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MAPPING URBAN IMAGES: ISTANBUL IN TURKISH CINEMA, 1960'S - 2000'S

Master's Thesis

ECEM EZMECİ

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ABSTRACT

MAPPING URBAN IMAGES: ISTANBUL IN TURKISH CINEMA, 1960'S - 2000'S

Ecem Ezmeci

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The purpose of this study is to examine the urban development and urban images of Istanbul from the point of view of Turkish cinema and to compare different periods. In this direction, movies that take place in Istanbul and include urban images are selected and in consideration of various periods. By the help of maps and charts, it is examined comparatively how urban images are represented in Turkish cinema.

In Chapter 1, the relationship between cinema is theoretically explored and the concepts of urban images, space and place are examined based on Kevin Lynch's "The Image Of The City' and Henri Lefebvre's 'The Production Of Space'. In Chapter 2, the films are comparatively analyzed by asking the questions of how the city is portrayed in relation to the transformations and changes of the period. In following Chapters, it is examined how various images of the city of Istanbul are represented in Turkish cinema. While examining what its changing images are, the directors' concerns in each period on issues, (such as migration, the problems of housing, squatter settlements- gecekondu or the emergence of new apartment buildings, the population increase, the rich-poor clashes, the urban transformation or the ethnic diversity of neighborhoods) and finally how the directors approach and criticize about these issues in their films. At the end of this thesis, the city images are comparatively examined in the movies by the way of maps and graphic analysis. In Conclusion Chapter, it is shown how spaces and places still existing in urban memory are linked too each other by the way of maps and charts.

Keywords: Istanbul, Urban Image, Turkish Cinema, Kevin Lynch, Henri Lefebvre

ÖZET

KENT İMAJLARININ HARİTALANDIRILMASI: TÜRK SİNEMASINDA İSTANBUL, 1960'LAR - 2000'LER

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Bu tezin amacı, İstanbul'un kentsel gelişimini ve imajlarını Türk sineması üzerinden incelemek ve dönemleri karşılaştırmaktır. Bu doğrultuda İstanbul'da geçen ve kentsel imgeler içeren filmler seçilmiş ve kent imajlarının Türk sinemasında nasıl temsil edildiği dönemler arasında karşılaştırılmalı haritalar ve grafikler üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Birinci bölümde, sinema ve mimarlık arasındaki ilişki teorik olarak ele alınmış ve Kevin Lynch ve Henri Lefebvre'nin 'Şehrin İmajı' ve 'Mekanın Üretimi' kitaplarından yararlanılarak; şehir imajları, mekan, yer kavramları incelenmiştir. İkinci Bölümde filmler karşılaştırılmalı olarak analiz edilerek dönüşümlere ve değişimlere bağlı olarak kentin sinemada nasıl resmedildiği incelenmiştir. Daha sonraki bölümlerde, İstanbul'un şehir imajlarının Türk sinemasında nasıl temsil edildiği incelenmiştir. Bu imajlar incelenirken, Türk sineması yönetmenlerinin her dönemde ortaya çıkan göç, konut sorunu, gecekondulaşma, yeni apartmanların inşası, nufüs artışı, zengin fakir çatışması, kentsel dönüşüm veya mahallelerde etnik farklılık gibi kavramlara nasıl yaklaştıkları, filmlerde nasıl eleştirdikleri ve kent imajları ile nasıl bağdaştırdıkları tartışılmıştır. Bu tez sonunda, incelenen filmlerde şehrin imajları karşılaştırmalı olarak haritalar ve grafik analizleriyle ortaya konmuştur. Sonuç bölümünde, kent hafızasında var olan ve varlığını sürdüren mekan ve yerlerin, toplamda haritalar ve grafikler üzerinden nasıl bağlandığı gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Istanbul, Kent imajı, Türk Sineması, Kevin Lynch, Henri Lefebvre

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1. INTRODUCTION

Cinema is an artistic production born in modernism that has a close relationship with the city. As David Clarke (1997) states, it is almost impossible to think that cinema can develop without the city. The city has been the subject of movies or provided the background for them since the birth of cinema.

Cinema is one of the most significant means of perceiving daily life and the city, which is the place where daily life goes on. The city is actually right in the center of the cinema. The concept of the city that stands out in documentaries may sometimes find its way in movies as the background; however, it also shows itself with different cultural dimensions such as the mark the city leaves on individuals, modern life, and metropolitan life.

Cinema is thought to be the best means to present the reality of the age, and the effects of post-modern structure can be easily seen in cinema after the inclusion of modern life in cinema. In recent movies, a state of chaos and depression can be easily seen. The best place to describe and experience this state is the city. Communication problems of people who are lost amidst modern buildings, estrangement from other people and society, transitions to becoming solitary, and a crowd of people becoming estranged reveal themselves as the impressions of city life in cinema.

When we take the importance of Istanbul in cinema into consideration, it seems that, with its mythical and legendary decor, Istanbul is sometimes in the center of the world cinema, especially in Turkish cinema. With its meaning changing as it gets more modern, Istanbul has its own part in Turkish cinema and it has also gained importance in cultural dimension lately, as well.

Due to its geographical location and geopolitical importance, Istanbul has been the center of numerous civilizations throughout history. The sense of urbanism in these civilizations takes part in the construction of the physical structure of Istanbul. These effects are still visible in the texture of the city. Moreover, the fact that it is a 'junction' point due to its geographical location and its strategic location in terms of economy, policy, and trade has kept Istanbul on the agenda throughout history. In time, Istanbul, apart from being a spatial background, has become a means to explain many ideologies, political views, modern life, culture, and socio-economical structure.

The city of Istanbul experienced some political, sociological and ideological changes in the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s, and some of these changes have received attention in the Turkish films in these periods. These films portray experiences of the years in which they were made. This thesis explores Istanbul's changing urban images and its visual and cinematic representations in films in those years. Several famous Turkish films from the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s are analyzed in line with the rapid changes of the city. The movies primarily are examined through the theory of *The City Image* and *The Production of Space* developed by Kevin Lynch and Henri Lefebvre. Moreover, two representative films are selected for each period to demonstrate the issues such as migration to Istanbul, modernization of the city, pluralism ideology, individualism and urbanism, addressed by the directors in their periods.

Turkish cinema and Istanbul are always in mutual interaction. The structural and socio-cultural changes in the city led to changes in the framing of urban images in the cinema as well as determining the topics in movies. The topics the cinema employed did not only influence the audience and their lifestyles, but it also led to the transformation of structural framework. As a result, as the city of Istanbul nurtured Turkish cinema, the cinema played an important role in the transformation of the city and in the establishment of new urban images.

In this thesis the selected films are comparatively analyzed by asking the following questions: How is the city portrayed along with its changing images in relation to the transformations and changes of the period? What were the directors concerns in each period, on issues such as migration, the problems of housing, squatter settlements - gecekondu or the emergence of new apartment buildings, population increase, the rich

poor clashes and transformation of the city, or the ethnic diversity of neighborhoods? How do the directors reflect on these issues in their films critically? And how those urban images changed or reshaped by dwellers and then reflected in the films?

