

BİRİL ATIŞ

**ALIENATION IN
NEW TURKISH CINEMA**

İSTANBUL 2008

**T.C.
BAHÇEŞEHİR ÜNİVERSİTESİ**

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Master Thesis

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SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

FILM AND TV

ALIENATION IN NEW TURKISH CINEMA

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ
MASTER THESIS**

BİRİL ATIŞ

Supervisor: PROF.DR. Z. TÜL AKBAL SUALP

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ABSTRACT

ALIENATION IN NEW TURKISH CINEMA

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Film and TV

Supervisor: Prof.Dr. Z. Tül Akbal Sualp

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The concept of Alienation has been brought to the agenda of mankind with modernisation. The alienation in Turkey is a multi-level alienation. On one hand it includes the consequences of the Modernization while on the other hand the consequences of Turkish Modernization which is formed as an alteration project of the civilization. Especially after 1980; we see the traces of alienation, which increased with Turkey's Globalization and the neo-liberal economy, in the Contemporary Turkish Cinema. We can explain the unpopular Contemporary Turkish Cinema after 1995 upon the the alienation concept.

In the first part of the thesis; the history of western modernization is shortly explained, afterwards the history of alienation and doctrines of theorists who have contributed to this concept is mentioned in order to make a historical and theoretical analysis. In the second part the Turkish modernization, its consequences and differences with the western modernization are discussed. The major original dynamics of Turkish modernization and the duality of east-west is approached with a historical and analytic perspective. Ias for the last part, the post-1990 Turkish cinema is explained upon the alienation concept with various examples.The films of (N.B. Ceylan, 2002) and *5 Vakit* (R. Erdem, 2006) are emphasised and analysed within the framework of the structure, the content and the context they come from.

Key Words: Modernization, Turkish Modernization, Alienation, New Turkish Cinema

ÖZET

YENİ TÜRK SİNEMASINDA YABANCILAŞMA

Atış, Biril

Sinema ve TV

Tez Danışmanı: Prof.Dr. Z. Tül Akbal Sualp

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Yabancılaşma Kavramı, özellikle Modernleşmeyle birlikte insanlığın gündemine gelmiştir. Türkiye’de yaşanan yabancılaşma ise çok katmanlı bir yabancılaşmadır. Bir yandan Modernleşme projesinin sonuçlarını içerirken, bir yandan da uygarlık değiştirme projesi olarak biçimlenen Türk Modernleşmesinin sonuçlarını içerir. Özellikle 1980 sonrası; Türkiye’nin Küreselleşmesiyle ve neo-liberal ekonomiyle birlikte artan yabancılaşma olgusunun izlerini Yeni Türk Sinemasında’da görüyoruz. 1995’ten sonraki popüler olmayan Yeni Türk Sinemasını yabancılaşma kavramı üzerinden açıklayabiliriz.

Tezin ilk bölümünde; batının modernleşme tarihi kısaca özetlendikten sonra yabancılaşma kavramının tarihi ve kavrama katkı yapan düşünürlerin görüşleri kısaca anlatılarak tarihsel ve kuramsal bir analiz yapılmıştır. İkinci bölümde Türk modernleşmesi, sonuçları ve batı modernleşmesinden farklılıkları tartışılmıştır. Türk modernleşmesinin kendine özgü temel dinamikleri ve doğu- batı ikiliği tarihsel ve analitik bir bakışla ele alınmıştır. Son bölümde ise 1990 sonrası Türk sineması çeşitli örneklerle yabancılaşma kavramı üzerinden açıklanmıştır. Özellikle *Uzak* (N.B. Ceylan, 2002) ve *5 Vakit* (R. Erdem, 2006) filmlerinin üzerinde durularak yapı, içerik ve filmlerin içinden çıktıkları bağlam eksenlerinde incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernleşme, Türk Modernleşmesi, Yabancılaşma, Yeni Türk Sineması

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1. INTRODUCTION

Turkish movies falling outside popular cinema, named New Turkish Cinema by some authors, can be explained through the concept of alienation. I argue that the alienation concept in these texts, also the peculiar conditions of the Turkish modernization (particularly in the new period after 1980), is an outcome of the new era that society is entering. The alienation in Turkey involves the outcomes of the situation in Turkey that is shaped within the project of a civilizational shift of the Republic by a break from the tradition and defined by the dichotomy of east-west or tradition- modern.

The concept of alienation emerged with capitalism and modernization in the Western world and it is closely related with the concepts of positivism, individualization and the immigration from rural to urban with industrialization. Western modernization is a product of a unique process that begins with the retranslations of ancient Greek books, goes from exploitation of the new continents to the Renaissance, and reached a peak with the Enlightenment and the 1789 French revolution as it was shaped by the Industrial Revolution. In this process, society turned away from church as an institution, and therefore from the concept of belief, and individual's reason replaced belief in God as society and individual-centred life displaced God.

Turkish modernization, the roots of which go back to Ottoman modernization, experienced this process differently than the West and in a unique way. Turkish modernization was initially adopted by the bureaucratic elite as a development and westernization project and then spread to the society initially in the big cities.

The foremost aim of this process that emerged with the Ottoman military defeats against the West was to stop losing ground to the West by imitating western military and technological institutions. However, gradually the adoption of western cultural

values and civilization began and the 200 years old debates on Turkish history thus ensued.

The 1923 Republican reforms is a transformation, without foreign pressure of a country with a deeply rooted history from its own values to the values of another civilization that it considers superior. Without doubt, there are always opinions for or against this project. This subject will be discussed constantly but the significance of this transformation particularly in Turkish history and generally in Islamic and world history is increasing rather decreasing after 85 years. The republican reforms were a sharp break from an *umma* ruled by Islamic law to a western secular state. A secular nation state was created at least on the surface by the revolutionary steps at the first years of the Republic. However, beneath the surface, Islamic fundamentalism and Kurdish separatist movements always existed. The two “red lines” of the republic have been creating problems in various dimensions. Particularly after 1990's, the politicization of Kurdish separatism and the accession of political Islam to political power with a high percentage of votes deepened the crisis of the republic.

For the last 200 years, Turkish society has been grappling with modernization and west-east debates with various degrees of tension. Within the process beginning with the Tanzimat Reforms of 1839, Turkish society has discontinued its eastern identity and declared itself as a western society, especially with the foundation of the republic in 1923. However, passing time showed that Turkey will never be accepted as a western society and also never an eastern society. This division and ambiguity became the main problem of the country as the position of being neither western nor eastern diffused into the fabric of the Turkish society and the individual.

In the Ottoman-Turkish literature and Yeşilçam melodrama too, particularly in the post-1980 cinema (beginning with Ömer Kavur), this dichotomy, ambiguity, westernization or inability to be westernized was one of the important topics. The introduction of the multiparty system after 1950 accelerated the rise of rural and conservative political cadres to power and stimulated the secularism-Islamism debate that still goes on today. Moreover, as Turkey becomes a submissive member of the

capitalist system, open market, neo-liberalism, and a competitive but irregular economy reached the country. With the irregular capitalism, the country was shaken with scandals of bribery and corruption, to become rich at whatever expense became a value, the income gap between the classes increased, consumerism peaked, and the shopping centres that can be seen in almost all quarters become new sanctuaries of the society. With the rising political Islam and Kurdish nationalism in 1980's, there is a division and multiculturalism in Turkey.

As the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989, the 50 years status quo of the international scene changes, the ties between Turkey and the western world loosen, and its hope to be a member of EU weakens, Turkey could not find its place and role in the new world order. The ambiguity in the international scene along with the shock bipolar system's collapse influenced the society and left it politically aimless.

In this thesis I will argue that the Turkish Cinema of the post-1990 period, in which the continuous crisis became evident, can be explained by the concept of alienation. This alienation is not confined only to individualisation by modernization, loneliness, a break from religion and spirituality, the break of human from his/her environment, hopelessness, immigration and urbanization, but also includes the east-west, modern-traditional dichotomies in the Turkish society as a result of Turkish modernization. As Turkey becomes integrated to the west through globalization and neo liberalism, it has yet to conclude the debates over Islam and ethnic separatism. Without doubt, the modernization adventure of Turkey will be shaped around these problems. This unique westernization process is a continuing, tragic and bitter experience. In this process, I think the Turkish society is in a deep state of alienation. Alienation of its own values, even disdain to these values, and sometimes an orientalist perspective are discernible in important sections of the society and naturally in cinema. This continuing identity crisis is deepened with de-politization and consumerism through the spread of the popular media and the bombardment of TV, internet and media in the post 1990 period.

If we think that art objects reflect their periods and societies, one of the best ways to understand the society is to investigate the works of arts produced by individuals in the society. I think Turkish cinema has taken on new momentum since 1990's, and reflects the mood of the Turkish individual properly.

In my thesis of post-1990 Turkish cinema, I will seek both the traces of Turkish modernization and its unique problems, as well as traces of alienation of the individual in the modern society within the framework of the historical concept of alienation.

How is the alienation of Turkish society reflected in the movies? Is the alienation in the movies the same as the alienation defined by Marx or a different one? What are the traces of the Turkish society in these texts in the post-1980 period? How are the dichotomies of the east-west and the modernity-tradition debates that I consider to be the main debates of Turkey, reflected in these movies? These will be the main questions of the research. An introductory investigation of the post-1990 Turkish cinema within the context of modernization and alienation will be a modest contribution to the field.

In the first chapter of my thesis, after briefly summarizing the history of modernization of the west, I will concisely present the history of the concept of alienation and the thinkers contributing to this concept. In the second chapter, I will discuss the Turkish modernization experience, its outcomes and its differences from western modernization. I will analyse the unique dynamics of Turkish modernisation and the east-west dichotomy in a historical and analytic perspective. I will particularly focus on *Uzak* (N.B. Ceylan, 2002) and *5 Vakit* (R. Erdem, 2006) and analyse them within the context of structure, content and origins.

2. MODERNITY AND ALIENATION

2.1. MODERNITY

We can take the roots of the transition from a traditional society to a modern society back to the 12th century. In this period, as a significant portion of the ancient Greek literature was translated, Islamic civilization lived its golden age and developed a thought system promoting reason. However, as the Islamic civilization gradually declined, the ancient Greek literature translated from Islamic thinkers became the basis of renaissance and reform in Europe.

Until the 16th century, the significance of reason increased and important discoveries ran in parallel to this process. Renaissance and reform that would be the basis of the enlightenment philosophy of the 18th century became influential in all fields of society, and thus the way humanity perceives the world was changed by 16th century. By the era of the Enlightenment, reason and thought became the noblest values, as the significance of the religion in the society declined. As renaissance thought increased its influence in art and literature, the reform process accelerated with the invention of the press, increasing the prevalence of books and increasing literacy. Towards the second half of the 19th century, by renaissance reform and enlightenment, Europe became the most developed continent in the world due to social and technical developments and exploitation. In this process, taking a rational worldview became dominant first in Europe and then gradually in America.

As Habermas states, "The basis of the modernity project is producing the terms of individual, democracy, secularism, egalitarianism, reason, scientific thought with enlightenment movement." Reason revealed by the Enlightenment shaped the society and the state through modernized thought and so the modern society and modern state were created. Kant replies to the, "What is enlightenment?" question with, "Enlightenment is the release of humans from the condition of not being mature that

they were personally trapped. Not being mature corresponds to the inability to use reason without guidance. Humans should show the courage to reason." (Canpolat, 2005: 91).

Kumar identifies the significant breaking points in the transition from traditional society to modern society as the "industrial revolution", "French Revolution" and "scientific revolution". According to him, agricultural development has a significant role in this process as well as in technological development and increasing industrialization. If it was the French Revolution that gave the characteristics and consciousness of modernity (i.e. revolution based on reason), then it was the Industrial Revolution that supplied its substance (Kumar 1995 : 103).

The principal factors in the transition to a modern society are economical developments. The bourgeois, class enriched by the development of commerce, increased their wealth with the industrial revolution, an phenomena which paralleled the shift from an agricultural economy to a city economy based on the trade of industrial products. The power of the aristocracy and clergy that safeguarded their prosperity and political rule in the feudal system decreased. As the prospering bourgeoisie demanded rights in the political structure, they faced the resistance of the aristocracy and clergy. However, in the process resulting in 1789 French Revolution, they guaranteed their rights.

The 19th century of Western civilization is defined as the phase in which science became dominant. According to Özbudun and Demirer, thoughts over the source of the power shifted at the end of the Middle Ages:

Renaissance-reformation-enlightenment constitute the intellectual basis of the decline of the divine rule against the bourgeoisie that demands political power. Rationalism, that is to say to suppose that the human mind is the only parameter of all, gradually replaces scholasticism. In a way, the aim of rationalism is to free the social life from sanctity
(Özbudun, Demirer 2007 : 50)

Modernity brought two processes that are dominated by positivism: linear progression and rationalism. With the concept of progression, which is one of the most significant values of Enlightenment thought, a self-definition of the human being free from religious influence was sought. In this period, the human endeavoured to save himself from the influence of authority and to determine his own fate. Going beyond prejudices, the strict rules of religion and state have been rethought and criticized. The most prominent characteristic of this period is the belief in reason and progression. At the roots of the idea of progression lies the concept of aim.

Leibnez defined history as the maturation of the mind and mind's gradual rise from darkness to light. This process is continuous, retreats and stagnations are nothing else than gathering strength. For Kant, the concept of progression has a moral value. It is a duty for humans to conceive history as a linear progression for the aims attached to the dream of a freer humanity. Kant proposes that progression is materialized through the rule of reason and the establishment of laws. According to Kant, progression is the process of emancipation of the human being (Cited from: Aysevener : Doğu Batı 1999 : 106 – 107)

Developments in science and technology developed the commerce bourgeoisie, the increasing capital accumulation brought new investments and also increased competition. The increasing division of labour, expansion of the economy, and fast urbanization prompted the emergence of new social classes and significant social changes.

There is diversity of opinions from various thinkers regarding modernism. Bermann, a prominent name in the field, interpreted life as a type of experience. In other words, a type of experience that is related to space and time, I and others, and opportunities and challenges in life. According to Bermann:

Being modern is to find himself/herself in an environment which promises adventure, power, enthusiasm, progression, and opportunities to transform the self and the world, and on the other hand threatens to annihilate everything we have and know. Modern

environments and experiences go beyond geographical, ethnical, class conscious, national, religious and ideological boundaries. In that sense, it can be said that modernity unites humanity.

However, it is a paradoxical union, union of a fragmentation: it constantly draws us into the storm of division and regeneration, struggle and contradiction, ambiguity and bitterness. As Marx states, to be modern means to be part of the universe in which "anything solid evaporates (Bermann 2006: 27)

Berman defines modernity as a human experience that is surrounded by divisions, contradictions, and ambiguities. According to Schelling, the world dominated by modernism is the world of the individual, of the disintegration or, in other words, the idea of the modern world is the rebirth of the human and the death of god (Soykan 1993: 33). The idea of society and nature that infiltrated into all fields from which the concept of God retreated was an important factor in the secularization of science and philosophy (Çiğdem 1997: 57). The idea that lies at the heart of the Renaissance and Enlightenment is a main concept determining modernity.

According to Çetin, the essence of modernization is "to acknowledge the necessity for rational explanations for physical and social events. The most significant element of modernisation is utilization of the scientific thought instead of the sources of the traditional thinking" (Çetin, 2007: 97). Scientific behaviour even influenced the values of life that humans hold. This influence brought the marginalization of all traditional thoughts, except rationalism. Harvey points that the modernity project, as defined by Habermas, emerged in the 18th century, although the history of this term goes back in history.

The aim is utilizing the knowledge, formed freely and creatively by numerous individuals, to free humanity and to enrich daily life. The scientific domination over nature promised freedom from scarcity of natural sources and sporadic hits of the natural disasters. The development of the rational forms of social organization and ways of thinking promised release from irrationality of myths, religion, superstitions, arbitrary use of political power and from darker side of the human nature. (Harvey 2006 : 25)

In modernism, replacing God with human and the transcendental with intrinsic for the central position and religions new marginalized position received support and sometimes also criticism with the claim of leaving humanity uncontrolled. Roseneau claims that the modern subject replaces god as modern science replaces religion (Rosenau 1998 : 88) . Kızılcelik asserted that the function of modernism is about intrinsic values of the human mind rather than the role of transcendental values in the formation of social life.

Modernity substitutes religion which has a central position in the organization of the social life in the pre-modern time with science. The religious beliefs can only be incorporated in a limited space in the private life. (Kızılcelik 1996 : 13)

Berman divides the history of modernism into three: in the first phase, roughly from the beginning of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century humans began to comprehend modern life however they did not yet understand what had hit them. The second phase begins with the revolutionary wave of the 1790's. A modern public space emerged dramatically and instantly with the influence of the French revolution. In the third and last phase in the 20th century, the process of modernization expanded to almost all countries of the world, and the developing modernist world reached considerable success in art and thought (Berman 2006 : 29).

The modernity project can be analysed as an inseparable part of a whole with enlightenment. Çiğdem too relates the modernity project directly to the enlightenment movement and focuses on the thinkers of the enlightenment as architects of the modernity project. "Enlightenment means apprehension, organization and experience of life by humans through reason and science as freed from religious beliefs, from the authorities formed by these beliefs and from that lifestyle. The willpower of the human in enlightenment crystallizes with the decision to be rational" (Çiğdem 1997 : 57).

For Habermas, rationalism is a principle, which can be taken back to the enlightenment tradition and in which reason categorized as a universal subject that challenges myth symbolizing the old tradition. (Çiğdem 1997:79) Schoorl sees a comprehensive and complete definition for the concept of modernization as impossible. He sees knowledge as the core of modernization and argues that modernization is nothing else but domination of the scientific knowledge in all fields of social life. (cited from; Canatan 1995 : 35) According to Kellner, the modernity project has emerged and developed in relation to the enlightenment movement. He defines modernization as "a term describing processes of individualisation, secularisation, industrialisation, cultural differentiation, commodification, urbanisation, bureaucratisation, and rationalism which all together constitute the modern world." (Best, Kellner 1998 : 15).

