subject to any restrictions in relation to a next support²¹. At this point, national and international festivals will evaluate the independent Turkish films and the government will either provide support to the director or not depending on the decision of the festivals. This condition causes art films to get alienated from the society since they cannot get a change to get screened and the directors and producers to get more and more dependent on the festivals.

Eurimages fund granted support at the amount 16.4 million Euro to 46 Turkish directors and 74 films between the years 1990 and 2011. The directors who were granted the largest

²⁰ For the List of Festivals please see (Annex-1 Resolution no 2012/1 of the Cinema Support Committee) http://www.sinema.gov.tr/kaynaklar/duyuru_dosyalar/2012_04_24_952065.pdf Date of Access: April 14, 2014.

²¹ <http://www.sinema.gov.tr/ana/default.asp> webpage of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate General for Cinema. Date of Access: April 14, 2014.

supports are Ferzan Ozpetek (*Hamam, Harem Suare, Karsi Pencere, Bir Omur Yetmez*), Canan Gerede (*Robert's Movie, Love is Colder than Death, Parcalanma, Dilan*), Ali Ozgenturk (*the Nude, the Letter, Balalayka, Kalbin Zamani, Yengec Oyunu*), Nuri Bilge Ceylan (*Iklimler, Three Monkeys, Once upon a Time in Anatolia, Winter Sleep*) Yesim Ustaoglu (*Journey to the Sun, Waiting for the Clouds, Pandora's Box, Araf*), Erden Kiral (*Blue Exile, Avcı, Yolda*) and Semih Kaplanoglu (*Angel's Fall, Egg, Honey*) (Yavuz, 2013). Aside from these directors, Dervis Zaim (*Camur ve Cenneti Beklerken*), Zeki Demirkubuz (*Destiny*) and Ozcan Alper (*Future Lasts Forever*) were among the others who received both production and distribution supports from the fund.

The European Cinema has intended to create a cultural union through Eurimages and stand up against the Hollywood cinema; and on that note, Turkey is involved in this union.

According to Yilmazok, the films supported by Eurimages generally address to the themes that have been considered as taboos in a critical style and a little of them have an orientalist perspective. Eurimages has been a significant opportunity for the producers who are unable to make critical films due to censors and economic problems and it has created an enriching effect on the cultural identity of Turkey (Yilmazok:233-240). On the other hand, according to Posteki, the films produced have not reached their goal to serve the European culture or to accelerate the European cinema. According to Posteki, finding financial sources is more important than serving this culture for the Turkish filmmakers. Therefore, it has given birth to a cinema that cannot be European and that guarantees to serve the European culture (Posteki, 2005). In the historical context, it can be suggested that the cinematic language conveys orientalist or occidental messages not directly but implicitly through subtexts or by means of supporting and/or not dealing with the tabooed Eurocentric approaches (the idea that the West is in the core and the most advanced, the efforts of catching up with and getting integrated to the West, etc.) that empower the process of modernity just like the segregation

between the colonizer and the colonized is rather implicit than being direct today when compared to past thanks to the decolonization process and just like all countries exist in the world under “equal” conditions.

2.2.3 Western film festivals, integration to the West, authenticity and film narration

The fact that the Eurimages fund, which, initiated on January 01, 1989, has two fundamental purposes that are cultural and economic should be underlined. The cultural purpose of the Eurimages fund is to support the productions that reflect various aspects of the European society that has originated from a single culture with common roots whereas its economic purpose is to invest in an industry that takes notice of commercial success and that suggests that cinema is an art just like other branches of art and so it should be considered this way²² (Ulusay, 2003:69). Accordingly, it is quite clear that the art cinema and national cinema intersect with each other under the purposes of the Eurimages fund. It can be said that the search for a cinematic language that gained speed since the foundation of the Turkish cinema has started to have a foundation after 1980 and that the cinematic language has been positioned on a common ground with the European cinematic language with the supports of Eurimages. This positioning is intended to stand up against the cultural expansionism policy of the Hollywood cinema of the USA through globalism, and it is, in a way, the ally of the ‘other’ cinemas that have become the ‘minority’. The following statement of the Minister of

²² Eurimages Resolution setting up a European support fund for the co-production and distribution of creative cinematographic and audiovisual works Resolution (88)15 revised: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/Source/2013_Resolution8815amended_en.pdf Date of Publication: December 20, Date of Access: April 20, 2014

Culture Fikri Saglar included in the foreword of the *Turkish Cinema* catalogue prepared by the Ministry of Culture for the Cannes Film Festival in 1994 is an example:

“Turkish Ministry of Culture has been a supporter of the cinema as a branch of art in the last years. Therefore, we provide funds for several fiction, documentary and animated films. This approach is based on the awareness that cinema is an indispensable and unique tool of expression for any culture. We believe that Europe’s attitude in defending cinema as a form of art, which was concretely expressed for the controversy during GATT is a necessity in terms of the existence of multicultural mosaics. We represent you this catalogue of Turkish films with this belief.” (Ulusay, 2003:82)

Accordingly, it can be questioned whether the Turkish government considers cinema as another commodity produced for the mass consumption or as a branch of art intended for the representation of a cultural identity and intended as a tool of self-expression. At this point, it can be said that the Turkish government focuses on the cultural identity and tries to resist against the Hollywood cinema. Nevertheless, the term art cinema that originated in 1990s in Turkey is not a phenomenon that emerged only with Eurimages. In consideration of the history of both Turkey and the Turkish cinema, it is seen that Turkish directors addressed to the themes of lack of communication, alienation, death and multiculturalism in a realistic narrative style. Isil Ozgenturk, the director of *I Love You, Rosa* (1991) supported by Eurimages, states that “*Turkey is a chaos of various cultures, we also see this in music. This is why the film has received distribution support from Eurimages. The support is granted in order to protect the European and Turkish cultures*”. During the production of *Robert’s Movie*, Canan Gerece states that “*the themes I intentionally addressed to were sexuality and death*” (Ulusay, 2003:83).

At this point, it will be helpful to set aside the messages that art films try to convey and examine the study of Arslan-Yegen and look into the findings of the mainstream Turkish cinema in the search for a national identity. In the study “*Delayed Modernity, National Identity and Turkish Cinema*”, it is revealed that Turkey (and its cinema, of course) is stuck between the East and the West and that the national subjectivity that is integrated with the delayed modernity reflects on the cinema in the forms of characters who zero in on and think on themselves. The existences were defined through binaries like snobs-hicks and innocent-guilty; the national subject were reflect as helpless and silent against the social dominance – especially in woman’s films – through representations of the East and the West, and the voice of the self was started to be slowly produced with melancholy after 1965s. In Turkish melodramas, the sorrow and pain of the characters who are faced with migration to cities, being hicks and phenomena like otherism are narrated through melodrama in films while the mainstream cinematic language was established over the melodrama (Arslan-Yegen, 2007:440-445). Arslan-Yegen explain the melancholy as follows:

“This acquiescence of the marks of the loss we carry, this awareness of our dependence on the linguistic and social life that imposes this loss and makes us start our lives provide an opportunity to direct our anger at our dependency toward our conditions of existence and towards the social dominance. Accepting that the voice of the self is lent from somewhere else from the beginning and that the subject emerges at the point where it crashes into the wall of language and community is to accept the absence of the Fate. [...] The absence of the Fate is the tragedy of the subject. The fact that our conditions of existence and the community we were born in have no grounds,

guarantee and the Other make us the hostages of this linguistic and communal life.” (Arslan-Yegen, 2007:455)

The delayed modernity, which has not been able to complete its process yet, and the transition from the feudal structure to the capitalist structure are generally revealed in characters over melancholy and alienation in Turkish cinema; and this is integrated with the existentialist philosophy, whether knowingly or not. Therefore, it can be said that the mainstream cinema and the art cinema, which are considered to be separated from each other with clear cuts, are actually based upon a common foundation as also within the frame of the conclusions purported by this study. In this case, what are the political and cultural reasons of this clear cut aside from the economic purposes (film distribution and screening)? There is no doubt that the most distinctive difference between the melancholic films, which can be understood and internalized by the general population, and the art films, which address to a small group of people, is the cinematic language. In this case, the factors that shape the cinematic language of the art films especially after 1990 should be interpreted well. It would not be a misstatement to suggest that the criteria of the festivals are also important since the Ministry of Culture Directorate of Cinema fund, which the directors shooting art films benefit from, rescinds the condition of repayment on condition that “the film receives awards from certain festivals”.

At this point, it would be useful to address to the academic study of Dervis Zaim, who is an important director of the period, within the frame of this study. Zaim defines the period after 1990 as the “Alluvial Turkish Cinema” and tells how the films of this period, including his own films, received international acceptance through his own experiences and his interviews with other people of significant importance on the issue. Zaim questions the contribution of the funds to the Turkish cinema and states that some of the cinema elites in Turkey have started to ask more frequently whether the institutions that provide funds demand a certain

style and context. For this reason, he suggests that the acceptance to festivals is a topic that should be paid attention to. The reason is that only the films which are included in the program of an important festival can be sold and distributed among the film theaters, and thus, gain recognition. Zaim states that self-orientalism is involved too upon asking the question what the West wants from the East and that it is becoming harder to establish authenticity in the Turkish cinema. The reason is that authenticity could not have been able to take place for the last 200 years under the influence of westernization, and it is regarded as something negative by some certain groups in terms of westernization. Since westernization differs from the nation and the roots of a civilization, according to Zaim, it inflicts a social wound over the cinema (Zaim, 2008).

Since Zaim does not internalize with the terms like “independent”, “young” or “new” on the grounds that they are not suitable for a generalization when coining a term for the Turkish cinema, he uses the geographical term “alluvium” instead. The reason is that he believes the Turkish cinema resembles the branches that constitute an alluvium which are independent from yet parallel to each other, which sometimes unite and sometimes diverge from each other yet all flow in a single direction. According to Zaim, who suggests that the average cost of alluvial cinema in Turkey around 400.000 Euro, this is a realistic estimation, which can sometimes go up to 1.000.000 Euros depending on the conditions. However, the average numbers of viewers of these films are around 30.000. Therefore, it is economically very hard to produce a film categorized as alluvial even though it is supported by the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, additional funds may be required from several establishments and institutions in order to cover the rest of the expenses. Zaim emphasizes that different directors who adopt different views, genres, themes, structures and styles succeed at obtaining support from this fund. He also underlines through his interviews with directors such as Yesim

Ustaoglu and Reis Celik that the films can be produced and festivals come out well thanks to the facilitative effects of Eurimages in distribution and screening (Zaim, 2008).

Zaim also briefly mentions about the funds other than Eurimages and emphasizes that funds like Montecani Verite, the Hubert Bals and World Cinema Fund provide modest amounts of support, yet, they emphasize the importance of the project selected due to their prestige and they carry the projects to great festival and major platforms. He exemplified his suggestion with the film *Waiting for the Clouds* by Yesim Ustaoglu, which was found eligible for screenings during an important festival before the film was shot and as soon as it obtained support the fund. Zaim also touches upon the political aspects of the festivals: he tells the story of the two directors of the film *Iki Dil Bir Bavul* who are looking for a fund for their film during a seminar they participate in Italy. After the seminar, when their presentation ends, a stranger approaches and tells them “Let change the script; let’s add some elements that portrait the Kurds as good and the Turks as evil. I can finance this film, we can also shoot it as a feature-length film” (Zaim, 2008).

At this point, it can be considered that the West holds such a great power and can use it to shape the films if films can show up in festivals before they are shot thanks to the economic supports provided by the cinema funds of the West. Zaim discusses this situation with other directors; states that the political context alone is not a probable cause for supporting projects and that the characters defined as the Far Easterner authentic and/or exotic characters gradually attract less attention. So, is it possible for a style other than the formulas accepted in the West before (for example, minimalist cinematic language) to succeed in entering the distribution network of a festival, to be fancied in terms of aesthetics and to be accepted? Zaim gives an example from Metin Erksan to this situation from out of the context of the period:

“My personal opinion in the light of the existing developments is that these types of Turkish films do not have much chance in terms of international appearance. If a Turkish film that prefers to play with the narrative structure appears less in the West when compared to others, is it possible and sufficient to explain this fact through the undeveloped aesthetics of the relevant films? [...] The example I will give will be on the perception of the film “*Sevmek Zamani*” (Metin Erksan – 1967) by the international festival communities. When I compare “*Sevmek Zamani*” to “*Susuz Yaz*” (1964) which won the Golden Bear in Berlin for Metin Erksan, I prefer it over “*Susuz Yaz*”. Many Turkish film critics and cinephiliacs consider this film as one of the most important and different products of the Turkish cinema since it benefits from the Islamic mysticism, it is based upon the traditions and it is in search for a new narrative and for many other reasons. However, when “*Sevmek Zamani*” was produced, it took no invitations from any significant film festivals and no awards from the abroad just like the previous film of Metin Erksan. I would like to underline that I am aware of the fact that comparing and contrasting the festival atmosphere in the 1990s and the 2000s with the festival atmosphere in the 1960s have some dangers. Nevertheless, I believe that this film I give as an example can be suggested as a manifestation of the possibility to face relatively more issues of perception and evaluation by the West, if the film is based upon traditions and focuses on playing with the structure of the filmic narrative.” (Zaim, 2008)

In his academic study “Film Festivals and Narrative”, Ocal mentions in detail about the interventions of major international film festivals in the narratives of films. Ocal emphasizes that the interventions of film festivals is easily understood only by looking at the films. He further states that all relevant data is implied, that symbolic superiors can possibly internalize this situation and that film festivals cannot admit to intervening in the films since they are an important part of the system. The most significant criticism for this situation is that these intellectuals “make Orientalism” by themselves. The Iranian cinema protects its status as the “Other” within the frame of the film festivals. At the same time, due to the certain mystery element, their films try to unveil this mystery by means of the film festivals with Western point of view. Ocal states that the construction of the product and the meaning is constituted by certain dynamics such as corporate structures that define the conditions of the production along with social, historical and economic conditions even though the meaning of the cultural productions seem to be dependent on the context and style. His study emphasizes that the films which are overshadowed by the Hollywood style mainstream cinema gain prestige having found an opportunity to get screened through these festivals and offered an alternative to the mainstream cinema. These films get a foothold in the international film festival network outside the Hollywood network, and thus, new ideological art films are produced under the surveillance of the festivals in order to keep their position in the network.

Therefore, it can be concluded that it would not be quite true to think that these alternative films are independent. The important thing about the festival films is not what the film is but where they are defined, who defines them, how they are introduced and by whom they are introduced just like the art itself. Likewise, the producers of the film made with fund supports are dependent on the conditions defined by the funds. Even though the producers from the non-West claim to produce unique and independent films, it is seen that the institutional

mechanisms such as festivals and funds never let go of the control over the representation. Ocal reminds of Wallerstein, who defines the Culture as the “weapon of the powerful”, and claims that Culture affects and delivers the festival audience, who want to discover the authenticity of films and the new world, to the ideological discourses of the film festivals which are insinuatingly institutionalized by saying that “they try to commoditize the cultural resistance practices and thus to draw these practices away from their natural states”.

Accordingly, the film festivals incorporate the “pioneering” and “exotic” films into their programs and try to otherize and present the things as the alternative films, which they find worthy of discovering in the eyes of the West. Stating that funding practices are included in the marketing system of the global capital, Ocal further suggests that these funds hide the self-representations of the West and that only a single class, among the economic classes created by the neoliberal system, is visible for some reason. He further purports that it is wrong to accept the non-West as a single economic or cultural entity (in other words, accepting it as the Other). However, the major film festivals, which are centered in the West, in the world’s system that is shaped economically use their economic richness, cultural accumulation and artistic competence when defining the examples for the world cinema, insinuatingly support the production of the suitable films and cause the loss of concepts or semantic distortions. In such case, film festivals can result in the recreation of the cultural imperialist discourses in the Western history through self-orientalism (Ocal, 2013:280-295).

Nuri Bilge Ceylan states that the films of an unknown Turkish director cannot easily find a buyer in the international film platforms and that first the director should prove himself or herself through festivals. Tevfik Baser states that he had difficult times in relation to the film “*40 Metrekare Almanya*” at first and that the film was sold to 16 countries on the first day after the film participated in the Cannes Film Festival; he further states that the festivals are of great importance accordingly. Gaining acceptance in the official selection is of course

more advantageous than being accepted in parallel sections; for example, “*Itiraf*” (2001) and “*Fate*” (2001) by Zeki Demirkubuz was screened in the parallel sections of the Cannes Film Festival; however it was neither widely sold nor widely distributed. Objectivity is an unrealistic term in the festivals; the pre-selections and selections are of course subjectively carried out. According to Nuri Bilge Ceylan, the simplest example of this is his film “*Distant*” which could not even be selected for a parallel section of the Venice Film Festival 8 months before the film was given an award by the Cannes Film Festival (Ceylan, citing Zaim, 2008)

It is also important who purchases these films apart from being able to sell the film productions in the film festival markets. Do the establishments and institutions who purchase films from the film market purchase the films they have ordered or accept the authentic production of the artist as it is? Even though Halit Refig says that “all Turkish films accepted in the West are anti-nationalitarian” (Refig, 1999:71), there is no absolute answer to this question. However, in consideration of the discussions on the criteria for selection to film festivals, it is possible to understand the general point of view of the film festivals within a certain context having discussed the priorities of the jury in terms of film selections. For example, a French journalist stated during the press conference of the Venice Film Festival that the film “*Bekci*” by Ali Ozgenturk could not be considered as a Turkish film since people in Turkey suffered torture and that it would be better if Turkish films revolved around such issues. On the other hand, Ozgenturk tries to understand how they think of the Turkish artists and questions if it is only possible to attain success in Western film festivals through political narrations that revolve around stories from the same environments, and he further thinks how much interest he could arouse if he made a film of a Dostoyevsky story (Ozgenturk, 2005:161-162).

According to Kirel, such demands of the West are a notion that results from the idea that “the East should always stay as the East” (Kirel, 2007:408). At this point, Zaim states that Nuri Bilge Ceylan has caused an important crack having won an award in the Cannes Film Festival with his film “*Distant*”. He quotes from his interview with Ceylan by stating that “political contexts is not always the determinant; films that have no artistry in terms of style cannot attract the attention of the West and the important thing is authenticity rather than exoticism and folklore” (Zaim, 2008). In this case, Ceylan seems to know what kind of contexts the Western film festivals require from directors. The most important factors that support this claim are the awards Ceylan has won in the Cannes Film Festival, the fact that he was assigned in the jury, that he was granted 450.000 Euros for support for his film “*Winter Sleep*”, which was the highest amount granted by Eurimages until that time, and the “Palm d’Or” prize he received in the Cannes Film Festival of 2014 later on. Therefore, in the light of these findings, it can be said that Ceylan has understood what the Western funds and festivals require from the directors.

Upon taking a close look on the Internet blog of Zeynep Ozbatur Atakan, who is the producer of 5 films directed by Nuri Bilge Ceylan, it is possible to come across other elements that prove such detection. For example, when answering the questions directed to her, even though Atakan denies that there is a certain formula for being successful in this²³, she prepares files for international projects within the frame of paid workshops she conducts at certain intervals and she gives tips on the distribution and marketing of the films after production and gives information on festivals and funds²⁴. Atakan states that the Cannes Film Festival has an “Artistic Director” and that the “advisors” and “programmers” who work with the Artistic Director are included in the decision-making mechanism and the decisions of the

²³ <http://yapimlab.blogspot.com.tr/2012/05/cannes-sonrasisessiz-filminin-basarisi.html> Created on: 28 May 2012
Accessed on: 22 April 2014

²⁴ <http://yapimlab.blogspot.com.tr/2014/01/temel-yapimcilik-atolyesi-icin-birkac.html> Created on: 31 January 2014
Accessed on: 22 April 2014

jury can be different every year. At this point, even if the Western festivals do not have certain patterns that give conclusive results, it is seen that there are actually some implied formulas in order to attain international acceptance for a production.

In an interview published in *Radikal Newspaper*, Fuat Erman is asked whether there is a way for “being liked” in the Cannes Film Festival. The answer he gives is that the perspective today is not as orientalist or political as it used to be before. However, he says that the fact that the jury can intervene in the montage is very disturbing, that the final cut of the film is made according to the decisions of the jury and that the jury can even intervene in the sound and music effects. Fuat Erman also states in the interview that Gilles Jacob, the president of the film selection committee, has once said, “If we have inspired a film and if the film is completed the way we want it, it would not be right not to select this film to the festival” (Erman, 2006). A statement of Ceylan from his interview with Zahid Atam can be considered as the confession that the film festivals actually have a certain pattern and the existentialist philosophy has restraining effects on the modern European cinema and its festivals:

“Enforcements of making a definite film style increase as the competition in the global world of cinema soars. The feeling I have felt where filmmakers gather in festivals intensively is the ‘Society of Cinema’ made from empty talks and filmmakers forgot their set off principles and ready to stretch. [...] I think in the world cinema there is a clear sensation of creative crisis exists. [...] This is some kind of artistic tiredness, aimlessness, emptiness.” (Ceylan, 2012)

The authenticity of a film production is of great importance in terms of artistry due to this feeling of emptiness Ceylan talks about. Is this authenticity is a type of authenticity that the

West wants or an authenticity that is in peace with its own existence and that may also incorporate current themes instead of being stuck in the past? At this point, can the thing that Ceylan mentions be the existentialist philosophy in the cinema? It can be suggested that the fact that the basic concepts of existentialist philosophy appear before the audience in the Western productions and the films screened in Western festivals and that the criticisms are actually limited to the inner world of the individual, and thus, the individual cannot see through the capitalism and its corporate structure – as mentioned in the earlier chapters in the discussions on existentialism and Marxism – all result in the reproduction of similar films touching upon a philosophy defined by such productions with gloomy, suffocating and implicative narrative and festivals and funds.

Likewise, creativity and authenticity are considered to be among the most important criteria for the film festivals. The ability to produce art with the knowledge of one's culture and essence is an important keystone in not only cinema but also other branches of art. The validity of this is absolute for Turkish directors. The historical memory and cultural range of a civilization, which has tried to be Westernized and get integrated to the West for nearly 200 years and which could not all protect its pre-Islam culture, cannot deepen enough and each historical period have some contrasts that conflict with other periods. The contradiction of the secular Turkey with the religious policies of the Ottoman Empire and the practice of politics over religion for many years can be given as contemporary examples. In this case, it can be claimed that the intellectual Turkish filmmakers who are integrated to the West address to their unique authenticity in line with the Western values in terms of style and context through an self-orientalist point of view. The expectations of the West are what the West wants to see in the cinema. Whereas a Turkish director was expected to make a harsh political criticism and/or make evaluations through an orientalist point of view in the past, it can be said that the West's glasses now have a wider perspective. Yet again, in the light of these findings, it can

be said that the point of view should be based upon the Western values. The minimization of the pressures of the cultural imperialism through national awareness and acceptance and internalization of the history and culture of the society in a peaceful manner and through a process may result in the birth of several rich and colorful themes that are unique to the society in the art of cinema and the creation of a new cinematic language exclusive to the civilization of Turkey. In consideration of the current situation, Turkish Cinema lost many film theaters to the American film producers and distributors in the triangle of neoliberalization-privatization-monopolization at the end of a historical course; Hollywood films was the highest grossing films from 1990s till 2013; later the artistic aspects of the Turkish films which would raise awareness of the society and make some important points were minimized and the Turkish cinema was turned into an entertainment industry using more comedy and/or melancholy elements.

On the other hand, the art cinema had an intersection with the national cinema just like in Europe, started to fight for its own survival in the festival platforms and considered its acceptance by the West as an achievement during the most troublesome periods of the industry. It can be said that Zaim uses the term “Alluvial” not just for suggesting that the Turkish cinema flows towards a common direction but also for suggesting that it flows towards the West. Towards the end of his study, Zaim mentions how successful the narratives against the domination of the West could be. He suggests meeting at a common ground outside the influence of the Europeanism or colonization (for example, Mediterraneanism) and going beyond the dominating narratives that try to get integrated with the West. He further states that this would be the acceptance of the otherization made by the Europe, considered as anti-Europeanism and such attempt would fail. He also notes that each civilization should return to its self and essence (Zaim, 2008).

Elsaesser makes the following points in his evaluation under the title “European Cinema as World Cinema” in his study “European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood” written on self-orientalism in cinema:

“World cinema films and Hollywood films here also asymmetrically mirror each other. Cosmopolitan audiences watch films about sub-state entities such as tribes, minorities, ethnic or religious groups, diasporas and other communities struggling to emancipate themselves or trying to re-align their sense of identity and belonging within the wider social formations, while the youth of precisely these communities emulate the values and habits of their cosmopolitan counterparts. [...] World cinema films feature contested spaces, which speak of aspirations to regional autonomy, which invoke apparently long-forgotten histories and memories, even reviving feudal customs, clan and family values. In each case, they do so not in the form of political manifestos or top-down social programs, but across stories of journeys and discoveries, of everyday lives in harsh natural conditions or under difficult political circumstances. [...] Discourses of difference, otherness, authenticity, and poetry prevail, just as issues of history and tradition play a major role. In this manner some of the impulses of third cinema return – questions of underdevelopment, exclusion, racism, genocide, poverty, and of the clash between traditional ways of life and the impact of globalization, modernity, and Western habits or lifestyles. [...] Insofar as this is its condition of existence, one might be forgiven for regarding world cinema as itself a symptom of neo-colonialism in the cultural sphere.

This self-othering might in fact stand in the way of encountering the otherness of the other. World cinema as post-national cinema prior to auteur status is always in danger of conducting a form of auto-ethnography, and promoting a sort of self-exoticization, in which the ethnic, the local or the regional expose themselves, under the guise of self-expression, to the gaze of the benevolent other, with all the consequences that this entails. World cinema invariably implies the look from outside and thus conjures up the old anthropological dilemma of the participant observer being presented with the mirror of what the “native” thinks the other, the observer wants to see.” (Elsaesser, 2005:508-511)

Likewise, Tulay Celik suggests in her study that the production of the ‘director’s cinema’ films are defined in line with the selections and likes of the Western-centric groups and that this does not have developing effects on the Turkish cinema (Celik, 2009:281). In this case, the ‘auteur’ directors among the intellectuals of the non-Western nations build their cinematic language with the existentialist thought, whether consciously or not, through an self-orientalist point of view thanks to the film festivals and Western funds such as Eurimages in order to get integrated to the Western nations; they authenticate their own societies in line with the Western ideas and offer their societies actually as the Other. This position of the directors results in their identification with the term the “Inappropriate Other”. This way, the West is able to use the Inappropriate Others in the cinema world to suggest a judgment on the non-Western societies in the way the West wants within the historical context, without making a judgment itself, through the supports which are covert in terms of ideology such as festivals, fund supports, etc. In other words, the otherization is made not directly by implicatively according to the claims put forward.

Accordingly, film reviews will be helpful within the frame of his study in order to analyze the subject claims. In the 3rd chapter, being the last chapter of the study, films by ‘auteur’ directors of the Turkish Cinema who have benefited from the Eurimages fund for more than once and won awards from national and/or international film festivals will be analyzed in order to reveal the oppositions in the films using the Semiotic Square analysis method developed by Paris School Semiotics; the films will also be analyzed in terms of the discourses in the light of the literature reviews gathered in order to reveal the implicative Eurocentric and existentialist messages found in the films.

CHAPTER III: FILM REVIEWS

The sample films that will be reviewed in this chapter of the study are chosen as 10 films from 8 different directors, selected among those which have received Eurimages support, won awards in national film festivals, won awards or the right to screening in important international film festivals. In this context, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, an important director of the Turkish cinema who has received the greatest amount of support from the fund and who has obtained the all-time highest amount of support from Eurimages for his film “*Kis Uykusu*” (Winter Sleep) as of 2014, and Yesim Ustaoglu, who has benefited from the Eurimages fund for four times and who is still actively making a film, will be analyzed with two films each. These films are “*Uc Maymun*” (Three Monkeys) and “*Bir Zamanlar Anadolu’da*” (Once upon a Time in Anatolia) by Nuri Bilge Ceylan and “*Gunese Yolculuk*” (Journey to the Sun) and “*Pandora’nin Kutusu*” (Pandora’s Box) by Yesim Ustaoglu. The other directors and their films analyzed are as follows: Ali Ozgenturk (The Nude), Zeki Demirkubuz (Destiny), Semih Kaplanoglu (Egg), Ferzan Ozpetek (The Turkish Bath), Erden Kiral (Blue Exile) and Cana Gerede (Love is Colder than Death).

The film analyzes will be based upon the Semiotic Square analysis method developed Rastier and Greimas who are important figures from Paris School Semiotics. According to this square; two, four, eight and even ten elements will be placed on the square in order to analyze their contradictory relationships. Accordingly, the relationships among the elements are established within the square with the arrows indicated in the following legend:

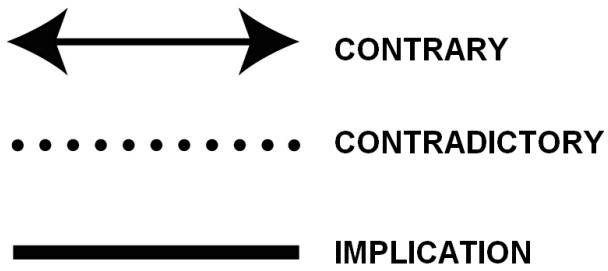


Figure-1: Semiotic Square Legend

Accordingly, based upon a sample semiotic square, any narrative can be easily analyzed and interpreted scientifically. The semiotic square also scientifically proves the existence of the concept of binary oppositions which is one of the cultural approaches of modernity. In the following example, the concepts of masculine and feminine are displayed as the basic pair of opposite concepts:

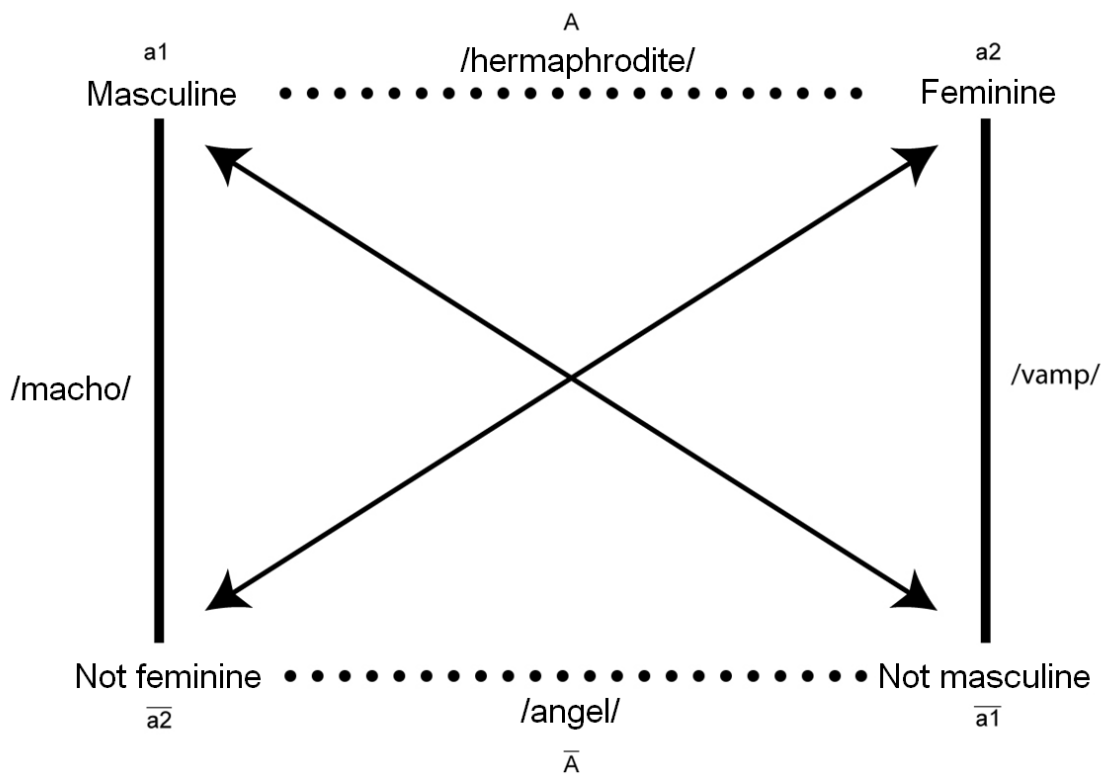


Figure-2: Sample Semiotic Square

This way, the contradictions between the masculine and not masculine, feminine and not feminine reveal various results. For example, the masculine and not feminine can be considered as macho, the feminine and not masculine can be considered as vamp, the masculine and feminine can be considered as hermaphrodite, and the not feminine and not masculine can be called angel or asexual (Hébert, 2006). This way, the use of this analysis method which is based upon contradictions is believed to be helpful in revealing the binary oppositions of the modernity found in the sample films of this study.

3.1 Ask Olumden Soguktur (Love is Colder than Death)

The film is about the life of Bergen who is an arabesque singer. The opening scene of the film takes place in a night club where belly dancing is performed. People secretly gamble in the backrooms of the night club. The police raids the gambling house and shuts down the place. In the police station, the scene is centered upon the interrogations of homosexuals and the people labeled as prostitutes. A police officer calls Bergen, the main character of the film, a prostitute and Fatma, Bergen's mother, argues against the police officer saying that her daughter is not a prostitute; however, this does not change the situation. At this point, there is no sign in the film that the gamblers are interrogated, yet there is an otherization against the women and homosexuals. The fact that Bergen cannot append a signature and her fingerprint is taken reveals that she is poorly educated. Ali, the owner of the gambling house, reasons with the police officers and makes sure that Bergen and her mother Fatma are released. After leaving the police station, they head back home in the slums of Sulukule and invite Ali in. Ali suggests Bergen to quit belly dancing and start singing instead. Upon such offer, Bergen fetches a washtub and washes the feet of Ali.

In the next morning, a woman pays a visit to Bergen and her mother and starts telling fortunes. The woman implies that she is seeing bad things, she turns the bowl she used to tell fortunes upside down and she flees from the house. Bergen meets with Ali, she takes the amulet from Ali's car, and Ali asks Bergen again if she wants to be a singer. Bergen accepts the offer. A jump cut transports the spectator to a scene where we see Bergen belly-dance again. Bergen approaches a customer and offers sexual intercourse. Ali takes Bergen away from the man, he offers her the microphone and lets her sing. Thus, the singing career of Bergen starts. Ali takes Bergen home, and Bergen is not sure about her new career. Ali wants her to trust him.