In the thesis, the main theoreticians are Kevin Lynch who analyzed the urban image and divided the city into its elements in his book The Image of the City and Henri Lefebvre who questioned the public, place, location and the productions of the city in his book The Production of Space in order to relate the city to the cinema. Nezar Alsayyad and Juhanni Pallasmaa approach the city that it is not only a structural artifact, but also a living sociological organism and a reflection of space experienced by people, into the cinema. In this way, the effects, which led to the transformation of the city are addressed.

In Chapter 2, the reflection of city images on cinema is analyzed by using comparative mappings and charts of the images selected out of six movies examined in this thesis. The chart comparatively shows changes of urban images used in the films by years. Urban images which are mostly used in films, gained new functions or lost their functions by years. The map of Beyoğlu shows specific scenes of the district of the films. According the Lynch's theory, we watch the elements of a district and its changing reflections on cinema. The second map shows how, urban images are bound cinema. Although it seems urban images are independent from their context, they have a connection to memory and reflection of the period. The colors of the bounds and their thickness show urban images and the relation between them.

The concepts of cinema, city, place and location started to be formed. While examining these theories, the physical and sociological change (immigration, increase in population, urban planning) of Istanbul city, which has come into prominence according to periods where films take place, are studied in light of writings by historians such as İlhan Tekeli and Murat Gül. Also, certain dissertations that study the relation between cinema and architecture are examined. The movies are chosen because of reflecting the reality of the city of that period and examined in light of above the mentioned theoreticians following the review of the development of Istanbul city. The first movie

is *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), *Halit Refiğ* in 1964; the second movie is *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), directed by *Orhan Aksoy* in 1978; the third movie is *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), directed by *Şerif Gören* in 1987; the fourth film is *C Blok* (Block C) directed by *Zeki Demirkubuz* in 1994; the fifth film is *Uzak* (The Distant) is directed by *Nuri Bilge Ceylan* in 2002. The sixth film *Unutma Beni Istanbul* (Do not forget me Istanbul) is a collection of short films directed by seven directors from across the Balkans and Middle East; *Stergios Niziris, Stefan Arsenijevic, Omar Shargawi, Aida Begic, Hany Abu-Assad, Eric Nazarian, Josefina Markarian* in 2014. All movies are analyzed according to their resemblances and differences that the directors reflected from their points of view within their era.

In following chapters, Istanbul's urban images are compared and divided into sections depending on their usual appearance in movies. Images and places in the city memory and their architectural effects on cinema are discussed. The urban images and their relation with the society experiencing the city are examined as well as the question of how these images are represented under the affect of concepts such as social realism, pluralism and ethnicity, individualism, belonging, home and the development of the modern city have influenced citizens up to now in the movies. The change of certain images within years and the expression of such images for city and urban memory comparatively are discussed. Undoubtedly, urban and public are an inseparable whole and defining the city by urban the people defined by the city are comparatively analyzed. The thematic characteristics of chosen city images start from the entrance to the city and arrival points (landmarks of the city) in parallel with the initiation of the scenarios, then the images of the characters, first contents with the city (edge of the city) analyzed. Consequently, the analyses are made on how these characters spread to the city (paths of the city) and experienced the places they had arrived (nodes of the city). During this comparison, the functional, physical and sociological changes of these repetitive images like in Beyoğlu (district of the city), posed in different periods, are examined.

The Chapter 3 examines the city's modern gates; Haydar Paşa Train Station, Sirkeci Train Station and Atatürk airport. These three elements have strong, similar and different meanings for Istanbul at the same time. These urban images are the arrival and departure points of the city and the first visual, audial connection with the city for the new-comers. In this chapter, these three images are analyzed according to their temporarily or constantly changing of functional, memorial importance for the city and in consideration of how the characters perceived them up to now.

The Chapter 4 illustrates the edges of the city: Bosphorus and the Silhouette of Istanbul. These two images are the first scene for the newcomers. The oldest visual perception is the Istanbul Silhouette and Bosphorus, which determine the borders of topography and movement in Istanbul. The silhouette and the Bosphorus have nostalgic meanings in the early periods of cinema. However, structure of the city changes in time and movies illustrate the city changing.

The Chapter 5 examines the new-comers movement in the city of those or who already live in the city by analyzing the certain path are belongs to the images of Istanbul. Directors sometimes only show it as an image to emphasize Istanbul's image or asssociate with characters and their transportation in Istanbul. Movement of city changes by increase of vehicles, ferries and human density year by year.

The Chapter 6 examines Beyoğlu district, which reflects cosmopolit and life in Istanbul. In every period, Beyoğlu's social- cultural face changes and there have been structural additions and removals to Beyoğlu. Also, the perspective of Beyoğlu was addressed by different directors. Beyoğlu has two faces. However, Beyoğlu is vibrant and crowded in each period. This enables the directors to shoot the images of Beyoğlu.

The Chapter 7 investigates the dualism in the city; the people who migrate to Istanbul and who already live in Istanbul. However, two groups of people always have problems with the city in adopting to city life, or who those have already adopted, have feelings of depression due to modern city life. The first duality is living in an illegal housing 'gecekondu' or living in a modern apartment that concurrently exist in the city. The

second duality is living in the center or periphery. With the urban development of outskirts, Istanbul became suburbanized and the demographics of housing changed. Directors reflect on these issues in different years and emphasize contrasts in movies.

The Chapter 8 examines soundscapes of the city. Istanbul has own its characteristic sounds like ferry horns, seagulls noises, sellers yelling in the street etc... These outer sounds take in the movies to give realistic effect of the period. The audial experiences of the characters analyzed and how they changes or not changed according to years that reflect on the movies.

This study has been influenced by the studies of Kevin Lynch, Henri Lefebvre, Juhanni Pallasmaa, Nezar Alsayyad, Zygmunt Bauman, Doğan Kuban, Ilhan Tekeli, Fatoş Adiloğlu and İpek Türeli and of many others writing about the city and films. I have drawn most of my primary materials from the Turvak Museum and Boğaziçi Cinema Archive.

In Conclusion, after analyzing prominent urban images by years, visual maps is created. The aim of this maps is to reveal the emphasis on the elements of the city made by the directors and to show the density of the chosen images according to the created themes in the districts of the city.

1.1. LYNCH AND URBAN IMAGES

The eye does not see things, but images of things that mean other things.
(Jones 2013).

In his book *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch (1961) states that people explore the city on their own. Environmental images are strategic links of the way-finding. Lynch (1961) defines some elements of the city, and explains how the city can be more legible. Bus stops and maps are helpful to find the way. And sea, sand, shore navigate people's way at where they are. Kevin Lynch (1961) adopted architectural and natural elements to some of American cities, like New Jersey and Boston.

When visiting a city for the first time, it is easy to get lost and feel like a foreigner. Kevin Lynch gives an example of being in a jungle: it is like realizing the sunlight and the green leaves for the first time. But after a while, other camouflaged things in the pattern can be realized by the senses, like an animal which is staring. As more time is spent in the street, person will become more familiar with the environment, with the signs around like billboards, lights, exterior doors of apartments.