According to one scholar, "Other characteristics of the enlightenment movement from which modernity emerged and developed are critical thinking and scepticism. In the works of Voltaire, who argues that the heel supporting the dominant religious dogmas of the Middle Ages should be smashed for the sake of enlightenment, the said critical thinking and scepticism expresses itself dramatically." (Gökberk 1997 : 66-67) He continues to argue "Another significant aspect of the enlightenment movement is to adopt a secular worldview and to try to implement secularism in all aspects of life as it emphasizes the replacement of arbitrariness of the religious ethics with the knowledge on natural laws" (Gökberk 1996 : 328)

In modern societies, the process of secularisation involves breaking off all connections with the divine world in all fields of life and confines human reason to this world. In this regard, it is centred around social structures and processes based on enlightenment values as well as reflecting the core of the enlightenment: conceiving the human being as a self sufficient creature in all dimensions of life.

The complete break between human reason and supernatural begins with positivism shaped by the thoughts of A. Comte. Positivism is a thought movement that reacts to the diversity of the thoughts on humanity, refuses theological and metaphysical

speculations, but rather is based on observed facts. In his work [*Akil Tutulması*], Horkmeir sharply criticises the reason of enlightenment and the principle of positivism that acknowledges a proposition only if it can be proved as a fact.

Horkmeir argues that there is a striking parallelism between the conception of the individual in reform and enlightenment. According to Horkmeir, in the age of free enterprise we live in, the personality was completely dedicated to protect individualism and subdued to reason. Therefore, the idea of personality was broken off from metaphysics and became only a synthesis of personal material interests (Horkmeir 2008 : 173).

As Mahçupyan emphasizes the essence of enlightenment is to separate one of primary human skills, reason, from the others and to make it become his only important specialty. He states that this doesn't only mean to make reason independent or superior of the other senses but rather, to reject the irrational, and to totally detach reason from irrationality. "In other words, man's becoming free from God brought freedom of the nature as well. The nature is also due to a reason and it functions according to unchangeable laws that complement each other. As an evident result of this finding, since human life is a part of nature, we are living in a rational world" (Mahçupyan 2000: 21-22).

According to the sociologists that defend modernization, modernity is a way of life which is superiorly ruled by differentiation, specialization, individualization, complexity, relations based on contracts, scientific knowledge and technology. Modernity's main parameters are capitalism, industry society, citizenry, democracy, rationality, specialization, differentiation, scientific knowledge, technology and nation state.

Kumar defines that industrialization and the information society afterwards have continued and developed the values of enlightenment. "Industrialism has substituted speed of machinery instead of the rhythm of nature while it guaranteed the location with the nation state. The clock and the railway schedule are the symbols of the industrial era. These define the time as hours, minutes and seconds.... Computer's

coming together with the new communication technology offers the modern society a new framework of location and time.” (Kumar 1995 : 24) “The concept of information society is highly coherent with the Western world’s liberal, progressive tradition. It preserves the belief of enlightenment in rationality and development.” (Kumar 1995 : 16)

Despite all the technological, intellectual progress and developments in the 20th century, the big tragedies that have taken place have destroyed the commitment and trust of several philosophers to the project of enlightenment. Especially the two world wars that have caused the death of millions of people have forced everyone to think twice.

There is no doubt that the 20th century has completely destroyed this optimism with the death camps, homicide squads, militarism and the two world wars, the nuclear threat of extinction and the experience of Hiroshima-Nagasaki. Even worse is the doubt it created which claims that the Enlightenment Project has caused the opposite of what it aimed and the goal of people’s freedom has turned into a global suppression system from the beginning for the sake of the mankind’s rescue (Harvey 2006 : 26).

Starting from the 19th century, and gradually increasing after the 2nd World War, various philosophers and academicians from all different corners of the world have criticized the modernity from different angles. The modernity project has begun to be discussed and cruelly questioned. Beck criticizes individualization and defends that its creator will also cause a standardization and states that “The individual situations are not only private but also institutional. Freed individuals become dependent to the labor market, hence they become dependent on education, consumption, state of prosperity, regulations, and traffic....” (Beck 1993 : 130)

Harvey criticizes instrumental reason and claims that the Enlightenment really allows human beings to free themselves from “the medieval tradition and community that covers individual freedom”, that “this idea will first reject the argument of a “Godless ego” and finally, itself since reason as an instrument will be lacking in any kinds of spiritual or moral goals in the absence of God. (Harvey 2006 : 57)

One of the greatest philosophers of the world, Marx, comes first among the ones who've made the most scathing criticisms against capitalism and the bourgeoisie:

The bourgeoisie have detached all the feudal ties that connected people to the "super naturals" and didn't leave any ties between people than pure interest, numb money payments. It has drowned the entrancements of religious fanaticism, knightly enthusiasm, and impertinent sensuality in selfish estimations freezing waters... The bourgeoisie have taken away the glory around any affairs that had always been perceived as very honorable, approached with a respectful modesty... The bourgeoisie has torn away the sensual veil on the family and turned family relations into pure money affairs. It has replaced religious and political habituations with obvious, shameless, direct, naked ones. (Narrated by; Berman 2006 : 150)

"Besides, Marx places all anarchic, illumined, explosive instincts – the ones that were referred to as such cosmic traumas as Death of God by Nietzsche and his followers - into market economy's apparent ordinary, daily functioning which will later be named as "nihilism" by the following generation. He shows that the modern bourgeois are much greater nihilists than modern intellectuals will ever understand. But the bourgeois have alienated themselves from what they have created, because they cannot stand even looking at the social and psychic gap that this creativity has caused" (Berman 2006 : 144).

As one of the greatest nihilists of the 19th century, Nietzsche, conceives modernity as a terrible state of collapse that it is simplified with rationalism, liberalism, democracy and socialism by "higher species" and that the instincts have become dull in a very deep sense; Heidegger who has made the biggest deconstruction of modernity has criticized the separation of existence as the subject and the world as its creation, as well as the rationalism of Modernity by saying that it forms the philosophical basis of a totalitarian conception of the world (Best, Kellner 39, 48).

As for Foucault who is among the major philosophers of the 20th century, the Classical era (According to Foucault, the first post-Renaissance period is the

Classical era -1660- 1800-, the second one is the Modern era -1800-1950-) set in motion a strong dominating mode over people which came to its highest level in the modern era. He believed that modern rationality is an imposing power just like Horkheimer and Adorno. (Best, Kellner 1996 : 54)

According to the famous French philosopher, Touraine, “giving up on the subject idea in order to glorify the science, quieting the sense and imagination for the sake of freeing reason, the necessity of putting social categories, that are defined by passions, under the power of capitalist elites who identifies them with rationalism is imposed on us by modernity.” (Touraine 1994 : 231)

Bernstein, who is an important part of the discussions on Weber’s comprehensive argument over modernity and its various meanings summarizes:

Weber suggested that the hope and expectations of the Enlightenment philosophers were a bitter and ironic halitunation. These philosophers saw a powerful link between the development of science, rationalism and universal freedom of humans. But only when it’s mask is taken away and well understood, the heritage of Enlightenmed (...) turned out to be the victory of intentional-instrumentalist rationalism. This kind of rationalism effects and poisons the whole social and cultural life in a way that covers all economic structures, law, bureaucratic administration and even art. The progress of this kind of rationalism does not lead to the concrete realization of universal freedom, but to the creation of an “iron cage”, a cage of bureucratic rationalism that has no way to escape. (Harvey 2006 : 29)

George Simmel, who states that “Modern life’s biggest problems are based on individual’s contention of protecting the autonomy of his existence as well as his individuality from the overwhelming social forces, historical heritage, external culture and the life technique” believes that the money based economic system that replaced the exchange of goods threatens the totality of humanity. He defends that human relations reification is closely related to the transformation from the exchange of goods into the money based economy (Özbudun, Demirer 2008 : 31).

In conclusion, we can say that “reason” is dominant in the Enlightenment movement; hence any project related to human life should be based on reason. Instrumental reason’s becoming a part of the capitalist economy has caused deep dissociations.

The dimension of modernity which is incoherent, and pernicious for personality is the part which claims the complete detachment of reason from love as an obligation; in other words, it pulls the reason into the process of naturalization from the process of naturalization and individualization which progresses in opposite directions between two ends: nature and God. It identifies it with nature in a way, and rationalizes the world completely. The foremost way of rationalization in the modern world is the one in which the instrumental reason gains importance. Instrumental reason shapes the attitude of individual of the market. Especially the instrumental reason which is the characteristic of the capitalist modernity, turns into an object in the market with the capitalist organization of the producer and influences almost all other human actions and relations (Poole 1993 : 59, 22, 62, 95).

In *Yalnızlık Dolambacı-The Labyrinth of Solitude*, the great writer and philosopher of Latin America, Octavio Paz, says that “We have to research of what’s happening in the world”, and defines the solitude of the individual in the modern world as a “horrible situation” as he thinks about the “Situation of Humanity” in relation to Mexico’s opening to the world and modernization. He points out that in consumption societies where the media gains a ruling power, people become “passive communists” who think of themselves only and the sense of solidarity is lost, that modern societies are terrible and self-centered.... “After having seen the USA, Europe and Japan, I don’t consider modernisation as a thing to envy. We can also see the modern society as hell which is cooled with an effective cooling system.” (Özbudun, Demirer 2007 : 97)

2.2 ALIENATION

The term ‘alienation’ is derived from the Latin word *alienare* which means separation, withdrawing or estrangement. It was first used (in 1388) as referring to the legal transfer of property to another. During this era (1482) it also meant loss or derangement of

mental abilities or insanity (Online Etymology Dictionary). In time, it has been conceptualized as the abolition of nonphysical possessions such as human rights or citizen freedoms. However in the 18th century, its meaning transformed into ‘a right which cannot be bought or sold, exchanged, passed on or inherited’. In traditional Christian theology, the term refers to the separation from God. This separation as a result of a sin, leads to unhappiness and a longing for reunification with God, which is a state inevitable for human beings (Miller 1994: 433). In Webster’s Dictionary the term is defined as 1) transfer of property, 2) estrangement from others and 3) a mental disorder.

Starting from the 14th century, the term alienation has been used in the English language as the state or act of estrangement: detachment from God and detachment from an individual, a community or a political authority figure, or starting from 15th century, transfer of ownership. The first meaning has different forms. Drawing away from worship and knowledge of God, which is more of a state rather than an act, is a theological definition still in use. This coincides with Rousseau’s concept of detachment from one’s genuine self. Indeed, the loss of genuine human nature due to the development of an ‘artificial’ civilization is still a widely used meaning. Therefore, overcoming alienation is either primitivism or the supporting of human emotion and behavior against the constraints of the civilization. The two most expansive forms of estrangement from one’s essential nature are religious detachment from the divine, and detachment from one’s original energy and libido (or explicit sexuality) as argued by Freud (Williams 2007: 41-46). These definitions lead to the interpretation of alienation as a necessity, an inevitable result or a price of civilization.

Freud discusses six types of alienation 1) Alienation of different classes in society 2) Alienation of competitive society 3) Alienation of industrial society 4) Alienation of mass society 5) Alienation of races 6) Alienation of generations (Özbudun, Demirer 2007: 40).

Many philosophers and researchers have become interested in alienation especially after the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution which led to the

reorganization of the social structure of societies is a milestone in the history of humanity. The shift from working for personal daily needs to working for others' needs has become the major parameter in the development of the new societal system. This change in the relationship between production and consumption is among the most important components of modernity.

With the development of sciences after the Renaissance, the conceptualization of nature as something to be researched has placed the human being outside nature as the researcher. Therefore, the human being has become alienated from both nature and his self because he is part of nature, which led to the body-mind dichotomy. Descartes' concept of ego and the development of the metaphysics system based on the ego, as well as the subject's centrality in 'knowing' in Kant's approach resulted in the rise of 'I' in modern philosophy that has peaked in the enlightenment period. The distinction between material and soul, that is the distinction between the thinking being (*res cogitans*) and its extension (*res extensa*) discussed by Descartes is another indicator of the alienated human being from nature. By defining themselves as microcosm, individuals separated from nature and placed themselves in a super-ordinate level above nature. Therefore, although human beings are part of nature, they are alienated both from nature and genuine human nature.

In his five-fold classification of alienation after World War II, Seeman (1959) used the following definitions: a) powerlessness - expectancy or probability held by individuals that their own behaviors cannot influence society or determine the occurrence of outcomes b) meaninglessness – inability to choose among alternative interpretations due to lack of guidance c) normlessness - expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are necessary to achieve goals d) isolation – abolition of reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the society and e) self-estrangement – inability to engage in really satisfying activities (Williams 2007 : 41- 46).

Hegel first used the term alienation in *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807) in order to signify that human life will become estranged from nature (Güçlü 2003: 1563).

According to Hegel, Christian culture originating from antique Greek culture is a sign of the self-estrangement of the spirit. Moreover, modernity is the process of overcoming this alienation. Hegel argues that consciousness or spirit (*geist*) moves to a higher level after consecutive experiences of alienation. Indeed, the history of humanity is the improving of spirit through separation or self-estrangement. To fully understand Hegel's concept of alienation, one needs to comprehend his perspective on history. Although it is not possible to discuss this broad topic in the current paper, I can briefly touch on the slave-master dialectic. Hegel's slave-master dialectic is the key element in his perspective on history. He suggests that self-consciousness exists to the extent that others recognize it. When self-consciousness first meets another self-consciousness, they are symmetrical and equal. However they both want to exist as themselves and dominate the other. This results in great tension which can only be eliminated by a struggle to death between the two parties. Therefore, this dialectic is a life and death issue. For all that, each consciousness needs the other in order to survive. Therefore, one should enslave, but not permanently cancel the other. After the dominant consciousness becomes the master, the slave acknowledges the master's power and does all the work for the master. However this is not the type of recognition the master desires, for the master longs to be recognized not by a slave, but by a consciousness that it perceives as equal to itself. The slave recognizes the master's authority through coercion, which is overtly known to both of them. In this struggle, the nature of their relationship begins to change, such that the master becomes more and more dependent on the slave. As the master forgets how to hunt, to cook and to survive alone, the slave becomes more powerful. In other words, as the master turns into a dependent character, the slave gains independence and makes his power even with the master. This is actually what the master wants as mentioned above: to be recognized by a consciousness which is equivalent to himself / herself. On one hand the master, although dependent on the slave, still controls the slave. On the other hand, the slave is controlled by the master, but is independent. In time, the slave turns into an independent craftsman and achieves willpower. Therefore the relationship between the two becomes a relationship based on labor exchange (Hegel 1986). According to Hegel, alienation is the separation of consciousness from itself and history makes progress through alienation. All throughout history, Geist first

observes otherness in nature and history and so is estranged from itself, and then returns to itself which opens the way to 'absolute' self-consciousness. Therefore, in Hegelian terms alienation is what makes consciousness.

In contrast, Feuerbach underlines alienation while discussing the dangers of extreme separation from human beings' typical acts. He interprets alienation in religious terms and suggests that religion is the withdrawal and alienation of one from one's self (Güçlü 2003: 1563). According to him, individuals become slaves of the image of God that they themselves create. In other words, the product dominates the one who has produced it (Marx 2003:11).

Marx criticizes Hegel due to his conceptualization of alienation as the alienation of consciousness instead of the alienation of individuals, as well as criticizing Feuerbach because religious alienation is only one type of alienation (Marx 2003:11). Marx perceives alienation as a consequence of societal circumstances and gives it a social, economic and cultural meaning. In spite of perceiving alienation as a phase in the development process (just like Hegel), he reverses Hegel's dialectic. According to him, Hegel places alienation at the center of consciousness and argues that the social world can only be changed after changing ideas. However, because alienation is not the cause but the result of the social world, Marx signifies that this alienated world has to be changed first. He interprets alienation in terms of production relations. In order to understand his perspective on alienation, one needs to analyze the social circumstances he criticizes.

Industrial revolution enhanced the development of sciences and organizational structures, which in turn advanced industry itself. This led to the emergence of 'Industrial Society'. With the help of the revolution and mechanization during the 19th century, factories emerged. Therefore, humankind gained the ability to quickly produce an unlimited amount of goods and services continuously (Hobsbawm 1989: 57). This resulted in unemployment among craftsmen who immigrated to the cities to work in factories. Cities gradually became the center for factories with a new working class and the heart of individualism. This system promised hard workers the

chance for higher status and independence, however simultaneously made them insignificant units of the whole factory system by depriving them of an opportunity to use their own production instruments and to practice their craftsman skills. Therefore, the workforce necessary for capitalist production was obtained through the use of a working class which was deprived of its tools and skills. Individuals began to define their identities in terms of their working status. Production became the key element in determining the socio-economic and cultural structures in society. In his 1844 manuscripts, Marx points out that individuals in modern societies experience self-estrangement due to the new daily activities which are incompatible with human nature (Marx 2005:80-81). Alienation occurs in religious, political, social and economic dimensions; however economic alienation is the one which drives alienation in others. The state is the result of political alienation, therefore if such political relations end, the state is to be terminated as well. In addition, Marx views religion as the spiritual aroma of the alienating world. He states that 'Religion is the opium of the people' emphasizing that societies should be freed from this illusion (Marx 2003:17). According to him, there are four different types of alienation related to the production conditions in capitalist societies.

The first one is the alienation of the worker from his / her product. The worker cannot own the product and is forced to sell it. As the gap between labor and capital widens, the worker is estranged from his / her own labor. Wage is the result of alienation and labor becomes slavery for wages (Marx 2003:32). Every worker is exposed to the exact same set of actions and rules that they have to conform to in various stages of production. Therefore the worker alienates from both the production process and the products. This holds until the alienation of the worker from his or her 'species essence' as a human being rather than a machine, which is the second type of alienation. The worker becomes a part of the machine. Chaplin's movie *Modern Times* (1936) refers to this type of alienation. Workers who alienate from the act of production which is now a meaningless activity and from products by becoming part of machines, separate from their genuine core and human nature. This is the third type of alienation. Finally, alienation between workers occurs since

capitalism enhances competition and reduces labor to a commodity rather than a social relationship.