In the next sequence, Ali drives to Sulukule where he is welcomed by a group of young people who play clarion, drum and clarinet. We understand that Ali and Bergen got married. Bergen is able to stay alone with Ali in a tent in the middle of such clamor. Bergen asks Ali to promise that he will love and protect her. Ali promises. With a rapid transition of scene, Bergen is seen to sing in the nightclub operated by Ali. Bergen is pregnant and she prefers more subtle clothes when compared to past. When her performance finishes, a man approaches and tells her that he is a manager. He also says that Bergen is wasting her time in this place and that he can arrange for a more 'classy' place where she can sing. He gives her his card. Bergen goes to her dressing room without saying anything to the man. In the dressing room, Bergen comes across the ex-wife of Ali. The woman asks Bergen to adopt her child from Ali and leaves her a family photograph. Bergen has a fit of jealousy; and in the next scene, she pours gasoline on Ali's precious car and burns it. In the next morning, Ali stands beside his burnt-down car and he is in a very angry mood. He walks out on Bergen. Ali's boss, to whom Ali owes money, asks Ali to leave Bergen saying that her pregnancy sets back the business. Ali rejects the offer. Ali is in a heavy debt to his boss. After Ali rejects the offer, his boss seizes the nightclub Ali owns. In a scene that takes place in the corridors of a

hospital, the audience understands that Bergen has had a miscarriage from the words of Bergen's mother. Ali, who comes late to the hospital, pushes the stretcher trolley of Bergen, he refers to Bergen as "she is cursed" and takes off. Bergen's mother says that it is wrong to choose men according to their sexual performance and tries to convince Bergen to contact the manager who gave her his card.

After she recovers, Bergen goes to the manager accompanied by her mother. Bergen will experience the milestone in her life here. The manager tells Bergen that he will create a real arabesque singer from Bergen. The manager tells Yanki, who is a sound technician having a sympathy for rock music, to give Bergen a crash training so that Bergen can be ready to sing in the famous nightclub Maksim in two months. Two months passes, Bergen now performs in Maksim, she is in a place with higher quality, and she dresses up in beautiful dresses and signs her songs with her own orchestra. Osman, who is a famous businessman, wants to converse with Bergen. Bergen takes this offer in the wrong way, she assumes that Osman is offering sexual intercourse just like in her old times, and she impolitely turns him down. However Osman wants to offer Bergen music production. Bergen accepts the offer. She becomes closer friends with Yanki and starts listening to rock music. Her manager warns Yanki sternly on not confusing Bergen about her music style. Bergen babbles and confesses that she and her mother used to belly dance when she was small.

At this time, Ali continues his life at a complete financial loss. He tails after Bergen and spots her since she is becoming famous now. Bergen, who encounters Ali again, is happy to see him, they hug each other behind the stage and want to try their relationship again. Bergen's mother objects to this decision but Bergen would not listen to her. Ali is jealous of Bergen since she makes more money than Ali and she is becoming quite famous. He feels inferior to Bergen. Ali asks Bergen to quit singing if she wants to prove that she loves him. At this time, Osman decides to put Bergen on television having purchased the copyrights of the songs.

Bergen, who is on television now, is famous across the country. Ali, who sees her on television, is puzzled. In response, Ali busts the studio where they make recordings for Bergen's album and tries to take Bergen away using force. Bergen tells Ali that she will go with him after the recording is finished, and this makes Ali angrier and Ali starts to beat Bergen. Bergen does not file a complaint against Bergen, and when they are leaving the police station, Bergen asks for the keys to their house from Ali, says that their relationship is over and she takes off. Bergen sleeps with her producer Osman that night. Osman proposes to Bergen and asks her to get a divorce from Ali. Later, during a party held at the house of Osman, Bergen overhears Osman's mother saying that she does not want Osman to marry Bergen. Upon this, Bergen starts to dance like a belly dancer in oriental music in the living room. Osman sees Bergen dancing, scolds her and says he loves the waltz. Bergen replies "I'm not disgracing myself on the stage but in your house? You are a hypocrite, honey". Bergen tells Osman that he must show some masculinity and asks him to marry her. When the discussion grows into an argument, Bergen goes to her house where Ali is waiting for him at the entrance of her apartment block. Ali says "no man will ever look into your face again" and throws nitric acid on Bergen's face. The left side of Bergen's face is heavily burnt while her left eye goes blind. Bergen sends a divorce agreement and some money to prison through her lawyer; however, Ali turns down this offer. Bergen's manager pays her a visit and tells her that she needs to start working. Even if Bergen denies this, her manager tells her "once you set foot on the stage you can never let go of it". Ali's boss, to whom Ali owes some money, pays him a visit at the prison. He tells Ali that "a woman is the dirt of a man's hand, throw it like a used handkerchief" and suggests him to forget the old days.

Osman comes to hospital to visit Bergen. He tells her that he has purchased with Bergen's money the house Bergen has wanted and that he will take her to Paris. Bergen finds Osman guilty in this incident and tells him that she will never love someone again and ends their

relationship. Bergen tells her mother that she is very regretful. Bergen tells the journalists, who want to make an interview with Bergen, that she will no longer sing meaningless songs in a place like Maksim and shows them the door. After a while, Yanki comes to visit her and convinces her to sing again. Bergen changes her image, she wears an eye patch and a wig, and she tries to cover her left eye as much as possible. Ali, who is in jail, still gets angry when he sees the famous Bergen on the television. He asks the guards to call her to the prison. The next day, Bergen comes to the prison with the divorce papers and has them signed by Ali. Bergen gets in her car and drives to Sulukule, her old neighborhood. She sees a young girl dancing to a darbuka in the middle of the street and she starts crying. Bergen is late for her concert, she has taken pills and she does not feel well on stage after a while. The concert is interrupted, and at that moment, several men among the crowd start saying “you are a bad example to our women, Ali should have already finished you off” and the audience suddenly start booing Bergen. Upon this, police officers force Bergen out of the concert area. Ali is waiting for her outside the area. Ali does not say anything and stabs Bergen to death. The film ends.

Although the film is adapted from a true story, it also contains its own interpretations in terms of discourse. The film has a basic fact that is known but unquestioned. Accordingly, the mishaps a young woman experiences starting from the day she was born, who lives in the slums of Sulukule, tries to make her living through belly dancing since early ages, suffers as much as police raids into doomed places are actually the same with the mishaps experienced by other people who are stuck in the slums of Istanbul and for whom it is impossible to go beyond the narrow world of the slums: the liberal policies that push people to migrate from the rural to the urban. The film emphasizes that the fate a girl from the slums of Istanbul, where the government does not reach out for social aid and let people live under unhealthy conditions, is the same with the fate of others even if she seems to be talented. The main

reasons are the impossibility of a woman's going up in her career in a male-dominant society and the hateful discourses against women. The film clearly reveals that the people helping out Bergen does so only to live off the back of Bergen, and so Bergen becomes lonelier, more alienated and she walks back and forth within the same circle where she finally gets lost.

In addition, the discourses like 'you do not belong here' and 'more classy places' as suggested by Bergen's both manager and producer is an express reference to the discrimination between the upper class and the lower class in Istanbul. The people in the lower class can find the chance to move up to the upper class thanks to their natural talents, even if rarely. However, this transition is not very easy. Bergen has difficulty in adapting to the upper class; and her seeing Ali for the first time again after a long period of time since the hospital is an indication of the love in their relationship, yet, it is also a symbol for Bergen's yearning for the lower class where she may be feeling that she belongs more since she feels lost in the upper class. The fact that Osman prefers waltz over belly dancing yet he earns a living by offering the belly dancing to the society actually shows how integrated the elites of the society are to the Western culture. When Bergen drives to Sulukule where she feels the alienation at its most, she sees a young girl that looks like her belly dancing and starts crying. This actually indicates an existentialist crisis in her inner world: this crisis is actually an endless cycle and it is the same as what Bergen goes through: Even though Bergen has been through so much trouble and extraordinary incidents, her story will neither be the first nor the last. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film *Love is Colder than Death* is as follows:

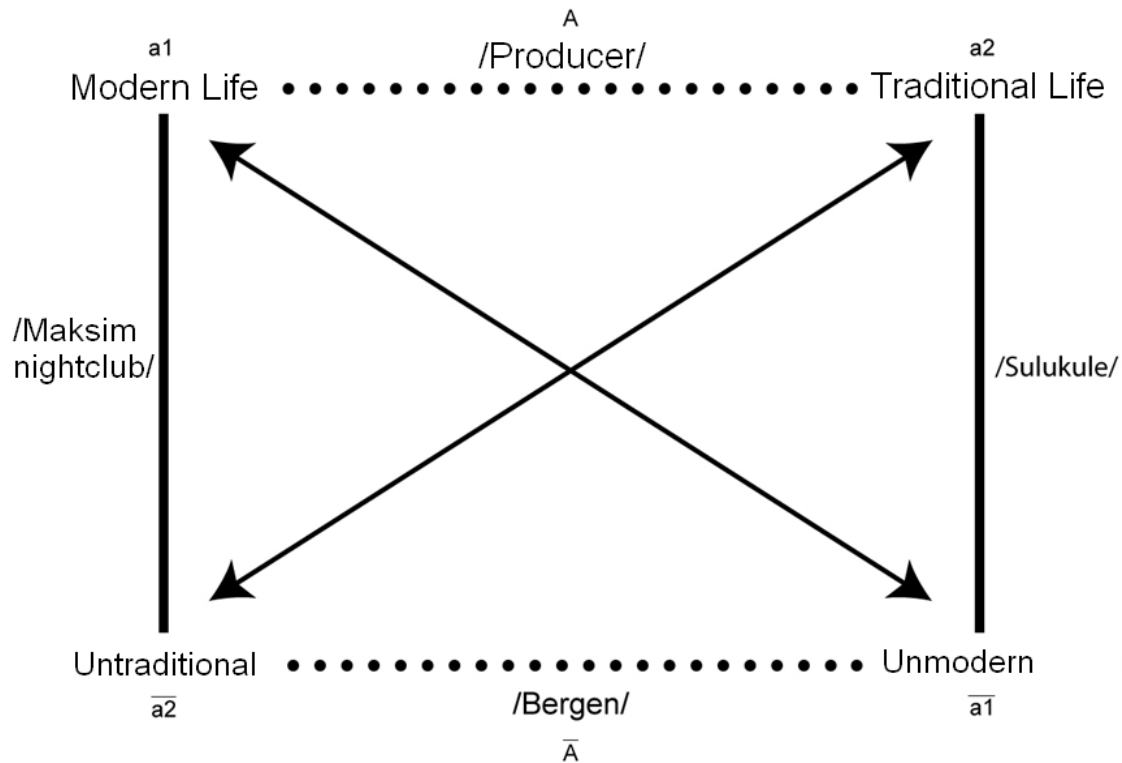


Figure-3: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Love is Colder than Death*

Accordingly, managers and producers, who are the representatives of the upper class that leads a modern life without a traditional structure, try to fit Bergen, who is selected from Sulukule, a segment of the society that is far from being modernity and considered as the lower class, into the modern life. However, since Bergen goes through the traditional life and the modern life both at the same time, her inadaptability is at the highest level. Bergen acts out this inadaptability through arabesque songs and this had led to her rise in her career. Bergen, who has worked in traditional and unmodern nightclubs up until that time, now starts to serve the upper class instead of the lower class. Even if she is rewarded for her efforts, she goes through an alienation process in her inner world and yearns for her old days (the effects of the arabesque songs' lyrics can be discussed in this context), which all indicate that she is experiencing an existentialist crisis. The comparisons between the traditional life and the modern life, as two binaries of the modernity, the indirect relationship that is revealed

between the urban and the rural and the individual's direction towards failure despite one's talent all indicate the affirmation of the system and the individual's own failures. The fact that the audience is intensely offered a male-dominant social structure throughout the film can be interpreted as a 'normal' situation for Turkey even if it would be extraordinary for the West and as something that is not easy to change in such cycle. This way, it can be said that the director reflects Turkey as backward when compared to the West in the linear progression of the history as suggested by the modernity based on the male-dominant perception of the society, materialistic concerns of people, the disregard of human rights and equality of men and women and people volunteering to be a part of cheap labor having migrated to the city as suggested in the film. This way, the film *Love is Colder than Death* was adapted to the silver screen with the support of Eurimages and won awards from several film festivals having focused on the dark aspects of a nation.

3.2 Ciplak (the Nude)

The film is narrated in the omniscient point of view. Huseyin and Seher lives with Huseyin's mother and they have a child. Huseyin's mother has dementia. The other couple Ayla and Yadigar live alone. Ayla prefers making love to her husband in the dark because she feels really uncomfortable about her body being seen. The houses of both couples are rather old and dilapidated. Following the scene where the characters are introduced, the omniscient voice tells them to start. Upon this, Ayla and Seher starts to undress. Ayla and Seher establishes a dialogue with the omniscient voice and they say that they cannot be completely naked. The omniscient voice does not consent to this. An experienced nude model called Ayla enters the scene and says "Cut it out and take your clothes off already; you will make history with these paintings". Seher makes an excuse saying that "I have people that I love".

The woman says “the poor man is in a fix” referring to the omniscient voice and she starts to undress. In the next scene, Ayla and Seher pose for the university students from Fine Arts in a workshop. In this scene, the audience have the chance to clearly observe the students and the university. Each student keeps to himself or herself, some smokes, some listens to music and some paints the picture of the women. The camera closes on a student’s painting who is trying to paint the naked women with clothes on. The women think about the trouble they could get in if their husbands found about this situation. They imagine that their husbands could beat and kill them. The death theme is particularly imagined in an artistic style: In the imagination of the women, Yadigar enters the workshop from the window holding a gun in his hand, he shoots Seher and the students wrap Seher up in white sheets. After the students finish wrapping Seher up, a student puts a red dye on her cheek with the tip of a brush. The women awaken from imagining and try to assure each other that nothing bad will happen. The omniscient voice slurs over their dialogue by saying “we’ll come to that part”.

Huseyin and Yadigar have a chat along the Bosphorus. The omniscient voice says that he really likes those guys and he does not know how he is going to solve this. It would be appropriate to consider the camera angles as the eye of the omniscient voice. We see Safiye who performs her prayers during a time when the workshop is empty. Behind the workshop, students holding gifts in their hands and a bottle of wine try to be quiet. They secretly look at the woman performing prayers. Later on, they altogether go near the woman, scream “surprise!” in the middle of her prayers, call her “the most beautiful model in the world” and give her birthday presents to her. Safiye is surprised, she receives her birthday presents along with the compliments. They dance to the music playing with the paintings in the workshop and they drink wine. The students gather the paintings they do not like and throw them in the Bosphorus from the shore. The three women admire their best paintings that are kept in the

workshop. As the sunlight comes and with the effect of the wine, the paintings become alive, the nude models start walking.

Huseyin's mother dances to the music alone at home. Seher is unsettled about sending the woman to a nursing home, she says that she changed the furniture at home with a junk dealer in exchange for a painting. Ayla and Yadigar look at their pictures taken during their wedding and talk over who spilt food on the wedding gown. At that moment, Huseyin and Seher are seen in their bedroom and both of them look unhappy. The omniscient voice says that it should not end like this. The next morning, Yadigar and Huseyin meets up, however it is not clear who has arranged the meeting. The omniscient voice interrupts and says that he has called them. He motivates Yadigar to go inside the university and guides him. Yadigar looks inside from the window and sees his wife naked holding an apple. He leaves the place and starts running. Yadigar is in shock, he heads back home, watches television; and later, he goes out naked in the middle of the night. After a while, he comes back. Ayla gapes at him in confusion. Ayla feels shy being naked when she is with Yadigar. The next day, Yadigar sneaks into the university again and gazes at the paintings of the students in astonishment. The sensation that the classical music causes and the astonishment of Yadigar reveal the modern structure of the workshop.

Using a surreal narrative, the students peek at Yadigar from the outside. Later on in the scene, Yadigar, who sees his wife, sits on the table naked just like his wife. Yadigar sneaks into the workshop every day and observes the students. This time, Yadigar sees Huseyin's wife. A security guard finds Yadigar and kicks him out of the university. Later on, Yadigar finds Huseyin, gets a hold of him and asks him why he has not told him anything. The omniscient voice tells them to stop and says that Huseyin does not know anything. The voice tells Huseyin to follow him. Huseyin starts following the camera; the camera guides him inside the university, and Huseyin goes up to the roof and sees his wife nude modeling. Huseyin

heads away from the university crying, but he finds him in the middle of a dress-up party of university students. Huseyin barely escapes from the party. Huseyin is at his poor-looking, dirty and messy house with wallpapers peeled off; he can no longer tolerate his mother and wife and leaves the house.

The university and the houses of characters display a clear contradiction. The students standing in the university yard facing the sea unbutton their coats and stand naked facing the sea. Huseyin walks past behind them. Huseyin enters the storage room of the workshop and starts examining the objects. He sees the nude painting of his wife among the paintings and gets angry. In the night, he sleeps on the floor instead of his bed because of his anger. The next day, when Ayla and Seher are modeling for the modern art, they talk about their husbands. They are aware that their husbands have suspicions but they cannot understand who has told them about their modeling. In the film, the audience comes across lots of different scenes independent from the main theme. In particular, the difference of the university life, rhythmic and cheerful songs, students laughing and jumping in high spirit, a little chimpanzee, which is the center of interest among the students, dressed up and brought as a pet to the canteen of the university that plays jazz music are some of the independent scenes in the film. Ayla and Seher are the only ones who are troubled and unhappy in such portrait. The students seem to be far from the concerns of these two women. Later on, the women are having a dinner in the old house of Safiye. Sami, who is Safiye's husband, starts singing "enough, don't make me cry", which is an arabesque song. The women argue that art is a serious job; and when each starts claiming to be better than the rest at this job, the hosts turns on some swing music. They all start dancing to the music in the living room of their traditional house. The atmosphere of dispute and sadness clears away. While the drunk women are heading back to their homes, Seher says that she is afraid of being in the streets.

She says that she is afraid as much as she is when someone is looking at her when she is naked. They are drunk and heading home.

Seher is surprised to see the nude painting of her husband that a painter brings to their house. The painter says that they have been working with Huseyin for a while now and that it will be better to paint his portrait in his house. Seher takes the painting out of the house. Huseyin leaves the house the next day and comes across Yadigar; they start walking together. They go to a brothel together; however they want to talk instead of having an intercourse. The husbands feel the need to unburden themselves to the women in the brothel about the nude modeling of their wives to university students. Then, the women stop acting tough on the men and try to calm them down. A clarinet plays in the background, the crying men and the prostitutes who calm them down create a melancholic atmosphere. The prostitutes tell the men that they feel sorry for them, they return the money and advise them to wait for a divine power to help.

The couples want to make love in order to reconnect but they cannot. Following these unsuccessful attempts, Ayla turns to the camera and says “do not mess with us any more”. Following this scene, Ayla secretly follows her husband. Yadigar rings a doorbell at the entrance of an apartment and then goes in. Ayla asks about this to the camera, and the omniscient voice tells her that Yadigar is a nude model, too. Ayla asks the omniscient voice why he has not told her about this; the omniscient voice tells her that he does not know and that this is a joke, but he cannot convince her. In the following scene, Yadigar is looking for something among old paintings in the archive. He sees Huseyin in front of him. They both have found the nude paintings of their wives. They start to secretly observe a nude made model and someone painting his portrait in the workshop. The model kicks both of them out of the workshop. The two men, who see that the traditional moral values of the society are different within the borders of the university, are surprised. The omniscient voices calls to

them; however the men are planning on doing something violent. After Yadigar and Huseyin have taken the paintings of their wives from the university, they are walking on the street but the police stops them. The police seizes the paintings and start examining them in the sexual context. Meanwhile, the husbands tell the police officers that the women in the paintings are their wives. The police officers starts laughing loud and see no use in dealing with these two men anymore. They throw the paintings of their wives one by one out of the window of the police car, they drive away while making fun of the men.

The grandmother flees from the house and goes to the top floor of a multi-story car park. His son stops him before the grandmother starts undressing. The omniscient voice asks her why she goes off the subject. The grandmother replies that she is as incapable as the omniscient voice. The couples, grandmother and the child go on a picnic in the next scene. The men are dolorously drinking raki. After a while, Yadigar starts to laugh hysterically. The characters leave the picnic, they go for a stroll. Each character heads towards a different direction and get out of the frame. The grandmother sits down to the picnic cloth. The child is playing ball. In the next scene, the couples are headed somewhere. The omniscient voice asks them where they are going, and all reply that they do not know. In the following scene, the men are in a mosque listening to a man who is talking. The man heatedly tells them something. When the men come to their house, the omniscient voice warns them about not doing it. The men tell that there is something that the omniscient voice does not know; they agree with each other saying “both of them at the same time, at 3 o’clock”, and get inside their homes. It is an implication that they will kill their wives. They go down to the basement floor, and a storm breaks out at that moment. The men in the basement see their nude paintings near the paintings of their wives. The women wake up to the storm, go and take a look at the basement. The men, who get discouraged, hide out in a corner. In the last scene of the film, the university students are depicted keeping to themselves, again some of them smoke, some

of them listen to music some of them kiss and some paint portraits. Huseyin and Yadigar are posing as nude models with two different women near them to the students. At this moment, two women wearing head scarfs enter the workshop. They go to the section where Huseyin and Yadigar are posing; they push and shoo away the two women. It is revealed that the women in headscarves are Ayla and Seher. The men are ashamed of themselves; but they can neither run nor avoid posing. The film ends when the women catch the men in the act and they all together pose to the camera.

The film emphasizes the opposition between the lives of modern art students and the traditional structure of the Turkish society. The film reflects this opposition through the nude modeling of the two female characters who have traditional views of life. In a country dominated by the male-dominant social system, the male characters who cannot correlate the nude modeling of their wives with the system of conservative values do not have the courage to resort to violence such as beating or killing their wives. Such acts of violence are limited to the imagination of the characters depicted in an aesthetical style and they are not actualized. In such situation, the male characters start secretly observing their wives. In terms of the relationship between the looker and the looked, the male characters are discovering a new situation. Whereas the couples can only make love in the dark because they do not want to get shy because they think that it is a shame, they are able to set aside these moral values with the guidance of the omniscient voice and try to understand the new moral values. The nude modeling of men can be interpreted as their attempts to understand how their wives feel. This situation is the individualized version of the traditional East trying to understand and keep up with the modern West. The loss of meaning in the traditional values and the old conversations like the one during the picnic because of the concept of nude modeling that entered their lives caused the characters to lead their own courses in individuality. At the end of this process, the female characters catching their husbands in the act of nude modeling

seems to be a process approached in reverse. While the male characters are expected to catch their wives in the act and make them feel embarrassed, just the opposite takes place. In this context, it can be suggested that women are open to modern novelties since the very beginning and men possess such novelties after a while getting ahead of the women. It can be suggested that the basic reason that lies under is that the male characters do not possess the “qualifications” (aggressiveness, the capacity to commit murder and beat their wives, etc.) required to punish the female characters according to the traditional moral values; instead the male characters decide that adopting modern values is easier and more suitable for their personalities instead of staying passive surrounded by the traditional values. In the scene where the police seizes the paintings, the traditional mentality mocking at the desperate male characters and making fun of their manhood reveals the ruthlessness of the traditional structure and this forces the male characters to go down the path their wives have chosen.

While the transformation of the traditional social structure into the modern society takes place as mentioned above, the differences between the traditional and the modern are pointed out to the audience through various elements. For example, whereas the living space of the traditional is in a poor and dilapidated condition, the modern is spacious and comfortable and located near the Bosphorus. Whereas the furniture inside the house of the traditional is old, old-fashioned and shabby, the workshop of the modern has artworks of the contemporary art. While the traditional way of entertainment is depicted as singing arabesque songs, drowning sorrows drinking raki and going through melancholy the modern’s understanding of entertainment is reflected as dancing to cheerful songs, having fun with friends, smiling, having dress-up parties. The scenes depicting the couples of the traditional family structure making love in the dark since they are shy and the following scenes that reflect the students kissing conveniently in the corridors of the university tell the audience about the moral difference between the traditional and the modern in terms of the binary oppositions of the

modernity. In this sense, the omniscient voice symbolizes the understanding that observes the characters with the camera, shows them the way, tries to reveal what the couples hide from each other and finally lead them to the next stage. In the modernist mentality, this understanding is the modern thinking, in other words, it is the West that suggests the linear progression of the history. Considering that cinema and the camera are mass communication tools that are invented by the West and branches of art, it would be realistic to put forward that the West advises the traditional characters to be modern (asks the traditional women to undress, makes the couples follow their spouses, asks the grandmother not to get out of the context of the narration, etc.). It can be claimed that the scenes accompanied with classical music and swing music are the scenes which are analyzed with the Western frame of mind. For example, the only way for people to be happy in a dusty, neglected and dirty house is swing music and dancing. The music example is also suggested with the classical music that is used in the majority of the scenes that take place in the university. This way, the music is used to enhance the feeling that university is a modern place. According to the information gathered, the semiotic square of the film is as follows:

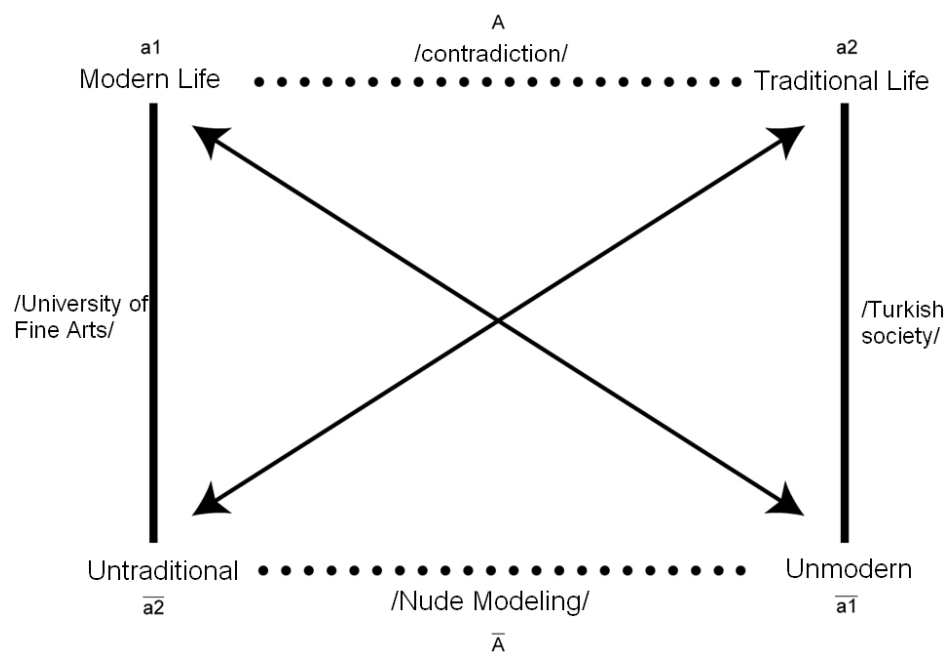


Figure-4: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *The Nude*

Accordingly, the modern life and the traditional life are depicted as two opposite lifestyles in the film. The fine arts university is reflected to be a part of the modern life, it is an untraditional place and lifestyle. The general structure of the Turkish society is reflected to be ruled by the traditional life, it is an unmodern life style. Huseyin, Yadigar, Ayla and Seher are the main characters of the film, who are about to get detached from the traditional structure yet they are still not modern enough to pose as nude models without feeling uneasy. In general, the omniscient voice, that represents the Western perspective, guides and controls the characters throughout their evolution from the traditional to the modern, points out to the differences between the West and the non-West and implies that the customs, ideas and spaces that belong to the traditional society are outdated. What is questioned in the film in terms of social aspect is the culture. There are no economic or political thoughts conveyed in the film; the film centers upon the alienation of the isolated characters from each other in the face of their transformation into modern. It can be claimed that the film “*The Nude*” by Ali Ozgenturk discusses the cultural differences between the West and the non-West through the historical perspective of the modernity, binary oppositions and the Western values.

3.3 Mavi Surgun (Blue Exile)

The film’s opening scene depicts a person receiving whirling practice training and trying to whirl on a round hobnail on the *Meşk* (training) board. In the following scene, the whirling dervishes dressed up in their traditional clothes start whirling. At this moment, the name of the film appears. The footages in the following scene are black and white documentary recordings made during the World War I. Soldiers are combatting and civilians are migrating on trains. The year is 1925. Three people are depicted travelling in a compartment of a train. When the soldier in uniform leaves the scene, Zekeriye Serter, the owner of a journal, tells

Cevat Sakir that they are both arrested because of the article he has written on the military deserters who were hanged and adds that the timing was not right. The prisoners were taken from their homes by the military and put on the train hastily. Zekeriya thinks that they will be scolded by the court and sent home in 2 to 3 weeks. On the other hand, Cevat Sakir remains silent. The train arrives in Ankara. Cevat Sakir learns from his lawyer that they will be executed at the order of the Independence Court. However, the lawyer says that there is a solution. In the prison, a man goes near Cevat, who is crying, and asks him why he is crying. He finds it absurd that he is crying over the news that he will be executed because he is not even sentenced yet whereas the man in prison is. The man says that he cannot go against his faith. The lawyer says again before the hearing that they will be sentenced to execution but they will not be hanged. Cevat passes out upon hearing such news. The omniscient voice talks about the increasing number of military deserters. He also says that soldiers who have been fighting for years now are not even allowed to visit their villages when passing by their villages. He says the soldiers who jumped off the compartments of the train at the risk of being shot to death only to see their wives and children for one last time before they died in the war surrendered after they saw their families but this did not save them from being executed without due process. The omniscient voice tells that this story was published in the Journal Resimli Ay whose editor was Zekeriya. An animation of this story is depicted, this is the dream of Cevat. A soldier who is about to jump off the train to go to his village tells his friends not to shoot him. Upon this, the other soldiers fire their guns into the air instead of shooting him. Cevat wakes from the dream.

In the next scene, he is packing his suitcase, and meanwhile, the omniscient voice tells him the ruling of the court. Cevat Sakir is sentenced to exile in Bodrum and Zekeriya Sertel is sentenced to exile in Sinop, each for three years. Cevat and Zekeriya say goodbye to each other. During the travel on the train, Cevat watches the scenery of Anatolia, the soldiers

uncuff him and Cevat can start smoking easily. One of the soldiers dozes off during the travel, and Cevat recommends the other that he should rest. When the train stops, the soldiers think that Cevat has escaped; however, he is smoking outside. The soldiers ask for a seat near the window for the journalist Cevat. Cevat is depicted talking to the ordinary people, so the soldiers feel relieved having seen his attitudes. The train arrives in Izmir. Cevat thinks that a depression in a large house is both heaven and hell. As he observes the large house allocated to him, he remembers his memories. He remembers the bad memory of the day he found out the relationship between his father and his wife. As the train continues its course in the Aegean region, they encounter a crew of travelling stage actors. In the crew, there is a likable dwarf, dancing and climbing up posts and a woman with foreign accent who attract the attention. Cevat resembles the woman to her mother. Her name is Madame Marie. Madame Marie says that they will stage a drama called Tosca that is about an honor killing. Cevat sees a dream where he kills his father in this opera concept. The events that take place on the train during the night are narrated in a surrealistic style. Cevat kisses Madame Marie. The next morning, the train stops in Aydin and the opera crew takes off the train. Cevat Sakir discovers the natural beauties of the Aegean region throughout the journey.

The train arrives at Mugla. Cevat and the gendarmerie take off the train here. Cevat undresses in the police station as instructed to him by the police. They frisk him, and later he takes his belongings and goes to his cell. Cevat reads poems in Italian, holding a lamp in his hand. Cevat gives up feeling sad about his exile to Bodrum, he feels that the wall inside him is brought down. He thinks about one side of the wall being his life of daily routine in Istanbul and that there may be the sun and freedom on the other side in Bodrum. even though he is accompanied by two gendarmerie officers, he feels a glow of inner liberation. Cevat thinks about which side of the wall he is at. In the cell he will spend the night, he thinks about when he will arrive in Bodrum. A gendarmerie officer comes and tells Cevat that he will not stay

long in prison if they can take care of certain bureaucratic procedures as soon as possible. The gendarmerie officer visits Cevat to have a chat. He says that a crew of travelling stage actors has stopped by in Mugla, that their captain liked the leading actress very much but the actress kept her distance. The gendarmerie officer asks Cevat to write a letter for this actress on behalf of the captain. Cevat gets surprised because he will stay detained unless he writes the letter. While Cevat is writing the letter, he depicts the province the captain lives in as a dull and lonely place where time does not go by. The gendarmerie officer visits Cevat again and gives him a picture of the woman to inspire Cevat. He realizes that the woman in the picture is the woman Cevat met on the train. When the dwarf is walking around on a street, he chances upon Cevat and gives him random information about a woman. They walk together and come to a place where peasants are weaving carpets. Marie and Cevat run across each other here and they start kissing. Marie tells him that the letters are sent by her daughter. Cevat heads back to the prison, he talks to the gendarmerie officer. He says that he has finished the letter, but asks them not to tell Marie that he is here because he knows her well. The gendarmerie officer gets jealous and says now he understands why the letters are so impassionate. He tells Cevat that he will send him to Bodrum the next day.