Kevin Lynch (1961) defines imagebility with highly evoking images with its color, arrangements facilities and shape that remains in his observers' minds. He emphasizes that the urban imagebility or legibility is important to create recognizable and well-designed cities.

Kevin Lynch (1961) wrote about Florence as a "true city", which is identified as a highly visible sightseeing. Like Istanbul, Florence settles above the Arno River that separates the hills with its old town. When you are in the old town you can realize the hills of the city easily to find your way. Lynch defines the characteristic features of Florence.

Kevin Lynch (1961) emphasizes the sense of mysticism in the city that makes humans more excited about it. However, he says that it must contain small regions. When you look at Turkish films, you sense the labyrinth effects, especially in the old city of Istanbul, like the Grand Bazaar and the Spice Bazaar. These two symbolize the mystic part of the city; especially they take important role in orientalist movies. Also passages of Istanbul have the same role that they often open to inner courtyards which they have general secondary exists. In cinema, the characters are seen as they explore and experience the city from the views of the directors. And the city exists in their own experiences and memories.

To classify the city, Lynch (1961) separates the city into five elements. *1. Landmarks* (readily identifiable objects which serve as external reference points), *2. Paths* (the streets, sidewalks, trail, and other channels in which people travel), *3. Nodes* (focal points, intersections or loci) *4. Districts* (relatively large sections of the city distinguished by some identity), *5. Edges* (perceived boundaries such as walls, buildings, and shorelines). In my analysis, I ask the following questions while watching

the films: How did the city images change over the years in Istanbul, and how did the city develop under the effects of the periodical changes? Because the cinema is not only a visual, but also an audial study of the city, in my analysis I add *the sounds of the city* as a sixth element to Kevin Lynch's five elements (Lynch 1961).

Six elements of the city are used to analyze the city's legibility. Defining the city elements helps us putting concrete terms of the city. When these elements overlap, they will organize the urban life when.We look into the history of the city, they enchance the development of Istanbul and effect urban design.

1. Landmarks: Istanbul is a rich city in terms of its landmarks. Spread all over the city, landmarks can be identified by their form, size, usage and color. Popular cities are mentioned with their landmarks in the world, like the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Coliseum in Rome, or the Big Ben in London. Some of landmarks come to the front according to period dynamics in the cinema.

In 1960s, migration was an important issue that was treated in the filmmaker period. As it was mentioned before, Haydar Paşa Train Station was known as the gate of the city, through which migrants would come to the city or go back to their hometown if they could not cope with the urban life. The Haydar Paşa is the landmark of the city; it becomes the image of the city with its representation in the films in the period.

It can be said that a director actually creates "images of images" in the films by repetition and this repetition becomes people's collective memory. Distinctive places or structures recorded by media are frozen in the public's memory. The films are powerful influences to create the images of the urban environment (Jones 2013).

2. Paths: Istanbul has thousands years of history, and the city has planned and unplanned areas. There are some regions with organic streets and buildings spread along paths. Due to Istanbul being a maritime city, water element has been a path for the urban. The path has three characteristics that enhance its prominence, they are identity, continuity and directional quality. The path may have continuity, if there is a concentration and variation of activities along it, then people will be oriented by following the main stream of traffic. The similarity of names may also give the path its continuity (Lynch 1960, p.98).

3. Nodes: According to Kevin Lynch, if a node meets with paths, it becomes more identified and the joints should be expressive and visible. Taksim Square is a node marked by main roads and its forms become more strong and dominant as a square. Taksim has also political images associated with its name. Various protests, political events take place at Taksim Square. As Lynch records, a name can also become an image for the element. It identifies and clarifies the meaning of whatever is. And the image becomes even stronger (Lynch 1960, pp.102-109).

4. Districts: Istanbul's shoreline consists of villages (Boğazköy) in two continents. In European side, theu run from Karaköy to Sarıyer and in the Asian side from Kadıköy to Anadolu Kavağı. Those villages have special features like pavement, house types or colors, trades. Those districts cluster and become a part of the urban environment. In the 1960s, some districts were preserved and identified with different social classes. Those districts generally show middle and low income settlements with their old Turkish houses and lifestyle. The newcomers settled into the districts like in Galata or Balat. In the movies, it can be realized that the neighborhood has not yet developed with roughly paved streets and tumbledown wooden houses in the period. Also, Istanbul had old and new faces on the screen. That is a reflection of duality of the urban image of Istanbul in the cinema.

5. Edges: We see the Istanbul's landscape looking over the Bosphorus in Turkish cinema. Landscape is a strong scene and sight that is seen as background passive manner in the cinema (Adiloğlu 2006, p.294). The Bosphorus is the edge of the city, and it determines the boundaries between Europe and Asia and the shore line is provided with the traditional Turkish houses, mosques and with artifacts. Continuity of images is difficult to perceive on the screen. But when the camera moves, we can see the Bosphorus silhouette as the edge of the city in the films, as in the first drawings of the city, the gravures and paintings. Looking over to the Bosphorus, always gives the feeling of peace and calmness to artists as well as moviegoers.

6. Sounds of the city: Sounds have an important role in modern films to reflect the reality of the moments and time. Sounds provide the sensual and emotional perceptions that give the range, depth, and intensity to the films. Unrecognizable sounds, like traffic noises, child's bicycle, and dialogues are kept in spectator's minds. Sound effects

support the images; they enhance and enrich them dramatically (Boggs & Petrie 2008, pp. 257-267).

As argued in the article "Sounds from city in Film Noir," sounds give a third dimension to the movies. It creates another sensorial space in movies. Apparently, every city has its own sounds that would complete its urban image in a cinematic view. Especially metropolises create their own big noisy sounds. After sound films come up, we started to recognize the cities' sounds more. In the 1940's, the American noir movies such as *Sidewalk Ends*, *Side Streets* took place in New York streets. These two movies show the dark sides of the city. Car horns and sirens can be heard to embody the New York City identity for the spectators. As we know, the New York City is always in rush and has full of chaotic sounds. New York without traffic, sirens, horns and cap alarms cannot be shaped in our imaginations. For the noir movies, New York draws evil character in the article. Sounds create a secondary structure to support that idea. Directors encompass the importance of the frame when they focus on the patter that you can only hear the man's footstep, which gives an idea of loneliness in the street.

Although it emerged in 1960s, Lynch's theory was helpful to read the films to understand the city, yet it has certain limitations, especially when cinema is considered as not only visual but also an audial discipline. Istanbul is a city with characteristic sounds that cannot be ignored. Istanbul's urban sounds appear in the screens, when actors and actress move, wait for a bus, or train or ferry, or simply talk with sounds in the background. Sometimes when the camera shows the silhouette of Istanbul, the sounds of ferries, car horns or seagulls can be heard, simultaneously lead the audience to understand the exact location of the city that is presented in the film.

Istanbul has many definite and various images that are featured in many films. As I mentioned above, the images can contain an individual structure, district, human movement or sounds of the city. When you move in the city, either walking or traveling in a vehicle, in every movement or wherever you are looking, your viewpoints will change and consequently the images as well. The cinema audience sees the images over the director's choices. So the figures and backgrounds, scenes, the character's standing point according to a tree gains more importance by frame.