As capitalists crave for profit, workers become parts of machines. In these circumstances, as they are alienated from their own labor, they separate from nature and therefore from themselves as well (Marx 2000: 19-27). Due to the division of labor, a worker repeatedly performs the same one or two movements with a single machine all day long. This shows that he or she is like a working wheel inside a ticking clock of the modern world. The worker no longer sees or experiences the whole process of production, although production is one of the most important activities of humankind. As Sennett argues, the industrial routine holds the danger of destroying the profundity of human personality (Sennett 2002: 38). Marx states that the capitalist system is based on the covert exploitation of labor and puts forward the law of value to highlight this exploitation. The law of value states that the relative exchange values of products, expressed by money prices, are proportional to the average amounts of human labor-time necessary to produce them. In the capitalist system, workers do not possess production tools or instruments, therefore they can sell only their labor-power. The value of workforce is the total that is necessary for reproduction. The wage given to workers is equal to the amount necessary for them to survive. However workers may produce this total in less than a work day and work for the boss for the rest of the day (Marx 2000: 121-127). Marx defines the difference between workers' wage and the value of the produced commodity as the 'surplus value'. The employer possesses the surplus value, which is the measure of exploitation of labor in the capitalist system (Huberman 1991:246). The system aims to profit, therefore its capital should accelerate in each cycle. Marx defines the capital cycle's acceleration as "The total period is equal to the capital cycle time plus production time" (Marx 1976: 175). Related to the significance of capital acceleration, speed and division of labor come into prominence in capitalist societies.

While discussing the individual and his or her alienation in the modern world, Marx states that:

Every individual in the modern world is both a slave and a member of the society. However slavery in bourgeoisie is seemingly liberty because individuals perceive their lives (their ownership, industry or religion) which are separated from human relations or bonds as self-liberty. Actually this is a sign of their dehumanization and slavery” (Marx 2000: 95).

According to Marx, those who own the production tools, and those deprived of such tools (the working class) both experience alienation. However those who own the tools feel comfortable and safe and seemingly protect their human existence. In contrast, the working class suffers and experiences a powerless and inhuman existence (Marx 2003:81). Marx states:

Workers alienate from their human nature because of their own production activity. In opposition, non-workers (capitalists who do not work or produce) alienate from human nature as a result of estranging from production which is a natural aspect of human nature (Marx 2003: 35).

Lukacs discusses the process of becoming meta and points out the concept of reification:

All objects that are necessary for human needs are reduced to commodities which demonstrates a ghostlike objectivity. Human skills and competencies are no longer organic parts of human character, and they become things that one ‘owns’ or ‘sells’ just like other objects. There is no natural way of shaping human relations. In order to survive, individuals have to adjust their psychological and physical characteristics to fit with the reification process (Lukacs 1971: 17).

According to Lukacs, the objective component of reification includes the state, civil law, bureaucracy and the laws organizing the market. On the other hand, the subjective component of reification is associated with the alienation from human activities. During the process of alienation, human activities are converted into meta. In addition, as the organic unity between the individual and the product shatters, the idea of individual falls apart as well. Indeed, specialization is an indicator of this rupture.

Hegel conceptualized history as proceeding with contradictions, and viewed bourgeoisie as the ending point of both contradictions and history. Marx accepted Hegel's idea that history has a dialectic pattern, but rejected the notion that contradictions end in the bourgeois society. He argued that the conflict between the worker and the capitalist exists also in the bourgeois society and that it can only disappear with communism (Marx 2003:101-102). He signified that the dialectic of history is determined by the forces of production. The idea of the path towards liberation and salvation, and the removal of alienation through revolution exist in Marx's perspective. The success of capitalism depends on the extreme levels of surplus value. Therefore capitalism, through the conversion of individuals into commodities, approaches self destruction. The increased struggle between classes and the terrible separation of the working class from a humanistic lifestyle leads to their unification and movement in order to prevent exploitation. Although Marx and Engels criticize Enlightenment, they are the children of it. They reject religion and embrace a scientific approach. They believe that societies are improving and that revolution will bring a more efficient order to the world.

Arendt criticizes Marx: "Dispossession and alienation from the world collide with one another. What initiated the modern era is the separation of certain layers of the population from the world. The distinguishing feature of the modern era is not alienation from the self as Marx suggested, but alienation from the world (Arendt 2006: 363 -364).

Perspectives on alienation changed in the 20th century due to advancements in the social sphere. The capitalist system emphasized thriftiness and the delay of gratification until the end of 19th century, which led to the determination of the social sphere by production forces. However in the 20th century, the capitalist system began to emphasize the delay of payment, therefore production forces determined the social structure of the society. As Kumar argues (2004) industrial capitalism (or Fordist production) was replaced with postindustrial capitalism (flexible manufacturing) with the reconstruction of corporations. Capitalism, nourished by its own conflicts permanently reproduces itself. The excessive production crisis towards the end of the

20th century and the satisfaction gained by mass production were some of the factors that paved the way towards post-industrial capitalism. Both the Fordist production system and Taylorism, which is a technique of labor discipline and workplace organization based on scientific studies, emphasized the re-organization of the system to increase production efficiency. In contrast, post-Fordist production was flexible based on flexible technologies that can be shaped in line with customers' requests. Restructuring the whole system to achieve maximum benefit from a worker in Fordism was an overt activity, whereas in post-Fordism it was covertly practiced. However, in the modern world Fordist production and post-Fordist flexible production systems are usually used together depending on demand. In addition to corporations' adoption of flexible production systems, the advancement of production tools and the utilization of computers increased the need for qualified workers. The service industry comes into prominence as a separate sector. Whereas industrial capitalism encouraged individuals to work and save, this new system moved factories outside city centers and replaced them with shopping malls and encouraged individuals to consume. In other words, definition of the self in terms of production was replaced with the identification of individuals with consumption. Lefebvre, discusses the alienation evident in such a society: "The 'consumer' image has replaced the effective 'human' image that used to represent the path towards happiness. It is not the consumer or the thing being consumed that is significant, but the presentation of the consumer's act of consuming which has become the 'art of consuming'." During this ideological replacement process, new alienation types have emerged, but the awareness of alienation has been undervalued and even removed (Lefebvre 1998: 61).

Sennett also suggests that flexible production systems offer false freedoms to individuals:

Freedom promised by rising against the routine is fake because individuals are now controlled by a top-down governance and discipline. Flexibility may be possible with a new government. Flexibility leads to disorder, and does not totally free individuals from restrictions (Sennett 2002: 61).

Harvey suggests that we can no longer perceive individuals as ‘alienated in classical Marxist terms’ because he argues that alienation assumes a consistent sense of self (Harvey 2003: 70). Individuals do not have a coherent sense of self or identity any longer, therefore it is not possible to speak of their alienation. However their lack of a consistent sense of identity has made them vulnerable to manipulation. They constantly live the ‘moment’ and keep redefining themselves through new images. The reduction of time to an ‘endless present’ prevents individuals from defining themselves properly. The past exists only within the present as nostalgia and individuals separated from their pasts lack the support to construct their selves. With the reduction of time to the present, everything loses its depth and becomes an image experienced on the surface.

Horkmeir argues that alienation has been based on the “suppression of certain emotions, principles and skills of the human mind and the replacement of holistic and critical thinking with technical / instrumental thinking for the last two centuries in the West.” A self-seeking and pragmatic reasoning style has come into prominence, which has turned all human spheres into instrument spheres, eliminating the subject (Horkmeir 2008:120).

According to Fromm, “Actions and their consequences rule individuals in modern industrial societies. Alienated individuals have withdrawn both from themselves and others. As they do not perceive themselves as the center of their own lives, they lose their sense of self” (Fromm: 1982: 135). Alienated individuals in this consumption culture begin to view life as meaningless. They become passive, ignorant, fearful and isolated. In addition, modern individuals’ happiness is measured by their ability to buy what is desired. That is, for modern individuals who are hungry for consumption, consumption is the key to both freedom and happiness (Fromm 1996; 82, 90). As they perceive life as an enterprise that should bring profit, they face the serious question of whether life is worth living or not. Furthermore, although they obey an unknown and invisible authority and its uncontrollable laws, they take their jobs seriously, feel in

harmony with the rest of the society and become 'happy robots'. This is an alienated lifestyle that individuals have no control over (Fromm 1982: 153).

Fromm specializes specifically on "Healthy Nation's 'alienation'". Fromm says that every individual shares certain needs. What he means are not biological needs but the ones which occur as man detaches himself from the world of animals that live in harmony with nature and as his feeling of insecurity grows in relation with the increase of his knowledge; meaning the needs that occur during the process of human's evolution. These are listed as:" 1) Being in a social relation with other people, 2) Being creative, 3) Having stable origins, 4) The need of identity, and 5) Being able to direct himself by intellectual means". When society's production and allocation of relations are not organized in a way that will correspond to the needs listed above, the social character plays an alienating role.

Fromm says " What is meant by alienation is the way of experience that one feels himself as a stranger.... The individual is alienated from himself, he does not see himself as the creator of the world, of his actions, contrarily, his actions have become his master, he obeys them, even worships them. An alienated individual is in connection neither with himself nor with the others... he can't build up a productive relationship with himself nor the world"(Narrated by; Özbudun, Demirer 2007 : 34-35).

H. Marcuse also puts the modern industrial society and the consuming human kind that it created into the heart of the critics in his *Tek Boyutlu İnsan – One-Dimensional Man*. The capitalist development has changed the structure of the labor class as much as the bourgeoisie and "excluded it from being an element of historical change", "the consumption norms have developed by the industry society are interiorized and substitute the real needs" and the artificial awareness these things created blinds the society's need for transformation according to him. Well, the modern industry and consumption society's income for people is a one dimensional man that has artificial needs replacing his real needs, that has lost his criticism against the social order and obeys it instead, that is alienated: "Alienation becomes a complete object and the

alienated person gets lost inside his alienated life. According to Marcuse, one of the determining causes of man's alienation in the modern industrial society is the norms of consumption and the ideological atmosphere that is interiorized by the individual; as another one is the way of organization of the technology and the production; as the mechanization of the job reduces the worker to a degree of being a component of the machine, industry's 'rational' organization brings the bureaucrats and the technocrats from being under the service of the dominant class into a ruling class. The rationality and the increase of production become a final target and plays an alienating role on every class as much as on individuals. According to this, technology creates its own laws and makes the people dependent to itself. The reificative technology enslaves people and compensates this situation with its high life standards." (Özbudun, Demirer 2007 : 35- 38)

The existentialists have focused the most on the modern individual's problems such as solitude, depression, death and grief. The existentialism which was pioneered by such philosophers as Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche has multiplied its popularity after the 2nd World War thanks to Sartre, Jaspers in Europe. The word of existentialism means a certain way of thinking, a specific attitude, a spiritual view. Jean Wahl, it describes "a certain climate and common air." This common climate's and air's basic tendencies' can be listed as: "Giving extra place to Individualism (egoism), giving big importance to the issue of existence of man, not being from any schools of theory, seeing a group of beliefs, especially the systems insufficient; underestimating the traditionalist philosophy for its superficiality, pedantry, abstinence of life." (Sartre 2007 : 9) According to various existentialists, getting away from the other, even from oneself is not a case specific for today, but an indestructible characteristic of man's existence. Every man lives and dies alone. He is not any less alienated from himself than from the others. Alienation is an indicator of man's freedom and a cost we pay for this freedom.

According to Ritter, the existentialism is a philosophy that is "expresses the existence of a human detached from his slaves...lost his origins, lost his faith in the past, history...alienated from the society...unhappy, unpeaceful". This philosophy appears

more in such cases when “the individual that lives in a society is in danger...the links between today and the tradition is detached...the man has become a meaningless creature, the danger of losing himself occurred.” Especially the years of the war and years of depression were the periods when this appearance became sharpened, very obvious. (Sartre 2007 : 10)

Certain philosophers - like Tillich-finds the origins of this appearance in machinery like Marx...“The machine’s usage in production creates some negative results. In the meantime, people fall gradually under the boundary of machines that he operates. He loses his spirit, ego, and personality day by day. He almost becomes a screw of this wheel, becomes an object... the conflict between the social production system that the machine brought and the individual property system makes him preoccupied. The incoherence between the two systems makes people live in an alien, absurd, crushing, distrustful, meaningless environment –face to face the nullity-. This contradictory situation causes the individual to gradually lose his identity, alienate from the society, become lonely, get overwhelmed.” The human-being turns into “a creature without cause, obligation, meaning” day by day, with the words of Sartre...“a creature without a past, support; totally alone”... “A creature that is put in the cart called history, waiting for the war and death.” (Sartre 2007 : 10- 11)

The major path for existentialists is being an individual. The human is alone as an individual thrown into the world and he lives in the pain of knowing that he’ll die. Such authors as Dostoyevsky, Camus, Kafka aren’t too far from existentialists.

The existentialists want the individual to get to know himself, create his own self, gain his being, and get rid of the pressure. They stand against, and even rebel against the technical order that crushes man, this bulk society that erases his personality, the violence that presses his being. That is why they give big importance to subjectivism and individualism. They depart from subjectivism and reach to individualism. For instance, Kierkegaard considers the individual as the main truth, and humiliates society. According to him, the individual should get rid of the society, the public and the equality in order to protect his self being. Individualism appears, deepens and is protected only in solitude, boredom, anxiety and despair. Jaspers complains about the machinery of State that interferes with every

affair of the individual, Marcel gets angry about the socialization of life. Wahl believes that the “existence of the individual in the present order is in as great danger as the money used to gamble.” According to Sartre, the rescue from the danger depends on his overtaking the responsibility and conceiving the situation. (Sartre 2007 : 11)

According to Baudrillard, in the period when Marx analyzed the capitalist system, society was still under the influence of such sources of symbolic meanings and the transformation of humanist values into metas was explained with alienation. However, the existing system should be perceived beyond the analysis of Marx for its transformation from being values controlled by the code into exchange values. “Because the parameter is a semiotical attachment of the exchange value than a side-meaning original to the good” (Baudrillard:110). The system offers individuals the opportunity of differentiation in order to protect their integrity, hence it guarantees the continuity of consumption. According to Baudrillard, “Differentiation is to place the integral order of differences; and this order is the concept of the entire society and inevitably it goes over the individual. Any individual that points out different spots on the order of differences reconstruct the order by doing so and forces himself to put himself in this order only in a relative way.” (Baudrillard 1997: 65). “The needs take the values rather than the objects as the target in the consumption society where the difference equals to his pursuit of self construction. The satisfaction of these needs means the accepting the values of the general system which has created these needs.” (Baudrillard 1997: 76). In this context, we can say that difference is a need in the consumption society and requires to be added on this system in the phase of satisfaction like the other needs do.

According to Baudrillard, the process of alienation is the process of individual and social life’s being ruled by the meta mentality. This is the main mentality of the consumption era. The consumption era is an alienation era as a historical result of technical civilization and the competition of productivity; it is a radical alienation era as well. The “meta mentality” has become generalized by its overflow from

industrial products and spread to business processes to culture, sexuality, human relations, individual reaction and fantasies. As Fromm emphasizes, everything in the consumption era is perceived around the framework of profit and consumption. A society that doesn't think over itself has appeared: pleasure has become the dominant principle; having qualities or goals have disappeared. (Narrated by; Bilgin 1982 : 57)

Simmel mentions the effect of metropolitan life on individual and expresses that metropol life makes it difficult for individual to give a reaction. Simmel suggested that individuals diverge from each other with the increase of the individualism's level that dominates the city; that alienation and deviance is inevitable in such an environment. As a life with unlimited pursuit of joy forces the nerves to give the highest reaction for a long time, the nerves will start giving no reactions after a while and this will create a personal state of tiredness according to him (Simmel 1997: 84). This makes the adhesion of individuals into the system and their coherence until the end easier. Of course the role of mass communication tools can't be ignored in realizing this non-reactivity. Mestrovic states that action requires a connection between the senses and the reason but this connection is detached in today's society which he calls "Postemotional Society" (Mestrovic 1999: 51-52). Everything is lived instantaneously, the reactions are given instantaneously and even though the individuals get emotional, it doesn't lead them to any reactions. It is also the effect of mass communication tools stimulating the individual at any moment and the individual's becoming non-reactive to these stimulants any more.

Beck criticizes the mass communication tools as well: "Individualization means Market dependency in every field of life. Individualization causes such a control and standardization that was never seen in the previous feudal period... The television isolates and standardizes. It detaches people from traditionally formed manners of experience and life. Uniformity and standardization of life forms accompany individualization" (Beck 1993 : 130).

In McLuhan's famous global village, people almost exist only for consumption. The Global village's inhabitants, especially the ones except for Westerns, have been pushed in masses into electronic media's world of news, imagination and image since 1980s. (McLuhan 2005: 18)

We may shortly summarize the whole chapter as; "Modern Era's people! You have actually gained many things but you are in danger of losing everything. You are in the joy of conquering the whole universe but you are about to lose yourself. You have got a productive tool of strength inside the huge technique, but you are in an preoccupying fear in yourself strengthening tool. You have actually found the secrets of Atom but you became a stranger to yourself" (Akarsu 1994 : 190).

3. TURKISH MODERNIZATION AND ALIENATION

Turkish modernization has distinct differences from Western modernization. Modernization was created as a result of a historical process based on a bloody and long struggle. During the time when capitalism was developing in the Western world, in Turkey and many other non-Western societies, this process had occurred faster than its natural pace, with the alarm of holding behind of the Western world – and with the necessity of holding on to it. Turkey had been shaped by the Islamic civilization, and the traits it has brought from Central Asia, and unifying with a unique Anatolian civilization, which has shaped its societal structures. Modernization, as a project in Turkey, where it had to completely abandon its traditional roots and its references and create a new society with a new system of values. This process, which started towards the end of the 1700s reached a peak with the foundation of the Republic. We can say that this type of modernization, which we can also call a civilizational changing project, has created a new type of alienation besides the alienation that has occurred in the Western world. This alienation has been present since the Republic period, and in the new period starting after the eighties and with the influence of Western capitalism and also globalization, it has intertwined with the alienation style which has been faced in the Western world.

After the eighties, with the effect of the crisis that the Turkish modernization has faced, the Turkish people have fallen into a multi-faceted alienation. Western capitalism had been given impetus in third world countries under the name ‘globalization.’ In Turkey this capitalism has been organized to be even more irregular, more exploitative and being more protective of the rights of the privileged small class at the top of the pyramid, rather than being pro-masses. In Turkish modernization, the alienation towards its own culture and history has been seen in a wide spectrum ranging from underestimating from time to time its own traditions by calling them ‘*alla turca*’, to even hating the symbols and indications that evoke its Eastern history, and it has entered a new era with the modernization crisis that came about after the eighties. After the eighties, Turkey has on one

hand, united with the Western world in terms of economics and technology; and diversification and pluralism (green movement, gay movement, etc.) has increased in the society, however on the other hand it had to face the two nightmares of Turkish modernization that arose, namely the Kurdish movement and especially the political Islam movement. The rising Islamism determined the lifestyle of a significant number of people, as Islamic education, Islamic lifestyle and Islamic values became a reference point for a significant number of people within the society. The alienation between this group and the westernized, secular group which has adopted republican reforms and which has internalized Western lifestyle has continued with an increase in the 2000s. Turkish society has split into two groups which have been alienated to one another, and their values and lifestyles, and the polarization and tension between these groups have increased. While the groups calling themselves Islamist or conservative refused the Western values saying that they have been adopted from outside and do not belong to the society itself, the people of Westernized society have started to perceive this rise of Islamic conservatism as a threat against their ‘contemporary and modern’ lifestyle.