Cevat arrives in Bodrum. When he sees the sea, he brightens, he runs to the sea with his clothes on. He is taken to the district governorate. The secretary tells him that he should be taken to the prison since the fortress has come down. The soldier takes the document to the district governor. The district governor tells Cevat that he can freely walk around within the borders of the province, however, he is not allowed to go sailing and that he is required to come to the police station every day to put his signature. Cevat starts discovering Bodrum and its nature. At this point, there is a broadcast on the radio, independent from the course of events, telling that villagers who hesitate over wearing hats will have their fates trampled down. At night, Cevat sees a woman turning the water mill and starts watching her. Cevat

thinks that he was destined to come here and that everything that happened in his life up to that point took place so that he could discover this place. In fact, he realizes his infatuation with nature here. The lyric and surreal narrations in the film represent the imaginary world of Cevat. Cevat misses her mother so much. In the next scene, Cevat goes near the old woman who is turning the water mill and tells her that he wants to marry her daughter. The woman asks her daughter Hatce what she wants to do. Hatce says that he will leave this place sooner or later since he is a literate man. Cevat gives his engagement ring to Hatce's mother and asks her not to tell Hatce that he has given the ring. In the next scene, Cevat is getting ready to paint the nude portrait of Emine, who is a local and the village halfwit. Emine gets undressed but she is embarrassed of posing. She says that they could do something else if they wanted. In the next scene, sitting by the water mill, Cevat gives her fiancée the new shoes he has bought for her. Hatce does not know that her fiancé is Cevat. She asks him if he has seen her fiancé and Cevat replies that he has not seen him. Hatce tells her that she has not seen him either, only her mother knows her and her mother would not let her marry him if he was not a decent man. She also says that she wishes his fiancé is someone like Cevat. Cevat marries Hatce. In the next scene, Cevat says that he has started writing again. At that moment, the news of Emine's husband's death during a campaign comes through. Emine throws herself out of the house and goes to Hatce. Hatce gives her a dress. Emine is harassed by men wherever she goes, she runs over hills and dales. The postman comes and gives Cevat an envelope full of seeds. Cevat has committed himself to gardening. There are fast and disconnected transitions between the scenes towards the end of the film. The locals tie Emine up with a rope in order to keep her under control. Cevat talks to the district governor and tells him that she needs mercy. The district governor tells Cevat that they will send her to the Manisa psychiatric hospital. Cevat goes near Emine, unties and releases her. Emine does not run away. At that moment, police officers arrive and take Emine away. After a while, it is

understood that Cevat's exile has finished. Cevat is troubled about going back to Istanbul to his routine. Cevat is a changed man now, he is not the man they know in Istanbul. Cevat says that he has once joined the dervish lodge to find some peace. He remembers his dervish telling him that he needs to empty out the darkness in him and take the light in. He talks about his whirling practice. He says that he was tired of the practices before he was filled with the light. Cevat asks himself where he will go and stay. He prefers being an ordinary person, accepting impossibilities without complaining about them, not thinking about this as his destiny, living in touch with nature and earning his living productively, and he adds: "Being from this world is the only way out of the exile to the world...". The film ends.

Cevat Sakir Kabaoglu was born in Crete, raised in Athens, went to primary school in Prinkipo and completed elementary school and high school in the Robert College. He is a character who studied history in Oxford University and art in Italy. Therefore, he is considered to be a part of the modern society. As a journalist, he tries to empathize with his society; and even the reason why he is sent to exile is because he has written an article on the deserting soldiers who want to see their village, wives and children. Cevat's exile to Bodrum helps him better understand the people of Anatolia. However, Cevat finds himself with so much more to look for and answer. Cevat compares and contrasts the daily routine in Istanbul and the nature and freedom in the country. Cevat's choice between the modern life and the traditional life is discussed throughout the film. At the end of the film, Cevat believes that it would be wrong to make a differentiation between the urban and the rural; he believes that being a human being is the essential, he also believes that the authenticity of the individual will reveal through not being traditional and modern and that people should live in touch with the nature and with their inner peace only. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film can be drawn as follows:

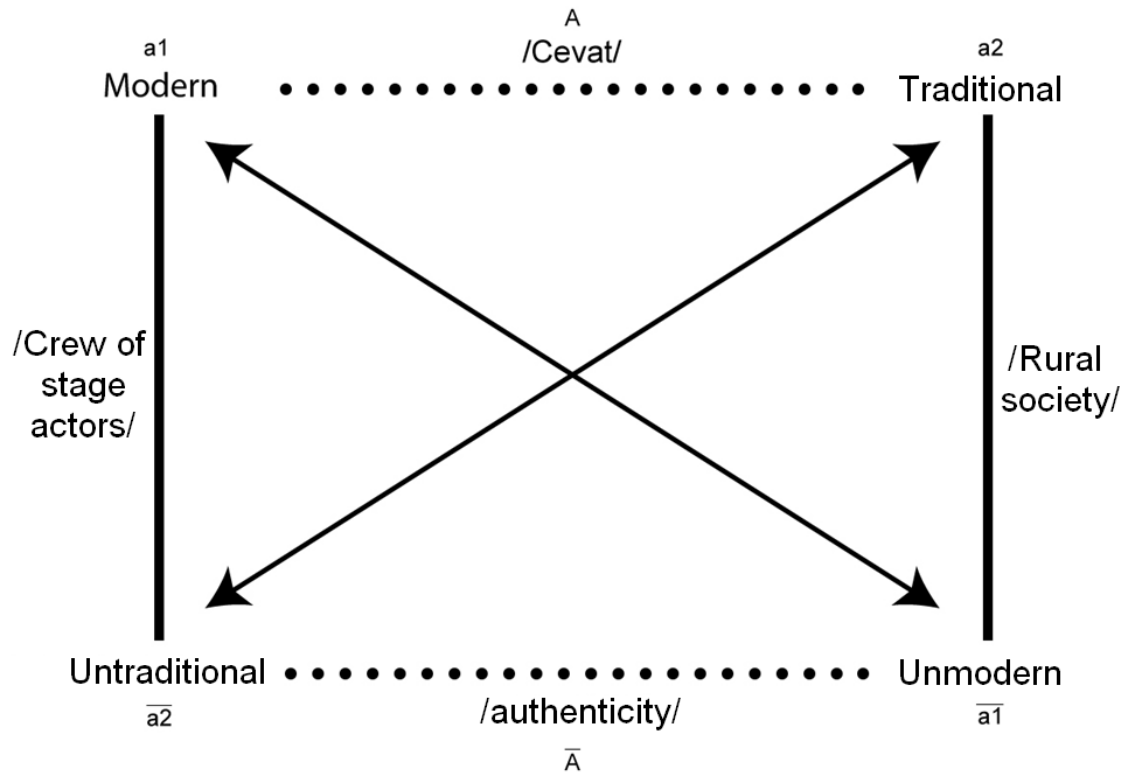


Figure-5: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *The Blue Exile*

Cevat realizes the incompatibility between the modern and the traditional and goes on an existentialist inner journey. The film ends after Cevat completes his quest being unable to find the authenticity in either the modern or the traditional during his exile in Bodrum. The actors crew, with the dwarf and the Italian Madame Marie prioritized, is the modern and untraditional element in the film. The people Cevat meets on his journey to Bodrum and the locals of Bodrum are the traditional and unmodern element in the film. Cevat finds the secret to authenticity and finds inner peace as a result of his inner journey in line with the existentialist philosophy. He has found the answers to the questions on his mind, his existentialist concerns disappear, and he stays in Bodrum for 25 more years where he is at peace with himself. The surreal narrations and detached scenes emphasize the subjective and implicative narrations in the film while they make it difficult to understand the film in its integrity. *The Blue Exile* depicts the difference between the traditional and the modern in a

clear fashion while suggesting that the path to authenticity crosses over the existentialist thinking.

3.4 Gunese Yolculuk (Journey to the Sun)

The film begins with a scene showing the Eminonu square in the early morning. The New Mosque is displayed along with the empty square. There is a peddler walking around the square with his cart. Berzan, who sells cassette tapes from his mobile cart, hangs a plate with a writing “Sirvan” on it and the photograph of a woman on his cart. He turns on the cassette player and waits for customers. Later on, life in Eminonu starts. People start to come into the view one by one; people selling Turkish bagels, people fishing, people shopping and street vendors crowd the square. In another plan, an old man and Mehmet are trying to locate the exact spot where they will conduct digging works on a street by the Bosphorus. Mehmet tries to guess the weight and size of a vessel that passes through the Bosphorus using his sound locator. The digging work starts, however a water pipe bursts when the old man digs the wrong spot. The young man says that he is late and leaves the place. Mehmet meets with Arzu at the station. He uses his sound locator and then tells her that the tramway will be there in two minutes. The tramway arrives at the exact time and the couple gets on the tramway. On the tramway, there is a foreign woman wearing shorts and pantyhose with a longitudinal stripe on its back and she is arguing with a man. People in the tramway, and particularly the elder women wearing headscarves are staring at her. Arzu asks Mehmet if she finds the pantyhose of the foreign woman beautiful. Mehmet says the pantyhose suits her. When Mehmet sees that Arzu is upset, he tries to cheer her up by saying that such a pantyhose would suit her too if she wore one. At that moment, the foreign woman takes her coat off on

the tramway and stays in her sleeveless blouse. The man offers to take Arzu to cinema and Arzu accepts the offer.

In the next scene, a group of men is watching a match on the television in a coffeehouse; there are even people who are having a shave. The spectators are caught up in the match under the intense noise in the coffeehouse and they further get carried away with the joy of a goal scored. When the match ends, the spectators go out on the street shouting and screaming “Turkey”, waving the flag in company with drums and clarions. At that moment, the crowd reacts to Berzan, who dive into the crowd in his car without even honking. The crowd starts pounding his car and swearing. Mehmet goes near the car to stop the crowd, however, he gets his share from the fight. Berzan and Mehmet hide in the well of an apartment building and get rid of the hooligans. They introduce themselves to each other. Upon this, the two go to another place to play table football. The audience learns that Berzan has been in Istanbul for 2 years and Mehmet has been in Istanbul for two months. Mehmet is from Tire. When Mehmet goes home in the night, he tries to turn on the television. On the television, he sees the images of the Kurdish mothers gathered in front of the prison because of the hunger strikes of their children and the tension between the police and the people waiting in front of the prison. While Mehmet’s family is having a chat on some subject, the television squeakily shows the black and white images of the troubled and painful moments of Kurdish people without any sentimentality. Mehmet recognizes Berzan from the images on the television. Berzan is talking in Kurdish on one of the pay phones in Eminonu Square. Mehmet pays a visit to Berzan. Berzan gives him a cassette as a present and they go on a stroll later on. Mehmet asks Berzan where he is from. Berzan tells him that he comes from a village called Zorduc in Urfa, located near the border to Irak. Berzan says that his first reason to come to Istanbul was to count the seagulls. He later tells Mehmet that one night his father was taken away from home during a raid, that he never turned back home after that and that he thinks

that his father might be shot. The audience learns that Sirvan is the girlfriend of Berzan. Arzu works in a laundry house. The owner of the laundry house makes fun of the workers who collect coupons from newspapers. A woman doing ironing says that she is collecting the coupons in order to have 'the best quality Italian brand underpants'. Their boss implies that she is ugly and she will never be able to get married and that maybe she can find a husband for herself in exchange for the coupons. Arzu says that their boss collects coupons as well. The boss claims that he collects the coupons to sell them to the workers. Arzu finds a coupon she is missing from the coupons of her boss, and the boss asks her to work for 2 more hours in exchange for the coupon. At that moment, Mehmet comes and Arzu tells her boss that she will leave work early. Upon this, the boss tells her that she will work for extra two more hours tomorrow since she is leaving early today; so will have to work for 4 more hours tomorrow. The boss sarcastically tells Mehmet that he is lucky since he has found a girl who will do his laundry. At that moment, Arzu calls the ironing woman to the back, she asks the woman to draw a stripe to her leg with a pen just like the stripe on the pantyhose of the foreign woman on the tramway.

Mehmet and Arzu go to Pierre Loti and sit at a table; they see a couple enjoying their beers at the next table, so they order beers as well. On the way home, the couple in the minibus get closer to each other. Later on, Arzu gets off the minibus and Mehmet keeps going. At the spot Arzu gets off, a man gets on the minibus and sits next to Mehmet. The man suddenly asks the driver to stop the minibus and he runs off. There is a road check ahead and the police stops the minibus. The man has put a gun in Mehmet's bag before he left. Mehmet is taken into custody. During his interrogation, the cassette Berzan has given him is taken as criminal evidence against him. Later on, undercover policemen go to Eminonu Square to look for Berzan. However, Berzan runs away and eludes the police. Later, Sehmuz, a street vendor friend of Berzan, tells him that Mehmet has reported him to the police.

Mehmet has been in custody for days now. Berzan finds the laundry house Arzu works at and asks her if she has heard from Mehmet. He tells her that the police may have him. Arzu goes to the police station and asks about Mehmet. At that moment, a middle-aged woman in the police station tells Arzu that her son has been missing for years. The police tells Arzu that Mehmet was caught with a weapon on him. Arzu falls to pieces and tells about the incident to Berzan. After a while, Mehmet is released from custody in a really bad shape and scars on his face. He goes straight to his dormitory and sleeps. When he leaves the dormitory, he meets with Arzu at the tramway stop. He goes to work from there. Mehmet's boss fires him since he has been in custody. When Mehmet goes back to the hostel, he sees the cross-painted in red on his door. His roommates tell him that he should leave the dormitory, otherwise, something bad will happen to all of them and they kick him out. Mehmet leaves the dormitory and looks for Berzan. However, Berzan is now working at the bus terminal as a steward for a bus company that travels between Istanbul and Urfa, and he is in Urfa at the moment. On the road, Berzan leaves out the identity card of a suspect the soldiers are looking for in order to protect him during an identification check. Mehmet is talking to Arzu when he is waiting for Berzan to return. Arzu asks him whether he is from Tire or not. Upon this, Mehmet asks Arzu if it is a crime to be dark skinned, he also believes that he is too dark skinned for the others in the dormitory. Arzu suggests Mehmet to change the way he looks and to dye his hair. Mehmet spends the night outside getting cold. The next day, Berzan arrives in Istanbul and takes him to his house. He tells Mehmet that he will arrange for a job for him. Mehmet carefully examines the suburbs where Berzan lives and his house. The pictures of Berzan's hometown hang up on the walls attract the attention of Mehmet. The next day, Berzan finds a job for Mehmet in a car park. Mehmet works as a night watchman in a booth in the car park. At night, Arzu visits Mehmet and he gives a present he has bought to Arzu. The present is a pantyhose similar to the one the foreign woman was wearing in the first scenes of the film.

The power goes off, and then they sleep together. When they wake up the next morning, they find a cross-painted in red on the door of the guard booth. Arzu's boss gets angry with Arzu because of her relationship with Mehmet.

Berzan nervously listens to the news on the radio about the hunger strike that is going on in the prison. He joins a protest in order to support the prisoners. The police responds to the protest using force and they arrest Berzan. At this moment, the director uses real images of police response to protests outside the plot of the film. Berzan is battered in custody and he dies from cerebral hemorrhage. Mehmet dyes his hair with the blond-color dye he has found in Istanbul's garbage dump and goes to the morgue with Arzu. After they identify the body, he tells that he will get Berzan's body out of there. Arzu convinces the morgue officer and takes the release paper for Berzan's body. At this moment, Arzu leaves one of her bracelets on the table assuming that the officer would ask for a bribe. After Arzu leaves, the officer finds the bracelet and gets angry. They put the coffin to a pickup, and after that Arzu's family gets off a taxi and take her with them. Before her family takes Arzu, she gives the rest of her bracelets to Mehmet. Mehmet steals a car from the car park he has worked. He takes the coffin with him and hits the road.

On the way to Zorduc, the audience witnesses to the condition of the region. The cities are undeveloped, the roads are bumpy, and the police and gendarmerie patrols the region. In a scene when Mehmet stops to rest, a police hops in his car and asks him to take him to the town. Later on, Mehmet takes three children off the road. The children are carrying an illegal newspaper. One of the children asks Mehmet why his hair is blond. Mehmet asks the child back why his hair is dark. The child tells him that "God has created my hair that way". Mehmet gives the same answer to the child. The child replies, "How God created your hair!". The children see the gendarmerie waiting ahead of the road and get off the car. The gendarmerie scolds Mehmet because of helping the children, he wants to take him into

custody, but lets him go since he is carrying a coffin. He seizes the newspapers. Mehmet arrives in a village with walls painted red once but now ruined. Mehmet can guess the events that took place in the village. The pickup Mehmet has stolen breaks down on the road. He stops another vehicle passing by and asks the driver to take him and the coffin both. The driver first turns him down but he accepts to take him after the passengers insist on taking him. When the vehicle arrives in the city center, he wants to check into a hotel. He offers one of the bracelets Arzu has given to him as payment to the hotel owner who is dying his hair to black. The owner does not accept the bracelet first, but he is afraid of the noise and the light in the street and he immediately takes the coffin inside. The audience sees that the soldiers impose a martial order in the city, there are tanks in the middle of the roads that stay there for hours and there is a constant drill atmosphere in the city. Mehmet continues his journey on a train. When he looks out of the window, he sees the military observation tower. A man comes to the compartment he is sitting in and sits next to him. The man asks Mehmet where he is going and where he is from. Mehmet tells the man that he is headed to Zorduc and he is from Zorduc. The man is from Tire and he is doing his military service here as a commando. A soldier enters the compartment and checks identifications. When the soldier sees that both men are from Tire, he asks whether they are together. After the train, Mehmet completes the last part of his journey on a horse cart on the dirt roads to Zorduc, or Susuz which is its new name. When he arrives in Susuz, he is disappointed to see the scene he is facing: the village is drowned under waters as opposed to the new name "Susuz" (Waterless) the government has given it. There are crosses painted in red on the walls of the houses partially seen in the ruins of the village. Mehmet pushes Berzan's coffin from the edge into the water. The coffin swims over the village sunken into the water, Mehmet's eyes fill with tears; and at that moment, he hears the voice of Berzan. Berzan is counting the seagulls over the water. The film ends here.

The film suggests that the Turkish and Kurdish ethnic origins are strictly separated from each other due to the discriminating policies of the society and the government and that the Kurdish identity is not recognized by the Turkish identity. The story does not offer a dramatic narration of the life experiences of a Kurdish main character, it actually the story of a character from Tire, who is always mistaken for a Kurd because of his dark colored skin, coming to realize the events surrounding him. The concept of social lynching starts with a bunch of hooligans daring to pick on people who are not celebrating on the streets after a national match is won and continues with the police taking Mehmet into custody, blacklisting him on the grounds that he is Kurd and he carries a weapon, for which people later start to paint cross signs in red on the doors of the places he stays at. The character Mehmet is otherized as a person from the lower class when compared to the upper classes in Istanbul where he migrates to. However, Mehmet is not otherized by the upper class; instead, he is blacklisted as “the other of the other” as an ethnic identity by the lower class. The fact that his friends from the dormitory tell him that he is not welcome in the dormitory anymore indicates that there is not only an economic segregation between the lower and upper classes of the society but also political segregations. Having been cast out socially, Mehmet tries to understand the situation he finds himself in through empathizing. Mehmet actually questions the discriminating government policies by asking if being dark-skinned is a crime. The things he sees during his journey makes him realize how the society is segregated in fact. The police on constant watch in Istanbul and the soldiers keeping the martial law order in the South East make life miserable for the people who are considered to be Kurds: the cross signs painted in red on the doors of the places Mehmet stays in, the depiction of these signs in several places throughout the film, brutal responses to the mass movements in Istanbul, Berzan’s death in custody, a Kurdish mother whose son is lost waiting in the police station for weeks, the soldiers driving tanks into the city centers in the South Eastern Anatolia, preventing the

children who are distributing illegal newspapers at strategic spots like bridges, numerous military watch towers located at close intervals and the fact that the name of the village Zorduc was changed as Susuz, which is in fact under waters, are among the most essential examples in the film. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film can be drawn as follows:

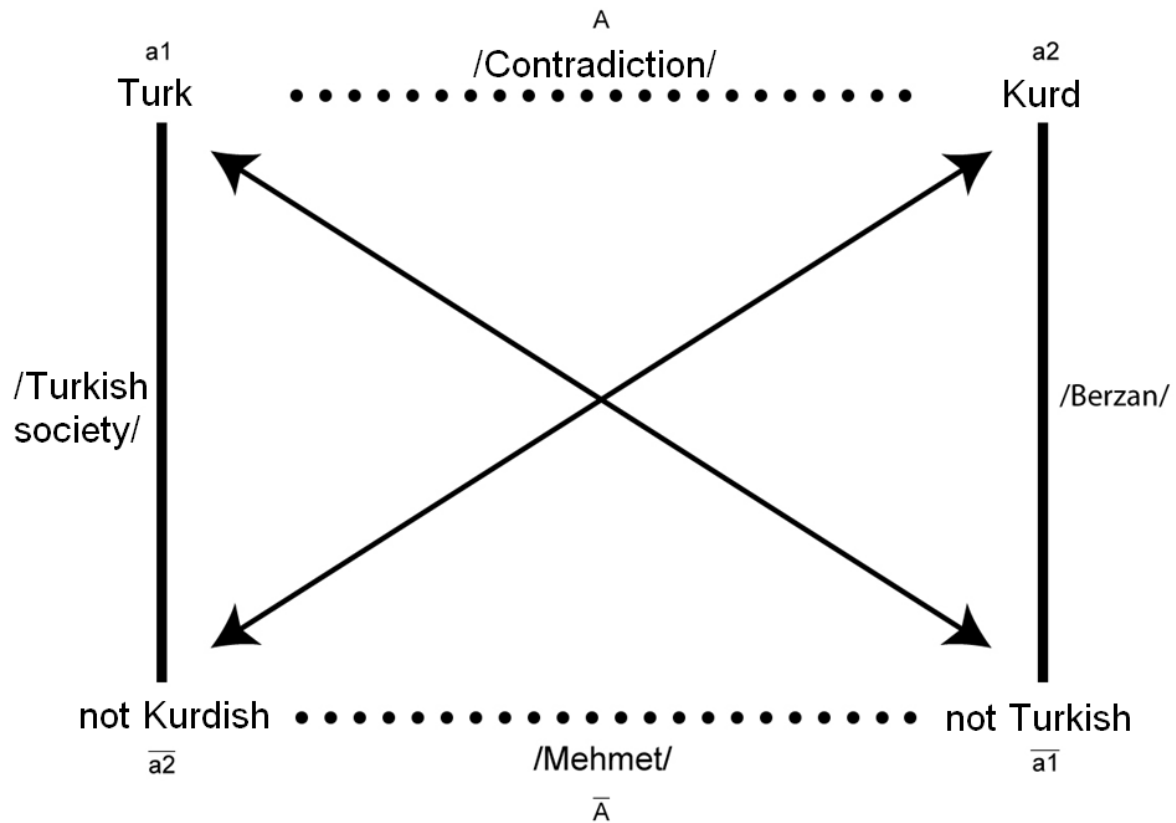


Figure-6: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Journey to the Sun*

The film suggests that the contradiction between the Turkish and Kurdish identities is caused by the government policies. Accordingly, the Turkish is not Kurdish and the Kurdish is not Turkish. The police, soldiers and the hooligans appearing after the national match represent the Turkish society in Istanbul. Berzan is distinguished only with his Turkish identity and his only bond with being a Turk is on paper. It is seen that Mehmet, at the center of the film, has not been aware of the difference between the Turkish and Kurdish identities up to that day; he does not see himself either as a Turk or as a Kurd. Towards the end of the film, his

dialogue with the commando from Tire on the train during which he says he is from Zorduc can be interpreted as Mehmet is trying to emphasize his identity as a human being rather than being a Kurd. The director of the film Yesim Ustaoglu is of the same opinion; because Mehmet is imposed upon an identity throughout the film because of his skin color²⁵. It is possible to interpret this as the acceptance of the otherization or self-otherization. The existence of the individual with an identity imposed on him or suggested to be his is to choose between the contradictions. The acceptance of this contradictions and discriminative elements, out of either requirement or preference, will lead to the birth of the others. In this context, the kid that comments “How God created your hair!” about the dyed hair of Mehmet otherizes the identities who are not Kurd. Choosing to be a party is the beginning of the otherization through the binary approaches of the modernity. Even though the binary oppositions between the Turkish and Kurdish identities are dominant in the film, there are three scenes that underline the oppositions between the West and the non-West. First one is the scene about the colleague of Arzu who has been collecting coupons to have ‘the best quality Italian brand underpants’ for days. The second one is Arzu’s desire to dress like the foreign young woman in the unconventional dress, standing out with her pantyhose and speaking in English in the tramway. On a later scene, Arzu asks her colleague to draw a stripes on her legs imitating the pattern of the pantyhose. On a following scene, Mehmet buys a similar pantyhose as a present to Arzu. The third one takes place in the scene when Arzu sees the foreign tourists drinking beer in Pierre Lotti and wants to drink beer just like them. The Turkish society in the eyes of Arzu has not adopted the mentality and lifestyle of the West yet. Arzu wants to dress and act like the Western individuals, however, the society does not quite allow her to. Social pressures and economic problems are the basic concepts she is faced with. Therefore, the Turkish people trying to get integrated with the West otherize

²⁵ Aksiyon Journal, interview with Yesim Ustaoglu. Interview Date: March 18, 2000. Date of Access: May 02, 2014. Issue: 1013
http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/aksiyon/columnistDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=5986

themselves as backward when compared to West in the linear historical progression of the modernity while otherizing the Kurds compared to the Turkish identity. This way, it can be suggested that the Kurdish people are located behind the Turkish people in the linear historical progress; however this is resulted by the political reasons. The film points out to certain political and economic facts of the period, yet it cannot explain their reasons in the historical context. This situation leads the characters, who are unable to control the past, to go through a series of existentialistic problems. However, the existentialistic issues are not expressly emphasized in the film due to the dominance of the political problems.

3.5 Pandora'nin Kutusu (Pandora's Box)

The film starts when Nusret Hanim, an old woman living in a country house in the Western Black Sea Region, drops the cranberries to the ground. In the next scene in Istanbul, the character Murat is shown sleeping by the lighthouse at the crack of dawn. His mother Nesrin is calling him on his cell phone but he does not answer. His father is not concerned about the situation. He is either sleeping or shaving. At that moment, Nesrin learns on the phone that her mother Nusret Hanim has gone missing. She calls her sister Guzin and tells about the situation. Later, both sisters go to the disorderly house of their brother Mehmet who is single. The sisters and Mehmet get in the car and leave Istanbul on a rainy day to go to the village. On the road, the siblings do not talk to each other for a while. Nesrin is still concerned about his son. His brother Mehmet tells her that she needs to leave him alone. Guzin suggests that their mother has gone missing just to attract the attention. Meanwhile, the argument starting between the characters indicate that they have family issues. Their mother's bad behaviors against them and their father who ran out on them because of their mother have traumatized the characters. When they exit the highway and approach the village, they see that the road is

blocked. The truck drivers there tell them they are going to a place they know and that they can follow them if they like. The three siblings go to the place the truck drivers mentioned about and sit at a different table than the drivers. Mehmet tells his sisters that he can no longer drink tea in such a situation, he goes to the table of the drivers and starts drinking raki. The two sisters are sitting alone. Nesrin does not like the food in the place and tells Guzin that she should not eat the food or else she can feel sick. After the woman who serves them the food leaves, Nesrin says, “your father ran away with a woman like this” to Guzin. Later at night, Mehmet starts singing songs with the drivers at the table under the influence of the alcohol. The woman, owner of the place, happily tells Mehmet that she likes his singing performance and so she will charge him less. The next morning, the three siblings head out again. When Guzin receives a message on her phone, Nesrin grabs her phone, tries to read the message and pressure her into leaving her boyfriend. Mehmet emphasizes that her boyfriend is not serious about their relationship. Guzin wants to make a phone call and tells Nesrin to pull over. However, Nesrin cannot start the car after she has stopped it because they have run out of gas. Mehmet takes a plastic can and goes to get some gas. When he turns back, he does not have the plastic can; he tells her sisters that he gave his all money and the can to a tractor driver he has seen on the road who will bring them the gas. The sisters get angry and tell him that the man will take the money and run. After a while, the man in the tractor comes and gives them the can filled with gas. Then, Mehmet dwells on the subject and tell his sister that she thinks everybody is just like her, that she thinks she saves the day licking people’s boots. His sister tells him that he cannot even pay his rent, tells him to stop being rude and to cut it out. Nesrin steps in the argument to stop it; however, Mehmet tells her to stop giving him orders just like she does to her son and husband. Nesrin tells him that his son could not do anything without her. Mehmet asks her if she is afraid that Murat might be like Mehmet one day. Nesrin tells him that she would rather die than seeing her son turn out to be a parasite

like Mehmet. Mehmet flames up and shouts at her to stop the car. He gets off the car and walks away. The sisters cannot get him to turn back; they wait for a while first and then get back on the road. When they arrive at the country house, Nesrin finds the keys on the door outside. She enters the house. The sisters feel sad when they see the old furniture in the house. At that moment, Mehmet comes. Nesrin's voice indicates that she was afraid that they have lost Mehmet. Guzin hugs his brother, too. The gendarmerie and the locals look for Nusret Hanim with lanterns all night long. Nusret Hanim is found in the forested land and taken to a hospital in an ambulance. The doctor tells them her results do not indicate anything serious, however she might have Alzheimer. The siblings take their mother to Istanbul. Nusret Hanim feels alienated from the city surrounding. They go to Nesrin's house. The characters are alienated from each other in the house. Nesrin is quarreling with her husband. Guzin is talking to her boyfriend on the phone in a moody tone. Mehmet does not care about anything. Their mother is observing all things that happen around her. When Nesrin forces Nusret Hanim, who does not wear shoes even when walking on the meadows, to wear slippers in the house, her alienation is accelerated. Nesrin pees on the carpet in the living room as a reaction to the house environment. At night, Nusret Hanim is sitting on her bed and watching outside from the window, she cannot adapt herself and cannot sleep. Nesrin puts her to bed, later she sits with her sister Guzin and the two start talking. Nesrin says that she had difficulty giving a bath to Nusret Hanim due to her reactions and that she closed her private parts. She also talks about her sexual problems with his husband. She says that she freezes during sex and that she went to a doctor.

Guzin goes to work next day, she is depressed about the message her boyfriends has texted him about not calling him. Unaware of the state of her mother, Nesrin turns on the television for her mother and writes down her number to a piece of paper and leaves the house. Nusret Hanim looks at the picture of her grandson Murat; she creases and throws away the paper

when Nesrin leaves the house. Murat gets his wallet stolen when he is selling his cell phone to a street vendor. He runs after the thief, however the thief grabs him, puts a knife on his throat and threatens him. He also takes his shoes. Nesrin is looking for Murat in the university campus. A girl bumps into Nesrin but she does not apologize. Nesrin threatens a friend of Murat with reporting him to the police since he does not tell her where his son is. Murat, on the other hand, is having a nervous breakdown because of getting robbed. Nusret Hanim is locked inside the house. She does not take interest in the television. She cannot understand how the shades on the window work, she tries to look out by pulling the shades apart. When she sees the apartment buildings, the piles of concrete, she becomes dull. There is no similarity between the view she sees and the view of his own home. Guzin stays late at work and is waiting for a phone call. Murat goes to his uncle Mehmet, who he finds close to him. He does not know that his grandmother is in Istanbul. He asks what she did at home, and Mehmet tells him that she peed on the carpet. Murat tells him that he will pee on the carpet, too. Murat tells his uncle about the robbing and says that he actually felt alive. Nesrin is reading the private correspondences of Murat from the computer. She takes her mother and they together go to the address she took from the computer. She leaves Nusret Hanim in the middle of the street and enters a dirty house. When she gets out, Nusret Hanim is not where she has left her. She is playing with children on another street. They head back home. At a time when the front door is open, Nusret Hanim runs away from the house. Upon this, the sisters take Nusret Hanim to a doctor and the doctors diagnose her with Alzheimer. When they come home, Nesrin forces her mother to take a bath and tries to do toilet training. Her mother slaps Nesrin, Guzin has to take her mother with her. One evening, Guzin tries to drop her mother to Mehmet's house since she has made plans with his boyfriend on the phone. At that moment, he sees Murat in the house. She leaves her mother with Murat since Mehmet is

not home. Guzin's boyfriend comes to take her with his car. In the car, she argues with his boyfriend saying that he is not caring about her, and they break up.

In the house, Mehmet and Murat are singing the song "This world has no meaning" and smoking weed. Nusret Hanim sits in a corner with them. Nusret Hanim, rather consciously, gets angry with Mehmet since he has left her and the house just like his father. In the small hours, Nusret Hanim wakes Murat up and they both get out of the house. They find themselves in the waterfront in the early morning and they take the ferry. She asks if Murat has anybody. Murat answers that he has nobody. Murat asks her who brought her here. Nusret Hanim says that she does not remember, she says she wants to go to his hometown and asks him to take her there. Later on, the two order a fish sandwich somewhere. They share one sandwich instead of eating two separate sandwiches. At this moment, Nesrin comes to Guzin's house and finds her lying down in a depressed mood. Guzin shouts at her telling to mind her own business. She also says that she has taken Nusret Hanim to Mehmet's house and left her with Murat. Nesrin, her husband and Guzin go to Mehmet's house and all of them start quarreling with one another. Now it is Guzin's turn to take Nusret Hanim to her house. When Guzin has fallen asleep, Nusret Hanim gets out of the house, goes to the waterfront and sits on a bank. When Guzin finds her, she hugs Nusret Hanim.

In the following scene, Nusret Hanim and Nusret are in a nursing home. Nesrin wants to hold her mother's hand but her mother pushes her hand and says, "You want everybody to hang onto you". Murat gets really angry when he learns that his grandmother is put in a nursing home. He goes and takes her grandmother out of the nursing home, the two hop on a train and go to the grandmother's hometown. In the country house, Murat finds a wheeled sledge in the storage room and has fun sliding with it down the hill. Murat starts to do the housework all by himself: he does the laundry and tries to light the fireplace. One day, Nusret Hanim is wandering outside and Murat finds and asks her what she is doing. She answers, "It is telling

me to walk”; however, who says that is not clear. Murat takes her home. In the last scene of the film, Murat wakes up one morning and does not see his grandmother next to him. He goes outside and sees her disappearing into the woods. The film ends with a scene displaying the thick forested lands of the Western Black Sea region.

The film criticizes the effects of modernity on the individuals living in Turkey. Yesim Ustaoglu expressly states this during one of her interviews:

“In the film, there is a criticism on capitalism, in fact. The film closes on the issues such as being a consumer society, modernity, transition to a modern society, intellectual pains, the conflicts between the traditional and modern structures, lack of communication and the relationships with one another and the other. Above all, there is a criticism on the middle class. The film focuses on such issues with a criticizing approach. Since the film deals with the issue in terms of being human, our today’s society is also discussed in the film from the perspective of the middle class family. [...] If you look at the narration of the film *Journey to the Sun*, you will see that its narration also revolves around a character. In terms of the narrative language, you will see the same perspective again. Since the issue was particularly remarkable in terms of the period it was touched upon, it pretty much affected us in terms of politics. I think the story of this film is as remarkable as the *Journey to the Sun*. Actually, there is the same point of view: The state of turning a blind eye... This is held firm that day and holds for today, as well. [...] Here, we are talking about a family. Being a nucleus family. There are three important characters in *Journey to the Sun*. We need to understand Berzan in order to

understand Mehmet. And we definitely cannot underestimate Arzu.”