Urban images in films are different from an observer's or tourist's viewpoint in reality. Actually they create fiction, and image's repetition, cleanliness, dominance, continuity depends on the director's perception, which gains importance for the reflection of the period. Açalya Allmer argues in her article that architects suggest new visuality and way of thinking of cinema, and cinema suggests a new space form. Because in the movies; the directors criticize, imagine, represent, use, control and change the space like architects (Allmer 2010, p.8).

1.2. LEFEBVRE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Henri Lefebvre writes on the theory of space in his book *The Production of Space* in 1991. In the field of cinema, Henri Lefebvre's theory was widely used for rethinking representation of space on screening particular ideologies. Here, Lefebvre questions the city and urbanism developing under the effects of capitalism. He defines time and space's border to give an abstract and concrete definition. For Lefebvre, space is a social and political product and cities are not just physical constructions; they are also social constructions surrounded by the public (Lefebvre 1991, p. 184).

The cinema needs to define image, space and time. Images are related with space and time and kept in our memory. The space lives in our minds in a naked way. Viewing a space in visual arts creates our collective memory.

Lefebvre separates the space into three theoretical categories to define three conceptions of space: *conceived, perceived* and *lived* (Elden 2004, p. 31). Conceived space is designed with technology through labor, which is physical and it is experienced by social actors and groups and is transformed by the time. Perceived space is "mental space" and "representational space" is designed, planned, partitioned, and measured by scientists, planners, urbanists and social engineers. Lived space is social space or representational space, that is defined as third dimensional space (Recuber 2007, p. 325).

At the junction point of cinema and architecture, it is possible to talk about two different dimensions of place: "experienced place" (Pallasma 2006) and "design place" (Schulz 1971) or "representative place" (Lefebvre 1991). Place of design or representative place are places that are imagined by a designer and expressed through symbols. The lived-in

place is the place that can only be perceived by experiencing the place. Places are designed as "representative places" on a paper in three dimensions; however, experimental and living factors equip them with spiritual meanings beyond three dimensions and turn them into "places of residence". According to Pallasmaa (2007, p.18):

> *The place experienced resembles dreams and the form of unconsciousness; it freely organizes the boundaries of physical place and time. The place experienced is always a combination of outer place and inner, spiritual place and reality and spiritual projection. While the place is being experienced, memory and dreams, fear, desires, value and meaning blends with real perception. The place experienced is inseparably become integrated with coinciding life situations of the subject.*

The lived-in and experienced place is at the intersection of cinema and architecture. Pallasmaa (2007, p.13) defines this relationship as in the following:

> *Both architecture and cinema describe the place lived in. These two fields of art create the comprehensive images of life and mediates them. Cinema reflects the cultural archeology of the period that it is created in or that it pictures. Both branches of art describe the essence and dimensions of the place that exists; both creates the experimental stages of life situations.*

Lefebvre writes that life changes the spaces and space changes the lives (Kurtar 2010, p. 8). This can clearly be seen in the modernization period with latest cars, houses and technology. Space is in constant change. The city is lively, organic and fluid and changes in a multidimensional way. Lefebvre defines the production of space and the products of space. So as we look into cinema as representation of space, it produces space and products of spaces again. The cinema views lived spaces we may have known before. The lived space is experienced by humans and it has emotion, culture, history and perception of time.

Adiloğlu emphasizes the "image event" from three aspects: the director's intention, the reader's intention and the intentionality of the imagery itself. "Space is created between the director's three dimensional vocabulary and the spectator's projected emotional occupation of that space". Adiloğlu also writes about "frame space", which is questioning of "what was shot", "how it was shot" and "how the shot" was presented (Adiloğlu 2006, p. 294). The space is not homogenous and it is fragmented into images (Jones 2015). In the filmmakers movement, directors were the pioneers. In Halit Refiğ's films, he approaches spaces with the concepts of body, memory, image, urbanism and social characters.

Directors' design of space is subjective and they construct space like architects. They put space and time together to build up a place. Directors build *shot space* by defining the short distance, angles, points of view, the positioning of the camera and movement (Adiloğlu 2006, p. 293). They use these tricks to strengthen the images on the screen. The cinema is a rich source of representation of environment of the present or the past. The culture, streets, squares and houses of the city have been reflected on the cinema in that period. As spectators watch the movies, the themes of images remain in their minds even after the film (Adiloğlu 2006, p. 295).

The view of the audience for reflected image on screen is limited to the frame. The audience has to settle with how much the director gives, they cannot go beyond this frame. In the films, directors describe with words of images the lives and personalities of characters and illustrare them in speech decor, camera movements, venue selection (Uzunali 2015).

As Fatoş Adiloğlu states (2006, p. 294);

> *Paul Virilio suggests drawing on from sculptural architecture "architecture is cinema" (Juhani Pallasma: 1: 2006) which could be explained with the experiential reality of architecture producing images as one travels in space in time.*

According to Lefebvre, modern human belongs to the city. He studies everyday life in a critical way. He argues that capitalism has brought estrangement to everywhere. This estrangement changes the living habits in cities also its history, culture, time and space. These changes included modernization, capitalism and estrangement. The society grows in a mechanic way (Kurtar 2010). Lefebvre questions how the city is actually urbanized. When we look at the case of Istanbul, the population growth and city development were not equal due to urban migration. We can't see a balanced growth and urban planning for Istanbul which harms the city's beauty and structure in that period.

Figure.1: Dolmabahçe Mosque

*Source***:** Ozbek, M., 1965. E. Tokatlı (Director). *Son Kuşlar.* [Movie]. Istanbul: Efes Film Production

However, some of the film scenes can be coincidental, most of them are constructed by the director to support the idea of the story. As seen in Figure 1, in the film of *Son Kuşlar* (1965) by Erdoğan Tokatlı, we see two characters talking with a silhouette of Istanbul and the mosque of Dolmabahçe in the background. The female character meets a man whom she doesn't know before. The idea of woman's moral is an important taboo that is illustrated in the films of the period. In that scene, the woman and the mosque define the ideology of the society in the film *Son Kuşlar*. The urban environment surrounding the Dolmabahçe Mosque is rather empty in comparison to the 2000s. We can compare two periods in terms of urban differentiation in the films. Lately such films are considered as documentaries by some scholars.

1.3. CINEMA AS THE URBAN EXPERIENCE

Image is defined as "a likeness, a mental impression or picture, a vivid or graphic description, or a metaphor." As such images become our understanding of, and reactions to the world we live in. Images act as mental reminders, cognitive maps, suggestive impositions, and creative projections (Alsayyad 2006).

Via images and sounds, it gives the opportunity to people to see and experience distant cities which they may not be able to visit in their entire lives. Alsayyad explains the influence of cinema on the society in the following manner (Alsayyad 2006, p.1):

> *Film also captures the mentalité of society, disclosing much about its inner as well as outer life. Movies influence the way we construct images of the world, and in many instances they influence how we operate within it.*

Cinema is like a memory bank for urban space and architecture so it is just like the translation of utopias or dystopias to the visual world. Due to this point of view, it can be said that cinema is like a human memory which defines the continuity in life by jumping from one image to another. Cinema is the memory of urban and social life. It captures city and urbanity through films (Alsayyad 2006).