The roots of this distinction are created by the different perception of modernization that started in the Ottoman Empire and continued in Turkey. If we were to try to summarize this long debate with a few sentences: an artery, which is composed of İttihat Terakki, Young Turks, Atatürk along with the foundation of the Republic and his friends, and nowadays with CHP with a certain degree, is evaluating Westernization as setting the cultural values and institutions of the Western world as a role model – secularism being on top of the list. There is also another artery that has gained power over the years, which supported Ziya Gokalp, but has lost the battle in a way with the foundation of the Republic. The multi-party system was established with the Democratic Party (DP), Motherland Party (ANAP) and later on with AKP, which has been eager to be a part of the Western economic system and global capitalism, while being more conservative in their cultural values. For example, this second ‘conservative’ artery has gained the Western world’s appraisal with its ‘open-mindedness’ on topics such as free

markets, liberalism, interest that has been openly banned in the Kuran; has gained the 'capital's appraisal for having a pro-capital attitude with regards the worker's rights; while showing a great resistance in banning alcohol, '*haremlik-selamlık*' (splitting women and men in gatherings) applications or with the '*turban*' issue, thus reflecting a great contrast in their actions. The other nightmare of the Republic, the Kurdish movement, has shown itself with various rebellions in the Republic period. As a result, it has been placed on the top of the agenda in Turkey especially after the PKK terror in the eighties and it has never been out of the agenda. Globalization, combined with the redefinition of the nation-states in the international arena, make it possible that the Kurdish movement will continue to remain in the Turkish agenda for decades.

The aim of the reforms made when the Republic was founded, was to give an end to the dualism (Western – Islamic) that has been present since the Tanzimat period, and to end this discussion and create a Western nation. This Western nation was supposed to turn its back to the Middle Eastern and Islamic past as well as the traits of the multi-national Ottoman Empire, and create the citizens of a nation-state which has completely adopted Western culture, institutions and values. However, beginning from the 1950s, in a period where some groups evaluated it as the counter reform, some religious communities were revived, a prime minister who was known for having millions of followers was brought to power, and at the same period the Kurdish movement gained momentum, and there were debates about becoming a federation, or even splitting the country. Thus the danger signs were apparent for the secular nation-state ideals of the Republic. However, this debate has gained momentum especially in the last 30-40 years – by getting more intense after the 1990s and has been brought to the agenda again. Some groups were supporting the soft transition from 'republic' to 'democracy' as a second republic, and some others were suggesting a country with diluted secularism, and a country that has 'made peace with its values' with the ambition of being a role model for the other Islamic countries. Differences also remain when it comes to topics such as economy, the economic rights of the masses, the protection of domestic farmers or small enterprises against globalization, the protection of the

forest and beaches of the country, and the fact that the cities are becoming unlivable. Therefore, with a rough generalization, the underlining reason for the discussion for Turkey, which has become a semi-colony of the Western world in terms of economics, is whether the sauce of Turkey should be made from an Islamic and more conservative flavor or a relatively more secular and ‘contemporary’ flavor.

In the 2000s, Turkey – a wide group had not decided which side they wanted to be on – was composed of two groups which were alienated from one another. The Westernized, secular group was alienated from the traditional society masses and the values they represented, and thus facing the alienation created from being left as the ‘minority’ in their own country, while the wide group of people that continued to be more conservative remained alienated to the Western values. On top of all these, the Turkish people were left in a double alienation trap because at the same time they were also suffering the pain of the cruel capitalism, the pitiless competition alongside individualism, wrong liberal politics, rapid urbanization along with moral deformation.

3.1 FROM THE 19TH CENTURY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE REPUBLIC PERIOD; THE CONTINUING PAIN OF THE EAST-WEST DUALISM

Although the formal beginning of Turkish modernization is 1839, the first steps towards reaching the military and technological superiority of the Western world began in the 1700s when Selim II was in power. İlber Ortaylı states that the Ottoman modernization cannot be limited with the Tanzimat period, but it is a phenomenon that goes back to further back in history (Ortaylı 2005: 13):

Westernization, in other words being like the Western world, adopting to the West... This concept has been disturbing Turkey's life since the 18th Century, and it is present like a Democles Sword which is not seen but it can be felt (Ortaylı 2005: 18).

Westernization is an approach that started in the Ottoman Empire, gaining different dimensions in the Republic of Turkey, and which has set as a target the societal structure and values of Western Europe. This view has been on moderate levels from time to time, and other times it has been perceived in different tones that criticize our traditional cultural elements. However, it has been a concept that can be generalized as taking the Western world as a role model in every aspect.

When the downturn of the Ottoman Empire had no turning back against the development of Western capitalism and the power of nation-states, the steps towards change started. The first aim was to reach the accepted superiority in military and technology and to stop the downturn of the empire against the Western world. However, this movement of innovation which started only in the fields of military and technology, in time also started to show itself in the fields of legal rules, education and cultural institutions. This was the period that set the bases for the dualism or split that has been going on up to today. On one hand there were people graduating from schools that were educating soldiers and bureaucrats, and others from schools with a foreign education, that were taught with Western cultural values and on the other hand, there were people brought up with the Islamic education taken from *medresseh* (Muslim theological school). The people graduating from these schools had very different values and views about life. The split between the people who attended the Western education institutions or military schools and the people who attended traditional *medresseh* became wider in time, becoming concrete indications of the split in opinions.

In the 19th Century, the Tanzimat Edict of 1830 and İslahat Edicts of 1876 provided the steps for the first secularism in the legal and societal orders in the Ottoman Empire that was ruled with Islamic rules (*sheri'a*), and thus represents western values. As Mardin also indicates, the 19th Century reforms, under the name of Tanzimat, were a very far-sighted reform that enabled the ties between religion and state to come loose. 'Education was set according to the western model by having *Rüşdiye* (middle level of education) and *İdadiye*, and a civil administrative class has been formed by breaking the partial monopoly of the

Ulema (Muslim scholars), and the authority of the sheri'a in the courts were narrowed down significantly' (Mardin 1990: 194).

With these two edicts there were going to be serious changes in the structure of the Ottoman State that was run with sheri'a, and these changes were the first moderate steps of the modernization-Westernization project that would be at its peak in 1923 with the foundation of the Republic. Ahmad indicates that the Tanzimat state that was gradually formed with the reforms after 1839 was very different from the old structure and stated that the aim of the Tanzimat was to create a new social state that would help the state to recover from being separated from the economy, and that this could only be done by structuring the society, so in a way by conducting a 'societal engineering' (Ahmad 2007: 39) .

The founders of Tanzimat were passing on the military and administrative structure of the West to the Ottoman Empire, the daily culture of the West was also effectively seen within the empire for the second time. Clothing, home accessories, the way money was used, the styles of the houses, intrapersonal relations were 'European' (Mardin 1991:13)

At the end of the 19th Century and in the beginning of the 20th Century, the discussions on Westernization continued with the lead of intellectuals such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Gökalp. One of the main discussion topics was 'whether to adopt the technology of the West to develop or to adopt their culture and civilization as well'. The Ottoman intellectuals and writers were split into two, on one side saying that the technology and culture of the West cannot be split, and they are one of a kind, and both need to be adopted; while according to Mardin, the group called New Ottomans under the leadership of Namık Kemal and Ziya Gökalp Paşa were stating that the Tanzimat people do not understand exploitation, and they create a 'higher class', hinder their own culture (forget about sheri'a) and can only be 'Western' in a superficial way. According to Küçükömer, the Islamists were 'describing the Westernization movement as 'imitation' 'copying' while they wanted to preserve the Islamist institutions and apply the superior technique of the west in life' (Küçükömer 1994: 14).

A group of people from the period's Ottoman elite defended the idea that the material and spiritual aspects of the civilization should be separated from each other, and that only the science and technology should be adopted from the West for the reforms, while continuing ahead with the Islam civilization. At the same time, a group of people led by the İttihat Terakki and Jon Turks defended the idea that the civilization is a unity and that technology by itself would not be enough, so all of the culture and institutions from the West need to be adopted. Although this debate has been won by the Westerners with the foundation of the Republic, east-west debates have continued until today with an increasing pace, sometimes openly, sometimes in a hidden manner.

The realization of Kemalist modernization shows the victory of the Westerners over the conservatives in this debate (Göle 1999: 66).

This dualism that started in the Tanzimat period sealed itself on Turkish history in the last two centuries. "It is also a fact that, Western reforms have caused a dualism in the Ottoman-Turk state and community" (İnalçık 2000: 82). Mardin states that the people, who conducted research to uncover the real character of the Tanzimat, usually find this character in a factor they would like to name the 'dualism' of Tanzimat. According to this theory, while Tanzimat was trying to place the secular Western institutions, it has not given up the 'religious' structure of the empire (Mardin 1990: 210).

However, there are different opinions about this dualist situation, its reasons and results. There are people who see this as a difficulty caused by not being able to choose one culture over the other rather than a synthesis of a forced unity of Eastern and Western civilization. There are also people who think that this is an initiative taken by the ones who took role at the upper levels of the society such as the sultan, bureaucrats and those in their close proximity without thinking about the interests of the community, rather than a transition which has been made by freewill. Orhan Okay, states that one of the peculiarities of the Tanzimat period is that the Eastern and Western civilizations, traditions and culture have been blended into each other. 'It would be more appropriate to call this a *mülemma* (macaronic, it is a type of poem writing by using different languages, I do not

know the exact English word for it, but the internet says it is macaronic.), as told in the old days, rather than a synthesis. Not being able to adapt to an element of a culture, but only liking it, not abandoning the past, but not being able to reach a unity. This is the *mülemma* of the Tanzimat' (Aktaran; Parla 1990:12). This group was defending the modernization attempts, saying they were made within the framework of Western interests, therefore the Western interests would define the framework and borders of modernization.

“The transition in the 19th Century Ottoman society is not a period of ‘modernization’ or ‘being contemporary’ as it is very often portrayed. The real attribution should be sought in a ‘semi-colonization period’. The indications of ‘modernization’ and ‘secularization’ in societal development are a product of insufficient and audited attempts, within the limits foreseen by the semi-colony status (Timur 2002: 21).

In the societal structure where there were classes, these discussions were naturally splitting the classes into two between the upper class and lower class. As an example of this situation, we can mention the upper class and lower class living a totally different and disconnected life, especially during the Lale Period under the rule of Selim II. Mardin also mentions that the observed split of the Ottoman society was partially based on real facts and considers this as a structural characteristic of modernization.

The Ottoman administrators did not give enough importance to the thoughts and lifestyles of the lower classes during the downturn period – in the sense to expand the politics of the upper class and to include the lower class in a common national life (Mardin 1991: 25).

According to Parla, the underlying fact behind this ceremonious innovation image was nothing but a bad defeat and the manifestation of an alienation feeling (Parla 1990: 10). Therefore, as Tanzimat symbolizes in its own meaning – it means correcting – we can say that it was a late and a bit of a hopeless effort to make up for the defeat and dragging behind.

These discussions were naturally reflected in art and in novels which were the most important art imported from the West. The most important novel character

was the man who was alienated from his own culture. ‘Three men are thought to be the leads in this new literature: İbrahim Şinasi, Ziya Paşa ve Namık Kemal’ (Lewis 1988: 136). The characters of these writers were a couple of Ottoman upper class people who had only adopted the superficial formalist aspects of the West, who added French words to their conversations, and who tried to live and dress like a Westerner. However this novel character did not have a full grasp over the intellectual and historical period on the foundation of the Western lifestyle, he would always be humored at the end and left in a funny position, and he was a pitiable character that had completely detached from his own cultural roots.

Just as in the Lale Period, after the 1860s, there were people who did not see Westernization as a philosophy and economic system, but who have evaluated and used it with regards to mostly its superficial aspects, such as rules of good manners and dominant fashions in the West. These types of people have been continuously criticized by the period’s writers. Ahmet Mithat’s ‘Felatun Bey’s, Recaizade’s ‘Bihruz’s, and Ömer Seyfettin’s ‘Efruz’s have been the main characters of the Tanzimat period (and even 20th Century) literature (Mardin 1991:15). “The story of a pretentious person who turned into a freak while pursuing foreign desires, is the story of the fear to lose consciousness born by the cultural hybrid and the concern for degradation created by the modernization in the lands of the empire that has lost its power’ (Gürbilek 2004: 51). According to Parla, the theme that has been repeated many times is the identity depression, in the novels of Ahmet Mithat, who is one of the most important writers of the period (Parla 1990: 30).

According to Moran and Parla, the novel characters of the period generally made an effort to teach something to the reader, especially the characters of the novels by Ahmet Mithat. The writers were not free from bias and from time to time they would intervene in the novel to state their own ideas. Therefore, they had created a different style from the Western novel of the period. As Mardin also emphasizes, most of the first novels of the Ottoman period are novels with thesis that analyzed the problems caused by the societal and political changes (Mardin 1991: 30).

We can say that one of the most important novel topics of the Turkish literature in that period was ‘the Eastern trying to become Westernized and the reaction of the others’. The Westernized Turks were blamed for turning their backs to the public’s value and Islam, and being alienated to their own community, while the Westernized groups blamed the more traditional groups for being *alla turca*, behind in progress, less developed, and made fun of them and underestimated them. There are degrading adjectives even today that these two groups use to define the others. The fundamental problem is that a significant number of Turks take being contemporary as Westernizing and see the old values as something to get rid of, outdated and unnecessary. This situation that can be observed in late modernization outside of the West is created due to taking the West as reference and defining oneself according to it. The modernized groups are mostly living in cities, especially in Istanbul, while the traditions in the rural areas have mostly remained the same. Therefore, after a while the Western-Eastern tension has been evaluated as urban-rural, or center-perimeter tension. Mardin has also focused on the alienation of the perimeter from the center and the masses from the managers in terms of culture, taking the famous and controversial center-perimeter tension as a reference, and states that this alienation has become more compound in the latter phases of modernization (Mardin 1990 : 48).

In the 19th Century, the hanging on to Islam and its cultural heritage was a response of the perimeter to the center that could not unify the new culture with the perimeter. In this way, the rural areas became areas behind in progress. But more importantly, the entire rural world, including upper and lower classes, unified against secularism with an Islamist opposition (Mardin, 1990: 56).

According to Mardin, the community which continued their life by protecting the traditional values saw moral breakdown as synonymous to Westernization, and this is also a result of this separation and detachment. Mardin also points out that the speed of modernization was not as fast nor as successful as hoped for, and that the clinging onto Islam reflex has increased in these rural areas as a reaction to modernization.

‘It is not a coincidence that the public sees moral breakdown as synonymous to Westernization. We see an ideology in all of the movements against innovation in the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century in the Ottoman Empire (Mardin 1991: 69).

According to Göle, who has made studies on modernism outside the West, ‘modernism in societies outside the West, is reflected onto minds as an ideal (‘contemporary level of civilization’) sought for not only at the social studies level, but at the same time in the daily social life, as a desired consumption good, and a way of living. Modernity, at a consumption level, in terms of lifestyle or in cultural achievements, is always something targeted, something desired; not something that is already being lived, consumed, discovered’ (Göle 1998: 65). According to Göle, the relation between being underdeveloped and modernization could be defined as follows:

‘Being ‘underdeveloped’ is modernization, because since the industry has missed its civilization, it has been forced to define itself according to this civilization. In this respect, Westernization efforts are an answer given to the historical belated conscious’ (Göle 1999: 48).

3.2 REPUBLIC PERIOD: EFFORT TO CREATE A WESTERN AND SECULAR INDIVIDUAL

Secular nation-government formed in 1923 after Independence War and subsequent big revolutions have pointed to the climax of the Westernization process. People who have desired to manage Westernization through taking only western technology have lost and people who have desired Westernization together with its culture, institution and values have won. Turkey has changed civilization through changes executed in law, education, alphabet, women rights, clothing and measurement units in a very short period: 15 years from 1923 until the death of Atatürk. According to Mardin, Kemalism is “a view towards changing some fundamental structural aspects in Republic Turkey left from Ottoman Empire and instead, constituting a community inspired by Western civilization as a first

step towards world civilization.” (Mardin 1990 : 181). Göle mentions that modernity Project in Western context is very different since a political “Westernization” desire emerges in these areas so that the terms “Westernization” and “Europeanism” used a lot by 19 and 20 century reformists mean borrowing institutions, thought and behavior of West voluntarily. “Modernity history in Turkey may be the most radical example of such a voluntary cultural change. Kemalist reformists have taken government system beyond modernity, tried to affect life style, actions and daily routines of public.” (Göle 1999 : 116). Ahmad mentions that the difference in Atatürk according to leaders of the period, Franco and Mussolini, is that he created a new ideology and symbols that would provide fast progress for Turkey instead of governing the society through traditional beliefs and symbols. (Ahmad 2007: 73)

Atatürk and his friends had to transfer the results directly without experiencing Industry Revolution and Enlightenment and without infrastructure institutions that integrate them. At the end of 19th century, their ideals accommodated secularism, rationality and positivism that affected Ottoman literates until Young Turks at the center of this young republic. The purpose was to end East-West duality that continued since Reforms and form a secular nation-government in a Western context and to create a nation formed of individuals. “Atatürk’s revolutions, along with its other aims, was directed to create solutions for “cultural duality” problem that has continued for a long time in Ottoman Empire” (Kongar 1998 : 109).

The idea of secularism was a consequence of a positivist world view. Positivist view tried to explain everything through reason and science and rejected effects of superstitions and dogmas in social life. According to Göle, secularism and positivism are the two base points of Turkish modernity that started during 19th century and reached its institutional and ideological peak in 1923 (Göle 1999 : 99).

Positivism claims the Western model universally. He takes scientific rationalism as basis since it does not deem this model as a product of Christian culture. He claims that this reform model is universal, rational and applicable anytime and anywhere. All societies shall sometime reach final positivist phase of Comte (Göle 1999 : 116).