(Ustaoğlu, 2011)

Among the films supported by Eurimages, the conflicts of the capitalist order and modernity with the Turkish societies is clearly depicted in the film *Pandora's Box*. The three siblings stuck in Istanbul are isolated from each other and their own selves and isolated from the world in a sense. Murat has never adapted himself to Istanbul where he was born and raised. When he is robbed, he comes to realize for the first time that he is alive. Nesrin's husband or Murat's father in other words does not have a significant role in the film; however, his indifference and distance from the events surrounding him tell about the peak point of a man's, whose marriage and sexual life is brought to a halt, going through desensitization in the city life. The character Nesrin is not fully adapted to the modern life, yet she has found her way around the urbanization process; she is trying her best to spread the system that has gotten a hold of her. She is trying to patronize most of the characters by trying to control her siblings, intervening in their lives, bossing around her mother as if helping her and imposing her own decisions upon her believing that she is not conscious, trying to patronize Murat as her mother to shape him as an accomplished student and to make him come home early. After the siblings turn back to the country house and realize the difference between the traditional and the modern, the lives of the characters in the film start to develop around Nusret Hanim. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film can be shaped as follows:

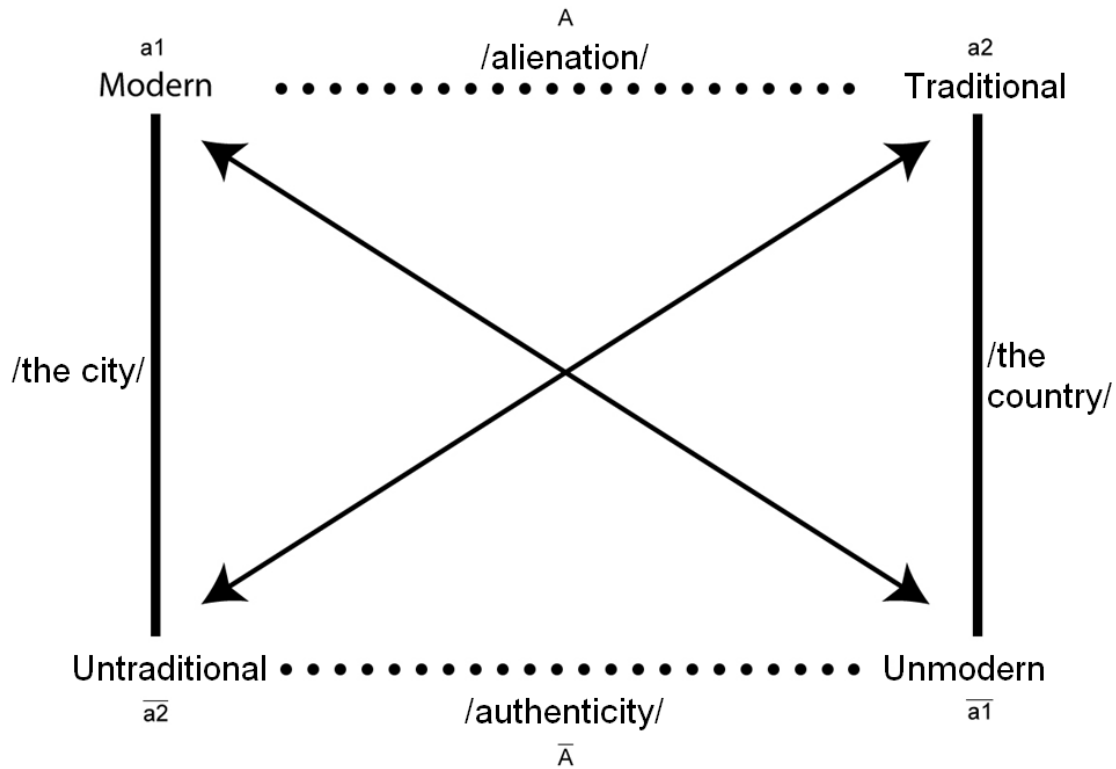


Figure-7: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Pandora's Box*

The three siblings' leaving their traditional life and continuing their existence in a modern life has caused them to individually go through alienation. The individuals who are alienated from themselves and the others carry existentialistic angst. The three siblings are connected to each other traditionally and also disconnected from each other like the isolated modern individuals. As Mehmet tells in the song he sings and plays with his guitar, this world has no meaning for them. Such discourse is in parallel with the existentialist philosophy. Individuals in a world that loses its meaning as a result of alienation try to find the answers in their own selves within the chaos of the city. However, what causes the alienation from themselves is the forced migration required by the neoliberal policies and a series of norms brought along with modernity. The city life is the platform where the modern life coincides with the untraditional life. There are no signs of a traditional life in the city. Three siblings living in three different houses live in separate environments different from the nature of the country

house: a high-rise building block complex, a house with a sea view and a ruined building not renovated. The siblings who hit the road to the Western Black Sea region after Nusret Hanim gets lost remember their old days when they arrive at the country house. They set aside their differences, arguments and the feeling of alienation and start connecting again. However, this feeling of reconnection is replaced by alienation again when they turn back to the city. The country, where the country house is located, is the place where the siblings feel the traditional life and know that they are not in a place that is unmodern. Accordingly, the untraditional and the unmodern in the film is explained over the concept of authenticity. Murat, who feels he does not belong anywhere since the day he was born, develops a connection with Nusret Hanim and the two understand each other's feelings. Taking his grandmother back to the country house, Murat has not ever put such distance between him and the city life before and it is the first time he goes to the country. The country house represents a value that is both unmodern and untraditional to Murat. He sets aside his existentialistic angsts he goes through in the city life and this helps him perform his self-activities. As it is known, the opposite of the concept of alienation is self-activity according to Marx. Performance of self-activities brings a state of authenticity outside the concepts of the modern and the traditional offered as binary oppositions by the modernity. Towards the end of the film, it is seen that Murat finds his own authenticity in the country house. As a general interpretation of the semiotic square, it is seen that the director explains the binaries of the modernity through the concepts of the traditional and the modern and she exemplifies these binaries through the city life and the country life in terms of the exterior world and through alienation and authenticity in terms of the inner world of the individual.

In this context, the characters experience the alienation caused by the modernity within the neoliberal system and look for their own authenticity in their melancholic inner worlds depicting the negative effects of this system on the individuals. This way, *Pandora's Box*

successfully touches upon and criticizes each single negative aspect of the system but does not mention about the historical process. The film does not mention about when and how the three siblings migrated to Istanbul, on what concerns they left their hometown and how the individual problems of each character in the film actually emerged. The characters, who are disconnected from the historical context and does not know where the problem starts and how it ends, continue their lives with their daily concerns, existentialistic angsts, exhaustion and as isolated from the society they exist in. Even though *Pandora's Box*, which criticizes modernity and the capitalist system through the window of a family, has a realistic narration, it encapsulates the existentialist philosophy and puts the blame on the exterior world in relation to the source of the problems and reflects the inner problems of the individual as unchangeable in a sense since the film does not reflect the historical awareness of the issues it criticizes. Since the exterior world cannot be changed, each individual look for the answers to their problems in their inner worlds and embark on several adventures for the sake of finding their own authenticity. This state accords with the existentialist philosophy in terms of narrative.

3.6 Uc Maymun (Three Monkeys)

The film starts with a scene where Servet, Eyup's boss, has an accident while driving on a forest road one night. The people in the car coming from behind does not see the accident but they see the plate number and tell that they will call the police. Servet gets in his car again after the other car goes away, and he gets away from the crime scene. Eyup's phone is ringing at late night. His boss Servet is calling him. He asks Eyup to meet him immediately. Servet tells Eyup to take the responsibility for the accident as if he has done it and go to jail; he offers him to pay in cash in return. Servet asks this favor from Eyup claiming that his

political life is at a critical point. He also adds that his salary will be paid to his account every month regularly. Eyup accepts the offer and he heads back home towards the morning.

Eyup's son Ismail pays a visit to his father in prison. He stows away on the train. In the next scene, Eyup's wife Hacer sees that Ismail is sleeping in the midday. When she sits at the table, she asks him why he was sleeping. Ismail tells her that he is bored. Hacer tells him that it is normal for him to get bored unless he finds something to keep him busy. Ismail reminds her that he did not like her offer but her mother does not remember. Ismail says that he wants to be a driver for preschoolers. Her mother asks him where he will get the vehicle. Ismail says that they can buy one using the cash Servet has given them. Hacer tells him that Eyup would not accept such thing and emphasizes that she will not do anything without letting him know. Hacer does not like the circle of friends of Ismail. Ismail says, "What else can I do". He says that he does not want to work at another job and goes to sleep again. Upon this, Hacer calls some people she knows and looks for a job for his son.

Ismail comes home at night. Hacer is fallen asleep in front of the television and she hears him come home at the last minute. The election results are announced on the television. Hacer gets off the couch and sees blood stains on the floor. She goes near Ismail and sees that he has been beaten up and he has blood and scars on his face. The next morning, Hacer goes near Servet. Servet is angry because he has lost the elections. Someone called Oktay calls him in order to make fun of him. At that moment, Hacer is waiting in his room. Servet calls her secretary, tells her not to put everybody through and let everybody in directly. Hacer is offended by what he says. Hacer's cell phone rings, the ringtone of the phone is a melancholic song by Yildiz Tilbe, "I hope you love too but never be loved back". The lyrics of the song is heard for a long time: "I hope you love too but never be loved back, suffer the pangs of love like me, miss someone but never come together, just like I cannot, I hope you burn out like a candle in someone else's arms, I hope desperation does not leave you in

peace, I hope someone steals your heart like a property, I hope my love stays in your heart like a secret sin". Hacer looks for her phone in her purse and Servet starts to cool himself in front of the fan. Hacer turns off her phone. In the next scene, Hacer has already left the office of Servet and she is waiting at the bus stop. Upon this, Servet comes with his car, stops in front of her and offers to give her a ride home. Hacer does not accept. During this conversation, the car behind persistently honks the horn. Servet gets stubborn and gets out of the car; however, when he sees the men in the car, he steps back. Hacer gets in the car too and the two drive away. Servet irritably tells Hacer about Oktay's mocking him on the phone. He says that he is actually an emotional man. When they get close to Hacer's house, Hacer wants him to drop her somewhere. When Hacer is getting off the car, Servet tells her that she can call him for anything and that he can do anything for him. Hacer feels uncomfortable with what he says. When she comes home, she sees Ismail lying down. She happily tells him that she will get him the necessary money in a week. Days go by one after another. Ismail and Hacer keeps on waiting. One day, Ismail is getting ready to attend a wedding. At that moment, Hacer's phone rings, Hacer shuts the door of her room and starts talking on the phone. When Ismail is dancing in the wedding, Hacer is still talking on the phone. Ismail suspects her mother. The next day, Ismail leaves home to visit his father. Hacer has sent him beurek. While Ismail is waiting for the train in a distressful and worried state, he starts throwing up. Since he throws up on his shirt, he turns back home. He walks around the house and listens to the noise of the city. At that moment, he realizes that he is not alone in the house. Voices are coming from the bedroom of her mother. He secretly walks towards the door and starts listening. He hears her mother talking to a man and laughing. Ismail gets tensed up and sets eyes on the knife in the kitchen. He prefers taking his stuff from the house and getting secretly out of the house. Ismail secretly observes the entrance of the house and sees Servet leaving the house. Ismail turns back to the house. Hacer asks him why he did not

go to visit his father. He does not give a proper answer. When Hacer is making the bed, Ismail is observing her. Hacer feels restless and asks him what has happened. Ismail asks her who has come to the house. Hacer lies. Ismail tells her that he has seen Servet leaving the house. Hacer tries to convince him that he has only dropped by for a short time and then left. Ismail slaps her mother and leaves the house. Ismail gets on the train in a crying state and gets away. He spends the night on the bench of a train station. The next morning, he goes to visit his father. Eyup asks why Hacer has not come. Eyup asks him if they have any problems and if they have received the money. Ismail tells him that everything is alright. However, he sees the tenseness on his son's face. The visitation hour ends. Eyup lastly reminds him that they have no one else other than each other. Ismail turns back home and finds an envelope full of money on the table. He lies down on the bed. At that moment, the door slowly opens and he sees a little child getting closer to him accompanied by water sounds. The child silently calls him "brother". Ismail takes a look again and sees that water flows from all over the child's body. He is seeing his brother who was drowned years ago.

In the next scene, Ismail is waiting for his father on the side of the road. Eyup's time in prison is finished and he is released. Eyup asks him how much they paid for the car. Ismail tells him that they have bought it for 5 billion liras. Hearing this, Eyup gets angry, asks them if they have seen that much money before in their lives and says he did not even spend 900 million lira in jail for nine months. He says that they came to visit him in jail for three times and why did they keep this from him. Ismail says that they wanted to make a surprise. Eyup shouts at him and tells that this is not how a surprise is made. He asks who asked for the money. Ismail tries to protect his mother but Eyup is also irritated that Hacer has entered into dialogue with Eyup's boss. Eyup says that he wants to visit Ismail's brother before going home. In the next scene, they are cleaning the grave of Ismail's little brother. At that moment, Hacer is calling Servet on the phone but Servet does not answer. Servet is taking his wife and

child out. Servet has a feeling that someone is watching him. Hacer is looking at them from among the bushes. Yildiz Tilbe's song is heard in the background again. When the cell phone is ringing, the house is shown. Hacer is having a shower. Eyup wants to answer her phone but he cannot make it on time. The phone rings again, then Eyup starts to go through her stuff in her purse. The caller is hidden number. He answers the phone. Servet speaks on the phone, "what were you doing in front of my house". Eyup cannot recognize the voice and asks him who the caller is. Hacer gets out of the bathroom, she is lying on the bed wearing her red lingerie. Ismail is still thinking about the money they paid for the car. He asks Hacer where and how they got the money, he pushes her and says that he will kill her. He leaves the room. Hacer's phone rings again. In the next scene, Eyup tries to make advances towards her and asks her if she has missed him. He pushes her to bed, touches her breasts. Hacer is uncomfortable. Eyup asks her if something has happened. Even if she says no, Eyup feels suspicious. Hacer starts to laugh hysterically. Eyup tears her lingerie up, shouts at her and asks what has happened. Hacer starts crying. Eyup leaves the house and goes to the coffeehouse. His friends welcome him. He stays in the coffeehouse up to late hours. They drink tea with the manager of the coffeehouse. Eyup asks Bayram, the errand-boy of the coffeehouse, how he is doing, and Bayram replies, "I'm alright in this misery". Bayram sleeps in the coffeehouse, he has tried to stay with some relatives before but they have been rough on him. He has tried to rent a bed-sitting room, but vagrants have caused him trouble. He says that the manager of the coffeehouse has given him a room to stay and he works for peanuts. Bayram also tells Eyup that he lives alone in a foreign place without his family.

The next morning, Eyup is in the office of Servet. Eyup says that he wants to tell him something but the phone rings at that moment. Servet cannot answer the phone for a while because he is tense. When he answers it, he tells his secretary that he is busy and hangs up. Eyup asks how much he owes him for the car, but Servet tells Eyup that he should not worry

about what he owes him considering the favor he has done for him. Eyup gets suspicious about this situation. In the next scene, Hacer leaves home and goes somewhere far away to meet Servet. Servet tells Hatice that his husband has got out of prison, his son is getting suspicious and reminds her that their relationship is over now as they have already talked. He asks her why she is calling and stalking him. Hacer tells him that she misses him. Servet tells her that their relationship is over. Hacer does not accept this and tells him that he is her destiny. Upon this, Servet threatens to kill her and pushes her. Hacer throws herself to his feet and begs him not to leave her.

In the next scene, the audience sees that there is a distance between Eyup and Hacer. Eyup starts sleeping in the living room. Ismail comes home at night and tries not to wake his father. Someone is banging on the door. The police is outside. In the next scene, the audience sees Eyup in the police station. Hacer leaves the interrogation room and Eyup goes next. Polis tells Eyup that he has been Servet's driver for many years and asks him who might have killed Servet. Eyup tells the police he does not know anything. The police tells him that the last message on Servet's phone was from Hacer. Eyup is astonished. He says he did not know. Police asks him if he knew about their meeting after the message. Eyup is not aware of it either. After they leave the police station, Eyup and Hacer goes home. Eyup is traumatized over what he has learned in the police station, he is lying on the bed. A little child, probably his son who died, hugs him from behind. At that moment, Ismail comes and goes near Hacer who is crying in the balcony. Ismail confesses to her that he killed Servet. Eyup wakes up, looks to the balcony and sees Hacer trying to commit suicide but he does not intervene. At that moment, azan is recited and a train is passing by. Eyup waits for the train to pass by. He looks up to the balcony and sees that Ismail and Hacer are secretly talking over something. Eyup understands the situation. It is a matter of time before Ismail gets caught. Eyup goes and tells his son to rest. He leaves the house. Hacer asks him where he is going but he does

not answer. He asks Hacer to jump off the balcony. When he turns back, Hacer is still sitting on the sill of the balcony. Eyup tells her not to be crazy and to get down. Eyup goes outside and starts walking while the morning azan is recited. In the next scene, Eyup is in the mosque, but he is not performing prayer. In the next scene, he looks at the police station. In the later scene, he knocks on the door of the coffeehouse. He tries to convince Bayram to claim responsibility for the murder instead of his son. He says that they serve three meals a day and it is warm in prison. He also says that he can open himself a coffeehouse when he gets out using the money he will save up. Bayram listens to him unwillingly. Eyup turns back home. Hacer and Ismail have fallen asleep. He goes out to the balcony. It is bleak outside. It thunders and starts to rain. The train is passing, Eyup smokes and watches the view. The film ends.

The film *Three Monkeys* is a pessimistic production both in terms of its atmosphere and its plot. In the film, Servet is a wealthy candidate parliamentarian who has a traffic accident and sells his crime to Eyup in exchange for money. Later, he gets involved with Hacer. These are the most important elements that depict Servet as an evil and immoral character. The doom brought along with Servet pushes back the family, that lives in the slums of the city and that questions its own existence, towards the edge of nothingness. This nucleus family that consists of Eyup, Hacer and Ismail is going through hard times due to poverty. The basic reason Eyup accepts Servet's offer and takes responsibility for the crime is their poverty. The second reason might be his good-natured character for his family and his boss, he is ready to pay a price for them. The story of Eyup and his family is not known, but it can be sociologically suggested that families living in the slums go to live in the city due to the domestic migration. Eyup and Hacer, who work as unskilled workers, and the unemployed Ismail are members of the lower class of the society.

One of the most important issues the family is silent about is the death of their other son who was drowned in a river. It is not clear whether the beginning of the lack of communication in the family is caused by the alienation brought along with the alienation in the city life caused by the domestic migration or the death of a family member of something else. The director is focused on the present time. At the present time, each member of the family is significantly alienated and isolated from the society; they can hardly attach to each other through their old traditional bonds. In a scene in the prison, Eyup tells his son Ismail “we have no one else other than each other”. What he says tell about the alienation from the society and the individualism caused by the capitalist order. The characters go through the basic concepts of existentialism in their inner worlds throughout the film: the feeling of nothingness, angst, otherism, meaninglessness and the war with the exterior world fought in the inner worlds of characters, etc. In terms of existentialism, the characteristics of the family and each family member are interpreted through the inner worlds of the individuals whereas the character Servet is the representation of the exterior world. Servet puts Eyup and his family in a difficult situation in terms of morals. The family tries to solve this problem in itself at first; however, they go through lack of communication and alienation at extreme levels. As a result of shorter dialogues and longer exchanges of glance, the loss of sensation gradually increases in the family. Ismail’s first reaction to his mother’s involvement with Servet is to think over getting the knife the kitchen. However, he prefers getting out of the house silently and coming back to house and slapping her mother after Servet leaves. The sound of the azan when he slaps his mother indicates the spoilt morals just like the other scenes accompanied by azan. Ismail does not tell his father about his mother’s involvement with Servet in order to keep the family together. His such action can be interpreted as his belief that the only thing they have is their family and that the feeling of nothingness and the alienation would only scale up if his family lost its unity. Even if Eyup is released from the prison and received the

cash from Servet, he sees that his family he has deserted is more detached than ever. Even if poverty has been the most basic reason of the problems of the family once, the fact that the family comes apart further after they come into some money is a proof that they pay greater price for the sake of making money. However, the price they have to pay does not end here; Ismail kills Servet believing that he has stained the honor of his family. Eyup needs someone to take responsibility for the murder his son has committed in order to keep the family together just like he has taken responsibility for Servet's crime. He considers Bayram, who works as an errand-boy in the coffeehouse in the neighborhood and who is all alone in the city, as qualified for the job and asks him to go to prison instead of his son. Therefore, disappearances of individuals in the system continue in a cyclical way. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film is as follows:

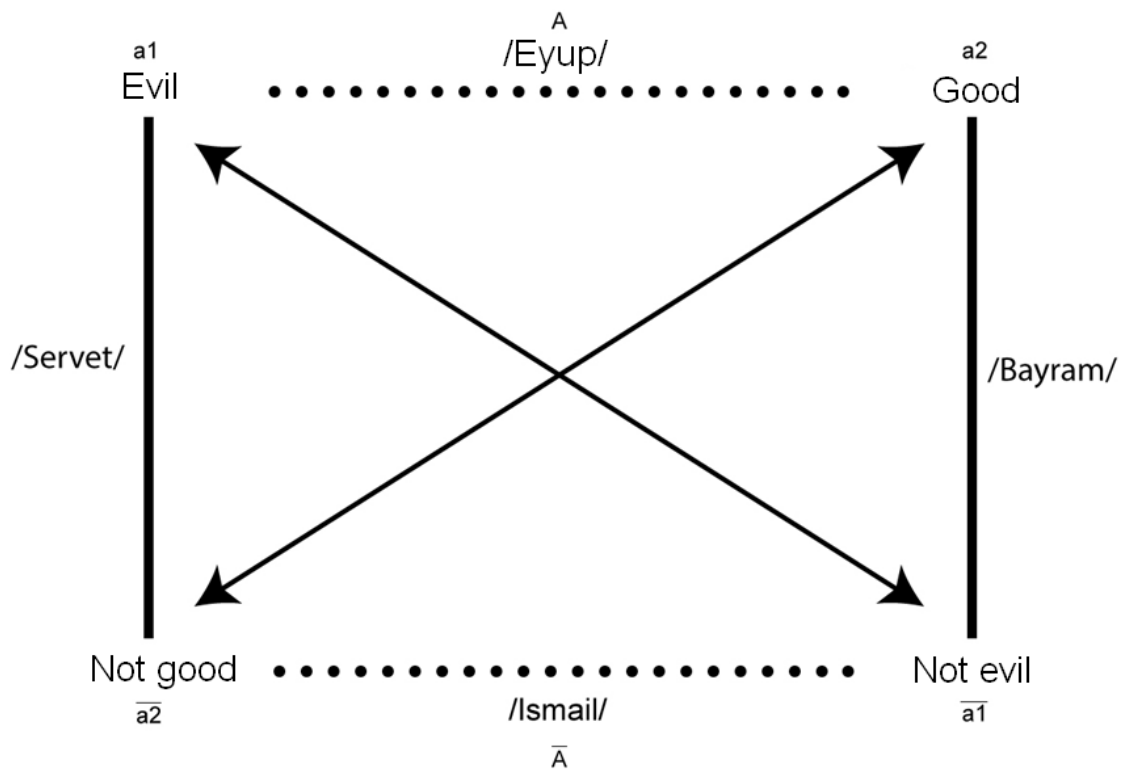


Figure-8: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Three Monkeys*

In the film, the character Ismail is disappointed in his mother who stains the honor of his family. He thinks about killing Ismail at first, but he cannot. Later on, he kills him in order to save the family. Ismail is an anti-hero being both not good and not evil due to his own individualistic reasons. Servet, as an evil and not good character, has done enough damage to the family. The character Bayram, who is unaware of anything and a pure-minded character, works for peanuts in the coffeehouse; and he seriously thinks about considering Eyup's request. The character Hacer is clearly a melancholic character as indicated by her cell phone ringtone, her throwing herself to Servet's feet and settling for being his mistress. This way, the director portrays the perspective of his own society on the women and which suggests that women are melancholic as specific to the traditional structure of the society and far from the Western values and mentality.

Eyup, who acts in good will at the beginning of the film and goes to prison instead of Servet in order to protect his family in exchange for money and improve their living standards, finds himself in an existentialistic vicious cycle. Life pushes him from acting in good will to acting ill-mindedly towards the end of the film. He tries to lure Bayram with material things, who works for peanuts and who is innocent, into taking responsibility for the crime Ismail commits. He tries to convince Bayram by trying to make such act reasonably practicable (saying that he can save up money, living in the coffeehouse will be difficult during the winter, that they serve meal three times a day in prison, etc.). Servet has taught him this method. Eyup has gone through this course of events, however Bayram is just at the bottom of the ladder. Servet's evil intentions has infected Eyup like a virus and Eyup infects Bayram with this virus at the end of the film. Therefore, the individuals who do not take lessons from their pasts and who do not have the recollection of it gain experiences on their own.

Therefore, a social progression is not possible. Societies which are unable to progress are backward from the modern, the present time, in the linear historical progress of the

modernity. This situation places the non-West society that is narrated in the film in a position backward from the West. At this point, it can be suggested that the film has an orientalist perspective. However, this orientalist perspective is not put forth by the West but by the director, who seems to be alienated from his own society. The societies which are lost within their own existentialistic angsts lose their value judgments and they 'normalize' all things that happen around them through the Western concepts and perspectives by means of self-orientalism. Therefore, 'orientcycle' fact can be seen in the film. In this context, the Inappropriate Other, as an individual raised in a non-Western society who adopts an self-orientalist point of view and intellectual accumulation, sees and films his own society in the eyes of the West and offers it to the West in the way the West wants it. The fact that the story of the film is in a pessimistic vicious 'orientcycle' and the feeling of alienation and the feeling of nothingness seen throughout the film also prove that the film is closely related to the existentialist philosophy.

3.7 Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da (Once Upon a Time in Anatolia)

The film starts with a scene that shows three people inside a building through a dirty window. The three people are eating and drinking raki. The place is a rubber tire shop. One of them leaves the table and feeds his dog barking outside. As it is understood from the following scenes in the film, the two people who are still sitting at the table will kill the other person.

In the following scene, there are two cars and a gendarmerie car going on badlands at night. The cars stop by a water fountain and everybody get off the cars. The police commissioner starts interrogating one of the suspects; the gendarmerie are looking for the body of the person the suspects confessed to have killed. The commissioner passes the information he has learned to the district attorney, says that they are not in the right place; all characters gat in

the cars to go to the other water fountain. The passengers in one of the cars are a driver nicknamed Arab Ali, a commissioner called Naci, a police officer called Izzet, a suspect called Kenan and a doctor called Cemal. The commissioner in the car talks about the local food and chats with the other people in the car. The chat goes on for a quite long time. At that moment, they arrive at the other water fountain. The police officers and the gendarmerie officers get off the cars. The commissioner interrogates the other suspect who is the brother of the number one suspect, but he cannot get the answer he wants. The commissioner forces the suspects to remember where they buried the body. The doctor is observing the situation from a distance, leaning on the car. The district attorney Nusret is riled at the commissioner since he cannot close the case as soon as possible. Everybody get in the cars, the commissioner starts grouching in the car. They hit the road again, commissioner's phone rings in the "Love Story" ringtone. His wife is calling. His wife yells at him on the phone asking why he is late and why he has not brought the medicines for their son; then she hangs up the phone. The commissioner turns back and asks for medicine from the doctor. At that moment, the car they are following stops ahead. The commissioner asks what is happening, the driver Tevfik tells him that he is confused about the road. Arab snarls at him and starts to gossip about Tevfik. The car, in which Arap and the commissioner are sitting on the front seats gets ahead of the other car, but the car left behind does not go. At that moment, they see that the district attorney gets out of the car and run up the hill on the side of the road. The commissioner asks the doctor if the district attorney has prostate and he wants to gossip about this, but the doctor gives him a vague reply without giving a chance to have a gossip. When the commissioner insists, the doctor says that the doctor can examine the commissioner for prostate. The commissioner pauses upon hearing the doctor's suggestion and says, "I know the procedure to that examination. God forbid! You should examine the district attorney, not

me”. The police officer Izzet and Arab Ali starts laughing upon what he says. The district attorney gets back and they drive the cars.

The convoy reaches the next water fountain. The commissioner asks for shovels, but there are only two shovels in the cars. The commissioner gets angry about this; then, the doctor goes away from the group to take a leak. He finds a rocky spot and considers it as suitable. When the lightning strikes, he sees that the rocks are carved out in the shape of human faces. When he heads back, he asks Arab about the carvings he has just seen. Arab tells him that there are a lot of carvings like that in that region. He asks the doctor if he will receive any extra payment for this job; but the doctor says that he does not know. Arab tells him that the “money that comes from the dead is good money” and adds that Tevfik has built a second floor in his house with that kind of money. Arab starts a monologue for the doctor. The doctor learns from this monologue that Arab carries a gun and he is surprised. Arab says, “Is there anyone around here without a gun? Gun is a must. You must take care of your own business when necessary, this is how things work around here”. Arab starts preaching the doctor with a couple of local sayings. Upon this, the doctor talks with Arab in a depressive mood: “Even after a 100 years from now, neither you, nor me nor the commissioner will exist. Just like the poet says, ... darkness and cold will surround my weary body”. Arab tells the doctor he put them in the grave already before they are dead. He says they have a long life to live and he can tell about this night to others in the future just like a tale he experienced once in Anatolia.

The commissioner Naci and the police officer Izzet turn back from the field ahead they have gone to together with the suspects. They could not find the body. When the commissioner gets back in the car, he starts to gossip. They come to the next water fountain. The commissioner takes the suspects with him and they together walk in the field. At this moment, the district attorney and the doctor start talking. The district attorney tells the doctor

a story. The story is about one of his friend's beautiful pregnant wife. One day she all of a sudden says that she will die in autumn and she immediately dies on that day. The district attorney firmly believes that this is a divine incident. The doctor cannot make sense of this story at first and starts thinking about it. At that moment, the gendarmerie officer comes and tells the district attorney that they are out of the urban area, asks him who has the signatory authority and offers them biscuits. The district attorney says that the commissioner has the authority. The officer relaxes and goes. After the officer leaves, the district attorney gets angry for what the officer is fastening on. The doctor asks him why the woman died. At that moment, the commissioner is beating the suspects at a distance and bringing them near the cars. The district attorney goes near them and intervenes in the incident. He talks to the commissioner alone. During the talk, Arab shakes the branch of an apple tree he sees, apples fall to the ground and they roll on the ground. One apple rolls down the hill and falls in the river, it floats on it, goes near other rotten apples in the river and stops. At that moment, the district attorney tells the commissioner that he likes him and certainly he does not want to interrogate him. He adds, "Is this how we're going to join the European Union?". The district attorney says that the group is tired and that they should take a break. He offers to go to the nearest village, Ceceli. Arap and Tevfik discuss over what they know about the route. Arap says that the downhill road is closed and Tevfik says the opposite. The district attorney sees that this discussion is a result of personal reasons and it will not yield any solution, interrupts the two and says that they will go down any one of the roads and go to the village. He asks everybody to get in the cars. Arap is still complaining about Tevfik. At that moment, the suspect Kenan asks for a cigarette from the doctor Cemal. The doctor takes the cigarette from Arap and the commissioner interrupts just when the doctor is about to pass the cigarette to the suspect Kenan. The commissioner starts talking by giving an example from the district attorney, he says that the district attorney has a right to smoke and give people roasting

because he received law education, but the suspects does not deserve a cigarette since he made them miserable. The commissioner tells the doctor that the suspect has fooled him. When they get in the car, the suspect silently thanks the doctor.

The convoy hits the road again, and this time they arrive at the village. The muhtar of the village sincerely welcomes the district attorney and his group. The commissioner starts gossiping about Arap with the mukhtar in the presence of Arap. Mukhtar asks them why they rarely come to the village. The commissioner tells him that Arap says there are a lot of ‘donkey-doers’ in this village and that he does not understand why he says that. Mukhtar responds by saying that ‘donkey-doer’ is the nickname of the grandfather of Arap, and the commissioner tries to heat up the dialogue and asks Arap to confirm this. Arap tells him that his grandfather used to buy and sell donkeys but the donkey-doers in this town are far more different than his grandfather. Mukhtar says that Arap has married a girl from their village and that he is the brother-in-law of this village now. The commissioner asks how a person does not like the village of his own wife. Arab says that he does not like people who gossip. At that moment, mukhtar talks with the district attorney about the tender of the graveyard. He asks the district attorney to talk to the district governor. Having the walls of the graveyard built would be a great masterpiece for the mukhtar. The mukhtar says that people migrate from the village and the remaining residents are the elderly people. He says that the bodies of the dead people start to stink before their relatives arrive in the village. He mentions about the gossip about him ‘he will embezzle the money in the village fund using the morgue as an excuse’ and criticizes the people who have started such gossip. The mukhtar says that he will run for office for the third time because of the people pressing him to. At that moment, the power cuts off. Mukhtar says that the power cut is because of the wind. The commissioner says that the village does not even have a decent electricity infrastructure and asks him why he is spending the money on the graveyard. Mukhtar asks his little daughter Cemile to fetch a

lamp. Cemile, dressed up in her local dress, enters the room carrying a tray on which there is a lamp surrounded by glasses full of tea. All men in the room, including the suspects, stare at the beautiful face of Cemile. Then, they take their tea glasses. The suspect Kenan starts crying and then he sees his friend that he has killed sitting by the window. He goes into a shock. The victim Yasar is suddenly unable to breathe while drinking his tea. At that moment, the commissioner enters the room and pokes Kenan. He reminds him that he is not allowed to sleep and then he goes out. At that moment, the district attorney goes out too and he starts talking to the doctor. The doctor says, "Such a beautiful girl like an angel from a mukhtar like this", he is unable to accept the difference between the father and his daughter. The district attorney says that the fate of the girl is to vanish off the face of the earth in a remote village even forgotten by God. He also says that the beautiful have bad luck. The doctor asks him why the wife of his friend dies. The district attorney says that there is not a reason of death. He specifies, upon the question of the doctor, that an autopsy was not performed. He says that there is no need to perform an autopsy if you know the reason of death. He says that the doctors said the woman had a heart attack. The commissioner calls out to the district attorney. The situation is mixed up because the suspect Kenan has confessed that the son of the deceased Yasar is actually Kenan's son. On the day of the incident, Yasar learns that his son is actually Kenan's son and Yasar dies as a result of the fight that starts out between them. The district attorney and the commissioner interrogate the suspect again. After the interrogation, the commissioner asks for cigarettes from Arab and offers the suspect a cigarette, who has told them the real story; the two smoke their cigarettes.