Therefore, cinema works as a machine that is develops urban thoughts and experiences. The binding of urban architecture and cinema here explains how cinema also works as a tool in conveying urban thoughts of society. As a result, the question if cinema possesses architecture or architecture possesses cinema can be answered here. Both cinema and architecture use their methodologies in order to reach the spectator. Cinema uses architecture as a tool but at the same time architecture also uses cinema again to reach the human minds. Furthermore the architectural city images, which are produced in cinema, bind urban thoughts directly to spectators. These bindings can be critical in some instances.[1]

In *Cinematic Urbanism*, Alsayyad states that the understanding of a city cannot be independent of the cinematic experience. Also the dystopic potential of modernist utopias or a postmodernist fragmentation cannot be understood without the modernist desires (Alsayyad 2006).

In an interview, Halit Refiğ was asked about how he assessed Istanbul's past and present in cinetographic terms. He answered as in the following (Türk 2001, p. 155

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[1] In such as Metropolis (1927), The Truman Show (1998) films also create new links between cities and architecture in world cinema

Istanbul is one of the most cinetographic cities in the world. And directors are really lucky to have a city like this. It settles onto two continents and meets with sea that forms a cinematographic place which is also highly valued by the directors. This makes Istanbul the most attractive place. I also try to reflect the opportunity of Istanbul's facilities onto cinema as I can.

One of the most important reasons why the city, a social image on its own (Pike 1981), goes beyond being just an image on the screen is the transformation of spatial knowledge into a pattern in the mind from an image through movies. The cinema as a form of art, in which the ideas can be collected as sequential images, creates an environment that builds and forms the urban image (AlSayyad 2006).

The fusion of architecture and cinema depicts how these two art forms intertwine in a subtle way. The essence of producing spaces in these eternalized worlds becomes more influential. As Juhani Pallasmaa (2006, p.32) states:

These two art forms create and mediate comprehensive image of life. In the same way of life, cinema illuminates the cultural archeology of both the time of its making era that it depicts. Both forms of art define the dimensions and essence of existential space; they both create experiential scenes of life situations.

It is argued that "film speaks in a language of the senses." (Boggs & Petrie 2008, pp. 371-372). Some directors prefer the arrangement of objects and people in the frame in a certain way according to the philosophies of cinematography. The director's style also determines the camera's movement and angles. Focal points and focusing on characters or background strengthen the identity and impression of the film (Boggs & Petrie 2008, pp. 371-372).

Places chosen by directors can be experienced by senses other than visual perception in cinema, as well. Eyesight creates an imaginary sense of touch from its own existence. It includes a visual sense of touch, as well. Movies feed on muscles and skin as well as eyes. Both architecture and cinema brings about the kinesthetic experience of places and images stored in our memories. Tactual images became materialized no less than retinal pictures (Pallasmaa 2007).

The place in the urban scale has always been the central focus of artistic production. As Tanyeli (2001) emphasized, within the context of macro-places, the city can sometimes turn out to be the leading actor, the main character, of the movie: "… architectural reality and the city as its macro form can become one of the 'dramatis personal' of the movie. For instance, just like Roma in 'Dolce Vita' by Fellini..." (p. 66). Artists like Balzac, Dostoevsky, Dickens, Gogol, Döblin, Necip Mahfuz, Sait Faik, Orhan Kemal, Baudelaire, and Rimbaud describe cities in the works with their charming, mesmerizing but also repulsive features. As Öztürk mentions "cinema, from Lumière Brothers to Matrix is a witness of urban architecture, and is even a wonderful advertisement medium for urban cultural tourism." (Öztürk 2005, p. 19). According to Kevin Robins, on the other hand, "cinema exhibits the modern life experiences and its complex perspectives; it moves the audience into a maze filled with dangers, fears, and the erotism of the streets. Cinema does not only present urban life and sights, but it also forms the visual experiences of the city at the same time" (p. 211). As Ergin (2007) states, the "meaning" of architectural products is formed in the minds of people who experience it, but places in movies gain meanings depending on events and individuals. The images of this life experience appear in the mind of the audience. Moreover, these images created in the mind of the audience can go beyond the time of the movie and the effect can last after the movie, as well.

All our senses play a part in creating spatial images. Spatial images are used in cinema through symbols in order to create meaning. For example, concepts such as houses, streets, cities, stairs, and doors have spatial image symbols and they reach the perception of the audience thanks to cinema. Architectural images create the main dramatic and choreographic rhythm of all movies. For instance, doors and windows have a symbolic meaning of being an intermediate between two different worlds. While secrecy and tendency to stay at home are reflected with a fireplace, a table plays the role of focus and ritualization. Bed symbolizes privacy and secrecy and bathroom symbolizes sensuality (Pallasmaa 2007). Architecture has a complicated bond with other artistic and cultural activities within the context of not only creating places for these activities but also having procedural associations and intersections and serving as an inspiration for one another. Especially cinema, as it creates images that are moving

through visual ways in the mind of the subject, it strongly grasps the experimental aspect of the place.

Cinema and architecture tell about the concept of 'place' and represents this concept in different spaces in the city. Architecture and cinema are the arts that most create the sense and experience of place. Architecture does this in real terms although cinema does it artificially. While movies are inevitably created in architectural environments, designers of place keep creating cities, rooms, and buildings. According to Dietrich Neumann, architects can perform their pure art independently from weather conditions, contracts, legal obligations and production techniques that are present in movies (Neumann 1999). When it comes to architecture and cinema, "their masteries focus on the same subject matter; however, they live in different worlds" (Shonfield 2000). Architectural works, just like in cinema, force our emotions and senses to be articulated with architecture (Shonfield 2000, p. IV).

According to Pallasmaa (2007, p. 32):

> *Cinema and architecture are, just like all art, mesmerizing projection screens for our emotions.*

According to Pallasmaaa (2007), the movies that create existential places are combinations of the world the audience experience and perceive, the outer place and the mental place. The boundary between the perception of reality by the audience and the experience they go through in cinema becomes vague; the experience in cinema leaks into the real world and maintains its effect for some time. According to Adorno and Horkheimer (1996, p. 14):

> *The world is ruled after it is drained from the filter of the culture industry. The habits of the audience who perceive the street as the continuation of the movie they just watched have become the general rule of movie production. The audience thinks that the things they see in the movie are a continuation of the real life. Cinema is designed to prevent the audience from thinking; it paralyzes the perception of the audience with its structure consisting of scenes flashing rapidly.*

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Pallasmaa is interested in the cinema methods that create places in the mind and forms mind-places, thus reflecting that essence of the discontinuous architecture of the human mind, thinking, and emotions. According to him, the spiritual task of buildings and cities in the world is to build our existence, clarify the surface between the experiences of the world and the self, and directly does the same thing with the images they reflect on the screen. (Pallasmaa 2007).