Miller interprets being positivist as being scientific consciously. (Miller 1995 : 209). One of the main definitions of positivism is that it is a doctrine claiming that natural laws that organize life also organizes people and human societies. (Mardin 1990: 190). Among obvious evidence of Atatürk positivism, his “secular” attitude should be listed on top because a fundamental view beyond “secular” understanding is that society mechanism is not a result of divine arrangement but a combination that produces laws of society according to natural law for some people. (Mardin 1990 : 191).

The positivist republic formed by Atatürk regarded existent Islam understanding in society as one of the biggest reasons of falling behind and diminishing this effect was one of his most important aims. Religion was left to conscience as an individual decision extracted from social arena and was limited to mosques. We can say that such a radical detachment for a society managed by religious law and caliphate for centuries in such a short period has no examples in the world. For society, Islam was not just a religion but a lifestyle, the most important aspect forming their culture, also the most important concept that specified their judgement and basis of their actions. According to Mardin, “alienation was not only in society but also in government, the biggest problem for modern government is the alienation that emerges after detachment from a tradition” (Mardin 1976: 7).

Zürcher divides the content of Secularism breakthrough of Republic in three activity areas. “First is secularizing government, education and law, in other words, attacking traditional castles of institutionalized Islam. Second is clamping down on religious symbols and replacing them with symbols of European civilization. The third one is secularizing social life and when necessary, clamping down on popular İslam”(Zürcher 1995 : 272). For Daniel Lerner, founder of modernity theory, what made Turkey important was the relation between religion and politics. According to Lerner, “Turkey is not a modern society yet but also not

a traditional society in any way”. The reason, according to him, was that “Islam institution was separate from secular government”

(Davison: 2006 : 218).

Secularism is one of the most important results of modernity such as development of capitalism in the West, new nation-government structure and hegamonia of liberal rational reason, however it has emerged through a demand from social base that resisted church after a long, bloody history that lasted for centuries. However, it is still an argument subject for some that there was no such demand from the base in Turkey and that there is no similar structure to institutionalized church role in Western history. According to Çınar, center forces secularism and modernity:

As a result of Republic reforms, we have a cultural center that does not rely on social agreement, therefore does not belong to society. This center has alienated from society because of institutional secularization policy more than in Ottoman (Çınar 2006: 157).

In the same way, Çetin says that modernity is a process forced by the West or center within the government:

Modernity in non-Western societies is a reform process organized by random government that emerged after interferences, arrangements and enforcements of the West as an external factor, not internal dynamics of those countries (Çetin 2007: 67).

Later on, the issue of the individual, stuck between east-west will continue in Republican novels and criticisms of republican literature and the detachment of the public would be mentioned in Tanpınar and Oğuz Atay novels (Yaban, Ankara). East-West duality is the fundamental subject of Orhan Pamuk and is revealed in different ways in his novels. Göle interprets heroine of Ankara novel of Yakup Kadri, Selma as:

“Heroine from İstanbul defined as alienated from her own people and “Westernized” in positive context reaches satisfaction in her life only through getting closer to her society... Author of the novel regards Western life style adopted by cosmopolitan elites of İstanbul and symbolized by gramophone, nannies from Switzerland, white gloves,

dance and bridge parties not only as source of alienation of Selma from her society but also the reason for her alienation from herself (Göle 2000b : 25).

We can apply this interpretation to many character of Republic novel by generalizing it. Kahraman says that “there is no character, one single character in Turkish novels that does not mention Europeanism process, Westernization issue in a conflict, consider it in opposition, saves duality from limitation of opposition and goes beyond a negative expression”. (Kahraman 2007b :82)

Adopting a multiple-party structure since 1950 resulted in increasing political Islam and Kurdish racism despite coup interruptions. During this period, also due effect of USSR threat, Turkey was accepted into European institutions such as NATO and the European Council and got closer to the Western world. However, it can be argued whether this acceptance was as a complete partner or as an obligation against Soviet threat. Even after 50 years passed since Turkey’s acceptance into European institutions, it can be understood that Turkey is never considered as an equal European partner and shall not soon be considered so. This is especially obvious after seeing objections to Turkey being a part of Europe and hesitation for its EU membership.

Through the process that started with the Marshall Plan in the 1950s, immigration from villages to cities created large shanty areas in big cities. People in these areas who could not get urbanized and benefit from the opportunities of city life and who could not continue their life style and values of their village, created an eclectic culture that belonged to them. Lewis said that upon democracy through reconstitution of idea freedom Islam became a political subject again and that fear of the other side getting advantage of religious support directed both main parties towards tolerance and provocation for and against this movement (Lewis 1998 : 417). Timur interpreted the same period as “Turkey going through multiple party system after World War II and going to Atlantic Pact Agreement gave speed to “Westernization” process in the country” (Timur 2002: 362) The majority of

population of these parts affected politics as well as daily life and the entire country along with politics got under the influence of this arabesque culture. By the 1980s these areas, where more than half of the buildings were illegal, became vote depots of Islamic conservative parties and formed one of the fundamental sources of the modernity process crisis.

3.3 AFTER 1980: GLOBALIZATION, DEVELOPING TECHNOLOGY AND THE CRISIS OF TURKISH MODERNIZATION

Due to consequences of the 1980 coup, a break in Republic history emerged. Application of neo-liberal policies by Ozal brought opening the economy to foreign countries, globalization, capitalism, merciless competition conditions to Turkey's agenda. Earning money no matter in what way led to a crack in society's values together with a huge ethical deformation. As Göle has said, "Innovation and representation Dynamics in 1980s – especially in arabesque and ANAP intersection point accommodated in rising, living and consuming desire wave-were in the hands of right parties. We can say that competition among arabesque, Islamic and liberal values ruled in 1990s" (Göle 1999 :11). During the 1980s more conservative, populist, traditional parties that interpreted Westernization in different ways had political power and in the 2000s these parties got stronger in political power.

The 1980 coup, even though it used themes of 1920s, has played the role of catalizor in Western, positivist and Jakobson tradition started with Reforms leaving its place to a new process. (Göle 1999 : 43).

Tekeli has specified the multiple-party period as "populist modernity phase" and emphasized "dialectic progress" of "political Islam" by government until 1980. After 1980, according to Tekeli, it is the period of "erosion of populist modernity" and rise of political Islam (Tekeli 1997: 428).

According to Mumcu, the Ozal period is when the politics of Islam crept in and is the break period. Important support of Ozal for "politics of religion" and "political Islam" led to the event of "using Islam motives in politics" to efforts of

building “religion law government” (Aktaran: Kongar 1998: 225) We cannot ignore the effects of international conjuncture in this development. In Turkey, neighbor of USSR, religion was used as an effective weapon against Communism. With propaganda saying that communists have no religion on one side and by supporting religious acts on the other, a project named “green generation” against USSR was executed.

Again during this period, a combination of development of media and communication tools, private television channels and the effects of internet and depoliticization of the 1980 coup and the aim to silence society created generations with the purpose of earning money and being successful no matter in what way. During this process while society got conservative under the expression of democracy and going through another era, a serious ethical deformation was experienced and started to melt in the merciless capitalist system. Again during this period, according to Gönenç, from mid 1980s, double trouble of Kemalist regime, Kurdish nationalism and political Islam were again existent (Gönenç 2006: 147).

Gürbilek, who has evaluated desire, pleasure and entertainment-seeking with “owning” no matter what it costs, as can be represented by “ben de isterem” song of Ibrahim Tatlıses, mentions that old culture based on not only saving money but also saving desire was replaced by a new culture that invites people to fulfill their desires right away and provokes appetite and longing. (Gürbilek 2001 : 16).

Turks discovered their towns –“third world” within them- during the 1980s. First, they had to recognize Kurds, “third world” outside of them. However, they discovered not only them, but also things they repressed until today in order to become modernized (Gürbilek 1992: 97).

According to Gürbilek, cultural multiplication or a change that can be called parting of culture was felt in many areas since the second half of the eighties. The author mentions that this can be in a way defined as explosion of “low culture”. (Gürbilek 1992: 103). Kahraman emphasizes that repressed feelings in all areas

such as “city, food culture, ethnical and religious origin” prevailed by taking the reaction and power of bourgeoisie (Kahraman 2007 : 212).

Until 1980, the economy was state controlled and not open to globalization. However, with Ozal, applied the most solid face of neo-liberalism and capitalism which, of course had effects on society. While Turkey faced homeless children, addicted children, snatch stealing, swindling, on the other side big shopping centers were opened, worldwide famous stores arrived in Turkey, Turkey was in a consumption madness pumped by media. A small proportion of the public could afford black jeeps while millions below the poverty line envied them.

Economic policies of the 1980s increased the difference between rich and poor. On one side, there was a new class formed by entrepreneurs who were mostly very rich... These new rich people showed off with their wealth in a way that was not appreciated in Turkey and was similar to style of Latin America. On the other side, the buying ability of the majority of the public during late 1980 was decreased and there was poverty in most homes. There was also a very big increase in the number of unemployed (Zürcher 1995 : 431).

Ahmad, who thought change in Turkish society along with changes in economy was more rapid during 1980s, mentioned that a new generation that was very rich emerged with Ozal in Turkey and old rich and poor people got poorer. He defined this class as country bourgeoisie and he claims that attitude of this class against secular world is limited to their professional lives and that they have no tendency towards getting closer to Western culture except for technical civilization:

“One of the results of this hegomania built by this class was a new approach towards ideology and culture. The days that elites talked about social peace and justice and liabilities to provide guarantee for these matters were left behind. After ANAP was in political power, elites only talked about earning money and spending this money they earned in the best way.” (Ahmad 2007 : 245)

During the late 1990s, Keyman, who has claimed that in the process that came along with globalization, the process named as neo-liberal hyper globalism

experienced a serious crisis, mentions that on one side economical and social enrichment was experienced and on the other side changes in the world caused ambiguity and inconfidence towards future and emphasizes that we cannot evaluate Turkey apart from the world and this equation (Keyman: 2005 : 91).

The breaking down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, shaking that left was faced with was effective in this process. This big defeat for the left resulted in a serious lack of alternatives for public who had been shaken by violence in the 1971 and 1980 coups and resulted in a depolitization of the public. Later on, as a result of the process experienced as a result of the defeat of USSR and East Block, Turkey went through a period of healing its wounds, and rightist parties and their ideologies came to dominate politics. According to Göle, since going through liberalism was not on soft grounds and since liberalism was understood as being all free, social differences and income injustice increased while hedonist dreams were legal, and anarchic individualism and modernism came along. “By interpreting liberalism in this way, an existent citizenship definition, city lifestyle, professional ethics, entrepreneurial ethics, institutions and arrangements were ignored. This way, liberalism in Turkey became an easy way to being rich and started being used with impropriety, with “*laissez-faire*” policies” (Göle 1999: 77).

In this process, of which rapid immigration and urbanization were a part, ethical values were faced with a big erosion. Traditional values of society disappeared, money became the only value. A period where a man with money was right started:

This period called “being arabesque” reflects a weird culture that rejects traditions of agricultural culture based on feudal values dominant in rural areas, does not adopt a city culture with value system of industry society, viewed as temporary. The most holy value in this culture is Money. (Kongar 1998 : 579)

According to Kahraman, who views arabesque as a blend or something “eclectic”, arabesque is “the last phase of confusion culture since 19th century”.

(Kahraman, 2007) Özbek, who takes arabesque to be “degenerate” and “fatalist”, mentions that we have to try to understand the condition that reveal arabesque instead of despising it, “we have to understand the “language” of arabesque whether we share arabesque culture or not, no matter what it says within it, how it obeys what, how it resists. If dialog and transformation are important” (Özbek, 2006).

Again during this period, while interclass income distribution was opened along with high inflation, PKK terror and an immigration wave caused by the actions of government, illegal shanties grew around cities. These illegal cities with their own law and regulations showed the power of the “Other Turkey”. According to Kongar, it is not possible to call Turkey a complete “city society” in the 21st century because the majority of the population lives in cities now, these cities are not a “city” as we know of and this population is not “city people” in the classical definition (Kongar 1998: 42).

This population has carried its power and lifestyle onto parliament and government through voting, therefore entirety of Turkey has come under the influence of this culture.

The population who lives in these cities is far from adopting behavior types revealed from industrialization. The concept of time has not developed, there is no respect for collective life principles. In shanty areas that have developed outside city law, “rising families” has adopted a blend of culture, and carried it onto political parties and parliament. (Kongar 1998 : 42)

By the 1990s, the Kurdish Movement was getting stronger and the political Islamic movement was ranked as first place in the Turkish political agenda as coalition partner (1996) and then as political power by itself (2002). Two nightmares existent since the beginning of Kemalist modernization, and secular nation-government project started to threaten the modernization Project by gaining power

after 1990s. According to Keyman, religion has affected the structure of Turkish modernity that has been changing since 1980s and especially during 1990s, it has led emergence of new actors by forming an effective and powerful political, economic and cultural power (Keyman 2003 : 124).

During the 2000s secular-islamic tension continued increasingly and formed the biggest fault line of Turkey in 21st century.

Beyond secularism principle, application of “enlightenment revolution” and “industrial revolution” in economic area from West brought along many difficulties with it. “Political Islam” continuously rejected this principle and slowed down the progress on the way to being democratic (Kongar 1998 : 121).

With the first private TV and radios opened in the 1990s, the consumption desire of particular parts of the Turkish public reached its peak and millions of people lived under the poverty line. Mass communication tools and advertisements imposed continuous consumption to a society with little production and created generations which were defined through consumption. Populations whose connections with politics and society was detached by 1980 process looked for areas to express their own identities. However, it was defined by a horrible egoism along with a feeling of eternal indifference. Atabek used the term “lost generation” for the youth of that period and said some of them:

“Had no value judgement. Could say “maybe” or “no way” for anything. Use the word “Whatever” as a key. Had no responsibility for any institution, anyone, any concept, any idea. Mocked feeling of responsibility and liability. Believed that they have the right to own everything. Never asked the question “Do you have the right for it?” for anything anytime. Were ready to lose everything at once since they do not actually have anything. Did not know or care for the value of the things they had. Did not know what they wanted, what they did not, did not know why they wanted it, did not think, did not care. Presented a limitless consumer and user feature” (Atabek 1997)

It defined people not by their ideas but by the brands they wore, cars they drove. Various economic crises would lead this consumption period, like the 2001 crisis. Economic relief that should be a result of modernity was not existent in Turkey

because of these crises. Not being able to achieve this economic relief provoked this structure of new youth.

Youth that the September 12 management wanted to “depoliticize” and worked hard for, was desired to be raised with conscious education and socialization policies in Ozal period, in a way that “does not have any responsibilities for themselves, for their relatives, for their society and for the world, but believes that they have responsibilities towards themselves”. This youth is not interested in learning anything, does not care for the ones who learn, is interested in information only for their own sake. What is fundamental is egoist and self seeking interest axis. One of the most important features of the youth model of Ozal is “building no relation between achieving what he wants and being right, deeming himself right in what he wants to achieve”. (Kongar 1998: 333-334) .

When the Islamic movement became a political power in it’s own right, the duality of “secular, Westernized” part of society with traditional parts that formed majority of society increased and during the 2000s Turkish society was categorized in two groups with different values, cultures and life styles. Duality that lasted for 200 years was a modern-traditional separation upon religious-not religious. However, this time, political power was in conservative-traditionalists and secular-Westernized-urbanized regions were, for the first time in 80 year Republic history, in opposition. Turban discussions formed an apparent part of this duality however the origin lay in deeper grounds. “İki Türkiye” vardı. Some defined it as center-environment, some as secular – anti-secular or religious- not religious. However, psychological alienation of two Turkeys had increased more than ever.

Göle mentions that deep within secular and anti-secular front-lines, there lies, beyond political differences, lifestyles, identities of people, feeling of difference, even alienation, that specifies their culture and goes deep through their skins (Göle 1999 : 90)

Turkey, during the 2000s, looked like a country that tried to get into the EU, consistent economically despite a government that society believed had a secret

agenda, however was divided into two socially and becoming rapidly conservative. Turkish society was directed to a structure that almost verified the thesis of Huntington for world cultures; “Huntington says ‘divided countries’ for countries that are under the influence of many civilizations: Turkey is divided between Islam and Western civilizations. (Kongar 1998: 235-236). Kahraman claims “by mentioning that Turkey emphasizes the thesis of Huntington in micro scale and as introverted, internal modernity, not universal-local or west-east, is a “traditional cultural institution” and it conflicts with other existent tradition in society, that two conservative institutions conflict” (Kahraman 2007 b: 4).

When Turkey makes its preference as being Western, it accepted that another civilization was superior and it tried to reach this civilization. This creates an inferiority complex and a feeling of deficiency in subconscious of the society. It gets deeper when signs of Turkey not accepted as Western by the West are observed. Turkey presented a view that is detached from its origin in a conflict of values however could not reach its target and flowing in space. According to Çetin, if modernity is not based on traditionalism or represents detachment from tradition or rejection, it is a historical and social alienation. Ignoring commitments such as historical, cultural, ethnical, religious, linguistic that keep society together means that modernity forces itself into writing history all over again and as a “society institution” and this means that modernity is itself a tradition or “creates a new future”. If modernizing government cannot build new values formed upon rejection or acceptance of tradition created upon society in the same strength or effectiveness, the modernity crisis is inevitable because the most powerful social value against modernity is tradition (Çetin : Doğu Batı: 13).

According to Göle, as Western history has become the innovation area and reference of modernity since Renaissance, through the Enlightenment, the Industrialization and the Information Era, non-Western experiences could not create “history” anymore and are defined as ‘left behind’ and could not even receive a special name (non-Western). To quote from Daryush Shayegan, societies at the side of Western civilization are left out of history and information area since

they cannot participate in “Reform Carnivale”. This isolation leads to the formation of societies with weak history, so societies with weak capacities to produce modernity locally and “cultural schizophrenia”. As a result, histories of these societies become a continuous effort specified by political elites towards modernity and Westernization (Göle 1999 : 66). Lewis, who has applauded the birth of Modern Turkey, says that Turkey is still stuck between two worlds: “It is not enough to borrow or buy modern technology in order to reach the modern world”. Another example is that Kevin Robins says that Turkish culture is “an imitator and derivative when applying the European model”. According to Robins, Kemalists were trying to form a comparison of original paradigm. “However, no matter how good comparison is, it cannot reach the original” (Aktaran: Ahıska 2005: 39).