The group spends the night at the house of mukhtar. The next day, the convoy hits the road again in a rainy weather. This time, the suspect really is taking them to the spot where they buried the body. At that moment, they see a dog on the field. Yasar's dog which was shown at the beginning of the film is waiting beside its owner. The commissioner tells the group that

they have found the body, they start digging. After they dig up the body, they are stand in wonder because the body is hogtied. The commissioner gets angry and tells the suspects that they deserve a treatment like this as well. They record the video of the body. The district attorney has the officers write down a crime scene report. The commissioner starts gossiping with Arab about the district attorney at a corner. He says that they have taken care of all this situation and he is jealous of the district attorney who takes the control over after the body is found. The district attorney says that the body looks like “Clark Gable” when defining the body in the report. What he says makes the group laugh. One member of the group says that the district attorney himself looks like Clark Gable. The district attorney tells them not to dwell on the subject and completes the report. After the report is finished, he says that his nickname in the university was Clark Nusret. Meanwhile, there is a fight in the group. The district attorney asks what is happening. They say that Tevfik has forgotten to bring a body bag. Tevfik says that this is not a part of his job. The district attorney gets angry and asks them how they can omit taking a body back knowing that this is why they come here. They wrap the body in a blanket, but the body does not fit in any of the cars. The ambulance cannot arrive since it is being repaired in the center. The district attorney asks Kenan why they tied the body. The suspect says, “Because it did not fit in the car”. The district attorney sees that the body does not fit in the car and suggests them to retie the body. The commissioner objects to this, he offers to bend him and put him in the trunk. Almost all members of the group lift the body up and try to put it in the trunk. Arab puts the melons to the trunk near the body. When they are turning back, the commissioner tells about a piece of advice he has learned before: “You see any trouble, look for the woman”. This piece of advice has never proved the commissioner wrong. The commissioner says that Kenan has taken them to the right place after he has beaten him and that he is surprised that Kenan wants the commissioner to look after his son when he goes to prison. The group arrives in the city center. A tension take place

between the people waiting in front of the hospital and the police and gendarmerie because the murderer is out of the car and visible by the people. The people want to lynch Kenan. The wife of the victim Yasar and his son are looking at him. The kid picks up a stone from the ground and throws it at Kenan. The police take Kenan away. Meanwhile, the doctor goes to his house. There are pictures of him and his ex-wife on the walls. They are eating pizza and drinking wine together. When he is looking at the pictures, the commissioner goes to the doctor's place to get the medicines. He has passed in front of the people waiting in line to see the doctor and got into his room. The commissioner tells the doctor that if he were him, he would take his stuff and go somewhere else. The commissioner reminds the doctor that he is from the city and it is hard for him to understand the way things are there. The doctor is in Turkish bath in the next scene. Later, he wanders around the city center and talks with people in an old meatball restaurant. Later, he goes to his office. At that moment, the district attorney comes and they talk about the autopsy. The district attorney is looking at the doctor. The district attorney reminds the doctor that he has told him that drugs taken in high doses may cause heart attacks. The district attorney says that his own father-in-law uses the same pills and advocates that "why should the woman take those pills out of the blue". The doctor tells him that the woman might have wanted to commit suicide because of a family issue she has had. The district attorney gets tensed up upon what he says. The doctor asks him if the woman and her husband got along well with each other. The district attorney says that they had little problems at first and then he adds that her husband cheated on her. The doctor says that this is not a simple thing that women can easily forgive. The district attorney insists on saying that the woman forgave him. The doctor tells that the woman might have wanted not to hurt her child she was carrying so she did not mention about that incident to her husband again and waited to deliver her baby to commit suicide. The district attorney does not like this idea and does not consider cheating as a serious fault. He says his friend was drunk when

that happened so it was not cheating at all. Upon this, the doctor says that nobody dies out of the blue according to the medical science. The district attorney asks if people commit suicide in order to punish people. The doctor says that people always commit suicide for that reason. The district attorney pauses and says that women can be very cruel, and they together go to perform the autopsy.

His wife identifies the victim. The district attorney has the report written. He sometimes seems to be lost in thought because of the chat they have had with the doctor a while ago. The district attorney starts writing the report and then leaves it with the doctor and leaves. Sakir, the autopsy specialist gossips about the district attorney and the chief physician in the other village. He complains about his morgue equipment's not being modern enough. He tries to say that bureaucratic obstacles are caused by personal whims. The doctor interrupts him and they start the autopsy. The doctor allows them to give the bloody and dirty clothes of the victim, his accessories like his watch to his wife who is waiting outside. When they see the body is not wearing underpants, Sakir makes a dirty joke. Abidin, who is writing the report, laughs at this joke. Sakir sees soil in the throat of the victim and says that he might be buried alive. The doctor pauses first and does not consider this as a possibility later. He dictates the forensic report as if there is no problem. At that moment, blood splashes on the doctor's face. He cleans some of it but does not realize the drop of his other cheek. The doctor starts looking at the wife and son of the dead man from the window. They walk away, and the film ends.

The film narrates the incidents experienced by a group of people, who live in an undeveloped city in Anatolia that can be considered as country, when they are looking for a body buried somewhere after a murder. The dialogues of the characters tell us that they depict life in Anatolia as temporary and Anatolia as a monotonous and boring place like a fairy tale. Since the beginning of the film, the audience always sees male characters and these characters

always gossip with each other. There are conflicts between the characters just like the conflict between Arap and Tevfik, and the Commissioner and the District Attorney. When Arab and the doctor are chatting, the city-dweller doctor is surprised to hear Arab saying that Anatolia is a simple place, everybody has their own weapons in order to establish justice and people put the rules themselves. The doctor gives a response by reflecting his existentialistic angst, he says that none of that will be important in 100 years and everybody will be forgotten. The commissioner is raised among the local people and has a certain rank. The commissioner is the one who gossips most among all the characters. He feels inferior to the district attorney and has a complex about it. The fact that the district attorney received law education and he controls the decision making mechanism bothers the commissioner Naci. On the other hand, the district attorney is in charge with investigating murders in the country while he cannot investigate an important incident about his own life. He interprets the death of his wife to have a divine meaning; however the doctor's objective approach reveals why his wife died. When he is scolding the commissioner saying, "Is this how we're going to join the European Union", it is clear that integration to the West is important even at a remote site of Anatolia. The fact that the district attorney talks about the American actor Clark Gable, to whom he resembles himself, in a positive way is seen as another example to being like the West within the concept of the film.

The film also emphasizes the importance of the dead over the living. The fact that Tevfik builds a second floor in his house by making money over the dead, the mukhtar wants to build walls for the graveyard and a morgue and considers this as a great accomplishment for the village, the constant search for the body throughout the film all indicate that the dead is more valuable than the living. It can be claimed that this is because life in the country is monotonous and boring, the time does not go by and it causes timelessness; therefore, death is considered as the single phenomenon that changes this boring situation. Another element in

the film that is striking is the attempts to hide the truth by putting forward some superficial excuses. Arab goes near the women who are cooking, tells them that it smells nice, he says that he is not hungry but does not reject the treat. Also, the district attorney talks about the wife of his friend who is understood to be the wife of the district attorney and he tells a lie saying that the woman forgave her immediately. These are the most apparent examples for the characters' attempts to hide the truth. In the film, the patriarchal structure is secretly implied. The female characters do not speak unless they are forced to, the locals always find certain implicit sexist jokes including particularly 'donkey-doer' (the implication of sexual activity with donkeys as widely heard in villages) pretty funny, the commissioner says, "You see any trouble, look for the woman" and the commissioner reacts, "God forbid" for the prostate examination the doctor suggests; these examples all reveal the sexism of the Anatolian people. The audience sees the unpreparedness of the characters throughout the film as a characteristic of the non-West. The fact that they are not accompanied by an ambulance and that they have even forgotten to get a body bag with them even if they are going to uncover a body, the power outage in the village, the fact that they called the district attorney from Ankara to the country before finding the body all implicate that the Anatolian people have a characteristic of a structure that suggests 'act first, think later'.

The breakpoint of the film is when the characters see Cemile, the daughter of the mukhtar. Cemile shines like a light with her mystical nature on the worlds of the weary characters in the dark, isolated and cold Anatolian prairies. Following, Kenan gives up putting off the convoy and tells them where the body is. This also causes him to stop lying to himself and his bad faith transforms into the authentic existentialism in terms of the bad faith concept of Sartre. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film is shaped as follows:

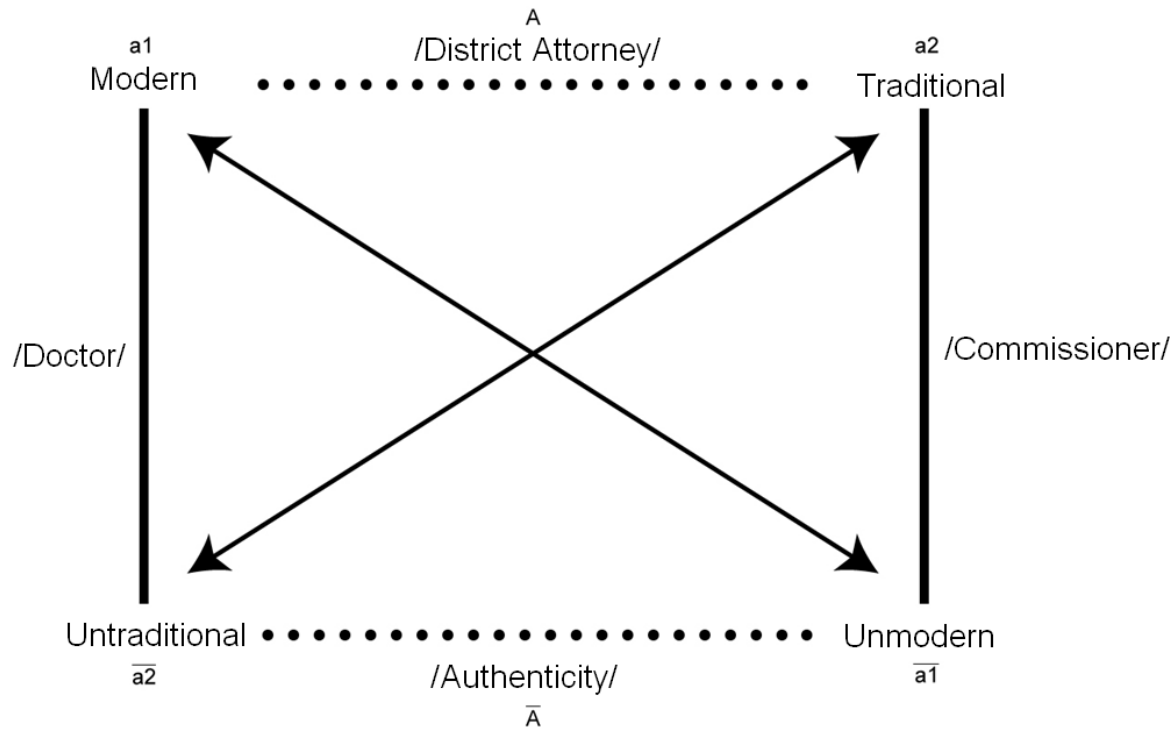


Figure-9: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Once upon a Time in Anatolia*

The film tells about the differences between the modern and the traditional over the characters. The doctor moves from the city life, where the modern time always progresses, to the country and he is trying to understand the monotonousness here. Arab tells him that maybe he can adapt himself to here one day and tell about it like a fairy tale. The blood splashing on the face of the doctor indicates that he is a part of this crime because he prefers not writing on the report that the victim has been buried alive and this will cause the murderer to receive a lesser sentence. The meeting ground of the concepts the Modern and the Traditional is portrayed by the district attorney in the film. He has received modern law education but he relates the death of his wife to a divine event since he cannot question her death. He sometimes keeps his seriousness while he makes jokes sometimes like the one with Clark Gable. The district attorney goes between the traditional and the modern concepts. He is forced to talk to the doctor, even if he does not want to, in order to solve his existentialistic

angsts. The traditional and the unmodern elements of the film are revealed in the commissioner Naci. He always gossips and prioritizes manhood; he gets jealous of the modern in a traditional style and also regrets not being well-educated like the district attorney. The untraditional and the unmodern element in the film is portrayed as the authenticity, accompanied with existential concerns. Cemile sets light to the characters, who are lost in certain social values, to help them look for their authenticities; but this is temporary. This is because Cemile and all other beautiful things in Anatolia will roll down to the river just like the apples, rot in there and disappear. The traditional is always stationary; there is no progress; similar events always take place; everybody is going through certain existentialistic angsts in their inner worlds. Such importance of death in the film can be suggested as the knowledge that the angst caused by the existence will cease to exist when the death comes. *Once upon a Time in Anatolia* successfully brings together the characteristics of the traditional Turkish people together whereas it is not able to point out to the ontological reasons of the alienation and individualization in terms of historical context. Therefore, the constant state of steadiness of the non-West can be partially disrupted through the attempts of getting integrated to the West. A certain standard is tried to be attained in the film through the use of sophisticated occupations of the characters like the district attorney, police and the doctor; however, since the locality is prioritized mostly, the targeted objectivity is not attained. The fact that the commissioner is always angry and he beats the suspect clearly depicts the commissioner going between objectivity and subjectivity. The audience is suggested that there are certain problems in the process of modernization as suggested by the doctor who stays objective and does not get involved in subjective discourses, except for the last scene when he is stained with blood; and that, as a result, existentialistic issues at a societal level originate. However, the historical aspect of this issue is not known; the concept of timelessness in the film tells us that the story of the film has

taken place or will take place at any time in any part of Anatolia which is a stationary place. This situation is a symbol that the characters will not be able to take lessons from their past at all in order to solve the social and individualistic problems that they are going through.

3.8 Yumurta (Egg)

The film starts with a scene where Yusuf's mother is walking on a field in the mist towards the camera. The woman gets near the camera and then she turns right and disappears again in the mist. This scene is a metaphor symbolizing that Yusuf's mother has departed from this world. The next scene shows Yusuf in an old second-hand bookstore that he manages and uses as a place to spend the nights. When he is taking off his shoes and getting ready to sleep, his phone rings but he does not answer. The caller is someone from his hometown Tire. Meanwhile, a woman in a little black dress enters the store. Yusuf tells her that the store is closed. The woman tells him she is going to a party and she wants to buy a book as a present. The woman looks around, she is holding a bottle of wine. She asks for a recipe book. Yusuf shows her a vegetarian recipes book. The woman likes the book and when she sees that the book is expensive, she suggests the bottle of wine in exchange for the book. Yusuf accepts her offer. The woman leaves the store. Yusuf calls back the caller from Tire.

Yusuf gets ready, gets in his car and leaves for Tire in the night. He arrives in Tire in the morning. Yusuf goes to his old house, there are many people waiting in the garden to extend their condolences. The visitors extend their condolences to Yusuf. When prayers are said in the next room, Yusuf prefers sitting alone by her mother lying on the bed. The body is carried out of the house and taken to the graveyard. After the burial, Yusuf stay alone in the graveyard. He gives money to a child who is watering the grave. Later, he starts walking around in the forested land of Tire. He falls asleep under a tree. In his dream, he sees himself

dropping down an egg from his hands and the egg breaks. Yusuf heads back to the town, gets in a barbershop and gets a beard shave. Yusuf falls asleep again when he is getting a shave. When he heads back home, it is night. The door of the house is open and the light is turned on in the house. When he enters the house, he sees the character Ayla. Ayla offers him some tea and food. Yusuf wears the plastic slippers given to him. They start talking with Ayla. They mention about old relatives, gardens and old photographs. The audience learns that each plant in the house is a family member who has passed away. Meanwhile, Yusuf learns from Ayla that his uncle Rahmi has passed away 4 years ago. Ayla is the granddaughter of his uncle Rahmi. Yusuf thanks Ayla for having helped his mother and says that he needs to leave for Istanbul tomorrow. Ayla tells him that the mother Zehra has taken a vow and that Yusuf needs to fulfill her vow: he must slaughter a male goat. Yusuf tells Ayla that he will give her whatever is necessary and asks her to get this job done. Ayla insists on that Yusuf should perform this for the sake of the mother. The next morning, Ayla buys some milk from the milkman that comes to the door. Yusuf is surprised to see a new toothbrush spared for him in the bathroom; it is as if somebody has foreseen that he would stay there for a while. Ayla takes the boy, the one who was watering the grave, inside the house and asks him to check if the chicken have laid eggs. The kid looks for the eggs. Later, Yusuf goes to look for eggs but he cannot find any. They have a breakfast together. During the breakfast, the kids gives Yusuf's money back to him. Yusuf says that he has some things to do in the market and leaves the house in a rush. Yusuf sees a female teacher in a school reading a text to students from *The Pearl* by John Steinback. Yusuf visits an attorney and he wants to take care of the inheritance procedures. Yusuf wants to make a phone call to learn his ID details, but there is no signal. He goes to the yard and talks there on the phone. He asks from his friend to fax his ID card. In the yard, there is a man who is installing ropes. Yusuf has an epileptic attack when he sees the wheel of the rope spinning fast. The man installing the ropes sees Yusuf and

runs to him. He makes Yusuf smell an onion to regain consciousness. After coming around, Yusuf drinks water and asks which mosque is reciting the sala. The man tells him that he must have misheard it because sala is not recited at this time of the day. In the next scene, Yusuf is in a Turkish bath.

Meanwhile, Ayla and her friend drive up to a hill around on a bike. They look at the town from the hill. Her friend asks her whether she will leave here if she passes the university exam. Ayla tells him that she wants to go to a big city like Istanbul or Izmir. Upon this, her friend asks her what she is thinking about him. Ayla ignores the point her friend has made and says a couple of positive characteristics of her friend; she actually implies that she does not see him as her boyfriend. She says she wants to go home, but his friend does not take her to the bike. Yusuf is trying to get out of a well in his dream. He pulls the rope, on which his clothes are attached, of the well and tries to make a sound. Nobody around hears his voice and then he wakes up. There are a couple of women in the house who have visited to extend their condolences. Yusuf sees an old friend of his when getting in the car. He says that he needs to head back to Istanbul, but he cannot turn down his friend's offer about drinking beers. His friend tells him that he will miss her mother later. Yusuf learns from him what his old friends are doing. He learns that his ex-girlfriend Gul is divorced and she is back in the town. His friend says that he is sorry for not being able to thank Yusuf. Yusuf asks why. His friend says that it is about the poem book that Yusuf has written and sent him. Yusuf does not want to drink beer since he does not want to get caught by the traffic police. His friend tells him that nothing will happen. When Yusuf gets in his car, he sees Gul and starts following her. Gul knocks on the door of Yusuf's house. In the next scene, Gul lights a cigarette and thanks Yusuf for sending his book to her. She says that she remembers the poem 'Well' from the book. Gul confesses to Yusuf that he made life miserable for Gul when they were young.

Gul says that she was disappointed when she turned back. Yusuf tells her that he misses the old days. He says he used to hate Tire.

Towards the night, Ayla asks Yusuf not to go today and to leave the next day. Yusuf accepts what she says. Ayla is praying in front of the door. Later, she starts to knit a sweater. Just then, the power goes off because the fuse blows out. Ayla says that the fuse is old and it needs to be replaced. Yusuf goes to the market to get a new fuse. The owner of the shop is Ayla's friend with the bike. Yusuf knows the father of the kid. He tells about their memories together. He asks questions about him and then talks. The kid does not talk to Yusuf in a nice way because of Ayla but Yusuf cannot understand why. When the kid leaves the house he thinks of Ayla and Yusuf as if there is something going on between the two. He gets jealous. Yusuf sees a newspaper article on the fridge mentioning about him. The news says that Yusuf is awarded the "First Book, First Poem" prize. The phone rings, Ayla does not want to answer it. Yusuf answers the phone, but the caller does not talk. This way, Ayla avoids being harassed by her friend.

The next morning, Yusuf gets in his car but sees that its wipers are broken, he laughs over it. They head out with Ayla. When they are in a repair shop, Yusuf realizes that they are being followed by the electrician guy. Ayla is aware of this situation for a while now and she goes to the restroom to disappear. They continue driving. Ayla expostulates on Yusuf because he did not show up when they were supposed to go to Golcuk even if he said he would come. His mother waited for him to come. They drop by a house of their relatives. The women ask them why they did not invite them to the wedding. Ayla has had to tell them that they are married. The women ask them why they do not have children. Yusuf says that they are newlywed. The women say that the couples now are different. The women tell Ayla that she can take whatever she wants from the kitchen for the breakfast. Meanwhile, Yusuf quickly goes and helps Ayla who is carrying the jars, and he takes the jars from her. He leaves some

money in the pocket of the coats of the women. They come to the votive place but the herd is in the pasture and will not come till next day. Yusuf offers to take Ayla to Golcuk. Ayla accepts the offer. As the other scenes of the film, the scene in Golcuk is rather monotonous. They go to a hotel. Ayla does not enter her room, she is fiddling around in the lobby. At that moment, when she is going to her room, she sees that there is a wedding in the hotel. She follows the bride and spends time in the wedding ceremony hall. The next morning, they buy the votive goat and take to the slaughterhouse, they have it slaughtered. On the road back, Yusuf asks her what was the votive intended for. Ayla tells him that she does not know. They turn back home, Yusuf keeps on going to go to Istanbul. Ayla is left alone. Yusuf pulls the car over, and starts to sleep. Yusuf gets of the car and walks around in the meadow. Meanwhile, it is getting dark. He sees a herd ahead, a shepherd's dog knocks him down suddenly. He has to spend the whole night with the dog in the meadow. He starts crying. The next day, Yusuf heads back to the house in Tire. Ayla seems happy to see him turn back. She gives him an egg and serves tea. They silently have breakfast. The film ends.

In the film, there is a basic criticism on modernity over the character Yusuf. Yusuf migrates to the modern city, escaping from the boring life he hates in the country. He has even received an award, but he finds himself stuck in an old shop. The fact that Yusuf cannot adapt himself to the city life is part of the alienation. The concept of time is important in city; the woman in little black dress coming to the shop with a bottle of wine in her hand at the closed hours, her suggestion to exchange the vegetarian recipe book with the wine are the signs of the corruption of the city life and modernity. The situation in the country is different, though. A person can sleep under a tree for hours because the time concept is not very important in the country. This is also related to the modes of production. There are a lot of metaphors in the film. Just like the death of Yusuf's mother is metaphoric, his being unable to get out of the well is a metaphor for his not being able to leave the country. Yusuf's mother Zehra

wanted to see his son, wanted to bring him back but could not. She puts an unused toothbrush in the bathroom knowing that her son would come to the house after she dies. She had hoped that he would stay home. Ayla, on the other hand, is kind of a heritage Zehra passes to Yusuf. She wanted Yusuf to marry Zehra and she even told about this to distant relatives. The relatives, who have difficulty remembering and to whom Yusuf and Ayla pay a visit when they are on the road, ask them they got married. Upon this, it is understood that Zehra's votive was intended for Yusuf to stay in Tire and marry Zehra. Just like Yusuf cannot get out of the well in his dream, he cannot leave Tire and go back to Istanbul. Accordingly, the semiotic square of the film is as follows:

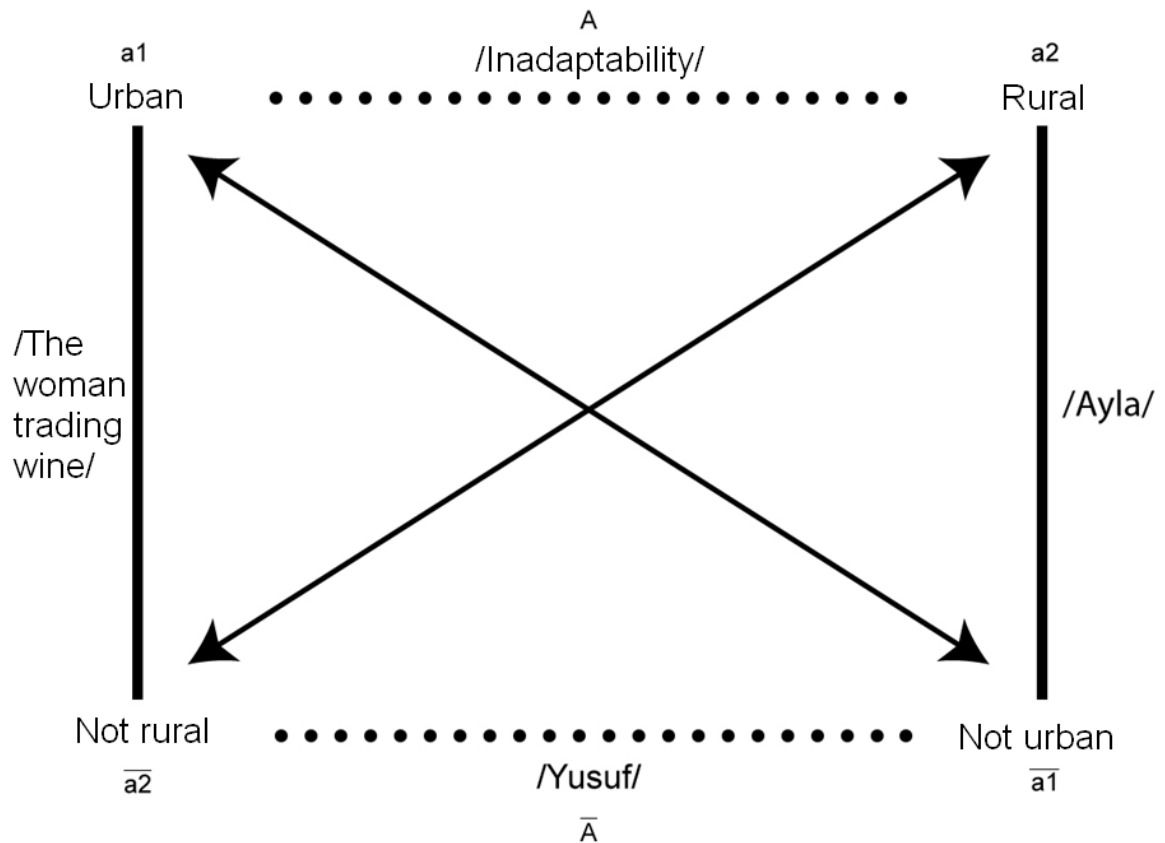


Figure-10: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *The Egg*

Yusuf's feeling that he does not belong anywhere results from the fact that he is neither from the rural nor the urban. This causes Yusuf to have an introvert character. Yusuf hates the

traditional structure of his hometown Tire and wanted to get away from it. However, he is unable to adopt the values of the city and he cannot hang onto it. Yusuf does not opt for any of the options of the bipolar modernity; he does not understand the system of the exterior world and/or cannot change it according to him; he tries to solve the problems in his inner world. This causes Yusuf to go through an existentialistic depression. Yusuf is in a constant search for something since he is alienated from the society, the city, his hometown and himself. The most serious problem the authentic individual faces in a society dominated by the modernity is the inability to find what one is looking for. Even though Yusuf journeys towards his past throughout the film, he cannot dignify his past. The character Ayla reflects a simple rural girl and her dreams throughout the film. He is pure, decent and domestic; she serves man and obeys the orders of their elders. She is just a girl who does not have any bad habits but only dreams about going to the university. The image of the city, on the other hand, is the woman who trades her wine with the recipe book at the beginning of the film. This woman character symbolizes the degeneration of the city and the modernity. Yusuf's approach to both women is similar throughout the film since both women are at equal distance to Yusuf's life. The film *The Egg* reminds of the rural because of its name and the egg, with its fragile nature, emphasizes the importance of the mother figure in one's life in the traditional sense. Yusuf does not cry for his mother but he cries in the meadow in the dark where he spends the night with a dog. Later on, he accepts his destiny which is to turn back to the country. The film incorporates themes like existentialistic problems, becoming insignificant, alienation, authenticity and returning to self. The film successfully tells about its determinations on the individuals of the society and suggests turning back to the country whereas it is not successful in approaching the ontological reasons of these themes in a societal level.

3.9 Kader (Destiny)

The film starts with a scene showing Ugur looking around in the carpet shop of Bekir. Even if Ugur seems to be bargaining with Bekir, it is as if she is not interested at all. The two characters look at each other secretly. Bekir is charmed by Ugur. Ugur talks vibrantly, she acts in a spoilt way. She exhibits rather bold movements; her cleavage and waist are clearly visible from the outside. Afterwards, Ugur leaves the shop; however, she has forgotten an envelope full of photographs in the shop. Bekir looks at the photographs and he sees the photograph of Zagor. Bekir's friends are calling out to him. Meanwhile, Bekir's father is watching a match on the television in the living room. He tells his son to not come home late. In the next scene, men are playing rummikub in a coffeehouse. Kamil, one of the players, uses verbal and physical abuse on the boy Kudret, who serves out teas in the coffeehouse. Cevat, who protects the kid comes in, gets angry with Kamil and slaps him. The men start out a fight. Bekir asks his friends if they know Ugur. They tell him that Ugur is in love with someone called Zagor who is more bad-tempered than Cevat. When Cevat turns home, the lifestyle of Ugur's family is portrayed. Ugur swears like a man and acts like a man. His brother is Kudret, who works in the coffeehouse. The father of the family is paralyzed. The mother is in a relationship with Cevat in exchange for money, protection and presents. Ugur is disturbed about this.

Bekir is sitting in the shop, he is thinking about Ugur, he looks at her pictures again. He cuts out Zagor from the pictures using scissors. Ugur comes to the shop again and asks for her pictures. Bekir starts to stalk Ugur, and he sees that she goes to the prison. When Ugur comes home in the evening, she overhears her mother talking on the phone with Cevat. She is upset with him because Cevat has cheated on him. Ugur tries to prevent her mother from leaving home, but they start to swear and call each other prostitute, they start to fight. Ugur beats her

mother and tells her that she should be ashamed of herself. Bekir is outside and waiting for Ugur to go out to the balcony.

Next day, Bekir sees Ugur again and starts to follow her. She meets with Zagor under the bridge. Bekir watches them. In the next scene, Bekir seems to be in depression, he has a headache and he always sleeps. The next morning, Bekir and his family are having their breakfast. His father asks him how he has been. He tells him that his mother has something to tell him and then he goes. His mother gives Bekir a photograph of the daughter of his father's friend and she wants him to think about it. The girl in the picture is wearing a headscarf and she seems to be older than Bekir. When Bekir goes to the shop, he puts the picture aside and starts looking at Ugur's photograph. At that moment, Ugur shows up at the door and says hi. She says she is not here for shopping, instead she has come to ask Bekir how he is doing. Bekir is unhappy because he has seen her with Zagor. He does not answer her back. When Ugur is about to leave, Bekir calls out to her at the last moment, he cries and tells her that he loves her so much. Ugur does not give a reply and leaves the shop.

Zagor takes Ugur home at night, and Ugur's mother is watching them from the balcony. Cevat is sitting inside the house. After a while, Cevat gets bored sitting inside and he goes out. Kudret is serving Turkish coffee in the coffeehouse and then somebody else harasses him. Kudret throws the coffee to the head of the harasser and starts fighting; it gets tense in the coffeehouse. Cevat sees that Kudret is having a fit. He thinks that Kamil has harrassed him. He goes to the coffeehouse, beats Kamil in front of everybody and tries to drag him out. Just then, Zagor tells Cevat to stop. Cevat tells him to stay out of it. Zagor snaps and Cevat holds his gun at Zagor. Zagor is not afraid of the gun. He comes at Cevat and stabs him to death.

In the next scene, the audience sees that Ugur and her family has started to live in a shack because Cevat no longer exists to protect them. Bekir tells Ugur's mother that he has brought some stuff from the friends of Cevat and enters the house with bags in his hands. Bekir also gives the woman the money they he raised with his friends in an envelope. The mother tells him that Cevat's friends did nothing for her except for raping her. Bekir leaves the shack. Nobody has heard from Ugur since that day. Bekir goes home. He has married to a girl who looks just like Ugur. Bekir marries to this good-natured and domestic girl upon the request of his family. After the dinner, Bekir turns on the television and sees that Zagor has killed two police officers and Ugur is in custody. The next morning, Bekir sees Ugur at work. Ugur has just come to Istanbul after she was in custody for 10 days. She thanks Bekir for what he has done for her mother, she gets up to go but cannot. She asks for money from Bekir to hire a lawyer for Zagor. Bekir prefers giving the money to her family, however Ugur tells him that she knows what she is doing and that he does not have to give the money if he does not want to. Bekir asks her how she is going to pay the money back. Ugur tells him that she can be a prostitute and even the mistress of Bekir. Bekir is shocked to see how much Ugur loves Zagor.

Bekir gets on a bus and goes to Izmir. He is the manager of Ugur who has started to sing in a nightclub now. After she works for one more night, they go together to the hotel. The manager of the hotel is watching the film *Innocence* on the television, which is a sequel to the film *Destiny* but it was filmed before it. A man and a woman are having a fight in the film. Bekir looks at the television and asks him what it is. The manager of the hotel tells him that he is watching it just to pass time. Bekir leaves the lobby. Ugur and Bekir have developed an intimacy, however Ugur is still in love with Zagor. She has bought Bekir a shirt as a present. Bekir thinks that as a signal and tries to harass her the next evening. However, Ugur jumps on him and does not let him to. Upon this, Bekir gets down to the lobby and watches television

with the hotel owner. The next day, Bekir and Ugur go to seaside with their friends; but Ugur says that she is bored without no reason and she does not get off the car. Ugur asks Bekir to go to Istanbul for a while and see his wife and child. There is a tenseness between the two. Ugur has learned from his brother Kudret that her father's health has deteriorated and she gets upset. The next morning, Bekir accepts going to Istanbul. In the evening, a man comes to the nightclub and asks for Bekir. Bekir goes near the man and asks him what he wants. The man shoots him twice and leaves the club.