Cinema consciously employs architecture to create meaning. Places are assigned meanings and cinema can be successful to the extent that the audience can perceive these. Movie places work with expressions and images, build psychologies, spiritual places, and spiritual environments. Movie places are emotional places formed by walls, lights, and shadows, and the frame that limits this sensory place never has an insignificant or random element in it. The effect of the movie is strong to the extent of the density, brightness, and melancholia of the atmosphere. This spiritual synergy between the character and the place is observed from the very beginning. Movies raise some kind of awareness. The representation of architecture in cinema gives opportunities to experience our daily lives with enthusiasm, in a way we rarely experience (Kerr, 2000). Architecture in movies has many functions such as creating a theatrical atmosphere, intensifying the subject or describing the historical background. Besides its known functions, the architectural potential of movies, thanks to the technical possibilities of cinema, enable the audience to extraordinarily create place and time connections by magnifying the reality we experience and raising the perception of place (Damrau, 2000).

Collective memory functions to coordinate and to fabricate national identity and unity. Movie memories circulate among producers, directors, and audiences; an archival memory-store of civil rights iconography, or an 'arcade' of motifs, to borrow Walter Benjamin's terminology, finds space in the popular cultural imaginary that is contemporary cinema. Memories tied to place as well as period can provide momentum in and of themselves (Stubbings 2003).

2. CINEMATIC MAPPING OF ISTANBUL'S URBAN IMAGES

This study examines the urban development of Istanbul from the point of view of Turkish cinema and compares films produced in different periods. In this direction, selected movies that take place in Istanbul and include urban images are viewed and periodical comparisons are made considering outdoor shootings in these movies. The places and locations determined after these comparisons that exist in the city memory and maintain their existence will be shown on the map, including the details of how they are connected. This study also mentions the way how contemporary directors represent Istanbul and with which themes they transfer it to the cinema.

The relationship between space and humans is always interactive, alive and dynamic that creates new urban images of the city all the time. Cinema is like photography that helps to document the time and space in a moving visual frame. By the time technology provides the relationship between the cinema and the city, it evokes non continuous parts for the image of cities (Kayaarası 2001).

Cinema produces images again and again, and it creates space in our minds. The same place or structure could have been known in the city. However, while watching a film, the place seems in a different way. The frame is recorded as an image in minds, which brings the audience back to the old images of the place or a thing that the audience has known before. The cinema is mostly a representation of existing things. And films relate to the ideas about the places and senses of locations that identify the meaning of space. Mark Tewdwr-Jones relates films to maps so that films provide a different way of looking at the same place (Jones 2013).

In Turkish cinema, the filmmaker period starts with Lütfi Ömer Akad, who was a director from 1950 to 1970 (Esen 2010, p.48). In 1960s, the film directors were relatively free to criticize the politics in the first half of the period. With the constitution changing the censorship law in 1961, the realistic works were accelerated, new terms like social-realism occurred in the cinema. This period was marked with the directors such as Lütfi Ömer Akad, Halit Refiğ, Yılmaz Güney and Metin Erksan.

The first film studied in this thesis is *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) directed by Halit Refiğ[2] in 1964. In the 1960's, the Turkish Cinema, known as Yeşilçam, lived its Golden Age. About 200 films were produced every year. The scenario gives its name to the film, *Gurbet Kuşları, which* is one of the Turkish movie classics, written by

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) is about a Turkish family who migrates from the rural areas of Maraş to Istanbul. The family migrates to Istanbul, to the big city and has a dream of conquering Istanbul in a figurative meaning. The family consists of six people with three big brothers, one little sister and their parents. The family sells all their property to start a new life in order to reach a higher standard of living in Istanbul.

Halit Refiğ displays the transformation of the city along with the issue of migration that caused urban development problems and class distinctions between urban and rural in the period (Türeli 2010, p. 144). *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) was the first movie made about migration issue. Halit Refiğ wanted to make a dynamic film and to illustrate both migration and family members' relations with the outside world (Türk 2001, p. 153).

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), the scene frames of Istanbul's urban sights, landscape and the city artifacts are analyzed in terms of representation of city images. In addition, the reflection of inner migration and modernization of the city (rebuilding the city in Menderes period) in the film can be also observed in this film.

Late 1970s were the years of ethnic plurism and postmodernism in cinema. The increase in urban population as a result of the intensive migration from rural to urban areas and abroad influenced the architecture of the cities. Characters who immigrated to Istanbul and his/her perspective on urban life were studied in this period. The migrants were expected to identify themselves as urbanized. However, even the second generation of migrants could not adapt to the city life that is reflected in their emerging Arabesque culture (Tekeli 2009). We see the effects of Arabesque culture in films such as *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold) and *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası.*

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[2] The director Halit Refiğ paid attention to migration problems in his films and showed whether the newcomers adapted to the city or not and how. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, he shows the realities of Istanbul as it undergoes modernization by displaying the cityscape and suburban areas as background images and empowers the story of the film. At the same time, following the world cinema's movements in his time, such as the Italian Neo-realistic movement appearing in the film, *Beggar* (1961), Refiğ's cinematographic style reflects sociological cultural conflicts of the East and West.

The forms and features of the cities underwent a rapid transformation as a result of the developments in communal life and modernization (Penz 2011, 26). Various opinions about the negative impact of this transformation on people's mental health have been suggested. While, people changed the city, the city changed the people, too (Kalafatoğlu 2016, p. 65).

The dystopic potential of modernist utopias or a postmodernist fragmentation cannot be understood without the modernist desires (Alsayyad 2006, p.15):

> *The relationship between modernity and postmodernity is further intertwined when we accept that every moment of utopian modernity contains within it the entropic possibility of becoming dystopia. Likewise, postmodern fragmentation is facilitated by such modernist inventions as the compression of time and space, the flexible accumulation of capital, and the dissolution of the individual under regimes of surveillance and hyper-reality. In other words, postmodernity is graspable only in terms of the modernist parameters that lie at its core.*

The second film is *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold) directed by Orhan Aksoy in 1978. The name of the film is used as a usual term that defines the city of Istanbul as valuable whatever you do in there. Besides its economical meaning it symbolizes the uniqueness of the city. However, the story of the film shows the negative sides of Istanbul as a big city as well. The film reflects the period in its whole clarity. The film's genre is a dark humor. As a colored film, it shows the real time images of Istanbul.

Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City Paved With Gold) is about *Uyanık* family who migrates to Istanbul temporarily to buy a tractor. The Turkish economy still continues to grow, farmers from other Anatolian cities start using tractors as a result of agricultural revolution. The only way to buy a tractor is to make an order from an office in Istanbul.

Ökkeş Uyanık is actually an opposite character of *Haybeci* in the film of *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile). *Uyanık*, surname has a meaning with a negative connotation. He acttually has a frank and soft character who sees everybody like himself. However, he experiences living in the city is not as easy as he thinks.