Köker claims that if it is necessary to combine non-Western societies trying to modernize under one concept despite all its inconvenience, they are in “progress syndrome” (Köker: 2007 : 107) “ Ayşe Kadioğlu, who considers Turkish modernization and nationalization in a critical way, claims that “distinguishing feature of new Turkish identity is its execution”. She interprets “manager”, “former” and “constructive” attitudes of Republic elites as social engineering. Consequently, Enlightenment experienced as a process in West has been turned into a Project in the Turkish context. (Aktaran; Ahıska 2005 : 37)

This adventure that started by importing technology from the West 200 years ago accepted Western civilization, culture and values in 1923 completely. However, the Islamist-Traditionalist movements that gained power by benefiting from the weaknesses of the multiple-party system in 1950s has revealed Turkey’s identity crisis since the 1980s, in a very deep and strong way. Paz reminds us that Turkey is not alone, that many non-Western societies experience the same pain:

We have to see that alienation is not appropriate for us and that most of the world societies share this problem. In order to be ourselves, people should unite against freezing world history (Paz 1999 : 211).

Turkey is not accepted as a Western country in the West despite the 200 year adventure. However, it is not an Eastern country anymore. Turkish society is not a traditional society anymore, but it is still not a Western society. During the 2000s Turkish people view the world through this pressed window. According to Kahraman, Turkey aches because of combining its own culture with another culture in the name of Westernization since the Republic. Ahıska thinks that the biggest conflict experience in Turkey today is between the defenders of new citizenship and human rights concepts based on a multiple identity basis and nationalist and conservative views that resist it (Ahıska 2005 : 314). Turkey, experiencing a society-culture relation and duality continuing on various levels, is still trying to produce a synthesis (Kahraman 2007b : 86).

In a period where anti-modern expressions take power in political areas, demands for giving up on modernity exist, there is a serious ethical problem in government-society/individual relationships, religious, ethnic, sexual and cultural difference demands are political, in other words, in a period where “modernity Project” faces a serious “manageability”, “legality” and “representation” crisis, we experience the present day of the Turkish Republic (Keyman 2000: 54).

4. CONTEMPORARY TURKISH CINEMA: BEING AN INDIVIDUAL IN TURKEY

Starting in the 1980s, and continuing through the 1990s and 2000s, the process that can be called the Crisis of Turkish Modernization and its reflections in individuals as alienation didn't require much time to be reflected in Turkish cinema as well. It was still possible to find the traces of the contemporary cinema even in 1980s. This is a period that has been described as the years of crisis in cinema. During this time, the number of film shootings was very low and the Turkish audience did not go to see Turkish films. In those years, when there were intense technical and financial constraints on film making and it was impossible to shoot political films because of the political situation, "Female films" helped to discuss the alienation of women which actually meant the alienation of an individual from the society and traditional values.

In this period, apart from the "Female films", Ömer Kavur also shot interesting films with stories on alienated and lonely individuals. Especially *Anayurt Oteli* (1986) which was adapted from the novel of Yusuf Atılgan, told the story of alienation in the countryside, and is considered to be one of the best films of Turkish cinema by various critics. The film character in *Herşeye Rağmen* (1987) which was directed by Orhan Oğuz can also be considered to be a leading film of alienated characters of 1990s. Both films tell the story of individuals having communication problems, psychological issues and tendencies for violence. "These characters that are completely out of the Yeşilçam tradition were the strongest 'anti-characters' of our cinema and the stories of these 'anti-characters' or 'losers' were mostly portrayed in films beginning in the 1990s" (Kıraç, 2000: 17).

As the number of popular comedies - or dramas - that attracted millions of viewers to the cinema kept increasing and as audience records were broken one after another in the 1990s, the directors who were outside this wave and wished to make their original names had just started to shoot their first films. This generation of

directors that shot their first or second films in the 1990s continued directing films in the 2000s by sometimes influencing or helping each other. We can name Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Reha Erdem, Semih Kaplanođlu, Derviş Zaim, Yeşim Ustaođlu and Serdar Akar as the leading names of this generation of directors. Several young directors such as Özer Kızıltan, Ulaş İnanç, Seyfi Teoman that shot their first films in 2000 have also started to join these filmmakers as well.

There is no doubt that the development of technological facilities and technical developments such as being able to shoot cheaper films with smaller teams have also had an effect over this move in the Turkish cinema. Especially as a result of relations with the advertising sector, such directors as Reha Erdem, and Kutluđ Ataman who shoot both advertising and cinema films, have emerged and the support of the advertising sector by technical means have increased. Although, it is not correct to reduce the appearance of a generation of directors in the 1990s who had issues and words to say about the country, the world or life only to technical or financial conditions alone. I consider that these directors' that were in their early thirties or forties in the 1990s and thus lived their childhood or youth in the seventies and the eighties the clue for several details in films.

I accept the impossibility of discussing these films as one single category. I think that these films with various colors from political film attempts to historical films and to film attempts that combine different genres were structured around the "individual" and his entourage. The directors of this generation who had the military coup of 1980 in the middle of their youth, had lived a relatively innocent childhood for themselves and for the country in the 1970s (despite the issues surrounding terror). However, they found themselves, the country and the universe in a completely different world with the military coup in 1980 and especially with 1990s. It was impossible that the incredible development of technology, mass communication tools, politics and the economy wouldn't influence the "individuals" in this "countryside of the world" who tried to understand their countries and the world.

Along with globalization, “individualism” is highlighted and paradoxically turned into a mono-form of individualism which all are expected to behave according to, thus embracing the same habits of eating, drinking, dressing and behaving. This process of homogenization has become more wide-spread with the contribution of mass communication tools. According to Pösteki, the penetration of Western, or American, culture in society has resulted in social problems and cultural erosion to become a part of our lives, especially in metropolitan settings (Pösteki 2005: 42).

In these films, we can see indications of the tragedy individuals in Turkey find themselves in as they are stuck between the past and the future, the modern and the tradition, the East and the West. It’s not for nothing that Peyami Safa has described the East-West problem as “The biggest torture of the Turk’s soul” (Gürbilek 2004: 176). We can see these indicators with different dimensions and levels in these films.

These films usually reflect the “modern individual”, his alienation and problems that are caused by modernization. This “individual” lives with the consequences of capitalism; tough competition to earn money, city life, loneliness and alienation, both from himself and the society as he feels the contradiction between the traditional and modern values in his soul at the same time. According to Çetin, if modernization is not based on a tradition or if it represents a complete detachment from the tradition or its denial, this means that it is in the middle of a historical and a social alienation. The ignorance of historical, cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and so-on cohesions that keep a society together means that modernization imposes itself as the creation of history from the beginning and as a “social institution” and this connotes to modernization’s being a tradition itself or “the creation of a new future”. (Çetin; 2003- 2004 : 19).

Some of the films that were shot in the second half of 1990s tell of the alienation of the individual as a result of the modern city life and people’s relations (*Uzak, İklimler, C Blok, Yazgı, İtiraf, Kaç Para Kaç, Meleğin Düşüşü* vs.); others utter consciously or unconsciously the desire to return to the countryside or the village

for an alternative to the alienation of modern life (*Beş Vakit, Yumurta, Herkes Kendi Evinde, Kasaba, Tatil Kitabı, Karpuz Kabuğundan Gemiler Yapmak* etc.). However, there are also some directors such as Yeşim Ustaoglu who reveal this alienation in political films (*Güneşe Yolculuk, Bulutları Beklerken*). Derviş Zaim especially has an original and an effective voice with *Tabutta Rövaşata* in this period. Moreover, during the period - starting in the 1990s with *Arabesk* (1996) and continuing into the 2000s - in which popular films, attracting millions of viewers, brought the good news of the peace between the cinema and the audience. The contribution of these films that were released with huge advertising campaigns as in the West to the art and sector of cinema is debatable. “Popular films give the image that they were produced with the thought of box-office. If we say that commercial cinema considers awakening the emotions of the audience and making money, it would also be useful to evaluate popular cinema within this framework. How far will these movies with commercials, celebrities and audience-attracting themes carry the Turkish Cinema?” (Pösteki 2005: 45). Suner defines popular films as being composed of the combination of local themes with the structural characteristics of the American cinema. He cites the films of Z. Demirkubuz and N.B.Ceylan as examples of the “artistic” wing that is more a questioning of the issue of adherence in comparison with the “popular” wing of the contemporary Turkish cinema’s effort to return to childhood in order to clean the past and purify the society (Suner 2006: 34, 45).

Akbal who expresses that the military coups of 71 and 80 destroyed the resistance forms; the masses were left without an issue with depoliticization and desensitization policies; neo-liberal policies and the rise of popular culture “caused a preoccupying but slow transformation in people’s lives which dulls and shatters, and leaves them lonely and supportless”. He asserts that this shock “creates aggressive, reacting male sensitivities and some kind of male melodramas having inevitably all the traces of this break and transformation in the story-telling while trying to stay outside a broken social experience”. He does this while following the traces of this “destruction” and “pain” in Recent Turkish Cinema. He gives the films of *Gemide, Barda, Laleli’de Bir Azize, Kader* and so-on as examples

produced as requiems, folk lyrics for the “looser, anti-gravity, driven, lost characters’; aggressive, reactive lumpens” (Akbal 2008). In this section I will discuss the issues of modernization in Turkey and the alienation of the individual as portrayed/reflected in such Turkish films as *Uzak* and *Bes Vakit*.

4.1 UZAK : ALONE IN THE CITY...

Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s third feature film *Uzak* attempts to make the analysis of today’s Turkish or global people through the relationship between the unhappy advertising photographer (Mahmut) who lives in İstanbul’s Beyoğlu and his cousin Yusuf who comes to the city from the country-side in order to find a job. This film is an important example that reflects today’s people living in the city, their alienation and their being in between and stuck. *Uzak* departs from a binary opposition and makes a reference on one hand to people’s alienation and their relations, and consequently to the power, center-periphery relations while referring to social problems such as immigration, moving up into a higher class, financial troubles and unemployment on the other hand. The characters in the film are alienated from each other, as well as the conditions they live in and their environments. Even though over 100 years have passed since the Tanzimat, İstanbul’s Beyoğlu is still the location of the Westernized upper-middle class. Parla writes that “Beyoğlu is a little mirror of Europe and it is full of dangers as in Europe for corrupted young people who have gone astray” in his novel *Tanzimat* and adds that “this danger is always expressed around sensuality, sensoriality and sexuality” (Parla 1990: 81).

One of the two characters of the film, Mahmut, who has come from the village to the city has a typical, intellectual, middle-class negligence and selfishness. Mahmut is a person who desires to direct films like Tarkovsky but is unable to succeed and thus becomes an ordinary advertising photographer and becomes disillusioned with his job.. Paz expresses that the same feeling is one of the major problems of the modern people:

The modern person doesn't fully devote himself to what he does or what he creates. A part of him - maybe the very deepest part - always stays independent, awake, on alert and spies against his master. Business (the obsession of earning money) which is the only God of our era has lost its creativity now. Business represents a pursuit with no end and no beginning and the aimless philosophy of life of the society. The loneliness caused by the business life - the loneliness of the hotels, offices, big shops and cinemas overflowing from that crowd - is neither a place nor a life that strengthens or purifies. The loneliness of the modern world is a mirror reflecting the dilemma of the world (Paz, 1999: 223).

Mahmut's relationship with his mother, sister, ex-wife and everyone is cold and distant. There is a gap between the ideal he created for himself in his mind and his present situation. He can't become the person he wanted to become and he knows he will never become this person and this causes him pain. Maybe because of personal weaknesses, maybe because of the economic system or maybe because of both, he has given up his dreams and unwillingly he becomes a part of the system as well.

According to Marx, the major paradox of life for these intellectuals is based on their being members of the bourgeoisie's "wage workers" and "modern labor class, the proletariat" (Aktaran: Berman 2006: 164). As the modern professionals, intellectuals and artists are members of the proletariat, they survive just as long as they can find a job and they can find a job just as long as their labor increases capital. These workers who are required to sell themselves piece by piece are also commodities just like any other merchandise and hence they are subject to the ups and downs of the competition and the fluctuations of the market (Aktaran: Berman 2006: 164). Even though Mahmut takes advertising pictures for a big ceramics company, he is unable to even get a discount for the ceramics he used at his home. When Yusuf asks for a recommendation for his job, we understand his unhappiness about his job from his aggressive reaction.

As a result of his negative marriage experience, Mahmut is a person who only experiences sexual relations with women instead of love affairs and he has given up all his desires, goals and passions in life; his friends tell him that "he killed

himself while he is still alive”. He has built up an isolated, lonely life that can be observed in his mother’s not answering his calls; his eating, drinking tea and reading at the seaside alone; his home’s furnishings for one single person and his selfish relationships with women which are reduced purely to sexual gratification. He is unhappy, desperate, and trapped; he has lost hope of escaping this trap or of having someone save him from it and has become lost just like the modern city people that don’t know what they are waiting for as in Beckett’s play, *Godot’yu Beklerken-Waiting for Godot*.

Akbal defines Turkey’s post eighties experience and argues that it has created “some kind of male melodramas” and that “we are coming across a new picture which is non-distant, in which we become familiar with the intimacy of the director, a melodrama, instead of the bizarre, distant story world of the men who think that it represents their own alternate world; his own life’s melodrama or his life that he considers as a melodrama, not by re-forming the sentimentality of the fiction but by getting sentimental for this ‘emotional status’.”

Akbal criticizes this situation, referring to nihilist and existentialist philosophies and gives the films of Z. Demirkubuz as an example telling us that this little human story’s characters are not with “complex layers” unlike the characters of Dostoyevsky. Moreover the characters, according to him, instead of embodying “the ideal of secular existentialism where people make their own choices”, “are individuals that chose not to do anything in life, do not care about anything but themselves, do not make any production and consume life”, underlining that this “blank and nullity situation” is the “nightmare of existentialists” differently than Camus and Dostoyevsky (Akbal 2008).

“A person can never change his life at all. Everyone’s lives are the same after all,” says Meursault, the character of *Yabancı-The Stranger* by the great existentialist Camus (Camus, *Yabancı* 2007: 47). Even though he doesn’t care for anything, Meursault takes responsibility for his actions, he doesn’t whine, and he doesn’t complain; unlike Meursault whose most frequent word is “whatever”, Mahmut has

moved from the country-side to the city, has become successful at some level, and is urbanized however is in deep despair. His life is as though it has turned out all by itself and has not consciously been shaped as a result of his own choices. Therefore, rather than taking the responsibility for his life, he is bearing his inevitable destiny. Mahmut doesn't mind watching Tarkovsky with Yusuf although he watches porn after he leaves. His laziness in taking a photo of a beautiful picture in Anatolia and not calling his mother though he knows that she's ill also indicate his increasing carelessness and irresponsibility. With the feeling of life passing by, everything slips through his fingers and becomes distant. It is almost as if, he is watching his own life from far away and he does not make efforts to shape his own life.

Kierkegaard says that "a person is in fact in despair for himself while he is in despair for something else and he is now trying to get rid of his own self" (Kierkegaard 2004: 27) and he calls despair a dreadful sickness; but in other terms, despair is more strongly a "dreadful sickness". Akbal's finding the existentialism of Zeki Demirkubuz closer to "Kierkegaard who thinks that one has a destiny and who gives importance to the consequences of passion" than Camus can also be considered for the character of Mahmut in *Uzak*. (Akbal 2008)

Because with a clearer way of expression, rather than dying from this disease or its ending with physical death, the torture of this disease is caused by not dying despite fighting death but is rather spent in agony. Thus, deathful sickness means being unable to die; but life destroys the hope here and the despair is the lack of the last hope, the lack of death. As long as death is the biggest danger, there are expectations from life, but when the infinity of the other danger is realized, there is hope for death. And as long as there is death, when the danger gets bigger, the despair is caused by being unable to die...In this concrete definition, despair is the "deathful sickness", the conflictual torture. The sickness of "self"... (Kierkegaard 2004: 26).

Mahmut, who goes loses track of his dreams and falls into despair, had to live with the self that he didn't want to be, "Reuniting with this 'self' that he wanted to be would let him live all the joys; but the part of him that became the 'self' he didn't want to be is his torture: His torture of not getting rid of himself"

(Kierkagaard 2004: 29). He carries the traces of being an ordinary advertising photographer while desiring to be a director like Tarkovsky, being alone while dreaming of a happy family. He is in deep sorrow due to the understanding that he will never become the person he wanted to be. The character of *Yeraltından Notlar-Notes From Underground* expressed the same feelings while wandering desperately around the streets of St. Petersburg in the 19th century:

Can you ever have enough of the taste of your situation's despair, the understanding of the fact that you will not become another man, that even if you'll have time and faith in changing, you will never really want to change? Anyways, what will it be like even if you would like to change; maybe there wasn't actually any other way for you. (Dostoyevski, Yeraltından Notlar: 13).

Unlike Mahmut in the city, young Yusuf who has just come from the village has goals, dreams and expectations. He came to the city to earn money with the closure of the factory after the crisis. The film emphasizes that capitalism forces people to immigrate, to leave their homeland with the pressure it creates. One of the reason for Yusuf's wanting to become a deckboy in ships is to travel while the other reason is that he thinks that this job will not be influenced by the crisis.

Yusuf thinks that he will never be able to get out of the village if he returns there. He has escaped from the village in a way and he wants to take the benefits of the big city and "live his life". His stubbornness in not obeying the rules of home, telling lies, his desperately endless but persistent effort for sexuality doesn't let us see the pure, naive village boy image that we create in our minds for him. We understand Yusuf's being a stranger to the city and his not being welcome from his ringing the bell for several times but still having no answer; blowing car alarms by mistake and becoming funny and wandering around the city like a tourist. Yusuf walks around this strange city which is full of new opportunities and tries to understand a different city life (gay living in the apartment, lovers behaving very openly in the street, public transportation vehicles, cinemas, streets with music, lights and sounds) which is far from him. As Yusuf is wandering around the city, Sultanahmet, İstiklal Street, and the seaside like a tourist, he watches the city and

the people living in the city envying this new world and feeling that he is not one of them. Akbulut states that the relation between Mahmut and Yusuf reflect the general tension in Turkey's intellectual climate and tells that this intellectual climate considers the villagers as a "second class citizen" in comparison with the people living in the city. He also feels that the city intellectual is changed with the socio-economic variations in this intellectual climate, and adds that "The city intellectual that had goals and spent efforts to reach them in the past, has now fallen apart from his values and forsaken his dreams, given his knowledge and skills to the service of the new system especially after the new economic system 1980s was implemented. Just like Mahmut."