In the next scene, Bekir is in Istanbul. His wife is wearing a headscarf now. His child is only one year old. His wife is angry at Bekir, they are living with Bekir's mother and father. When they are having dinner in the evening, someone calls out to Bekir from the outside but he starts talking to another Bekir from the apartment block. Upon this, his mother feels sad.

Bekir starts to work as a taxi-driver in Istanbul now. His child is bigger now; it is understood that Bekir has been living in Istanbul for a while now. Bekir is alienated from the routine life he is living. There is nothing that he talks and shares with his wife. When he says he does not want to have dinner, his wife acts in a nervous and irritable mood; he cannot stand being around her and leaves to spend the night in the taxi. Bekir's father talks with him. He asks him why he is making his wife upset. He says that it was wrong to go away when they were married for just four months and not to be with them when the baby was born. He says he did not say anything to him even when he bankrupted the shop; he says that he can no longer put up with his behaviors and asks him to apologize. Bekir pauses in front of the door when he is about to enter the house, he listens to his child and his wife. He changes his mind and goes to Izmir near Ugur. Bekir and Ugur sit on a bench at the waterfront; Ugur asks him what he wants from her. Bekir tells him that he is ready to go down this road no matter where it takes them. Bekir asks her to quit being a prostitute and to come with him to Istanbul. He says that he can look after her family and even Zagor. He says that they can get married, he can get

them a separate house and end the misery they are going through. Ugur tells him that he is talking in vain, that she will not go back to Istanbul ever, she does not care what happens to her family and she does not want Bekir with her in Izmir. She tells that Zagor will have him killed this time if he learns Bekir is back. The two try to tell each other the paths they have chosen are irrational. Bekir tells her that Ugur's brother is being raped by Kamil, who used to harass him, and her mother is being raped by a friend of Kamil. He says that he does not understand how she goes after a man who has killed Cevat and put his family into such misery. Bekir slaps Ugur in the face when Ugur threatens to kill him and shoos her away. Ugur gets up and walks away. Bekir spends the night on the bench they were sitting. Bekir slurs over his mother on the phone. In the night, Bekir goes to the club Ugur works at but the security do not let him in. Bekir draws his knife and starts yelling, "the prostitute has ruined my life". The owner of the club comes and beats him and throws him out. Bekir spends the night outside again. When walking on the street of Izmir, Bekir sees an old friend of his and asks him about Ugur. His friend tells him that Ugur has gone to Sinop. Bekir runs to the hotel owner. The hotel owner tells him that Zagor has killed two more men in the prison and now he is sent to Sinop Prison. He also says that Ugur has left him some money, asked him to not upset anybody and turn back to his family and work.

Bekir does not listen to the advice and goes to Sinop. He goes to the hotel where Ugur is staying at, he forces his way upstairs and looks for Ugur's room. Just when the hotel owner comes with a bat in his hand to beat Bekir, Ugur gets out of her room and says she will take care of this and prevents the fight. Ugur utters some harsh and hurtful words to Bekir. Bekir defends himself saying "I can't do without you". Ugur spits on Bekir's face and gets in her room. When she gets out of her room, she sees that Bekir has cut his wrists with a knife.

Bekir turns back to Istanbul. One night, he goes out to look for a night-pharmacy to get medicine to his child. After he gets the medicine, he prefers going to a pub and drinking raki

instead of taking the medicine home. Later, he goes to the place of his new friends and starts smoking weed. One of his friends, who is smoking weed, asks about Ugur. Ugur has gone to Kars following Zagor. His friend tells about Bekir's story to the other people in the room. He even says Bekir was hospitalized during the course of events. Bekir argues against the fact that he has run after Ugur and starts telling a different story the way he has wanted it to happen. After the chat, Bekir leaves his friends and starts walking home to take the medicines. However, he is again thinking about Ugur and he goes to Kars with the medicine in his hand. The state of poverty of Kars is depicted. Bekir finds Ugur in Kars, as well. Ugur pours him some tea and treats him nice. There are pictures of Ugur and Ugur and Zagor together hung on the walls of the poor house. Since the last time the two saw other, Ugur got married and has a baby. The man she married did not want her to go after Zagor and tried to lock her in the house. However, she stabbed the man, took her child with her and went to Kars. Ugur asks about the neighborhood she used to live in; Bekir says that Ugur's father, the grocer in the neighborhood and Hakan, a young man who studied medicine died. Hakan dies in a traffic accident. Ugur feels sorry for his death at an early age and says, "It's destiny". Bekir has his second child. He shows a picture of his children to Ugur. He says that his father is looking after his wife and children. Ugur asks him why he has come. The answer is the same. Bekir tells her that he wants to stay with Ugur, he will not give her trouble, and if he does, he will kill himself in a corner. Ugur reminds him that he raised hell in Konya and asks him to go back to his home. Bekir tells her that there is no other way and that he is ready for everything regardless of the good or evil he is doing. Bekir tells about how he has left home to get medicine and later found himself in Kars. Bekir has accepted this situation as his destiny. They start crying. Ugur shows Bekir the room he will stay. Ugur is trying to put the baby to sleep in the room. The film ends.

The film makes a close analysis of the concept of destiny. The director tells through his plot how the concept of destiny is and how it develops in a non-Western society. The story takes place between the lower and middle class. Ugur's family is a member of the lower class while Bekir's family is middle class. After everything Bekir goes through, he still has a family and a home where he can turn back to. On the other hand, Ugur breaks her connections with her family and goes after the man she loves no matter the circumstances, and there is no other place she can turn back to. Bekir is in love with Ugur, Ugur is in love with Zagor and Zagor is in love with committing crime. The similarity of the three characters is that they do not act reasonably. The rationality in the film is represented by Bekir's family. The family entrusts the shop to Bekir and tries to wed him with someone nice. Even if this is a traditional way of thinking, it seems to be rational in the society they live in. Accordingly, the semiotic square analysis of the film is shapes as follows:

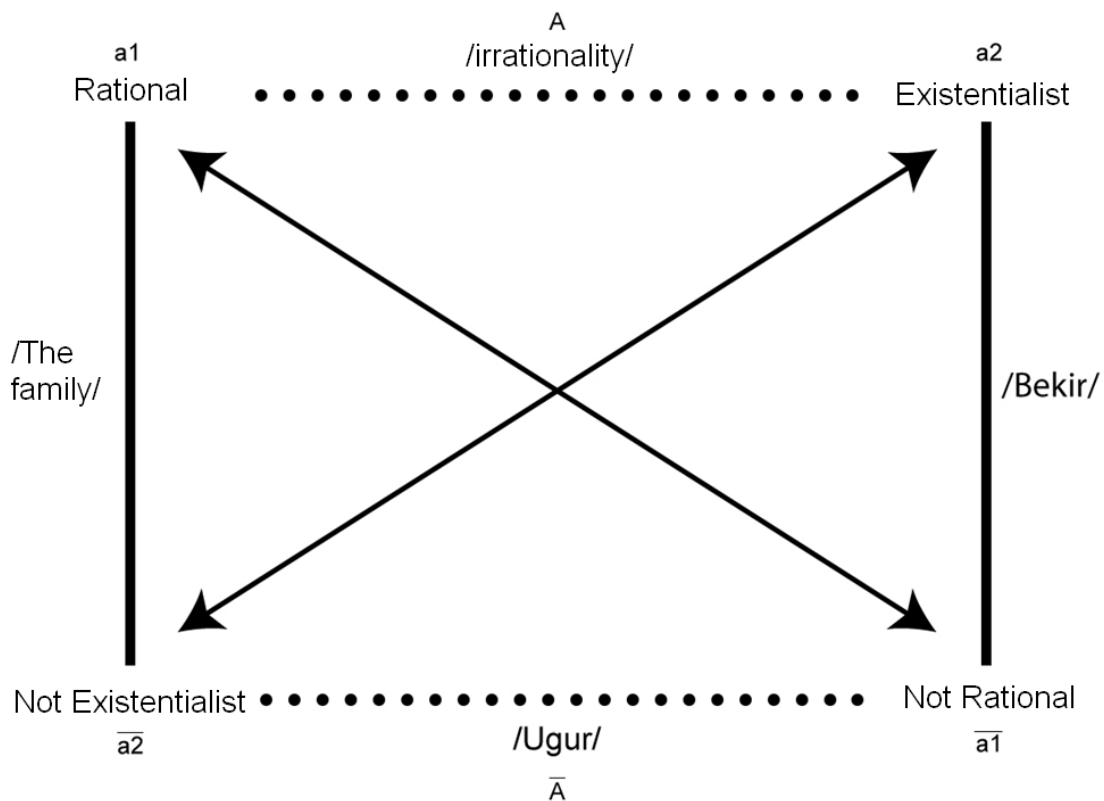


Figure-11: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *Destiny*

Every time he feels angst, Bekir goes to a corner of the country to see Ugur and something bad happens to him every time and he is sent back to Istanbul. According to Bekir, this is destiny until he can have Ugur. He leaves his work, family and children behind; he does not have rational anxieties like upsetting them. Instead, he has anxieties about how to have Ugur to himself because that is the way he wants to behave. When he goes to the pharmacy to get medicine for his child towards the morning, he finds himself in Kars instead of his home; this shows that Bekir is an irrational character who is unintentionally acting upon the existentialist philosophy. Bekir has the angst, alienation and the feeling of nothingness in terms of existentialism; and his actions indicate that he believes the world can be interpreted with feelings instead of rationality. Bekir is in a constant search for a way to get Ugur, whom he believes is his destiny; there remains nothing that Bekir has found himself in and experienced. The rational approach of Bekir's family can be suggested as the opposite of Bekir's ideas. His family does not care about Bekir's thoughts, they entrust their own shop to Bekir and decide on the woman Bekir will marry without asking him. Bekir believes that he can choose his own destiny; even if he cannot have what he wants on this path, he chooses to get experience on the path he has chosen within his destiny. There are no betterments in the state of Bekir; his only way out of this cycle is death and he can afford this risk.

Ugur, on the other hand, has a family who cannot think rationally on her behalf; she hates her mother and does not care about her brother and her paralyzed father. After Cevat's death, there is no one left to take care of the family and Ugur goes her separate way. In this sense, it is clear that Ugur's actions are irrational; however, since she has no other options and actually out of necessity, she always follows Zagor to whichever prison he is sent. She has no hopes of being together with Zagor; she also does not have the courage to turn back and take care of her family. The fact that Ugur is first a prostitute in the film and then she marries a random man and has a child but she never gets involved with Bekir indicate that she likes that

Bekir is interested in her even if she does not seem to do so. She likes Bekir yet she hangs their pictures with Zagor on the walls rejecting being together with Bekir as opposed to her existentialist belief and feelings. Therefore, Ugur is both not rational and not existentialist in the semiotic square.

The film discusses how the existentialist thinking is shaped under the concept of destiny in Turkey which is a non-Western society. The film points out to the fact that particularly the young population of the society is far from being rational, and it exemplifies this through momentary concepts such as imprisonments, deaths and fights. In this context, the scene that shows that the non-Western societies do not progress and always experience the same incidents is the one where Bekir does not understand the film *Innocence* that the hotel owner watches and he asks what happens in the film. At that time, Bekir is actually seeing the film that is telling about his own future; however, he cannot grasp it. The message conveyed to the audience is implicative, though. The film requires the audience to know the script of the film *Innocence*. Therefore, the fact that there are a little number of people who can understand this message for the first time emphasizes that there are also a little number of people who can realize that people's own destinies are even showed on the television every day. This shows that Bekir and Ugur's story is not the first and will not be the last. In terms of the modernity of the West, it also suggests that the time in traditional societies is always steady and that similar irrational dramas always take place with the feelings of the existentialist thinking in the non-West.

3.10 Hamam (The Turkish Bath)

The film starts with a scene showing the character Perran singing a folk song while preparing the breakfast. When she takes the breakfast to Madame, she screams and yells out of the

window announcing her death to everybody. The death of Madame spreads among women from window to window. It is also seen that the house and the neighborhood is neglected. The house of the Madame is inherited by Francesco, who is the son of her sister. During the scene that shows the credits and titles, the house of Francesco in Rome and how the inheritance bureaucracy in Turkey is processed are depicted. The house in Italy is has a modern design and it is new. The bureaucracy in Turkey has a slow progression in an old-fashioned style; the scenes that show Turkey is accompanied by oriental music. Francesco is arguing with his wife Marta for several reasons. Francesco wants to send her to sell the house but Martha objects to him by saying “Men are more respected in Turkey, you should go”.

In the next scene, Francesco has arrived in Istanbul. He meets with an intermediary named Zozo in order to complete the sales transactions. Zozo tells him that the procedure may take a longer time saying that “It’s difficult in Turkey, not like in Italy”. Later on, Zozo takes Francesco to a nightclub and makes him watch a belly-dancer dance. Francesco does not seem to be interested in Turkey in general. He is still thinking about Italy and planning to go back to Italy as soon as possible. He lodges in a hotel room at night; the bellboy in the hotel admires him since he is Italian. Francesco does not care about this. The next day, Francesco goes in front of the house that he has inherited from his aunt. He walks around in the market, he sees a church and enters; but the scene does not continue afterwards. He continues walking down the streets, and an old man asks his help. The old man does not feel well and asks for water. He convinces Francesco to take him to somewhere where he can find water. Upon this, they get into a Turkish bath and he leaves the old man there. The old man insists that Francesco try the Turkish bath. Francesco accepts having a bath. In the bath, Francesco examines the men. Meanwhile, a young man is singing the Istanbul folk song.

In the next scene, Francesco learns from Zozo that the sales procedures held up. The purpose is to put Francesco in a difficult position and to lower the price. Francesco also learns that he

has inherited a Turkish bath. The Turkish family, who served Francesco's aunt as domestic helps, open the door to him when he comes to the house the next day. The father of the family Osman tells her wife Perran to offer ayran to their guest. Francesco and Osman go to have a look at the Turkish bath inside the house. Francesco admires the Turkish bath. In the evening, Francesco stays for the dinner when Perran insists. The variety and richness on the table is displayed with hints of the traditional. During the dinner, the powers go off. Later on, Perran asks Francesco what her wife Martha does for a living. He says that her wife is an artistic design decorator but Perran does not understand what it means. Upon this, he simplifies it and says that she is an architect. Francesco cannot be friendly to the people around him. The scenes go fast. Francesco calls Marta to update her about the situation. Martha reminds him again that she has told her that the work in Turkey is a man's business. Francesco visits Paolo, who is an Italian living in Turkey. He advises him to be more friendly to Turkish people. Later on, Francesco starts walking on the streets, he sees a dilapidated building designed by an Italian architect and he enters in and examines the building. When Francesco heads back to the house, the helping family tell Francesco that he should not sell the house immediately and he should protect the belongings of her aunt. Later on, Francesco goes to the Turkish bath with Mehmet, the son of the family. Francesco asks Mehmet if it is true that Turkish women do wax. Mehmet tells him that it is true. Upon this, the two go to the roof of the female section of the Turkish bath and the two start watching the women secretly. In the next scene, Francesco is with Zozo to finalize the sales transactions. Zozo tells him that the whole neighborhood, including the house he has inherited, will be torn down; and facilities like shopping centers and tennis courts will be built on the land instead of housing for the people living there. Upon this, Francesco changes his mind about selling the house; and the whole neighborhood inform each other from window to window about the scam of Zozo. The residents of the neighborhood decide not to sell their houses. Meanwhile,

Francesco finds and starts reading the letters her aunt wrote to his mother. His aunt writes in the letters that he first wants to have a Turkish bath constructed in the house because of her desire to watch men secretly. Encouraged that he will not sell the house, Francesco starts a restoration in the Turkish bath. Francesco calls Martha but she is not home; instead, their helpers, who are immigrants, are having a party in the house. Francesco leaves a message to Marta and they all listen to the message. Francesco is asking for money for the restoration. On a day when the restoration is going on, Zozo visits Francesco and warns him that he should be very careful and these man are dangerous people. Francesco turns a deaf ear to his warning.

During the restoration of the Turkish bath, Francesco now starts to get accustomed to Turkey and her traditions. He starts to speak Turkish and learns how to play backgammon. They go to watch football matches with Mehmet; he dances the halay during a circumcision ceremony feast. When they are dancing the halay with Perran, her husband Osman comes and warns her to stop dancing. Likewise, he says something to Francesco. In his course of adaptation, there is an intimacy growing between Mehmet and Francesco. In the next scene, Francesco's wife Martha comes to Istanbul since her husband's business there has taken long. The people of the neighborhood start gossiping about Martha as soon as she arrives. Francesco does not show much interest in his wife. Martha, who is alone, is shocked to see that Perran is serving her like a maid. Perran does not want his husband Osman to go out late at night and the two start arguing. Perran tells her daughter Fusun to wash the dishes and starts to do Turkish coffee fortune telling. The next day, Martha goes out alone to discover Istanbul.

Martha wakes up one night and sees that Francesco is not in the bed with her. So, she gets up and looks for him in the house. She sneaks into the Turkish bath and sees Francesco and Mehmet kissing; she leaves the Turkish bath. The next morning during the breakfast, Osman says that her daughter is now 20 years old and she is at the age of marriage. Martha is angry

at Francesco; she leaves the house. When walking around the streets she sees a bride convoy. Later on, the rain starts to pour down and she takes shelter in the dilapidated building built by the Italian architect. There is a homeless woman smoking inside. Martha gives her wedding ring to the woman. In the next scene, the groom who has come to ask for Fusun in marriage says that there is no need for Fusun to work and it would be enough for her to just do the domestic work. Martha listens to the dialogues at the table, she suddenly proposes a toast to all lovers. Martha, under the influence of the alcohol, tells Francesco that she has been cheating on him for two years. Francesco leaves the place to go home and Martha follows her. The two have a fight on the street. After the fight, the couple start to talk calmly. Francesco tells Martha that he finds the atmosphere here in Istanbul warmer than in Rome. They sleep together at night. The next morning, Martha leaves the house. Perran pours water behind the car. On the ferry, Martha reads the letters that Francesco has given him, the ones written by her aunt to her mother. Later on, Martha visits the Italian man Paolo living in Istanbul. Martha confesses to him that she loves Francesco now as a changed man. At that moment, Mehmet and Francesco are at home. Someone knocks on the door, and a man stabs Francesco. Mehmet takes Francesco to a hospital. Paolo's phone rings, he and Martha learn that Francesco has been stabbed. Martha runs to the hospital. The hospital is a neglected and crowded place. The nurse asks for the wife of Francesco in the crowd and gives her Francesco's wedding ring. Francesco has died. After this incident, Martha is sitting alone in the Turkish bath that Francesco cared to renovate. Then, she decides to stay in Turkey. Martha writes a letter to Italy saying that she is filled with melancholy in Istanbul. The film ends.

The film approaches the Italian and Turkish cultures in the modern and traditional contexts and portrays an self-orientalist attitude. The film offers the traditional elements in the Turkish culture such as circumcision, halay, relationships between men and women as new elements

just discovered by the West and allows for the generalization of the society. Accordingly, the traditional structure of the Turkish society is different from the modern Europe; the old and dilapidated city, gossiping and crooked people and the superiority of men to women are not modern elements. This is already known by the Europeans; Martha tells Francesco that it would be better for a man to go to Turkey, and she says that she is right towards the middle of the film. Not protecting the neighborhood that is about to break down because of dilapidation and building shopping centers and a tennis court which have no organic bonds with the city instead seem to be cultural understanding of the Turkish elite. The residents of the neighborhood react to this situation and do not accept the offer; but they do not do anything to renovate the neighborhood either. Accordingly, the semiotic square analysis of the film is as follows.

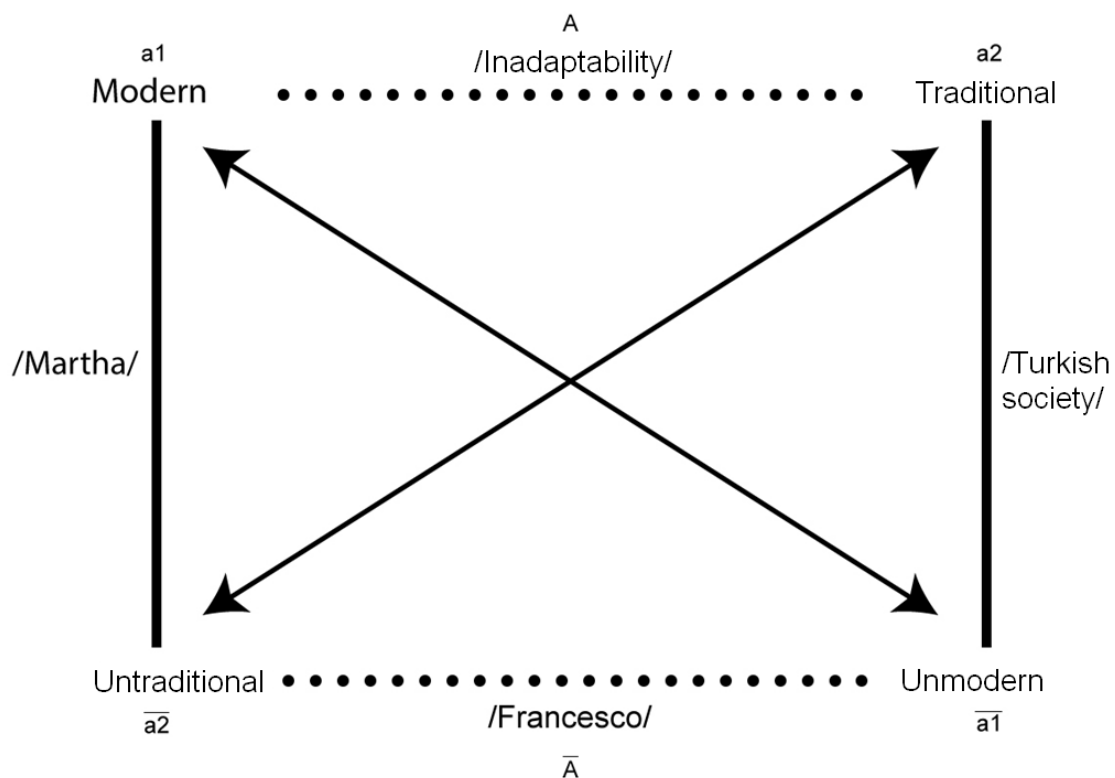


Figure-12: The Semiotic Square Analysis of the film *The Turkish Bath*

It is seen that the film is structured upon the binary opposition of the modern and the traditional. According to this, the Europeans and Martha are the modern and untraditional whereas the Turkish society and the Francesco's aunt's helper family are the traditional and unmodern. Mehmet is the untraditional and unmodern as he is living in a traditional society with homosexual feelings, he feels isolated in the society. Francesco is both modern and traditional as he learns about Istanbul and goes through a transformation. Aside from the fact that Francesco was born in modern world, he embraces the traditional Turkish life as well. Actually, Francesco, who tries to perform his self-activities in between the patterns of the modern and the traditional, is in an existentialistic search outside the limits of such patterns. The death of Francesco causes Martha to embark upon this search, too. Martha says that she is filled with melancholy in Istanbul and she does not know why. Therefore, it can be said that the first basic feeling Martha has about the traditional structure, who continues her inner journey in a traditional society, is melancholy.

The existentialist philosophy is implicatively addressed to in the film *The Turkish Bath*, which prioritizes the traditional images and offers the traditional lifestyle as the opposite of the modernity; and the film also has an self-orientalist perspective. Aside from reflecting the modernity culture as being more advanced and rational than the traditional cultures, the concept also requires the non-West to see and discover itself on its own through the perspective and the norms of the West. Accordingly, the film *The Turkish Baths* portrays Turkey as a society that tries to get integrated to the modernity process as a non-Western society but cannot get rid of its own traditional elements.

CONCLUSION

This study covering the “Effects of the Eurimages Fund on the Content of Turkish Cinema after 1990s” has used historical materialist method in order to understand how the West has become a fact of interest. Initially in the first chapter, continental Europe is perceived as a whole and how a continental union of culture dominates the present time. The practices of otherization and assimilation that started with the ‘*Romanization*’ policy during the Roman Empire tried to legitimize Latin as the language of Europe and Christianity as its religion across the continent and it panned out to a great extent. The ‘barbarians’ and ‘locals’ living in Europe were attracted to the Roman culture with commercial merchandises and architectural structures, etc. through its ‘civilization’ mission. In the even that such mission failed, they would resort to violence. The otherization had never ended for the regions and societies within the borders of the Empire.

The Feudal Europe was not superior at all to the rest of the world due to its distance to the trade routes and the Church’s oppression on the society in order to standardize it. Europe gained a proto-capitalist structure through mercantilism having engaged in commerce with the city-states in Asia and Africa and discovered new lands to conquer thanks to the geographical discoveries afterwards. After the change in the borders of the world, Eurocentrism turned into ethnocentrism. On the other hand, the colonies established in the new lands conquered and the substantial financial gains brought from these colonies to the continental Europe prospered the continent and maximized the welfare of the society; it also led to the rapid creation of a European identity. In this process, when the feudal period officially ended and the capitalist period started, the cultural dimension went under a transformation across the continent simultaneously with and directly proportional to the

economic dimension. The origination of the market concept, the desire to have more than needed and exploiting the colonies to the fullest extent in the form of slavery for the sake of serving Europe led to the development of capitalism which nurtured its own culture through the ideas of Eurocentrism. Capitalism prioritized individualism, defended rationalization, suggested that nations should be governed with a secular structure, allowed for the consolidation of the corporate structure and adopted concepts like democracy and human rights from the Ancient Europe and adapted those concepts to itself. These cultural development as explained with the concept of *Modernity*.

It is discussed that modernity possess the present time and that history has a linear progression; it is also purported that each and every society needs to go through such process that is identified with the Eurocentric thinking. Accordingly, this way of thinking that considers Europe as the 'core' regarded the other regions as the 'periphery'. Whereas concepts like rationality and secularization promoted by modernity applied to the core nations, they did not apply to the nations or regions that was in the non-West; because the non-Western nations needed to go through the historical periods that Europe experienced in order to possess such values according to the linear progress of the history as suggested by modernity. Therefore, the Europeans did not hesitate to support spreading the strict mentality of Catholicism, which they had abandoned, across the colonies so that it could serve their own benefits. This way, the periphery nations fell under the control of the core nations in terms of their culture, economy and politics. Today, in addition to the continental Europe, 'core' nations include the USA, Canada and Japan who adopt the concept of modernity. Therefore, Eurocentrism was started to be referred to as the Western-centrism after the 20th century. Precious metals, money and smuggled goods derived from the colonies in abundant amounts and brought to the continent increased prosperity across Europe and led to its economic expansion. There were large amounts of accumulated tradable goods in the market,

and merchants charged interest on the goods they seized from colonies and led to the propagation of Europe's capitalist mentality – in other words, economic rationality.

Capitalism ruled out the concepts of 'sufficient' and 'surplus' and triggered the desire to gain infinite profit at the macro level. The profits derived from the colonies were used in the improvement of production technologies, thus this led to the industrial revolution; which in return caused massive migration to cities and cheap labor. The verbal promises fell short of protecting the rights of the private sector; and the written constitutional system was born. After the emergence of nation states, the economic competition among governments and the exploitation of the colonies actively continued until the World War II; and the capitalist thinking is still the ideology that effectively dominates the whole world.

The Western thinking created a series of myths in order to make itself superior to the rest of the world and rationalize this belief in order to convince the periphery countries particularly that the West is superior. These myths include the discovery of the Americas, that Europe is located in the best geographical position for the human development due to its climate, that Asia and Africa have arid climates, and that class societies are advantageous in terms of development. In terms of politics, during the origination of the European myths, there was a mentality based on the modern binaries (oppositions). Definition of what Europe or the West is would certainly include what it is not. The characteristics that would not be attributed to the West were attributed to the non-West. This mentality, which can be defined as 'Me and the Other', shows itself as the orientalism in terms of the Western-centric thinking. The West's view of the East leads to academic, ontological and epistemological discriminations. In general, the non-West which is defined as the opposite of the West is also the one that is exploited; it is not contemporary; and since it is underdeveloped, it is dependent on the Western nations. Such issues experienced in the non-Western nations at societal levels reflect on the private lives of the individuals of such societies and caused the societies to regard their

own culture as inferior. The West intervened in the modes of production and consumption habits of the non-West and caused the individuals to go through alienation.

The alienated individual also gets alienated from his society, labor and himself. As Marx suggests, the fundamental reason for this is the false consciousness created. It is not true that exerting more effort to earn a higher wage serves well both the capitalist and the worker. The production of such false consciousness can be explained with Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony. The middle class creates a false consciousness through cultural hegemony, and thus, the workers are made to see this equation, which is inversely proportional for them, as directly proportional. A worker, who thinks that working voluntarily and inversely proportional to their labor in a capitalist society is an inevitable fact, is under the influence of the cultural hegemony according to Gramsci; the worker is governed by the ruling class through the false consciousness generated. As Althusser suggests, despite the sense of alienation in the society, the hegemonic discourse is created again and again in different aspects for each and every individual through ideological state apparatuses while the proletariat is made serve the ruling class through a false consciousness created with cultural hegemony. Such situation intensifies the feeling of alienation and leads to a more severe separation from the society.

The individual who is not content with his labor and what he produces looks for the problem in himself rather than questioning the system due to the ISA and the created false consciousness because there is nothing wrong with the system and it runs smoothly, yet the individual can fail in the system according to the perception that is created over the press. A set of negative feelings which are grown under the influence of the capitalist system that isolates and alienates the individual from himself and the nature change the mentality of the individuals of a society in the negative way. Therefore, the philosophical trend Existentialism originated so that man could make sense of himself and his nature. Existentialism became

more popular after the World War II. The reason was that people started to believe that human life was not valuable and they feared that anybody can die at any time. Existentialism does not question the system; instead, it focuses on the inner experiences of the individual. The existentialist philosophy, which nearly severs the ties of the individual from the external world, cannot coexist with Marxism contrary to what Sartre suggests. The reason is Existentialism refuses Marxism because Marxism does not put emphasis on the subjective sovereignty and respectability of the individual as much as the existentialists. Existentialism does not criticize the capitalist system; yet, it suggests certain mentalities which are in line with the liberal discourse 'the system is flawless but the individual is flawed'. George Novack, whose ideas are rooted from the Marxist ideology, suggests that liberalism and individualism have together given birth to the existentialism which is the last product of our age; he purports that the existentialist mentality serves the sovereign ideology.

The post-colonization period that started with the ending of the colonization in the 20th century brought along certain concepts which are self-orientalism and the inappropriate other. Even though the Western nations retracted its physical existence in the newly-founded non-Western nation states, they still have a major influence on them, if not directly; the reason for that is that they claim the non-West is underdeveloped. In addition to the dependency of the post-colonization states on the West, there are also nations which were not colonized but want to get integrated to the modernity process of the West. In both cases, they establish contact zones, and the people in that contact zones are the intellectuals, leaders and elites of such non-Western society. These people are still considered by the West as the 'other'; however, they are the 'inappropriate other' according to Minh-ha since they are involved in the modernization process. These people cannot say 'I'm like you' to their own society, but they cannot either use the discourse 'I'm different from you'. This section of the society, who shuttle between the two discourses, suffer from problems of belongingness and alienation.

The inappropriate others are the part of the society that realize the self-orientalism mentality. Self-orientalism can be defined as the act of causing the objectification of the authentic subjective characteristics of a society by the local pioneers and/or the elite intellectuals of such society having adopted the Western values and the self-otherization or Easternization of the carrier individuals as adopted by them through modernity. The first step in self-orientalism is the internalization of Western values with the individual's essence which is followed by the distortion of the representation of the individual's society by the same individual.

The reason why the West is so active in the non-West, even if indirectly, is the neoliberalism and the international organizations. The capitalist capital taken to a global level through neoliberal policies turns the whole world into a small village through mass media and objects to the rule-making and restraining mechanism of the nation states; it also wants to spread the modern culture and Western-oriented global corporations across the world in order to gain profit over those regions. In order to do this, it utilizes certain international organizations such as NATO, UN and ECHR and tries to make the whole world perceive cultural imperialism as a legitimate phenomenon. This also applies to the cinema industry while the Hollywood cinema is its best example. Receiving financial support from the USA, Hollywood exceeds global borders and has become the dominant power in the film markets throughout the world. This success of Hollywood was a result of the availability of the national film markets to the screenings and distribution of international films following the implementation of liberality policies in other countries through deregulation. Hollywood films, which came into a free market thanks to organizations like WTO and GATS, have spread the globally disseminating Western culture and ideology to the rest of the world via cinema medium.

The material and spiritual losses incurred by Europe after the World War II caused the continent to lose especially its economic power when compared to the USA. The fact that the continental Europe is the continent that is comprised of the most number of nations shows that Europe has been fragmented whether because of wars or conflicts; and it was believed that a national union could not be attained through wars in Europe. European nations established the European Economic Community in 1957 and the European Union in 1992 in order to gain a global power in terms of politics, economy and culture. This way, the Modernity has two fundamental bases in terms of the cultural industry: European Union and the United States of America. The major platforms that these two bases produce their own cultural industries are film festivals, Hollywood and Eurimages. These two bases promote modernity with unique narrations, manifestations and contexts through cinema all around the world.

The hypothesis of the study suggests that the directors who intend to receive support from Eurimages fund need to change the content of their films in a self-orientalist discourse and embracing the existentialist philosophy which leads to focusing on individuals' inner world and ignoring the outer world, according to the cultural thoughts of the selection jury, which are shaped by modernity. Therefore, a close examination of the transformations experienced by the Western-centric ideology has been conducted in order to substantiate this hypothesis. The post-colonialist system and its origination after the end of colonialism have been analyzed. Accordingly, the Eurocentric thinking and the concept of West has been scrutinized integrally and the European Union, the Eurimages Fund of the Council of Europe and the Turkish cinema have been studied with the historical materialism method. According to findings, balances of power in the world have been changed. Europe could recover from its economic sufferings caused by the World War II through the Marshall Plan offered by the USA. This provides two advantages for modernity and therefore capitalism: empower the

continental Europe and conserve capitalism against the increasing and sympathetic communism propaganda of the USSR and make the continental Europe dependent on the USA through such aids and gain economic superiority. The achievement of the Marshall Plan enabled the reconsolidation of the capitalist system and created a substantial resistance against communism. This way, modernity has two fundamental basis, which are the EU and the USA; these two bases are in constant competition as long as the capitalist system survives. Modernity has ensured through globalization that the economic order of the whole world is structured upon capitalism; afterwards, the USA has seized the economic superiority to the Europe in the cinema industry having exported Hollywood films throughout the world; this way, the USA has started achieve her economic and cultural goals. Thanks to the tremendous film distribution network the USA controls, the USA has inoculated the global cinema markets with her own ideology; the films that support her ideology are considered to be 'mainstream'.