According to Eisenstadt, urban society and newcomers contradict each other in sensing modernity. This contradiction causes social disorder in urban life (Seçkiner 2009, p.60). In the film of *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City Paved With Gold)*, we watch the city of Istanbul through migrant's eyes and realize how they perceive the city. In the movies, it is shown that the upper class society barely accepts the migrants. Films capture the human behaviors and analyze them as they are. We clearly see the contrast between rural and urban society. Orhan Aksoy emphasizes those problematic issues by representing urban dualism in Istanbul.

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold) reflect the collective struggles with the dilemma of belonging or not belonging to the city. The social problems divides the city and belong to the great scale of society. The films generally focus on certain issues. The images of the city express the urban environment realistically since one cannot make big changes in urban scale in years between the 1960's to the late 1970's. However, places are same: framed in various films many times; the production of space develops over time and influences society's identity (Jones 2013).

The silhouette of Istanbul is shown many times to remind the audience that Istanbul is still a calm and safe city even when the migrants struggle with urban life and its living conditions. The characters watch the silhoutte and Bosphorus, with a thinkful but hopeful manner. The population has newly increased and there is not neither much noise nor many cars and people.

In the 1980s, it is seen that the use of outdoor venues has dramatically decreased. The movies were made more regionally. In the period in which neo-liberalism and globalization had become political and become dominant ideological discourses, the venue, city and urban spaces were reshaped. Cinema creates venues, as filmic characters inevitably exist and act in a spatial arrangement (Uzunali 2015). Therefore it is possible to observe Istanbul becoming a metropolitan city and with the changing socio-cultural situation of the old and new districts in detail.

Some of the different themes create a new identity and movement in cinema. Places shown in the movies gain and create meanings either in parallel with or different from

the real-life. The links between the architecture and the city were outlined in the movies *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) and "*Block C*". The audience can experience many places even if he/she does not live in that place. Especially these movies are shot in small areas and therefore ensure the more detailed urban area to be seen and experienced by the audience.

The third film is *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) directed by Şerif Gören in 1987. The film is about Haydar, a public officer who takes the road for Beyoğlu one night after he gets his salary and runs into some adventures until the next morning in Beyoğlu district. The film takes place only within Pera/Beyoğlu.

The scene starts with a dreamlike image of a young woman dressed entirely in white, her long hair floating, who is running towards the camera in an empty dark alley with the Galata Tower, an iconic structure built by the Genoese, clearly visible in the background. While Haydar was chasing her, the camera shows the real/ everyday and the dark side of Beyoğlu street by street. He consumes excessive amount of alcohol, witnesses various troubles and gets into dangers. That night, Haydar experiences the luminous and dark streets of Beyoğlu. During this experience, the audience watches the night life of Beyoğlu through Haydar's personal experience. A cab driver named Disko Çarli whom he encounters by chance offers him an arrangement with a prostitute named Zümrüt, which Haydar accepts. The audience goes on a trip in Beyoğlu by Çarli's taxi. What he accually follows on a night full of dangers and misfortunes is a white dressed silhouette. And he searches for this character in the whole movie. Eventhough the characters don't reach an ultimate goal and simply leave the Beyoğlu and start a new day.

Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) is a movie within a movie. The movie crew that Haydar encounters at the moment he arrives Beyoğlu shoots a documentary emphasizing the cultural and historical importance of Beyoğlu. The audience watches the night view of Beyoğlu also through the eye of the narrator of the documentary in the film. There, it becomes possible to constitute a parallel structure between the movie itself and the movie being shot in the movie, and we realize that Beyoğlu presents the old-new difference as sharp as day and night. This confronts us with the fact that Haydar and the narrator of the documentary in the film are infact tools to introduce

Beyoğlu to us. The audience experiences Haydar's individual exploration of Beyoğlu by followig the movement of Haydar from one place to another in Beyoğlu.

Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) represents seemingly opposite impressions of Pera/Beyoğlu— both as a threatening feminized urban slum and as an idealized site of nostalgia, harmony and sophistication. The movie enables the audience to experience Beyoğlu with all its reality and shows the socio-cultural identity of the area by pacing all of the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu.

The trope of experiencing the hidden dangers of Pera/Beyoğlu as a form of a fall into the abyss, as a descent into the "heart of darkness," if you will, has been a recurrent theme in Turkish literature and cinema. *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) as a text also provides us with traces of another discourse on Pera/Beyoğlu: as the site of nostalgia for a cosmopolitan past. The important places of Beyoğlu such as Galata Tower, St. Antuan church, its nightlife, prostitutes, small hotels and historical apartments are all seen in the movie as character moves. In fact all of these places feature the ones that spring to mind and overlaps directly with the Beyoğlu's memory.

By the 1990s, Arabesque genre had lost its strength in Turkish cinema and since the mid-1990s, "the New Turkish Cinema" entered a new era displaying new tendencies and approaches. Among them, perhaps the most salient phenomenon is the rage against and a problematic relation to the city, especially Istanbul (Onaran & Yücel 2011, p. 106). In the New Turkish Cinema, movies start to focus on the individual, who experiences social chaos and personal trauma and becomes the undesirable other in Istanbul. In cinema new directors such as Zeki Demirkubuz, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Reha Erdem and Derviş Zaim emerge.

As the modern city and the social structure of the city change concurrently the relations between individuals gain different meanings. While the individuals move away from each other, estrangement from the community are experienced. The movies start reflecting the results of the psychology science that became popularized and rediscovered as a consequence of the changing social structure in the city along with modern lifestyle (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

The fourth film is *C Blok* (Block C) directed by Zeki Demirkubuz in 1994. The name of this movie, Block C, makes a reference to an existing housing estate in Ataköy. Demirkubuz shows the building mentioned in the film from various angles.

The movie is about the life of Tülay who is an anxious woman and being secretly tracked by Halit, the son of the building manager. Tülay of is a woman married to a businessman frequently going on business trips. Tülay stands alone in the dull apartment of a high-rise housing block in Ataköy when her husband travels for business. After her husband leaves the city, Tülay wanders aimlessly on the streets and coasts of Istanbul and experiences the city in day time.

C Blok (Block C) became one of the pioneer films of contemporary Turkish cinema discovering issues such as the city, the city dweller, urbanisation, the stranger and becoming urban that had not been touched upon in cinema before. This change in cinematic language was related to the emergence of global capitalism in Turkey, which began to take over the city through large-scale urban development and housing projects (Suner 2005).

In the works of Zygmunt Bauman, the term "stranger" is described as physically close and mentally distant in social life. He defines the liquid modernity as the flexible, fragile, individualized life experiences. The state of individuals is kept away physically and restricted with physical environmental restrictions (camp and ghetto) in urban life. The tendency to live within the walls of gated communities monitored by private security cameras symbolizes getting away from strangers in the cities. In this sense, Bauman conceptualizes the stranger as a social other in cities.

The stranger is "the one who is socially remote but physically close" (Bauman 1998, p. 188). Liquid modernity pictures the life experiences of individuals (Jay 2010, p. 98; Peterson, 2010, p. 14). In Bauman's perspective, one of the meanings of liquidity is the evaluation of the society, the increase of individualism with the decrease of collectivity as a network rather than a structure (Bauman 2008, p. 1-4).