(Akbulut 2005: 28)

Simmel who is considered to be the first sociologist of modernity, emphasizes that "Metropolitan-type personalities' spiritual basis relies on the intensity of the stimulants on the nerves and this is based on the fast, non-stop change of inner and outer stimulants" and adds that "indeed the place of the logic is the open, conscious and upper layers of our soul; among our inner powers, the logic is the one with the highest ability to easily adapt."

Simmel says that in order to harmonize with the opposition and the changes between the phenomenons, he doesn't need to have certain shocks or inner agitations" (Simmel 2006: 86) and continues: "The spirit which is more conservative can adapt to the rhythm original for the metropolity only after passing through these shocks and agitations. So the metropolitan-type personality - showing itself differently in thousands of different individuals - develops a guarding organ towards its outer environment that would leave him without any origins by its threatening contradictions. He doesn't react with his heart, but with his logic" (Simmel 2006: 86).

The film starts with Yusuf walking in the village towards the road with the sounds of nature at sunrise (birds chirping, dogs barking, roosters crowing). In the part filmed in the city, we don't hear these sounds again. The camera pans from the

village image to the road. The road is a way to a far away place; to the city, modernity and, in a way, modernity begins with the journey to the city as a car picks him up from the road. Yusuf gives us some clues of what will happen later as he is left outside as soon as he arrives in the city and as he has his first experience of being unable to communicate with women. Again, the first attitude he encounters in the apartment is the ordering behaviour of a women to the door-man. Simmel explains that metropolitan people sees others around him as salesmen or customers, servants or even as people that he has to communicate with (Simmel 2006:88).

In the personalities of Mahmut and Yusuf, we can see the conflict of the urbanized, Westernized Turk's character that has settled in the city and the traditional villager character which has just arrived from the countryside, still preserving the village cultural customs and its environment. In a way, we see the tension of center-periphery or the city-dweller and the villager which has formed the dialectic of Turkey since the Ottoman times which continues to be perpetuated with rural to urban migration. While the villager Yusuf tells the city-dweller Mahmut "will it always be you that will travel around the world, let us do it a bit", he also underlines what he demands from the cake of life. According to Nurdan Gürbilek, Oğuz Atay "has described the conflict as the opposition of coldness-sincerity, seriousness-childishness and is mostly related to the opposition of East-West and development-under development". In this duality, "If the West is the sense-proof distance, the East is the intimacy that can't put any limits to things he tries to understand. If the West is the seriousness of observing the object from a distance, the East is the sincerity that can always be fascinated with the object. If West is the cold adult attitude, the East is the childish sentimentality." (Gürbilek 2008: 56) I don't think it will be wrong to identify Mahmut as the West and Yusuf as the East in this metaphor.

Despite Mahmut's coming from a village as well, his attitude; accusing villagers of laziness, expecting everything to be served on a silver platter and humiliating them, shows that he is alienated not only from the village and the tradition but also

from his own past. Although he is also from the village as origin and was in the same position as Yusuf in the near past, he is now humiliating Yusuf and trying to estrange him by criticizing him for the smell of his feet and even accusing him of theft. This situation reflects the continuous duality in Turkey that has been increasing since the 1950s between the Westernized city-dwellers and the villagers who have immigrated to the city. As the modern and the traditional, city and the village are in conflict, lives, and dreams are turned upside-down, goals are destroyed and people become alienated from themselves, each other and modern life.

All this conflict of tradition-modernity causes "alienation" in the inner world, in terms of an identity crisis. The dualities of values, relations and adherence to elements of tradition and modernity empowers personal isolation. All the living spaces, work, home, nutrition, health, education, entertainment of the isolated individual is managed by bureaucratic organizations that separates individuals from personality, considering them as numbers, groups and abstract units. As the official/secondary adherences that substitute primary relations causes a manner of life distant from individualism, they form the basis of personal alienation which is the total opposite of traditional societies' social life with close solidarity. (Black 1989: 37).

The pursuit of happiness is sometimes clumsily added to the feelings of discomfort, shame, guilt, loneliness, consciousness, pain of existence, dullness, melancholy; the end is clear from the beginning, again there will be a return to a single loneliness, discomfort.

The feeling of loneliness - the deep feelings we have for being left out or to return to the place we had been obliged to leave is the longing for homeland. According to the old belief that exists in almost every society, that place - the sacred place we are longing for - is the center of the earth, the core of the universe. It is sometimes called 'heaven' as well. (Paz 1999: 227).

The hope ends slowly and the feeling of displeasure spreads over the body. According to Schopenhauer, "the reason for our displeasure is the continuous repetition of our efforts to upgrade the quotient of our demands despite the other

quotient's constancy which averts this" (Schopenhauer 2006: 43). Mahmut may have kept the quotient of his demands very high and this may have been the major reason of his unhappiness.

Simmel is one of the best sociologists explaining the shocks, pains and tiredness that metropolitan life causes in human spirit.

The primary reason of tiredness is the quick change of opposite elements that stimulate the nerves, their being too intense and concentrated. Because stimulated nerves are forced to react for such a long time, they become non-reactive to anything. If a person insists on staying in this environment, he won't be able to find time to gain power. This physiological source lying beneath the tiredness special to metropolis has another source added to itself that reposes over the money economy. The essence of tiredness is the negligence against differences; the loss of meanings and values that things have by nature, hence it is the loss of the importance of things themselves. In a tired person's point of view, everything has the same dullness, greyness and nothing is more preferable than the other one. This mood is a personal reflection of the money economy that is completely internalised. Because the money explains all kinds of qualitative differences by the question of "what is the price?" (Simmel 2006: 91).

Simmel states that nerves will refuse to react to the stimulants around in this phenomenon and finishes by showing the tragic end as "Some personalities can only protect themselves by devalorizing all the objective world-in the end, it is inevitable that the individual's personality gets also lost in the same feeling of devalorization." (Simmel 2006: 92).

The attitude of Mahmut who sets the rules of the house and who considers Yusuf as the "alternate" one is inconsiderate and humiliating of Yusuf. He keeps reminding Yusuf very rudely that he has the power. Foucault describes power as "a silent and secret internal war that covers the conflicts existing in various public institutions, economize inequalities, language and our bodies" that is not declared in a certain society. (Canpolat 2005 :101).

Yusuf keeps resisting the modern person (Mahmut) who humiliates his traditional villager characteristics and puts imposing rules on his foot odor, room tidiness, toilet cleanliness, and so-on. Here, we can relate the strict, imposing and ruling attitude of Mahmut, who represents modernity, against Yusuf with modernity's pursuit to standardize and subjugate people as well as imposing certain values on them. Mahmut is negligent of Yusuf's struggle to raise up to a higher class; we can even say that he tries to prevent it with his inconsiderate and rude attitudes. Despite the differences in these characters' points of view and their values, they share common human weaknesses such as shame, guilt, deceitfulness and so on . But we can easily say that the one who is more unhappy, alienated and living a tragedy is the modern city-dweller and not the villager who has aims and goals. Maybe he sees his youth in the villager. We can consider this attitude similar to Westernized people's ridiculing of Turkish values that they find "alaturka - typically Ottoman/Turkish" as in the novel Ottoman Tanzimat. Mardin states that Bihruz Bey humiliated old Turkish traditions calling them "barbaric" and he was astonished to see people with *shalwar*, *waist* and *vail* (Mardin 1991: 37). We can see the traces of this humiliation in Mahmut's cruel attitude towards Yusuf.

Like the sinking boat or fish floundering on stones the catching of the mouse which had been hunted from the beginning of the film is an interesting metaphor; the mouse which was trapped struggling on the sticky band with desperate cries in the end of the film is also a reminder of our film characters' despair and defeat.

As we see in various contemporary Turkish films, the TV is in the center of the house in this film as well. Let us remember that Zeki Demirkubuz makes his characters watch Turkish films, magazine programs or the news in almost all of his films. TV has taken its place in the center of Turkish family life especially after the 1990s and has played a big role in Turkish society's articulation of "the new world's order" and the system as well as adopting this new order. TV is sometimes watched and sometimes not, but it is always on in the background. On the TV murders occur, wars or disasters in far countries are shown, and family dramas or rich artists' lives are exposed. Ordinary people watch them with an enormous

negligence; they don't feel anything about death or tragedies, but rather just watch. As Mahmut said, "there are 50 channels... there's nothing in any of them" but there is still something to watch. Illustrating this phenomenon well is a fashion channel where beautiful girls appear one after another which no particular plot or theme. Akbal explains it as:

TV comes first among the production tools that the globalized and multinational technology imposes its new face on; lifestyles, experiences and perception styles that are produced again everyday. With the functioning style, TV replaces the representation styles of the technology it takes place in, the experience it empties and/or weakens with all the practices of life and socialization. It substitutes the communal life. So, while on one hand it replaces our experiences and socialization with its penetration that masks the time and space of ourselves, our products and socialization; it destroys this socialization, this horizon of experiences and production, hence the basis of public space's revivability it substitutes, it evaporates the box in which it produces its own location and time so it creates the veil itself on the other hand. It fulfills this veiled truth, with the synthetic texture that is produced out of the simulation of this truth (Akbal 2004: 21).

Chomsky, declares that according to Immediasts who desires that the media be taken from the hands of government and companies and be transferred to the control of the public, media is the biggest founder of the "consumption culture" that has appeared especially with the development of capitalist economy:

Capitalism's goal is to have more profit and the way for it to achieve its goal is to encourage and increase consumption. Media is nothing but the encouragement of consumption. Furthermore, according to Immediasts, each of us can see how being widely attacked by the mass communication tools dulls people in insensitivity and sickness. (Chomsky: 186).

For Huxley, there is no need for a direct power in order to deprive people of their autonomy, maturity and history. According to him, people will start to like this pressure on them and glorify the technology that atrophies them throughout the process. There will not be any need for prevention of books, since there will not be anyone who would like to read. Huxley declares that people will be under the reign of information until they are dragged into passivism and egoism. The truth will drown in

the sea of negligence. People will be overwhelmed by joy at being controlled (Narrated by; Gülsoy: 188). Also, among various examples of the Contemporary Turkish Cinema we can see people that are dragged into passivism and egoism because of the reign of information.

As in several examples of the contemporary Turkish cinema, there is no place for religion in the lives of our heroes in this film. It doesn't go further than mosques' being a touristic background while Mahmut wanders around Istanbul. They go to the mosque only to take pictures during their trip to Anatolia and they watch the praying people. In one way, having no religious reference also explains the emptiness in them. The feelings of safety, having goals, peace and inner comfort that religion provides are missing in them and there is not any other value for their substitution. They don't have a concept that can be considered as "secular morality". They experience the discomfort of not being able to find something that can fill the emptiness of the lack of God's existence in their lives. Sartre, one of the important philosophers of secular existentialist philosophy, declares that the lack of God creates a very discomforted situation as well:

When God disappears, the opportunity to find the values in the universe we perceive disappears as well. As there isn't any eternal and sufficient conscious (meaning God) that would think of the good for us, "prior" things like "good" can no longer exist either; because it isn't any longer written anywhere that there is good and that a human being should be honest, shouldn't lie; because we live in an environment in which there are only people (Sartre 2004: 47).

We can say that the film doesn't have a classical structure since the stability and inaction is more dominant in the film than the action; there is neither any subject nor any conflict; characters are more focused in comparison with the story-telling and the beginning and the end are still vague. Indeed, *Uzak* doesn't have any themes in terms that we know, nothing goes on in the film. We can summarize what's happening in the film as a man from the village comes to the other man who's his relative living in the city. This film, in which we cannot identify ourselves with its characters, tries to tell a mood rather than a case. What is attempted to be told is the mood of two men who are trapped and stuck rather than a story and the side actions in the film - the

mouse caught in the end, Mahmut's relation with his family and ex-wife, images of Istanbul in snow - are all elements that strengthen this mood. Still, the existence of two heroes and it being a film that develops themes in reason-consequence relations shows that it's not too far from a classical film structure. As the camera shows the village and the Anatolian geography with a wider angle, it shows the inside of the house, with a narrower angle in order to increase the feeling of being stuck and overwhelmed in the city. Similarly, as the city-dweller Mahmut is mostly shown indoors, the villager Yusuf is mostly shown outdoors in the city that he doesn't belong to. The season of winter and the snow accompany them along the film as the reflection of distance, coldness, and the endless loneliness that the heroes feel inside.

Özer Kızıltan's *Takva* (2006) is a significant film that shows what happens when a religious person faces modern life and capitalism and that might have interesting interpretations. The film chooses old Istanbul - Fatih and its surroundings - as the location and the film's leading character, Muammer, who is a person who used to do the unskilled works in a *khan* and becomes a businessman collecting the rents of the sect's estates upon the demands of the sheikh of the sect that he worships.

We can think that the inner conflicts of Muammer are symbolic evaluations of the sect or Turkey with some generalisation. For example, the sheikh of the sect who claims that Satan interferes in things done with clarity of mind, does not hesitate to kick a poor family out for not paying the rent while his daughter shops in the Grand Bazaar. The owner of a workplace who reads the fanatic Islamist paper, *Vakit*, but has the poster of Atatürk on his wall compliments Muammer for giving an exceedingly high price and overcharging the customer and claims that benefiting from the opportunities is mentioned even in the holy book. While Muammer tries to send the lease holders away for drinking alcohol, he runs after illegal titles of real estate in the municipality and settles his affairs at the bank without standing in the line.

As the relation between the sects that are illegal according to the rules of the Reforms and the government is represented by the arrival of the vehicles with the plaques of

Ankara to the sect's convent, more interestingly, the sheikh declares in one of his speeches that there have been rich and the poor since Adam and approves of it and finds it in a sense natural for religion.

Although religion seems to be in conflict with the system, it is actually articulated and integrated with it... As Muharrem goes crazy in the end of the film as a result of the guilt from the lies he has told and the tricks he has played, we can consider the film as an original example of the Turkish cinema attempts to express the face off of religion and beliefs with modern life in practice despite its debatable dimensions.

4.2 FROM *BEŞ VAKİT* TO *YUMURTA*: IN THE SAFE ARMS OF THE TOWN

Another one of the interesting elements of the recent Contemporary Turkish Cinema is the increase in films that take place in the country-side or the village, or which involve going to the village. Recently, such films as *Mayıs Sıkıntısı*, *Kasaba* (Nuri Bilge Ceylan), *Masumiyet*, *Kader* (Zeki Demirkubuz), *Karpuz Kabuğundan Gemiler Yapmak* (Ahmet Uluçay), *Herkes Kendi Evinde*, *Yumurta* (Semih Kaplanoğlu), *Beş Vakit* (Reha Erdem), *Tatil Kitabı* (Seyfi Teoman) and so-on have become well known with their success. One of the major common characteristics of these films is their identifying village life with childhood and depicting village life by placing child characters in the center. Along with identifying this childhood with such positions as purity, innocence and cleanliness, they identify the village as well with these feelings and contrast it with city lifestyles. Akbal states that we mostly come across “the introversive stories of an uncomfortable position without any fights, struggle, solidarity and resistance” starting from the eighties, and the directors of these stories which can be considered as “the nightmares of life” neither completely adopted the city they live in nor the place they belonged to in the past and remained in this “outsider” position. “The outsider position does not necessarily need to have a past reposing over the physical geography. With a tendency to seek a third location for not belonging anywhere anymore, it takes its basis from a situation that is related to the experience itself and is stuck in between. “What we face in front of us is the position of the stranger that is alienated, intended to alienate, hence immune to alienation from

the system, life, sympathizing, feeling the society” Akbal 2008: 204). While Suner analyses the country-side, he declares that the totality of the cinema of Demirkubuz analyses the village life that defines the social atmosphere of today’s Turkey and says that “In the films of Demirkubuz, we encounter the village not as remote or distant but as a common and overall situation” (Suner 2006: 46). As he defines the village as a mood, he puts *Uzak* that takes place in Istanbul into this category (Suner 2006: 119). As for Tanıl Bora, he emphasizes that the cities become more village-like while the villages get urbanized and adds that the cities and villages become alike and lose their identities because of television in particular. “In the end, we are facing a process that makes you alike, the same. It is as everywhere is city or everywhere is village or nowhere is....” (Bora 2006 : 46)

According to Göle, the difference between what is considered as “civilized” and what is considered as “uncivilized” along the modernization process of Turkey requires careful analysis. “Alaturka” meaning the Turkish one gains a negative connotation and that being associated with this style is humiliating in some way. (Göle 199: 118). But in these films, the “alaturka” or the traditions are glorified and their prestige is returned. Gürbilek evaluates this process starting in the eighties as follows:

By the context of “Countryside” I do not only mean the parts outside the big city but everything that had to be left out in this society in order to be modern. I think the identifying part of the eighties is here. The eighties represented a promise of freedom to the countryside which was excluded, suppressed, pushed out of the modern cultural codes and which exists there only as an absence, a deficiency. This promised “It” the chance of getting rid of the modern cultural identity’s pression that Kemalism has foreseen for this society. (Gürbilek 1992: 104).

The village in *Beş Vakit* is a nice one that consists of clean, sterile and beautiful stone houses. In the same manner, the clothes of people are also neat, sometimes even too clean to be seen in a village. The village inhabitants are also described as good and helpful in general. However, according to Timur, “The villagers who represented the society in the first years of the Republic have still not reached the level of national

awareness, are dirty, ignorant and are liars according to *Yaban*. Looking at all this, A. Celal thinks that the “human is the most disgusting of animals” (Timur 2002: 91).

I believe that these films are an alternative stand for the modern people’s alienation in the city or a response to this alienation. No matter how boring the country-side or village life seems and how much the heroes of the film want to get away from it in these movies, it can be observed that the boredom there is much more ordinary and simple compared to the distress, loneliness and alienation that modern life creates in the city. The modernity has sneaked into these films which I consider to be critiques of city life or an attempt to represent alternatives, only with the institutions and attitude styles of modernity.

It would be very wrong to generalize *Beş Vakit* as a film that takes place in the country-side. The film stands in a very original place with the alternative comment it is trying to make. *Beş Vakit* tells the story of life in the village by placing a couple of families who live in the village in its center. It wouldn’t be wrong to say that in this movie which takes two brothers and their children into its center, the real leading character is the village itself.