When the World War II was over, the Cold War started between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The cinema was used as a propaganda tool during this period. When the Cold War ended, Hollywood Cinema started to spread its "American Dream" narrations to larger masses through developments in the technology and the film distribution network. On the other hand, Europe was just out of the war and tired. European nations tried to prevent Hollywood Cinema from penetrating into Europe through certain measures. Many nations, particularly France, resisted to the pressures of the Hollywood Cinema of the USA; however, they were unable to avoid the influence. This way, it became necessary for the Europe to define its cinema policy. The cinema in Europe started to get more powerful in several trends as a branch of art against the "mainstream" Hollywood cinema easily distributed across the world.

Europe tried to stand up against Hollywood cinema with the Eurimages fund after the EU was established; however, Europe was not able to benefit from the globalization as much as its competitor due to the dominant influence of Hollywood. The European cinema was otherized in the presence of the mainstream Hollywood cinema. Otherized European cinema supported the film movements of independent, avangarde, auteur, minimalist etc. in order to protect their own national characteristics against USA's Hollywood cinema. However, European Cinema adopted itself a policy to support the film festivals it created, which were alternative film distribution and screening networks, in order to sustain itself and granting funds for the films found suitable.

The globalization accelerated with the improving technology and digitalization in the 20th century. Therefore, the Council of Europe's Eurimages Fund was established in 1989 to resist against the ever-accelerating Hollywood cinema. The fundamental purpose of Eurimages is to "support the production and distribution of cinematic works and promote cooperation between the cinema professionals of the member nations, and to contribute in the development of the European film industry". One of the objectives of the fund is focused on culture and it supports the cinematographic works that reflect various aspects of the European society and culture that bears the traces of an integral culture. Its other objective is economic; the fund provides financial support to an industry that considers cinema as an important "branch of art" and acts upon such belief, and places importance on the commercial success. Therefore, it can be said that the cultural union formed within Europe against the Hollywood cinema also aims at turning its own economic wheels within itself and gaining power as a unity on behalf of the European communities. Modernity will continue its cultural narrations in this way over a united European cinema.

In Turkey, the cinema sector that was started in the era of Muhsin Ertugrul lived its golden era which is also known as Yesilcam Period during the years 1940-1970. Later on, the

invention of the television, increased costs of color films, devaluation and conflictive political atmosphere led to a loss of value in the cinema. The sex films produced after 1970 were not enough to restore the interest of the audience, the military coup of 1980 changed the economy of the nation which in return led to the adoption of neoliberal policies. Until the coup of 1980, Turkish cinema showed a progress somehow since little tax was imposed on the Turkish productions, the television was not widespread yet and the video system did not enter the Turkish market yet. However, the factors such as the inability to turn the profits earned by the films produced into better and higher quality productions and the similarity of the films prevented the Turkish cinema from developing like it did in France and the USA. The tenseness in the political platform and the spread of the television after 1970 was considered as the first step into the depression years of the Turkish cinema; thus, films with melancholic themes were started to be produced after 1980s. When the American Film Distribution Corporations entered the Turkish market in 1989, the Hollywood cinema could easily distribute its own films in the Turkish market, and this caused Turkish films to be screened in less number of film theaters for less durations. The cinema sector in Turkey went through a second crisis after the problems and difficulties caused by such impact. The factors such as the technologic advancement of the Hollywood cinema and its distribution network, etc. carried the Turkish cinema to a standstill when it suffered losses in its audience and it could not receive the returns of the money invested in itself.

Even though Hollywood films dominated the Turkish market in 1990, the Turkish productions have ranked head to head with Hollywood films in terms of box office returns in the period until and after 2010. However, it is seen that the return from box office contributes more to the global capital since the Turkish companies are purchased by global corporation and the whole distribution and screening network is privatized. The outflow of the return economically prevents Turkish cinema from getting industrialized and from producing higher

quality and authentic films. This way, the intellectuals and directors of the society who said they were after qualified and authentic films started to look for sponsors who would be content to reflect their own beliefs to the silver screen; however, in the long term, the only available fund was the government's Ministry of Culture and Tourism Cinema Support Fund other than a couple of exceptions which would support the development of the Turkish cinema. Another attractive aspect of the fund was that the fund support to be repaid would be considered as a grant if the director of such film received awards from important film festivals designated by the ministry. This way, the fund support turning into grant would save directors and producers from a possible economic crisis if the film did not do well at the box office. This situation economically imposes the producers and directors, who vacillate between two different profiles first being the Turkish cinema audience profile and the second being the evaluation criteria of the jury of the films festivals and cinema production funds, to choose between one of the two profiles; thus, directors and producers produce the films addressing to either the audience or the funds/festivals.

Eurimages has been the most significant fund that provide financial support to Turkish cinema in the international platform in the period after 1990. Turkey joined the fund towards the end of the 1990s and started to benefit from it as of 1990. Today, it is a fund resorted to by many independent filmmakers. The Turkish cinema, which came to a standstill in 1990s, was revived with the supports of Eurimages. It stands to reason that Eurimages fund supports the directors so that they address to their societies in a criticizing point of view. The most important question is what the cultural status of Turkey, a non-Western nation, is among the Western nations in the Eurimages fund that Europe established in order not to fall behind the USA in the competition and to ensure the cultural union of the continental Europe. At this point, the directors, who criticize their societies in the perspective of the West and reflect their criticisms to their films based upon such judgment values, build their cinematic

language, whether consciously or not, through an self-orientalist point of view so that they can get awards from film festivals and benefit from funds; this position of the directors results in their identification with the term the “Inappropriate Other” and think of their own societies through an self-orientalist point of view. The answer to the question what the criticism is in the eyes of the West is closely related to the neoliberal policies. Almost every film reminds the audience either explicitly or implicatively that the modernity is sovereign and advanced; the criticisms are suggested in accordance with the norms of modernity.

These norms are globally accepted norms today; however, just like Marxism suggests, when a criticism is suggested over these norms, the productions do not prefer addressing to the historical dimension of the concept that is being criticized. It should be noted this is closely related to the West, suggesting that modernity takes present time as a reference, preventing the development of the societies effectively through colonization particularly, creating European myths and suggesting that the white race is superior to all in order to decrease the self-confidence of individuals through perception management and through neoliberal policies and imperialist approaches, creating a global false consciousness in order to spread the capitalist economic system. This way, modernity tries to hide as much as possible how the West established its superiority through illegal means and attributes the flaws, if any, to the individuals and the non-Western cultures. Superiority of modernity has been ensured from Romanisation till colonization until 20th century’s post-colonial era. West’s active role had become passive since colonized nation states’ declaration of sovereignty after World War II. However, as mentioned in dependency theories, non-West countries have become dependent on their old colonizers, which are mostly West countries. Therefore, West countries have still domination over non-West countries which also effects culture and economy. As a consequence, non-Western countries’ leading and/or intellectual individuals might have a consideration of articulation to West and its values. These individuals would

evaluate themselves and their own societies in the terms of modernity, which might lead to these individuals' change of thought in the direction of what West would have wanted to, if they still would want to see other cultures behind modernity. In short, modernity chooses a passive position instead of an active one unlike in the past in order to maintain its superiority; and puts the intellectuals, in other words, the inappropriate others, of the non-Western societies in the active position. Therefore, the concepts like post-colonization, self-orientalism and the inappropriate other are debated today.

The philosophy the West uses to direct the non-Western in the artistic sphere is existentialist philosophy. In this philosophy, individuals believe that they are tossed away to this world, they find it meaningless to mingle with the outside world, and they desperately look for the answers in themselves and question their own existence. When questioning their existence, the individuals stay away from the historical context as the modernity wants them to.

In the films which were examined in this dissertation, the context of isolation from outer world and finding the authenticity inside the inner world of individuals can be seen, compatible with the existentialist philosophy. The search for the authenticity of an individual might bring alienation, otherization and individualization concepts to individual and allows criticizing the non-West culture and its society from a narrow perspective. Individuals of the society are trying to explore inside of their inner world in order to find authenticity and to discard depression without realizing the interference of the modernity, capitalism and neoliberalism, which is actually affecting society's lifestyles in depressive way. Finding the authenticity might work for individuals if they are lucky, but it is unimaginable for the whole society. It might be conceived that the examined films of this dissertation are creating a common discourse about individuality. This way, the critical approach of the directors supported by Eurimages actually think with an existentialistic point of view; the directors also lead to the definition of the Turkish art-national cinema to be the depression cinema.

Winning awards and getting supports from the West, these directors become the determinants of the art cinema and influence each other and their society in the directions predefined by modernity. In the third chapter, this study uses discourse analysis and semiotic square analysis to examine how the Turkish cinema is integrated with the West as of 1990 and what kind of cinematic language they reflect in their films supported by Eurimages.

The film *Love is Colder than Death* portrays the contradiction of the concepts of traditional and modern; the film mostly points out to the problems and unhappiness of the people living in the slums analyzing the traditional lifestyle. The film does not make a historical examination as to why the characters are in such state. There is not a happy ending waiting for the character Bergen, who is going through an implicit existentialist crisis in the traditional society. The fact that Bergen sees a girl belly dancing to the music played by clarion and drum in the middle of the street of the slum and starts to cry before she dies is an indication that there is no end to such drama in the traditional societies, that modernity constantly progresses and the traditional never makes progress. Therefore, the director exhibits an self-orientalist approach.

In the film *The Nude*, the contradiction between the traditional and the modern is more distinct. The omniscient voice in the film is an inappropriate other that adopts the Eurocentric thinking, points out what is modern to the traditional society, tries to control the couples in the film and wants them to go through the modernization process. It can be said that the fact that the male characters in the film give up the traditional structure and decide to adopt the modern values after they find them reasonable is the ending that the Eurocentric thinking desires.

In the film *The Blue Exile*, the character Cevat tries to be both modern and traditional; however, he understands its impossibility, so he goes on an inner journey where he finds

authenticity in a way of thinking that is neither traditional nor modern. In this sense, Cevat is one of the characters who discover their authenticity in the films after overcoming the existentialist crisis. Even though it is pointed out that the unmodern is important in terms of the path to the authenticity, the existentialist crisis experienced by the character does not cause him to question the system brought by the modern whereas allowing the character seclude himself on his own after giving up the system. This way, the belief that the path that leads to authenticity crosses from existentialism is revealed in the film through an self-orientalist approach along with the reflection of the opposition of the modern and the traditional.

The film *Journey to the Sun* exhibits a criticism on the government politics. The otherization is considered as a government policy in the film which tries to tell what Turkish and Kurdish identities mean for each other “in the eyes of the other”. The character Mehmet tries to think about the concept of existentialism over identities which he has never thought of before. The fact that Mehmet says that he is from Berzan’s hometown instead of saying where he is from, that he dyes his hair to blond and a child, who has never seen blond hair before, finds him odd are the emphases of the director on the ethnic identities. The director uses these emphases to put the character Mehmet amidst an existentialist crisis. Berzan, on the other hand, dies when he is in custody after living a life full of troubles since he has an ethnic identity that is not favored by the government’s ideology. The film does not tell about how the Turkish identity was imposed on the society as a nation-state policy; however, it sheds light on the consequences of such imposition. Therefore, the film does not give any clues on why the Turkish and Kurdish identities got alienated from each other during the course of history, yet it points out the important facts of the era when the film takes place. The film also implicitly reveals an admiration of Europe.

The film *Pandora's Box* portrays a cultural criticism on the city life in Turkey. Modernity tries to adapt the lives of the individuals of the traditional society to the city life, yet, causes the three siblings to get alienated more from each other. Instead of the alienation experienced by the siblings, the film puts greater emphasis on the character Murat who does not feel that he belongs to the city life, goes through existentialistic problems and tries to find ways to escape from the modern city life. In the film, it is even underlined that the character Murat does not feel that he is alive. The inadaptability of Murat to the modern world ends when he discovers the traditional world. The inner journey of Murat leads him to discover authenticity in a traditional place in his physical journey where Murat follows his grandmother to trace back to his roots. Therefore, Murat, being the second character two discovers his own authenticity through existentialism among the films chosen for the study, does not know about the details of how a large number individuals in the society experience the existentialistic depressions, and he does not question how the exterior world intervenes in his life.

In the film *Three Monkeys*, Eyup, who has good intentions at first and assumes the liability of the crime committed by Servet since Eyup wants to protect his family and improve their living standards in exchange for money, finds himself in a vicious cycle. Life pushes him to do evil deeds while he is a good character in the beginning. He tries to trick Bayram, who works for peanuts and who is innocent, into taking responsibility for the murder his son has committed. Servet has taught Eyup this method. Eyup has gone through this course of events, however Bayram is just at the bottom of the ladder. Servet's evil intentions has infected Eyup like a virus and Eyup infects Bayram with this virus at the end of the film. Therefore, the individuals who do not take lessons from their pasts and who do not have the recollection of it gain experiences on their own. Therefore, a social progression is not possible. Societies which are unable to progress are backward from the modern, the present time, in the linear

historical progress of the modernity. This situation places the non-West society that is narrated in the film in a position backward from the West. At this point, it can be suggested that the film has an orientalist perspective. However, this orientalist perspective is not put forth by the West but by the director, who seems to be alienated from his own society. The societies which are lost within their own existentialistic issues lose their value judgments and they 'normalize' all things that happen around them through the Western concepts and perspectives by means of self-orientalism. In this context, the Inappropriate Other, as an individual raised in a non-Western society who adopts an self-orientalist point of view and intellectual accumulation, sees and films his own society in the eyes of the West and offers it to the West in the way the West wants it. The fact that the story of the film is in a pessimistic vicious cycle and the feeling of alienation and the feeling of nothingness seen throughout the film also prove that the film is closely related to the existentialist philosophy.

Once upon a Time in Anatolia successfully brings together the characteristics of the traditional Turkish people together whereas it is not able to point out to the ontological reasons of the alienation and individualization in terms of historical context. Therefore, the constant state of steadiness of the non-West can be partially disrupted through the attempts of getting integrated to the West. A certain standard is tried to be attained in the film through the use of sophisticated occupations of the characters like the district attorney, police and the doctor; however, since the locality is prioritized mostly, the targeted objectivity is not attained. The concept of timelessness in the film tells us that the story of the film has taken place or will take place at any time in any part of Anatolia which is a stationary place. This situation is a symbol that the characters will not be able to take lessons from their past at all in order to solve the social and individualistic problems that they are going through.

The film *The Egg* addresses to the re-adaptation process of the character Yusuf, who cannot adapt himself to the degenerated modern society and who is supposed to have an authentic

identity, to the traditional society after his mother's death. Even though Yusuf stays in his hometown at the end of the film, it cannot be said that he fully adapts himself to his hometown, because Yusuf is going through an explicit alienation. His calmness and depressive mood indicate his existentialist problems. Trying to solve his problems in his own stationary inner world without belonging to neither structure of the society contradicted by the modernity, Yusuf sees the world in a pessimistic point of view and can never understand the major reasons of this feeling of lack of belongingness he is going through. Therefore, it can be said that his such position is directly related to the existentialist philosophy.

The film *The Destiny* discusses how the existentialist thinking is shaped under the concept of 'destiny' in Turkey which is a non-Western society and points out to the fact that particularly the young population of the society is far from being rational, and it exemplifies this through momentary concepts such as imprisonments, deaths and fights. The fact that Bekir sees the film *Innocence* on television, which is a sequel to the film *Destiny* but cannot understand that it is the life he has been living emphasizes that there are also a little number of people who can realize that people's own destinies are even showed on the television every day. This shows that Bekir and Ugur's story is not the first and will not be the last. In terms of the modernity of the West, it also suggests that the time in traditional societies is always steady and that similar irrational dramas always take place with the feelings of the existentialist thinking in the non-West.

The film *The Turkish Bath* reveals the differences between the modern and traditional societies. The film tells the incidents experienced by Francesco, who discovers his authenticity by means of setting aside his alienation and trying to perform his self-activities in the traditional society, in the traditional Turkish society. The film portrays the difference of the traditional society from the modern society exhibiting an self-orientalist point of view. The implicit existentialist angst of Francesco is also portrayed in the film *The Turkish Bath*

which successfully points out to the differences between the West and the non-West in the way modernity wants. At the end of the film, the angst experienced by Francesco is also revealed in his wife; the character Martha says that she is filled with melancholy in Turkey. In this case, even though Francesco is a successful architect in the modern society, he is not happy in his private life; and he finds himself in a quest when he comes to Turkey and his works get delayed. Francesco turns into a Western individual who curiously examines the non-Western society. During the film, it is felt that the camera is observing the non-West just like Francesco does. The film *The Turkish Bath* is a representative of the point of view desired by the modernity even though it is not directly related to the existentialism.

10 films selected within the scope of the study analyzes the situation of Turkey with sometimes political and sometimes cultural criticisms from with different perspectives. These perspectives give birth to the concept Alluvial Turkish Cinema according to Dervis Zaim because he describes the Turkish directors after 1990 as the branches that constitute an alluvium which are independent from yet all flow in a single direction. In this context, it is seen that the term “Alluvial” is a geographical term which lacks the meaning that Zaim wants to express.

It is claimed that the Western societies passively and/or implicitly support the auto-orientalist leading figures, the inappropriate others, of the non-Western societies. Therefore, the Western societies direct the non-Western societies through the inappropriate others and make sure that the non-West always stays as the “oriental” and the modern values are considered as the cultural values to attain. While doing so, they also impose the capitalist system and the neoliberal ideology. As a result, the non-Western societies are shaped within the ethnocentrism of the Western-centrism –in other words, with the capitalism, neoliberalism and modernity- as of the industrial revolution; and they start to get alienated from a number of things due to such system which is inconsistent with their own nature. Alienation of

individuals has increasingly become effective socially. The non-western societies have been alienated from the outside world and they have turned in on themselves through the inappropriate others also in line with the existentialist thinking based on the West. This way, the non-Western societies think that they can find their own authenticity and overcome their angsts by means of taking an inner journey. It might be considered that film funds don't give support to films which directly criticizes the hegemonic system, because of current awarded films from film festivals are not actually criticizing the system, on the contrary, they are empowering the individualistic depression and existentialist philosophy. The ones who interfere in the outside world and emphasize the class differences are accused of uttering 'outdated discourses', and the thoughts that question the system do not get the support they seek from the West at all. As a result of the non-Western societies turning in on themselves and not being able to understand the problems of the outside world, they relate their repetitive problems to the concept of 'fate' lacking the awareness of history and cause the entrapment of societies within the walls of a cyclicity. Therefore, while Western societies move forward on the linear plane of history, non-Western societies perpetually experience the same problems in different time periods within a cycle and cannot advance due to the established order. It is suggested to define this case experienced by Turkey as "Orientcyclicity".²⁶ Thus, use of the term 'Orientcyclic Turkish Cinema' would be better to define the art films of Turkey produced by the directors positioning their society as the non-West under the influence of the Western-centrism.

Different from the other Turkish Cinema trends, the "Orientcyclic Turkish Cinema" focuses on the alienation, inner world and problems of the individual; while doing this, it also points out to the difference between the modern and the traditional in the form of a binary opposition, either implicitly or explicitly. Furthermore, it makes observations as to the period

²⁶ In addition, it is important to conduct a series of similar and detailed researches for the other non-Western countries in terms of defining the cultural relations of the West with the non-West.

when the film is produced within the concept of realism; this way, it can address to and offer to the audience the results of the problems caused by the neoliberal system independently from their reasons. The clarification of existentialist thoughts in a traditional society is closely related to the linear historical progress of modernity unlike the modern society. Accordingly, whereas the modern society possesses the present time, the traditional society continues to exist within the same vicious cyclic thoughts somewhere in the past without catching up with the present. Characters, who cannot make a progress in the face of this situation, start looking at life with an existentialistic perspective; they try to know the right from wrong on their own in this world where they are tossed away; however, they relate their failures in their inner journeys to the concept of destiny with a theological approach, in a sense, without questioning and trying to find out the historical reasons of the difficulties they find themselves in because of the unprogressive structure of the traditional society.

This situation also causes characters to turn into stuck characters. For example, the character Bekir in the film *Destiny* watches his own future on the television but cannot understand that he is watching himself since he has not completed his inner journey at that time. Likewise, the character Bergen in the film *Love is Colder than Death* understands that the existentialistic angst she has been going through is actually the vicious cycle experienced by everybody in the society when she sees a young girl dancing in the slums at the end of the film. The doctor character in the film *Once upon a Time in Anatolia* says that the incident they are experiencing in a distant town of Anatolia has no importance at all, that nobody will remember them 100 years later, a doctor who replaces him a hundred years later will experience similar things and that nobody is different from the rest unlike what people think of themselves. As a matter of fact, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, the director of the film *Winter Sleep* produced in 2014, which has received the largest fund support from Eurimages, states about the main character of the film, “*Aydin is actually a good person. Just like all of us, he is*

*trying to survive in one way or another in this world where he is tossed away outside his will. We have of course attributed some characteristics, which we criticize to him, but it cannot be said that we are directly blaming him. As a matter of fact, we wanted to create a human being with his all complexity. It is not our wish that Aydin is considered marginal and otherized*²⁷ during an interview just before the Cannes Film Festival where he was awarded the Golden Palm Award for the second time after the film *The Road* by Yilmaz Guney. Therefore, it is possible to say that the director, who says that they blame the individual for his failure in the film, indirectly if not directly, does not explicitly criticize the system and the modernity culture while he otherizes the individual. In addition, the director uses the phrase *'in this world where he is tossed away outside his will'* which is one of the main ideas of the Existentialist philosophy, through which the director specifies in the interview how much he has adopted the existentialist philosophy.

Existentialist angsts put each and every character into different identity crises, whereas directors claim through their cinematic language that such crises are unique to the traditional individuals. However, the crisis experienced by an individual in a non-Western society is a social crisis. The way out of this situation is not the individual's ability to perform his own self-activities but the ability to become self-aware at a societal level. Unless individuals question the reasons of their crises in terms of history, understand that the system they are born in is crooked and has two sides and come up with solutions to such problems at the societal level, individuals may get lost in this system. According to Marx, the reason why individuals cannot question the system is hegemonic ideology: individuals interpret the world like they wore rose-coloured glasses (Kazancı, 2006). Individuals will feel that the traditional society they live in is backward from the present time, and thus, they will find themselves in an existentialist crisis. The individuals will have no hope other than the possibility of finding

²⁷ http://www.radikal.com.tr/kultur/kulturumuzde_bazi_temel_eksiklikler_var-1193345 "There are Certain Basic Things We Lack in Our Culture" – Interview Date: May 22, 2014 Date of Citation: May 26, 2014.

the solution by means of an inner journey without questioning the exterior world. This questioning state and hopelessness are in harmony with hegemonic ideology: it produces and re-produces hegemonic ideology and prevents alternative pursuits.

The Western-centric ideology, the modernity culture and the neoliberal system will use this existentialist philosophy to protect their own interests, to otherize the other over intermediaries and to separate the West from the non-West in terms of economy, politics and culture. At this point, they will not be in the active role when realizing their goals but prefer using the inappropriate others of the non-Western society, who are granted awards and funds, and lead to the development of the self-orientalist thinking. This is possible through the non-West using its own cinematic language. This way, the non-Western cinema that springs to life with the financial supports of funds such as Eurimages may face paying a great price for their dependency on the West even without knowing it and this may force new directors develop their perspectives in the way the West desires, which will make it difficult for the directors to find their own authenticity. The inappropriate others who try to integrate their own ideas to the Western-centric ideology whether knowingly or not – in this case, the directors- change the cinematic language the West does not put in words but desires. It is possible to say that the parties agreeing to the terms of this mute agreement encumber the future of their society in cultural and economic terms. Therefore, in the light of 10 films analyzed within the frame of this study, it is observed that Eurimages fund supports the films which defend the cultural discourses of modernity as a part of the Western-centric thinking whereas it can be also said in the light of the findings gathered that the Eurimages fund also provides an implicit support for the creation of an orientcycle tendency that incorporates liberal ideas, promotes existentialist thinking, gradually moves away from historicity without giving societies the chance to understand the problems they find themselves in.

APPENDIX-A: Distribution by Years of the Eurimages Co-Production Projects for the years 1990-2013

Co-production Projects in 1990

- 1- Ates Ustunde Yurumek – Yavuz Ozkan – Turkey/France/Germany –198,184 Euros
- 2- The Nude – Ali Ozgenturk – Turkey/Greece/France – 304,898 Euros
- 3- Robert’s Movie – Canan Gerece – Turkey/Germany/France – 228,674 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 730,746 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1991

- 1- The Blue Exile – Erden Kiral – Germany/Greece/Turkey – 457,347 Euros
- 2- I Love You, Rosa – Isil Ozgenturk – Turkey/France/Greece – 228,674 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 686,021 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1992

- 1- Shamaran – Zulfu Livaneli – Turkey/Germany/Sweden – 213,429 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 228,674 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1993

- 1- Love is Colder than Death – Canan Gerece – Turkey/France/Switzerland– 304,898 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 304, 898 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1994

- 1- The Letter – Ali Ozgenturk – Turkey/Poland/Czech Republic – 152,449 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 152,449 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1995

- 1- Istanbul Beneath my Wings – Mustafa Altioklar – Turkey/Spain/Holland – 182,939 Euros

2- Love under Siege – Ersin Pertan – Turkey/Greece/Hungary – 182,939 Euros

3- Please Don't Go – Tunc Basaran – Turkey/France/Greece – 213,429 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 579,307 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1996

1- Agir Roman – Mustafa Altioklar – Turkey/France/Hungary – 213,429 Euros

2- Akrebin Yolculugu – Omer Kavur – Turkey/Hungary/Czech Republic – 167,694 Euros

3- Avci – Erden Kiral – Turkey/Hungary/Czech Republic – 137,204 Euros

4- Eskiya – Yavuz Turgul – Turkey/France/Bulgaria – 137,204 Euros

5- Nihavend Mucize – Atif Yilmaz – Turkey/France/Greece – 152,449 Euros

6- Sawdust Tales – Baris Pirhasan – Germany/Hungary/Turkey – 182,939 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 990,919 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1997

1- Goodbye Tomorrow – Reis Celik – Turkey/France/Hungary – 239,040 Euros

2- Journey to the Sun – Yesim Ustaoglu – Turkey/Germany/Holland – 167,694 Euros

3- The Split – Canan Gerede – France/Ireland/Holland – 259,163 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 666,907 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1998

1- Harem Suare – Ferzan Ozpetek – Italy/France/Turkey – 487,837 Euros

2- Kaciklik Diplomasi – Tunc Basaran – Turkey/Hungary/France – 182,939 Euros

3- Kayikci – Biket Ilhan Belgin – Turkey/Greece/Bulgaria – 167,694 Euros

4- My Darling Istanbul – Seckin Yasar – Turkey/Greece/Bulgaria – 167,694 Euros

5- Romantic – Sinan Cetin – Turkey/Bulgaria/France – 182,939 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 1,189,103 Euros

Co-production Projects in 1999

1- Balalayka – Ali Ozgenturk – Turkey/Czech Republic/Hungary – 67,078 Euros

2- Gule Gule – Zeki Okten – Turkey/France/Hungary – 243,918 Euros

3- Melekler Evi – Omer Kavur – Turkey/Hungary/Romania – 138,729 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 449,725 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2000

1- Buyuk Adam Kucuk Ask – Handan Ipekci – Turkey/Greece/Hungary – 304,000 Euros

2- Bogaza Surgun – Merlyn Solakhan et. al. – Germany/Turkey/Switzerland– 50,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 354,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2001

1- Hicbir Yerde – Tayfun Pirselimoglu – Turkey/Germany – 275,000 Euros

2- O da Beni Seviyor – Baris Pirhasan – Turkey/Hungary – 280,000 Euros

3- Children of Secret – Aydin Sayman – Turkey/Hungary – 200,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 755,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2002

1- Camur – Dervis Zaim – Turkey/Cyprus – 250,000 Euros

2- Gonderilmemis Mektuplar – Yusuf Kurcenli – Turkey/Hungary – 190,000 Euros

3- Waiting for the Clouds – Yesim Ustaoglu – France/Germany/Greece – 350,000 Euros

4- Heads or Tails – Ugur Yucel – Turkey/Greece – 320,000 Euros

- 5- Zamansiz Olum – Omer Kavur – Turkey/Hungary – 250,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 1,360,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2003

- 1- Inat Hikayeleri – Reis Celik – Turkey/Germany – 75,000 Euros
- 2- Angel’s Fall– Semih Kaplanoglu – Turkey/Greece – 275,000 Euros
- 3- Fake World – Umit Unal – Turkey/Hungary – 260,000 Euros
- 4- Yolda – Erden Kiral – Turkey/Bulgaria – 238,370 Euros
- 5- Zaman – Ali Ozgenturk – Turkey/Bulgaria – 266,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 1,114,370 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2004

- 1- Borrowed Bride – Atif Yilmaz – Turkey/Greece – 210,000 Euros
- 2- Dilan – Canan Gerede – France/Turkey – 250,000 Euros
- 3- Iklimler – Nuri Bilge Ceylan – Turkey/France – 200,000 Euros
- 4- The Coat – Kutlug Ataman – Turkey/Germany/United Kingdom – 225,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 885,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2005

- 1- Ayse’yi Kim Sevmiyor – Elfe Uluc – Turkey/Turkey/France – 42,145 Euros
- 2- Cenneti Beklerken – Dervis Zaim – Turkey/Hungary – 220,000 Euros
- 3- Destiny – Zeki Demirkubuz – Turkey/Greece – 200,000 Euros
- 4- Takva – Ozer Kızıltan – Turkey/Germany – 210,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 672,145 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2006

- 1- The Egg – Semih Kaplanoglu – Turkey/Greece – 150,000 Euros

- 2- Eve Donus – Omer Uğur – Turkey/Greece – 200,000 Euros
- 3- Eve Giden Yol – Semir Aslanyurek – Turkey/Hungary – 200,000 Euros
- 4- Mutluluk – Abdullah Oguz – Turkey/Greece – 230,000 Euros
- 5- Saturno Contro – Ferzan Ozpetek – Italy/France/Turkey – 578,500 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 1,358,500 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2007

- 1- Pandora's Box – Yesim Ustaoglu – Turkey/France – 200,000 Euros
- 2- Hayaller (Three Monkeys) – Nuri Bilge Ceylan – Turkey/France/Italy – 235,000 Euros
- 3- Hayat Var – Reha Erdem – Turkey/Greece/Bulgaria – 200,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 635,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2008

- 1- Usta – Bahadır Karatas – Turkey/Bosnia-Herzegovina – 250,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 250,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2009

- 1- Bal – Semih Kaplanoglu – Turkey/Germany – 180,000 Euros
- 2- Our Grand Despair – Seyfi Teoman – 150,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 330,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2010

- 1- Future Lasts Forever – Ozcan Alper – Turkey/Germany – 150,000 Euros
- 2- Labirent – Tolga Ornek – Turkey/Germany – 200,000 Euros
- 3- Somewhere in Between – Yesim Ustaoglu – Turkey/France/Germany – 220,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 570,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2011

- 1- Cold of Kalandar – Mustafa Kara – Turkey/Hungary – 100,000 Euros
- 2- In Flames – Murat Saracoglu – Turkey/Germany – 220,000 Euros
- 3- Watchtower – Pelin Esmer – Turkey/France/Germany – 140,000 Euros
- 4- Woman and Man – Aslı Ozge – Turkey/Germany/Holland – 150,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 610,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2012

- 1- Fountain of Youth – Turkey/Holland – 220,000 Euros
- 2- I Am Not Him – Tayfun Pirselimoglu – Turkey/Germany/France/Greece – 150,000 Euros
- 3- Singing Women – Reha Erdem – Turkey/Germany/France – 250,000 Euros
- 4- The Blue Wave – Merve Kayan, Zeynep Dadak – Turkey/Germany/Holland – 110,000 Euros
- 5- Yozgat Blues – Mahmut Fazil Coskun – Turkey/Germany – 160,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 890,000 Euros

Co-production Projects in 2013

- 1- Nefesim Kesilene Kadar – Emine Emel Balci Tuncel – Turkey/Germany – 120,000 Euros
- 2- Winter Sleep – Nuri Bilge Ceylan – Turkey/Germany/France – 450,000 Euros

Total Amount of Support: 570,000 Euros

APPENDIX-B: Distribution by Years of Distribution Projects**1992**

- 1- Gizli Yuz – Omer Kavur –
Switzerland

1995

- 1- Zikimin Koku – Memduh Un –
France

1996

- 1- Love is Colder than Death – Canan
Gerede – Holland

1998

- 1- Kurz und Schmerzlos – Fatih Akin
– Switzerland

1999

- 1- Journey to the Sun – Yesim
Ustaoglu – Switzerland/Greece
- 2- Harem Suare – Ferzan Ozpetek –
Switzerland

2000

- 1- Harem Suare – Ferzan Ozpetek –
Bulgaria

2001

- 1- Clouds of May – Nuri Bilge
Ceylan - France/Denmark
- 2- Melekler Evi – Omer Kavur –
Bulgaria

2003

- 1- Buyuk Adam Kucuk Ask – Handan
Ipekci – Germany
- 2- La Finestra di Fronte – Ferzan
Ozpetek – Hungary
- 3- Kurz und Schmerzlos – Fatih Akin
– Turkey
- 4- Distant – Nuri Bilge Ceylan –
Switzerland/Spain/France

2004

- 1- Kleine Freiheit – Yuksel Yavuz –
Turkey
- 2- Sir Cocuklari – Aydin Sayman,
Umit C. Guven – Germany
- 3- Distant – Nuri Bilge Ceylan –
Holland/Hungary/Germany

2005

- 1- Nel mio amore – Susanna Tamaro
– Turkey
- 2- Solino – Fatih Akin – Turkey
- 3- Heads or Tails – Ugur Yucel –
Germany

2006

- 1- Klimiler – Nuri Bilge Ceylan –
Norway

2007

- 1- GORA – Omer Faruk Sorak –
Bulgaria
- 2- Iklimler – Nuri Bilge Ceylan –
Bosnia
Herzegovina/Germany/Macedonia
- 3- Takva – Ozer Kiziltan –
Switzerland/Norway

2008

- 1- Organize İşler – Yılmaz Erdoğan –
Bulgaria
- 2- Takva – Özer Kiziltan –
Hungary/Romania

APPENDIX-C: List of National and International Awards Won by the 10 Films Analyzed within the Scope of the Study

Film	Director	National Award Won	International Award Won
Love is Colder Than Death	Canan Gerece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best Director, Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, 1995 • Best Cinematography Award, Jürgen Jürges, 1995 • T.R. Ministry of Culture Special Award, 1995 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best Film Award, 6th Cologne Film Festival, 1996. • Jean Carment Award, Bennu Gerece, Angers Europe First Film Festival, 1996. • Best Actress Award, Bennu Gerece, Sochi International Film Festival, 1996.
The Blue Exile	Erden Kiral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, Best Film Award, 1993. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Montreal Film Festival FIPRESCI Prize • Istanbul International Film Festival, Golden Tulip Award, 1994.
The Nude	Ali Ozgenturk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30th Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, “Best Cinematography”, “Best Laboratory”, “Best Voice-over”, “Best Lighting Design”, “Special Jury Award”, 1993. 	<p>Festivals Participated:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo Film Festival • Alexandria Film Festival • Varna Film festival • Montpellier Film Festival • Tokyo Film Festival • Venice Film Festival
The Egg	Semih Kaplanoglu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 44th Golden Orange Film Festival - "Best Film", 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valdivia International Film Festival, Best Director, The

		<p>"Best Screenplay Award", "Best Film", "NETPAC Jury Award", 2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 27th International Istanbul Film Festival - "Golden Tulip Best Film Award", 2008. • Radikal Newspaper Public Award (The Egg), 2008. 	<p>Egg, 2007.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bangkok World Film Festival, Best Director, The Egg, 2007. • 2008 International Fajr Film Festival - Crystal Simorgh for Best Director (for Egg)
The Turkish Bath	Ferzan Ozpetek	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34th Antalya Film Festival, "Best Film", "Best Director" Award, 1997. • 18th International Istanbul Film Festival, Best Director Award, 1998. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Golden Globe Awards - Italy, Best First Film Award, 1997.
Three Monkeys	Nuri Bilge Ceylan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd Yesilcam Awards, "Best Film", "Best Director", "Best Screenplay", "Best Actress", "Best Cinematography", "Young Talent Special Award", 2008. • 41st SIYAD (Turkish Film Critics Association) Awards, "Best Director", "Best Supporting Actor", "Best Actress", "Best Film Editing", 2008. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 61st Cannes Film Festival, Best Director Award, 2008. • Asia Pacific Screen Awards, Best Director, 2008. • Osian's Cinefan Film Festival, Best Director, 2008. • Haifa Film Festival, Best Film, 2008. • Manaki Brothers Film Camera Festival, "Mosfilm Awards", "Special Mansion", 2008.
Once Upon a Time in	Nuri Bilge Ceylan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 44. SIYAD (Turkish Film Critics Association) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 64. Cannes Film Festival, Grand Prix, 2011.

Anatolia		<p>Awards, “Best Film”, “Best Director”, “Best Screenplay”, “Best Supporting Actor”, “Best Film Editing”, “Best Cinematography”, 2012.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yesilcam Film Academy Awards, “Best Film”, “Best Director”, “Best Screenplay”, “Best Cinematography”, “Best Film Editing”, “Best Actor”, “Best Supporting Actor”, “Best Sound”, “Best Sound Design”, “Best Makeup”, 2012. • ESKADER 2011 Awards, Best Film, 2012. • Sadri Alisik Acting Awards, “Best Actor”, 2012. • Bilkent University Awards, “Best Director”, “Best Screenplay”, 2012. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asia Pacific Screen Award, “Best Cinematography”, “Best Director”, “Grand Jury Award”, 2011. • Dubai International Film Festival, “Best Cinematography”, “Special Jury Award”, 2011. • Cinemanila International Film Festival, Best Director, 2011. • James Dublin International Film Festival, Best Director, 2012. • Karlovy Vary International Film Festival, NETPAC award, 2011. • Philadelphia Film Festival, “Audience Award Honorable Mention Masters”, 2011. • Sao Paulo Film Festival, Grand Film Critics Award, 2011.
Journey to the Sun	Yesim Ustaoglu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ankara International Film Festival, “Best Film”, “Best Director”, “Best Screenplay” Award, 1999. • Istanbul International Film 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin International Film Festival, “Blue Angel”, “Peace Film” Award, 1999. • Festróia - Tróia International Film Festival,

		<p>Festival, “Best Director” “Best Film”, “FIPRESCI”, “Public” Awards, 1999.</p>	<p>“OCIC” and “Special Jury” Award, 1999.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manaki Brothers International Film Festival, “Golden Camera 300” Award, 1999. • Jerusalem Film Festival, “Peace Award”, 1999. • Sao Paulo International Film Festival, “International Jury Award”, 1999. • Valladolid International Film Festival, “Special Jury Award”, 1999.
Pandora’s Box	Yesim Ustaoglu	<p>45th Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, “Best Supporting Actress”, 2008. International Istanbul Film Festival, “Best Actress”, 2009.</p>	<p>Traditional Boston Turkish Films Festival, Perfection at Turkish Cinema Award, 2010. MedFilm Festival, Eurimages Italy Award, 2009. Castellinaria International Film Festival, The 3rd Castles, 2009. Cinemanila International Film Festival, Vic Silayan Award – Best Actress, 2009. San Sebastian International Film Festival, “Best Film – Golden Oyster”, “Best Actress – Silver Oyster”, 2008. Fajr International Film</p>

			<p>Festival, “Special Jury Award”, “Best Actress” Award, 2009.</p> <p>Amiens International Film Festival, “Best Actress” 2009.</p> <p>Valeciases International Film Festival, “Best Actress”, 2009.</p> <p>Thessaloniki International Film Festival, “Crossroad Best European Film Project”, 2006.</p>
Kader	Zeki Demirkubuz	<p>Ankara International Film Festival, “Best Director”, “Best Leading Actress”, “Best Supporting Actress”, 2006.</p> <p>Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, “Best Film”, “Best Leading Actor” Jury Special Award, 2006.</p> <p>Istanbul International Film Festival, FIPRESCI Award, “Best Director”, “Best Leading Actor”, 2006.</p>	<p>Nuremberg Film Festival, “Best Film (Jury)”, “Best Film” (audience), 2007.</p>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abisel, N. (1994). Nasıl Yaşıyor, Nasıl Düşlüyoruz? Yerli Filmlerin Kurmaca Dünyasında Demokrasi. In O. Onaran, N. Abisel, L. Köker, & E. Köker, *Türk Sinemasında Demokrasi Kavramının Gelişmesi*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Ahmed, F. (2008). *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.
- Akpınar, E. (2005). *10 Yönetmen ve Türk Sineması*. İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı.
- Aksakal, H. (2011). *Politik Romantizm ve Modernite Eleştirileri*. Ankara: Kadim Yayınları.
- Alatas, S. H. (2006). *The Myth of Lazy Native*. New York: Routledge Press.
- Althusser, L. (2006). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları* (Vol. 2). (A. Öz, Ed., & A. Tümertekin, Trans.) İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.
- Amin:(2007). *Avrupamerkezcilik* (Vol. 2). (M. Sert, Trans.) İstanbul: Chivi Yazıları.
- Arslan, E. (2011). The Evaluation of Production Resources Used in Turkish Cinema Before and After 2000s. *Selçuk University Social Sciences Institute Journal* (25), 17-32.
- Arslan-Yeğen, U. T. (2007). Gecikmiş Modernlik, Ulusal Kimlik ve Türk Sineması. *PhD Dissertation* . Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Aslan Yaşar, G. (2011). Ortaçağdan Günümüze "Modernite": Doğuşu ve Doğası. *Adıyaman Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* (7), 10-26.
- Büyükbaykal, C. (2012). The Mass Media and Social Life. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* , 71-75.
- Baechler, J. (1988). *The Origins of Modernity, Caste and Feudality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Balio, T. (1998). A Major Presence in all of the World's Important Markets: The Globalization of Hollywood in 1990's. In S. Neale, & M. Smith (Eds.), *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*. London and New York: Routledge Press.
- Barker, C. (2005). *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of Postmodernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (2013). *Modernite, Kapitalizm, Sosyalizm: Küresel Çağda Sosyal Eşitsizlik*. (D. Elgun, Trans.) İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Benton, C., & Fear, T. (2003). Introduction: From Rome to Buffalo. *Arethusa* , 36 (3), 267-270.
- Bergfelder, Tim (2006) Book review. European cinema: face to face with Hollywood, by Thomas Elsaesser, Amsterdam University Press, 2005, 563 pp. *Screen*, 47, (3), 373-378.
- Bernal, M. (1994). The Image of Ancient Greece as a Tool for Colonialism and European Hegemony. In G. Bond, & A. Gilliam, *Social Construction of the Past: Representations as Power* (p. 119). London: Routledge Press.
- Biryıldız, E. (2012). *Sinemada Akımlar*. İstanbul: Beta Basım Yayım.
- Blaut, J. M. (2012). *Sömürgeciliğin Dünya Modeli: Coğrafi Yayılmacılık ve Avrupa-merkezci Tarih*. (S. Behçet, Trans.) İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Blaut, J. M. (1987). *The National Question*. London: Zed Books.
- Blaut, J. M. (1992). The Theory of Cultural Racism. *Antipode* , 24 (4), 289-299.
- Boas, F. (1940). *Race, Language and Culture*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Boratav, K. (1996). *İktisat Politikaları: 1980-1994* (Vol. XIII). İstanbul.

Brenner, R. (1985). *The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brenner, R. (1977). The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism. *New Left Review* , 25-93.

Bumin, T. (2005). *Tartışılan Modernlik: Descartes ve Spinoza*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Campbell, A. (2005). *ABD'de Neoliberalizmin Doğuşu: Kapitalizmin Yeniden Örgütlenmesi*. (Ş. Başlı, & T. Öncel, Trans.) İstanbul: Yordam Kitap.

Cespedes, G. (1974). *Latin America: The Early Years*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Ceylan, N. B. (2012, September 23). *Creativity, National Hero and Changing Turkey*.

Retrieved April 20, 2014, from Bir Gün Newspaper:

http://www.birgunabone.net/writer_index.php?category_code=1261404460&news_code=1348388241&year=2012&month=09&day=23

Cheng, M. (2009). An Acoustic Fourth World. *Platform* , 4 (2), 37-57.

Clarke, S. (2007). *Marx'ın Kriz Teorisi*. (C. Atay, Trans.) İstanbul: Otonom Yayıncılık.

Colette, J. (2006). *Varoluşçuluk*. (I. Ergüden, Trans.) İstanbul: Dost Kitabevi.

Collins, K. J. (1988). *Capacity for Work in the Tropics*. (F. Roberts, Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crowell, S. (2010, October 11). *Existentialism*. (E. N. Zalta, Ed.) Retrieved November 28, 2013, from Stanford University Encyclopedia of Philosophy:

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existentialism/>

Çakır, M. (1997). 1960'lar Türkiye'sinde Sinemadaki Akımlar. 25. *Kare Sinema Kültürü Dergisi* , 21, pp. 12-20.

Çelik, T. (2009). 1990 Sonrası Türkiye'de 'Yönetmen Sineması' Alanında Film Üretim Süreci. *PhD Dissertation* . İstanbul, Turkey: Marmara University Social Sciences Institute.

Çifci, Y. (2013). *Self Oryantalizm ve Türkiye'de Kürtler*. Ankara: Orient Yayınları.

Çiğdem, A. (2006). *Aydınlanma Düşüncesi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Daldal, A. (2005). *1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi.

de Vries, J. (1984). *European Urbanization 1500 - 1800*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.

Delanty, G. (2007). Modernity. *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* . (G. Ritzer, Ed.) Blackwell Publishing.

Demir, N. (2006). Avrupa Birliği'ne Üye Ülkelerin Avrupa Konseyi Sözleşme ve Şartlarına Yönelik Tutumlarının Değerlendirilmesi. *Ege Akademik Bakış Dergisi* , 6 (2), 157-167.

Denevan, W. (1992). The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , 82, 369-385.

Devisse, J., & Labib:(1984). Africa In Intercontinental Relations. *UNESCO General History of Africa* , 4.

Dirlik, A. (1996). Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism. *History and Theory* , 35 (4), 96-118.

Dorsay, A. (2004). *Sinemamızda Çöküş ve Rönesans Yılları: Türk Sineması 1990 - 2004*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.

Doğan, N. (2005). NATO'nun Örgütsel Değişimi, 1949-1999: Kuzey Atlantik İttifakından Avrupa-Atlantik Güvenlik Örgütüne. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* , 60 (3), 69-108.

Duman, M. Z. (2011). Neo-liberal Küreselleşmenin Zaferi. *Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi* , 8 (1), 666-700.

Durant, W. (1972). *Caesar and Christ*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Elsaesser, T. (2005). *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Erdoğan, İ. (2000). *Kapitalizm Kalkınma Postmodernizm ve İletişim*. Erk Yayınları.

Erdoğan, İ. (2007). *Pozitivist Metodoloji: Bilimsel Araştırma Tasarımı İstatistiksel Yöntemler Analiz ve Yorum* (Vol. 2). Ankara, Keçiören: Kadir Erdoğan (ERK).

Ergül, Ö. (2002). Heidegger'in Varoluşçu Ontolojisi. *Kaygı: Felsefe Dergisi* (2), 1-7.

Erkılıç, H. (2003). *Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı ve Bu Yapının Sinemamıza Etkileri*. İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

Erman, F. (2006, 06 11). *Radikal Newspaper*. Retrieved 04 20, 2014, from Bir Yapımcının Gözünden Cannes: http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=r2&haberno=5947

Eroğlu, A. H. (2000). Hıristiyanların Bölünme Sürecine Genel Bir Bakış. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* , 41 (1), 309-325.

Ertem, B. (2009). Türkiye - ABD İlişkilerinde Truman Doktrini ve Marshall Planı. *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* , 12 (21), 377-397.

Erus, Z. Ç. (2007). Film Endüstrisi ve Dağıtım: 1990 Sonrası Türk Sinemasında Dağıtım Sektörü. *Selçuk İletişim Dergisi* , 4 (4), 5-16.

Esen, Ş. (2000). *80'ler Türkiye'sinde Sinema*. İstanbul: Beta Yayınları.

Esen, Ş. (2002). *Sinemamızda Bir 'Auteur': Ömer Kavur*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınevi.

Eurimages. (2014, January 01). *Eurimages*. Retrieved January 29, 2014, from What we do?:
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/About/default_en.asp#

Eurimages. (2014, January 01). *Eurimages Member States*. Retrieved January 29, 2014, from
Eurimages - European Cinema Support Fund:
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/About/MemberStates_en.asp

Eurimages. (2014, January 01). *Results of Activities for 2013*. Retrieved January 29, 2014,
from Eurimages:
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/Source/2013ActivitiesReportSummary_en.pdf

Eurimages. (2013, November 21). *Support for co-production of full-length feature films, animations and documentaries*. Retrieved January 29, 2014, from Eurimages Regulations:
<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/Source/Regulations/IntroductionandCo-ProductionRegulations2013.pdf>

Feuerbach, L. (2010). *Geleceğin Felsefesinin İlkeleri*. Ankara: Alter Yayınları.

Fukuyama, F. (1999). *Tarihin Sonu ve Son İnsan*. İstanbul: Gün Yayınları.

Fung, A. (2006). Medya Ekonomisinin Politikası ve Medya Politikasının Ekonomisi: Kısa Bir Bakış. In L. Yaylagül, *Kitle İletişiminin Ekonomi Politikası* (pp. 31-49). Antalya: Dalbaz Yayıncılık.

Gökçe, B. (2004). *Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı ve Toplumsal Kurumlar*. Ankara: Savaş Yayınevi.

Göloğlu, M. (1974). *Milli Şef Dönemi, (1939-1945)*. Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

- Gönenç, Ö. (2012). Kitle Kültürü ve Kitle İletişimi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* , 129-138.
- Gündoğdu, M. (1997). Sinemamızda Bir Dönem Kapanırken. 25. *Kare* , 18, 11.
- Gürsoy, K. (1987). Ateizminin Pro"Sartre blemleri". (S. Elibol, Ed.) *Felsefe Konuşmaları* .
- Galinsky, K. (1996). *Augustan Culture: An Interpretative Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gambetti, Z. (2009). İktidarın Dönüşen Çehresi: Neoliberalizm, Şiddet ve Kurumsal Siyasetin Tasfiyesi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* , 40, 145-166.
- Giddens, A. (2009). *Sağ ve Solun Ötesinde*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Goebel, T., Waters, M. R., & O'Rourke, D. H. (2008). The Late Pleistocene Dispersal of Modern Humans in the Americas. *Science* , 319, 1497-1502.
- Golding, P., & Graham, M. (2000). Culture, Communications and Political Economy. (E. Arnold, Ed.) *Mass Media and Society* , 3, 70-92.
- Goldstone, J. (2009). *Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History, 1500-1850*. New York, NY, USA: McGraw Hill.
- Gomery, D. (2003). Yeni Hollywood. In *Dünya Sinema Tarihi* (A. Fethi, Trans.). İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.
- Gorz, A. (2007). *İktisadi Aklın Eleştirisi: Çalışmanın Dönüşümleri / Anlam Arayışı*. (I. Ergüden, Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Gramsci, A. (1992). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (11th Printing ed.). (Q. Hoare, G. N. Smith, Eds., Q. Hoare, & G. N. Smith, Trans.) New York, USA: International Publishers.

- Guha, R. (1982). On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India. *Subaltern Studies* , 5-7.
- Hıdıroğlu, İ. (2010). *Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrası Sinema Politikaları*. Ankara: Ankara University Social Sciences Institute.
- Hall, J. (1985). *Powers and Liberties: The causes and consequences of the rise of the West*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hamilton, E. J. (1929). American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism. *Economica* , 9, 338-357.
- Hassan, F. A. (1978). Demographic Archeology. (M. B. Schaffer, Ed.) *Advances in Archeological Method and Theory* , 1.
- Haverfield, F. (1912). *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hayward, S. (1999). *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies*. London and New York: Routledge Press.
- Hébert, L. (2006). *Signo*. Retrieved 05 05, 2014, from The Semiotic Square: <http://www.signosemio.com/greimas/semiotic-square.asp>
- Heit, H. (2005). Western Identities, Barbarians and the Inheritance of Greek Universalism. *The European Legacy* , 10 (7), 725-739.
- Higson, A. (1989). The Concept of National Cinema. *Screen* , 30 (4), 36-47.
- Hingley, R. (2005). *Globalizing Roman Culture*. London and New York: Routledge .
- İlter, T. (2006). Modernizm, Postmodernizm, Postkolonyalizm. *Küresel İletişim Dergisi* , 1, 1-14.

- İnaç, H., & Demiray, M. (2004, December). Siyasal Bir İdeoloji Olarak Neo-Liberalizm. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* , 163-184.
- Jin, D. Y. (2011). A critical analysis of US cultural policy in the global film market: Nation-states and FTAs. *the International Communication Gazette* , 73 (8), 651-669.
- Jones, E. (2003). *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (3rd Edition ed., Vol. 3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Juncker, J. C. (2006). *Council of Europe - European Union: "A Sole Ambition for the European Continent"*. Luxembourg: Council of Europe Press.
- Jurgen, J. (1998, March). Zihniyet Farkını Seviyorum. *Sinerama Dergisi* .
- Küçükkalay, M. (1997). Endüstri Devrimi ve Ekonomik Sonuçlarının Analizi. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi* , Güz, 51-68.
- Kıraç, R. (2008). *Film İcabı, Türk Sineması'na İdeolojik Bir Bakış*. Ankara: De Ki Yayınları.
- Kırel, S. (2007). *Üçüncü Sinema ve Üçüncü Dünya Sineması*. (E. Biryıldız, & Z. Biryıldız, Eds.) İstanbul: Es Yayınları.
- Kızılcelik, S. (2011). *Batı Barbarlığı I: Rousseau, Marx ve Nietzsche Üzerine* (Vol. II). Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.
- Kaçmazoğlu, H. B. (2002). Doğu-Batı Çatışması Açısından Globalleşme. *Eğitim Araştırmaları* , 6, pp. 44-55.
- Kazancı, M. (2006). Althusser, İdeoloji ve İdeoloji ile İlgili Son Söz. *İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* (24), 67-93.

Keşaplı, O. (2010, September 21). *Sinemada Akımlar*. Retrieved March 28, 2014, from

Kamera Arkası:

<http://www.kameraarkasi.org/sinema/sinemadaakimlar/turksinemasindadevrimcisinemaakimiveyilmazguney.html>

Kierkegaard:(2013). *Felsefe Parçaları Ya Da Bir Parça Felsefe*. (D. Şahiner, Trans.)

İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları.

Korkmaz, A. (1997). *Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Sineması'nın İçinde Bulunduğu*

Ekonomik, Politik, Toplumsal ve Teknolojik Koşullar İle Bunların Sinemamız Üzerindeki

Sonuçları. İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü STV Anasanat Dalı

Sanatta Yeterlik Tezi.

Kovács, A. B. (2010). *Screening Modernism*. (E. Yılmaz, Trans.) İstanbul: De Ki Yayıncılık.

Kutlar, O. (1995). Varsa Bir Durum, Yapalım Bir Açıkoturum. In O. Kutlar, *Gündemdeki*

Konu. İstanbul: Mitos.

Levy-Bruhl, L. (1966). *How Natives Think*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Lewis, B. (1991). *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*. Ankara.

Lovell, W. G. (1992). "Heavy Shadows and Black Night": Disease and Depopulation in

Colonial Spanish America. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , 82, 426-

443.

Liotard, J. F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. (G. Bennington,

& B. Massumi, Trans.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

MacMullen, R. (2000). *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. London: Yale University

Press.

- Man, F. (2011). Modernitenin "Çalışma İdeolojisi" ve Sosyal Haklar. *Sosyal Haklar Uluslararası Sempozyumu* (pp. 159-173). Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi.
- Mann, M. (1988). *European Development: Approaching a historical explanation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Mann, M. (1986). *The Sources of Social Power*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, K. (2008). *Das Kapital*. (C. Badem, Trans.) İstanbul: Versus Kitap.
- Marx, K. (2005). *Ekonomi Politiğin Eleştirisine Katkı*. (S. Belli, Trans.) Ankara: Sol Yayınları.
- Marx, K. (2007). *Yabancılaşma* (Vol. 3). (B. Erdost, Ed., K. Somer, A. Kardam:Belli, A. Gelen, Y. Fincancı, & A. Bilgi, Trans.) İstanbul: Sol Yayınları.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (2008). *Komünist Manifesto*. İstanbul: Alter Yayıncılık.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (2011, 09 26). *The German Ideology*. Retrieved 12 11, 2013, from C.W. Anderson.org: <http://cwanderson.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/The-German-Ideology.pdf>
- Mattelart, A. (2000). European Film Policy and Response to Hollywood. In J. Hill, & P. C. Gibson (Eds.), *World Cinema, Critical Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mattelart, A. (2001). *İletişimin Dünyasallaşması*. (H. Yücel, Trans.) İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Mattingly, D. J. (2004). Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a provincial setting. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 17, 13.

Mattingly, D. J. (1997a). *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. (D. Mattingly, Ed.) Journal of Roman Archaeology.

McAlister, L. (1984). *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492 - 1700*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mcluhan, M., & Powers, B. R. (2010). *Global Köy*. (B. Ö. Düzgören, Trans.) İstanbul, Turkey: Scala Yayıncılık.

McNeely, C. (1995). *Constructing the Nation-State: International Organization and Prescriptive Action*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Milett, M. (1990). Romanization: historical issues and archeological interpretations. In M. Milett, & T. Blagg, *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (p. 38). Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Miller, T., & Maxwell, R. (2006). Film and Globalization. (O. Boyd-Barrett, Ed.) *Communication, Media, Globalization and Empire* , 33-52.

Minh-ha, T. T. (1989). Outside In Inside Out. In J. Pines, & P. Willemen, *Questions of third cinema* (p. 146). London: BFI Publishing.

Monaco, J. (2002). *Bir Film Nasıl Okunur*. İstanbul: Oğlak Yayınları.

Murdock, G. (2006). Büyük Şirketler ve İletişim Endüstrilerinin Kontorlü. In L. Yaylagül, *Kitle İletişiminin Ekonomi Politikası* (pp. 61-119). Antalya: Dalbaz Yayıncılık.

Nahya, N. (2011). İmgeler ve Ötekileştirme: Cadılar, Yerliler, Avrupalılar. *Atılım Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* , 1 (1), 27-38.

Neale, S. (1981). Art Cinema as Institution. *Screen* , 22 (1), 11-39.

Needham, J. (2004). *Science & Civilization in China* (Vol. 6). (N. Sivin, Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Novack, G. (1965, Spring). *Marxism Versus Existentialism* . Retrieved May 17, 2013, from Marxists Internet Archive: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/novack/works/history/ch12.htm>

Noy, D. (2000). *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers*. London: Gerald Duckworth.

Onaran, A. Ş. (1999). *Sinemaya Giriş*. İstanbul: Maltepe Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Onaran, A. Ş. (1996). Türk Sinemasının Bugünü ve Yarını. In S. M. Dinçer, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Düşünceler*. Ankara: Doruk Yayınları.

Öcal, L. H. (2013). *Film Festivals and Narrative*. İstanbul, Turkey: Marmara University Social Sciences Institute.

Özön, N. (1968). *Ansiklopedik Sinema Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Arkın Yayınevi.

Özön, N. (2000). *Sinema Televizyon Video Bilgisayarlı Sinema Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları.

Özön, N. (1975). *Türk Sineması Tarihi*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi.

Özçınar, Ş. (2013, July). Dialectic and Determinism in the Historical Materialism. *ETHOS: Dialogues in Philosophy and Social Sciences* , pp. 93-116.

Özgüç, A. (1993). *100 Filimde Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Sineması*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi.

Özgüç, A. (1990). *Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Sinemasında İlkler*. İstanbul: Yılmaz Yayınları.

Özgentürk, A. (2005). *10 Yönetmen ve Türkiye Sineması*. (E. Akpınar, Ed.) İstanbul: Agora.

- Özkazanç, A. (2009). Social Citizenship and the Question of Neo-Liberalism. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasi Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* , 64 (1), 247-274.
- Pösteki, N. (2005). Eurimages Destekli Türk Sineması ve Avrupalı Olmak. *Bahcesehir University Cinema Conference*. İstanbul.
- Piodi, F. (2010). *From the Schuman Declaration to the birth of the ECSC: The Role of Jean Monnet*. Brussels: Archive and Documentation Centre Directorate-General for the Presidency European Parliament.
- Pratt, M. L. (1991). Arts of the Contact Zone. *Profession* , 33-40.
- Radikal. (2014, 01 21). *2013'te Buruk Rekor!* Retrieved 04 10, 2014, from Radikal Gazetesi: http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/2013te_sinemada_buruk_rekor-1171816
- Refiğ, H. (1999). *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Rhode, E. (1976). *A History of the Cinema*. London: Allan Lane.
- Rifat, M. (2009). *Göstergebilim'in ABC'si*. İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Ruskola, T. (2002). Legal Orientalism. *Michigan Law Review* , 101 (1), 179-234.
- Russell, B. (1997). *Batı Felsefesi Tarihi II Ortaçağ*. (M. Sencer, Trans.) İstanbul: Say Dağıtım.
- Ryan, M., & Kellner, D. (1997). *Politik Kamera*. (E. Özsayar, Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı.
- Ryan, S. (2000). *Engels to Franz Mehring*. (D. Torr, Trans.) New York: International Publishers. Retrieved on 18.02.2015, from Marxist Internet Archive: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm
- Said, E. (2013). *Kültür ve Emperyalizm*. (N. Alpay, Trans.) İstanbul: Hil Yayınları.

- Said, E. (2003). *Oryantalizm*. (N. Uzel, Trans.) İstanbul: Metis Yayınevi.
- Sartre, J. P. (2008). *Between Existentialism and Marxism*. (J. Matthews, Trans.) London & New York: Verso Publishing.
- Sartre, J. P. (2012). *Varoluşçuluk*. (A. Bezirci, Trans.) İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Schiller, H. (2005). *Zihin Yönlendirenler* (Vol. 2). (C. Cerit, Trans.) İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları.
- Scognamillo, G. (2003). *Türk Sinema Tarihi - Genişletilmiş Baskı* (Vol. II). İstanbul: Kabalıcı Kitabevi.
- Scognamillo, G. (1990). *Türk Sinema Tarihi, 1896 - 1959* (Vol. I). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Sivas, A. (2007). Türk Sinemasında Bağımsızlık Anlayışı ve Temsilcileri. (5-28) . İstanbul: Marmara University Social Sciences Institute.
- So, A. Y. (1990). *Social change and development - modernization, dependency and world-system theories*. London: Sage Publications.
- Solomon, R. C. (2004). *Existentialism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Soydan, M. (2008). Postyapısalcı Bir Okumayla Eurimages Destekli Türk Filmlerinin Çözümlemesi. *PhD Dissertation* . İzmir, Turkey: Ege University Social Sciences Institute Unpublished Dissertation.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (pp. 271-313). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Stalin, J. (2003). *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (9th Edition ed.). İstanbul: Sol Yayınları.

Staszak, J. F. (2008). Other/Otherness. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* , pp. 1-7.

Suner, A. (2005). *Hayalet Ev, Yeni Türk Sineması'nda Aidiyet Kimlik ve Bellek*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Şaylan, G. (1995). *Değişim: Küreselleşme ve Devletin Yeni İşlevi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Şaylan, G. (2002). *Postmodernizm*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Tütüncü, F. (2007). *The National Pedagogy of the Early Republican Era in Turkey*. Middle East Technical University, Philosophy. Ankara: Social Sciences Institute.

Tekeli, İ. (2002). *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* (Vol. 3). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Thorndike, L. (1943). Renaissance or prenaissance? *Journal of the History of Ideas* , 4, 65-74.

TÜSİAD. (2002). *Felsefe*. İstanbul: Lebib Yalkın Yayınları ve Basım İşleri A.Ş.

Topakkaya, A. (2008). To Re-Read Marx In the Context of Historical Materialism. *The Journal of International Social Research* , 1 (3), 378-395.

Toulmin:(2002). *Kozmopolis / Modernite'nin Gizli Gündemi*. (H. Arslan, Trans.) İstanbul: Paradigma Yayınları.

Tunç, E. (2006). *Economical Structure of Turkish Cinema*. İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences.

Ulağlı, S. (2006). İmgebilim: 'Öteki'nin Bilimine Giriş. *Uluslararası İmgebilim Sempozyumu* (p. 104). Ankara: Sinemis Yayınları.

Uluç, G. (2009). *Medya ve Oryantalizm*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi.

- Ulusay, N. (2003). Avrupa Merkezli Görsel-İşitsel Kuruluşlar ve Türk Sineması. In M. G. Bek, *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'de İletişim Politikaları* (pp. 59-94). Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık.
- Ulusay, N. (2004). Globalization and National Film Industries: The Turkish Case. *Boğaziçi Journal*, 12 (1-2), 107-119.
- Ulusay, N. (2008). *Melez İmgeler ve Ulusötesi Oluşumlar*. Ankara: Dost Yayınları.
- Ustaoglu, Y. (2011, January 06). Yeşim Ustaoglu 'Bir insana değebilmek...'. (C. Civan, & F. Er, Interviewers) Kafa Ayarı - kafaayari.com.
- Uyanık, F. (2006). Türkiye'nin AB Görsel İşitsel Politikalarına Uyum Çabaları. İstanbul, Turkey: Marmara University Social Sciences Institute Unpublished Dissertation.
- Ülgen, P. (2010). Ortaçağ Avrupasında Feodal Sisteme Genel Bir Bakış. *Mukaddime*, 1-17.
- Ünal, Ü. (1996). Bir 13. Cuma Günü. In S. M. Dinçer, *Türk Sineması Üzerine Düşünceler*. Ankara: Doruk Yayınları.
- Wagner, P. (1992). *Modernliğin Sosyolojisi*. İstanbul: Doruk Yayınları.
- Wallerstein, I. (2000). *Bildiğimiz Dünya'nın Sonu*. (T. Birkan, Trans.) İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Wallerstein, I. (2006). *Tarihsel Kapitalizm* (Vol. 4). (N. Alpay, Trans.) İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Wallerstein, I. (2000). *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: The New Press Essential Series.
- Weber, M. (1981). *General Economic History*. 379.
- Weber, M. (2005). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Weber, M. (1951). The Religion of China. 231-232.

Woodberry, R. D. (2004). *The Shadow of Empire: Christian Missions, Colonial Policy, and Democracy in Postcolonial Societies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

Yüksel, M. (2001). *Küreselleşme, Ulusal Hukuk ve Türkiye*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

Yılmazok, L. (2012). *Eurimages and Turkish Cinema: History, Identity, Culture*.

Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Yavuz, D. (2013). *Türkiye Sineması'nın 22 Yılı*. Ankara: Antrakt Yayınevi.

Yayla, A. (2011). *Liberalizm*. İstanbul: Liberte Yayınları.

Zafir, C. Z. (2009). Neoliberalizmin Minimal Devlet Yaklaşımına Bir Eleştiri. *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi* , 7 (2), 65-82.

Zaim, D. (2008). Your Focus is Your Truth: Turkish Cinema, "Alluvionic" Filmmakers and International Acceptance. (N. Erdoğan, & M. Christensen, Eds.) *Shifting Landscapes: Media and Film in European Context* , 86-108.

Curriculum Vitae

Can DİKER

Personal Information:

Date of Birth: 25.08.1986
Place of Birth: İstanbul

Education:

Lycee	2001-2004	Vefa Anatolian High School
Undergraduate	2004-2008	Istanbul Commerce University, Communication Faculty, Visual Communication Design Department.
Master of Arts	2008-2010	Yeditepe University Institute of Social Sciences, MA in Radio-TV-Cinema.
Ph.D.	2010-2015	Yeditepe University Institute of Social Sciences, Ph.D. in Media Studies.

Work Experience:

2014-.... Dogus University Art & Design Faculty Lecturer.

2009-2014 Dogus University Art & Design Faculty Research Assistant.