The film opens up with a general village scene which has the mosque as the center and with the sounds of nature (the wind, etc.). *Uzak* also starts with a very familiar country-side image but the film goes towards a very different direction with our hero’s going to the city. In the following parts of the film we see this village image as the main character of the film from different angles and in certain hours of the day. In the film, the time is not defined by a clock, which is a symbol of modernity, but with the calls to prayer of the mosque which is the symbol of tradition. Starting from night, time goes backwards in a cyclic way and ends up in the morning. Unlike the progressive time concept, there is no aim or goal in the cyclic time concept. In opposition to modernity’s time which goes forward, and continues as a linear progression from the past to the future and gives an aim to time, time is defined according to the day’s natural position, and the moves of the sun in *Beş Vakit*. Time passes as the day and night follow each other by the Evening, Sunset, Mid-Afternoon,

Noon and Morning prayers. But the next day repeats itself with this night and day, so does the following day, and the next one and so-on. There is a continuous status of this day, and this night that keeps on repeating itself instead of moving on, and which has neither tomorrow nor yesterday. It doesn't create any worries, preoccupations or boredom about time passing by or not, instead it is a situation that is accepted as it is, that is not over-thought. We can call this a timeless time. Instead of a modern concept of plot which consists of a beginning-development-end, life is pictured in a cyclic way. We can consider the film as a glimpse at village life. However, there is also a conflict which is accompanied by a physiological tension: likely, there aren't any heroes in the film in modern terms, we can say that the heroes of the film are the "life" in village itself primarily with the kids, people, animals, sky, plants including the village as well. Kumar describes as follows how the concept of time has changed with modernity:

"The concept of time was cyclic and based on repetition before Christianity... Christianity which used the heritage of the messiah it took from Judaism has focused on an unrepeatable and incomparable action, it devoted a unique meaning to it and defined a meaning and aim for this time: the arrival of Jesus Christ. Now, time was irreversibly divided as "Before Christ" and "After Christ". The past, the moment and the future are now attached to each other in a logic way. In this philosophy of history, nature is taken away from its own space and humanized. Unlike the old era's thoughts of cycles and reappearances, time is now described as linear and irreversible. (Kumar 1995 : 88- 92)

We have already mentioned that seeing nature and oneself as a part of nature and therefore as something to observe is beginning the process that detaches and alienates human from the nature and oneself with modernity. There is no doubt that human being's detaching himself from nature and seeing it as a separate thing to invade, and to conquer is one of the major breaking points of the formation of human civilization and being. But there are a lot of details in *Beş Vakit* that in contrast to this doctrine, cast human beings as a part of nature. From time to time, the plants and animals are shown in an almost documentary like manner during the film. The story-telling of the film is also calm and slow like the atmosphere. The nature and environment shootings of the film are as original and beyond the reason-consequence chain as the zoom

shots of the children. We can say that there aren't any nature-culture oppositions in the film. Neither the school and the events there, nor the motifs of religion or the mosque are in contrast with nature. In fact, the subsequent use of the scenes of the children from distance who are repeating every day's oath and the goats in the mountain is a tool for connecting both. With a typical point of view, we can interpret this scene as both goats and children being "flock" who need guidance.

The ties of the film with the ideas of continuity and traditions are very strong. This state of continuity and traditions create a contradiction against the concept of modernity which is identified with detachment, an endless renewal, speed, development. In the beginning, the *ezan* represents this main continuity. When one of the imam's brothers gets ill, the other calls the prayer instead of him and this realizes its continuity. The mosque always remains in the background in several scenes, as the center of life, the thing which gives its meaning to life. The attitudes pass from father to children, and from them to their own children, from one generation to another. Parallel to the grandfather's discriminating among his children, the children make a discrimination among their own children as well. The tradition continues with the the prayers taught to children, with calls *ezan*, with the change of growing manners of the female and male children.

Furthermore, we don't see the mood described by Gürbilek as the "discomfort of the country-side" up to a certain degree among the characters in this movie. According to Gürbilek, in order to talk about the discomfort of the country-side, the people living in it should be aware of a different life which is withheld from them, a center from which they were pushed aside, see themselves with its eyes, feel themselves excluded, insufficient in front of it (Gürbilek 1995: 52). The discomfort we observe here can be considered as the discomfort of existence rather than the discomfort based on being compared with the city. In contrary to *Uzak*, the religion is lived in various spaces of life in a very natural way -*namaz* is performed, animal sacrifices are offered, prayers are made. Again, we don't see anything such as TV or a technological tool or anything related to money or the material world in any part of the film. The villagers don't do shopping, we don't see production or production

relations. It is as if time has frozen in the film. Simmel interprets country-side life's being slower and more stationary compared to the city as follows:

The city creates a deep contrast with the country-side and village life every time that you pass through the streets, in the economic, professional, social life's speed and diversity –in terms of the spiritual life's sensual basis. Because life's sensual-spiritual symbols' rhythm is slower, more familiar, more organized in country-sides. The metropol requires a different amount of awareness from human beings compared to the country-side life as a creature recording all the differences. The metropol's original spiritual life's complex nature can be understood when compared to the provincial life based on deeply felt, sensational relations. (Simmel 2006: 87).

The children are more at home with nature than indoors in the film. They live mixed up with the animals, plants and the nature in the fields, on the top of stones. From time to time people sleep among the plants, bushes; people and animals give birth, people and animals mount, people and animals die. The old auntie knows and accepts, calmly, that she will also die when it is her turn. Such natural events as the solar eclipse, fire are demonstrated.

The school and the teacher seem the most contradictory elements that came to the village from outside with modernization. But as the subjects taught at school are the moves of the earth, characteristics of water, etc., the education process based on these facts is not in contrast with the village life. It can be understood that the young female teacher came from the city by her dressing style; she has already become friends with the female villagers and she seems happy. The teacher who has a Turkish flag on her wall gives the novel of *Çalikuşu* to one of her students. Timur states that Reşat Nuri Güntekin was a novelist of the laicism which is the essence of Kemalist reforms, hence he is a novelist of the Kemalist enlightenment (Timur 2002: 79). Güntekin is one of the novelists who demonstrates the Kemalist Revolution in the most realistic way within its limits, supports it in the most enthusiastic way and criticizes it in the most consistent way. (Timur 2002: 89). The village teacher represents the Republic and the modernization here.

There is no doubt that Feride, was the most efficient novel hero of the first years of the Republic. Feride was the inspiration of those teachers, believing defenders of the Republic, those persistent supporters of Ataturk that my generation could hardly see their old age. (Köksal 2005:100).

The only opposition with this peaceful spirit of the film is the child's hatred of his father who's an imam and his attempt to kill him. Although the reason for this hatred is not clear, it seems like it is based on his father's loving his brother more than him. Unlike the previous generation, he doesn't endure this and tries to kill his father with different methods –opening the window in order to make him catch cold, emptying the boxes of his pills, trying to poison him with the bite of a scorpion. The other child starts to hate his father as well after seeing him peeping at his teacher secretly. The chain of continuity and obedience starts to erode. Everything in the village seems the same but the displeasure of the children from their fathers (tradition-authority) is like the messenger that things will not be the same. Even though neither of the kids can kill can their father, they make it clear, by their hatred, that they won't be like their fathers. The film which starts by night ends in the morning: the village is waking up for a new day, just like the opening scene, the camera pans and shows the village...Life goes on in the village.

When we talk about Contemporary Turkish Cinema we should mention *Yumurta*, which is the last film of Semih Kaplanoğlu's Yusuf trilogy. The film which tells the story of a writer-second hand book seller who goes to his homeland, gets close with a female distant relative who took care his mother during her illness and stays in the country-side afterwards..Just like *Uzak* and *Beş Vakit*, the film opens up with the mother wandering in the nature and the sounds of nature (dog, rooster, sheep, bird, etc.) in the background. It competes with *Beş Vakit* in terms of the plenitude of religious and traditional references. From the religious rituals during the funeral to the *hidrellez-spring fest* and the vow. However, while *Yumurta* blesses the religion, *Beş Vakit* keeps a distance from it Yusuf, who always hated the countryside and wanted to get away from it has now returned after year because of his mother's death, in order to leave soon again. Everything is the same in the countryside, his childhood love, friends, the same traditional relations. We understand that he's detached from

the countryside for a very long time that he doesn't even know about one of his uncle's death.

The reason for him staying in the countryside is the vow his mother has offered even though he doesn't believe in such things himself. He is obliged to go to a nearby town with a distant-relative girl because of the vow his mother had offered and he stays in the country-side with this girl that he got close with during this trip and can't go back to Istanbul. We can just guess that his mother's vow was him getting together with the girl.

The most definitive characteristic of the film's story is it's being a closed text and leaving certain things to the audience; like the breaking points of the film such as the death of the mother, the reason of the vow and the causes of what Yusuf has gone through. This film, which starts in the city and ends up in the country-side, tells the story of a writer in the city who is detached from his home, past, origins and tradition and finds peace with a country girl, the country-side itself, hence finding peace in his childhood and his past. But we should say that the end is still uncertain. It is still unclear whether Yusuf will stay in the country-side or not. This is an original example of films which seek to represent an alternative way of life from the modernity and the city. It starts in the city and concludes in the country-side, depicting an alienated, unhappy character and closes with the victory of tradition.

5 . CONCLUSION

In the thesis, I analyzed New Turkish Cinema in the context of modernity and the alienation which occurs as a result of this modernity. I divided modernity into two parts as Western Modernity and Turkish Modernity. Also, I supported the idea that, each modernity types brings their own peculiar type of alienation.

The alienation lived in Turkey has different layers. While the Turkish society lives alienation caused by Western modernity, which brought enlightenment, industrial revolution, rationalism, individualism, secularism, progressivism, capitalism, technological development, the society lives alienation caused by Turkish Modernity, which is formed under the peculiar conditions of Turkey and brought the project of civilization development. Especially, after Turkish economics was opened to the Western Economic *Kader* and so-on s in the 1980s, with the effects of neo-liberalism and globalization, Turkey experienced the economic, social and moral results of wild capitalism for the first time in its history, and Turkey still lives those results. As of the 1980s, Turkey always experienced crisis, especially because of the Kurdish Movement, and the rise of the Political Islamist Movement; topics which were always the red lines of Turkish Modernity. That “crisis” includes many crises from identity to economics, from political to moral crisis. As it is known, art reflects the conditions under which the society lives; therefore, it is an undeniable fact that art in Turkey reflects the results of those crises’ Turkish society experienced.

New Turkish Cinema, which is also called “Cinema after 90s” by some writers, had popular movies that attracted millions of audience to the cinemas on one hand, and a new director generation which were looking for their own language and who created the language in cinema on the other hand. There was a generation of directors, who directed their first movies in the 1990s, and continued directing movies in the 2000s. Many young directors who directed their first movies were added to this generation in the 2000s. The main common topic in these directors’ movies was “alienation” and

the most important topic was the desperateness of the person who was alienated to himself/herself, to his/her surrounding, to his/her values.

The heroes of these movies are mainly characters who are alone, lost and bored in big cities, alienated to them and to the society. These characters sometimes live dramatic and stormy relations in their lives in movies such as *C Blok*, *İtiraf*, *İklimler*, *Üçüncü Sayfa*, *Masumiyet*, and *Kader* etc. Sometimes, they hold on to the life alone desperately, without any hope in movies such as *Herkes Kendi Evine*, *Uzak*, *Meleğin Düşüşü*, *Takva*, *Yumurta* and so-on.

However, in this framework, where do we place the movies relating to the rising of village or country life that were filmed at the end of 90s and which were continued to be produced in 2000s? The most important feature of these movies was that, the topics which were mostly about the monotonous and sometimes boring village life were told from the eyes of children characters, or one of the main characters was always a child in these movies. However the villages-towns in these movies were not suffering poverty as it was in old Turkish movies. There are organized, clean streets, painted, regular stone houses, and clean dressed villagers in these movies. Also, the characters in these movies are happy in general or at least not unhappy. Under the safety of uniformity and being ordinary, there is beautiful life surrounded with friends, family, nature, and animals presented in these movies. This message was especially for the people living in big cities. In these nice, nearly touristic villages, the worst problem is a problem caused by the routine of this small town, and this problem can be seen as something nice when compared to the unhappiness that the souls of the big city people suffer from. I think that these village movies were presented as an alternative life style to the alone, alienated, unhappy, modern life in big cities.

After the 1990s and during the 2000s, as opposed to these movies which reflect a life style of individualism and alienation to modern cities, these village movies reminded us that there is another life going on somewhere outside. For the people living in big cities, this life style was thought to be left in the past, and maybe for this reason, the movies were always about childhood. These movies were reminding us that, in this

life style we left in the past, there still exists strong friend and family relations, traditional values are still respected, and there is still a smooth and safe life going on. The people who were living in cities but having discomfort in their lives seemed to look for a way-out from their lives with these journeys to their childhood in these movies. Maybe, these movies were offering an alternative lifestyle to the people twisted from the big cities, and modernization. In the village movies, the characters were living in a nearly a mystic world which dignifies the traditional values of old times and which is quite away from values of modernization. As Marx says, these were the places where glory covers the lifetime.

I analyzed the movies *Uzak (Distant)* and *Beş Vakit (Five Times)* as examples of these two types of movies. The movie, *Uzak* is about an unhappy man who lives in a big city and is alienated from his surrounding and himself. One of his relatives comes from the village and their discussion about city vs. village, modernism vs. traditionalism begins. The character lives in the city is called Mahmut. He is a middle class, well-educated person. With this character, the movie focuses on the discomforts, losses, the inner hesitations of well-educated, middle class city people.

The movie, *Beş Vakit*, passes in a village, where people divide the time period into five parts along with the prayer times. In this village where the life stops 5 times a day by the call to the prayer, it seems that there lives people who do not have the problems of city people, who live happy in nature, who do not have personal problems or any ambitions. However, there are other problems. The new generation of boys rebels against their fathers without handing down the values they took over from their fathers. There is even a young boy character who tries to kill his Imam father, a father character that represents traditionalism. Modernism enters the village by the school and a young woman teacher into the village. However, the education does not develop so much to destroy the traditional life in the village. The movie underlines the common identity of nature and human being on all occasions, however, during the movie, there is always the feeling that something bad will happen. At the end of the movie, the young boy character cries with guilt along with the morning call

for the prayer because he tried to kill his Imam father by emptying the medicine boxes of his father. Maybe, he will succeed to kill his father, or not, we do not know.

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APPENDICES: FILM TAGS

Appendix 1:

UZAK / DISTANT

Appendix 2:

BEŞ VAKİT / FIVE TIMES

Appendix 3:

YUMURTA / EGG

Appendix 1:

UZAK / DISTANT

Director: Nuri Bilge Ceylan

Scriptwriter: Yazarı: Nuri Bilge Ceylan

Director of Photography: Nuri Bilge Ceylan

Cast: Muzaffer Özdemir, Mehmet Emin Toprak, Zuhal Gencer Erkaya, Nazan Kırılmış

Editor: Nuri Bilge Ceylan- Ayhan Ergürsel

Art Director: Ebru Ceylan

Production: NBC Film

Duration: 110 minutes

Plot: A photographer who is haunted by the feeling that the gap between his life and his ideals is growing finds himself obliged to put up in his apartment a young relative who has left behind his village looking for a job aboard a ship in Istanbul to go abroad.

Appendix 2:

BEŞ VAKİT / FIVE TIMES

Director: Reha Erdem

Scriptwriter: Reha Erdem

Director of Photography: Florent Herry

Cast: Elit İşcan, Nihat Aslı Elmas, Taner Birsell, Bülent Emin Yarar, Ali Kayalı
Yiğit Özşener, Selma Ergeç

Editor: Reha Erdem

Art Director: Ömer Atay

Production: Atlantik Film

Duration: 111 minutes

Plot: A small, poor village leaning over high rocky mountains, facing the immense sea, flanked by olive yards. Villagers are simple and diligent people who struggle to cope with a harsh nature. They live according to the rhythm of the earth, air and water, day and night and seasons. The daily time is divided into five parts by the sound of the call to prayer. Every day, all human events are lived through within these five time slices. Ömer, Yakup and Yıldız, three children of about 12 to 13 years-old, just between childhood and youth, are the prominent characters in this movie of *Five Times*. Five times passes. Children, oscillating between rage and guilt, grow up slowly.

Appendix 3:

YUMURTA / EGG

Director: Semih Kaplanođlu

Scriptwriter: Semih Kaplanođlu, Orđun K6ksal

Director of Photography: 6zg6r Eken

Cast: Nejat Iřler, Saadet Iřıl Aksoy, Ufuk Bayraktar

Editor: Semih Kaplanođlu, Hande G6neri, Ayhan Erg6rsel

Art Director: Naz Erayda

Production: Semih Kaplanođlu

Duration: 97 Minutes

Plot: Poet Yusuf returns to his childhood hometown, which he hadn't visited for years, upon his mother's death. He is faced with a neglected, crumbling house. Ayla, a young girl awaits him there. Yusuf has been unaware of the existence of this distant relation who had been living with his mother for five years. Ayla has a will from Yusuf. There is a sacrifice that Zehra pledged before she died and Ayla pressures Yusuf to make this pledge real. Because of the maternal household's property, and everyday habits, the staid rhythm of the provinces and the spaces filled with ghost, also the guilt he lives himself, Yusuf can not resist this will. Yusuf and Ayla set off for the saint's tomb, some three or four hours away, for the traditional sacrifice ceremony that his mother Zehra had pledged. Unable to locate the herd amongst which the sacrificial animal was to be selected, they have to spend the night in a hotel by the crater lake. Yusuf and Ayla start getting closer after they coincide at a wedding in this hotel.

While the falling snow blankets guilt, will the sacrifice of the animal change the destiny fate of Yusuf?

ÖZGEÇMİŞ

Adı Soyadı : Biril Atıř

Sürekli Adresi : 5. Kısım A-9 Blok No: 39 Ataköy / İstanbul

Doğum Yeri ve Yılı : İzmir, 1973

Yabancı Dili : İngilizce

İlk Öğretim : Fatih İlkokulu, Alaçam, Samsun

Orta Öğretim : Ataköy Lisesi

Lisans : İstanbul Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi, Halkla İlişkiler ve Tanıtım

Yüksek Lisans : Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi

Enstitü Adı : Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Program Adı : Sinema- TV

Çalışma Hayatı : Araştırma Görevlisi, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi,
Sinema-TV Bölümü