The "social distance" concept occupies an important place in Bauman's texts. Distance is an element affected by practical intentions and purposes other than physical/objective or psychological product. Dualities such as here/there, close/remote or inside/outside

indicate degrees of the proximity and humanity attributed by people to the surrounding environment (Bauman 1999, p. xxiii).

The concept of stranger provides a schema to Bauman for the interpretation of the changes of pre-modern, postmodern and modern social forms. So, he focuses on the topics of social interaction and identity subjects (Marotta 2002, p. 47). The reason behind the transformation of stranger into a problem is modern urban life. With modernity, the increase in "the physical density" goes in parallel with the decline of the "social density" (Bauman 2003, p. 88). Namely, urban life is an environment in which there are more relations in terms of quantity and less relations in terms of quality. As a matter of fact, according to Bauman, people are in constant physical proximity with people having no moral relation in crowded urban centers (Bauman 2004, p. 50).

The city is organized as a new social form of modern epoch and the cinema is the most appropriate cultural form of this age that can capture and reveal transience and flows characteristic of the city (Tuncer 2005). Especially the social realistic films carry this new approach to urban life as a visual concept. Im cinema Istanbul is reflected not only as the city of stranger but is also as the city of social density.

The fifth film is *Uzak* (The Distant) is directed by Nuri Bilge Ceylan in 2002. *Uzak* (The Distant) means "distant": an idea whose metaphorical significance matches, though without outstripping, the more obvious sense of physical distance and estrangement. Mahmut and Yusuf are two main characters in the film. Mahmut is a commercial photographer, Ceylan's own former profession. Yusuf is the other, namely "a distant relative" as Mahmut told to a friend and he has positioned.

Mahmut has made a success of his life as a photographer who lives in an apartment in Istanbul. Professionally bored and disillusioned, he spends a deeply unsatisfactory life.There are long scenes in which Mahmut just watches TV. His life is upended by the deeply unwelcome arrival of a cousin from the same village that he has left behind. Mahmut has promised his mother that he will let Yusuf stay in his pristine flat while he looks for a job in the big city.

The movie reveals the contrast of the city and village around these two main characters. The urban man who has set boundaries between himself and his environment and is alienated to his environment cannot bear anything to enter, intervene, disrupt and distort the order into his self-controlled world and his "sterilized" way of living.

In the *Uzak* (The Distant), Istanbul is portrayed as an inhospitable in-between space where no one can either pass through or inhabit. As it can be observed in the auteur-oriented cinema of this period, the representations of 'the city' and the 'rest of the country' varied from the disenchanted realist portrayal of the cityscape to the subjective neratives of the city (Onaran & Yücel 2011, p. 8).

Uzak (The Distant) is full of images of quiet desolation, from the snowy streets of Istanbul to the half-capsized ship that lies in its harbor. It suggests a state of disconnection that Ceylan believes is an unavoidable part of modern city life. Ceylan emerges as an ambitious geographer of city life, exploring the spaces that irrevocably separate people both in the streets and indoors. The director is inspired by the visual beauty of the city, despite the bleakness of its wintery cityscapes - a far cry from the familiar picture-postcard Istanbul (Romney 2004).

Certainly, the cinematic space is not simply a perspective expression or representation of the real lived space; but, beyond this, cinema has produced a new and completely different way of seeing and being. It has (re)constructed and (re)framed the spatial dynamics and architectural forms of the city with its own narrative form through lighting, cinematography and editing. So, there has emerged a new way of encountering reality for the individual (Tuncer 2005).

The sixth film is *Unutma Beni İstanbul* (Don't Forget Me Istanbul) is directed by seven directors from across the Balkans and Middle East; Stergios Niziris, Stefan Arsenijevic, Omar Shargawi, Aida Begic, Hany Abu-Assad, Eric Nazarian, Josefina Markarian in 2014. The film consists of seven short films by seven directors who have been successful in the international cinema. Hüseyin Karabey took part in the film as the artistic director. Hüseyin Karabey emphasizes Istanbul as a transit city are all "New Turkish Cinema" representations.

Directors come together to remind viewers that Istanbul's history does not belong only to the people of Turkey; by this way, they highlight the city's cultural diversity. Each of these short films is 15 minutes long, and the stories are either from the directors' own lives or about the lives of others. They all have different reasons for being in Istanbul. The city's cosmopolitan history brings these people together.

The film aims to remind new generations of the cultural influence that Istanbul has left in the collective memories of many nations and Istanbul is a city whose memories exceeds Turkey's borders and whose history belongs to the peoples of these countries as well (Şenerdem 2011).The characters have strong ties with Istanbul even if they are not Turkish Foreign characters also have strong ties with the city as Turkish performers do in the short films.

The first short film *The Half Moon Strangers,* directed by Greek origin Stergios Niziris, is the story of a Greek named Vangelis, who does not like Turkish people. Vangelis travels often between Salonica and Istanbul and on the time of his arrival to Istanbul, he gets swindled and has to stay in Istanbul for one night. The arrival of Vangelis to the city starts in the Sirkeci station. Throughout the film, the important districts and landmarks of the city such as Eminönü and Golden Horn can be seen. This one night of Vangelis in Istanbul awakens his past identical feelings and he forges a collective bond with the city.

The second short film *Mirko*, directed by Serbian Stefan Arsenijevic, tells the Istanbul story of an intellectual mid-aged couple. In the movie the couple is seen arguing in the Spice Bazaar, which is an important landmark of Istanbul. Later the main character loses her way after she mistakes a young boy for his lost son and chases after him. The labyrinth like streets of Istanbul are seen in the movie.

The third short movie is *The Jewish Girl*, directed by Danish director Omar Shargawi. A successful Palestinian writer Fayez, who lives in London, comes to Istanbul in order to meet his Israeli girlfriend. They stay in Great London Hotel in Beyoğlu district to have a romantic weekend. This hotel actually evokes the splendid era of Beyoğlu in collective memory. The Jewish girl and Fayez pace and go to the Prince Islands. Here,

the island, which is distant but is reachable by ferry, can be seen. The movie associates the foreigners to Istanbul with its oriental images, especially with its sounds.

Istanbul is one of the world's monumental cities, according to Shargawi, who said the city was very special for him and his country of origin. "I do not feel I have any links with other big cities such as Rome, Paris or New York, but it is different with Istanbul (Şenerdem 2011).

The fourth short film *Otel(o)* is directed by Bosnian director Aida Begic. The film tells one night of Alma in Istanbul, who is a Bosnian and comes to Istanbul for the auditions of Othello play. In the first frames of the movie, the audience watches the metropolitan side of Istanbul at night. These frames show the city as a big and crowded metropolitan city to the strangers arrived here who are in the midst of its illuminated billboards, high rise business centers, traffic jams and lights.

Begic also said Istanbul was literally a city between West and East, which makes it a great place where diversities meet. "We can explore ideas of universality and individuality in this city," she said.

The fifth short film *Almost* is directed by Palestinian director Hany Abu-Assad. The film tells the meeting of two sisters in Istanbul, who became apart by the immigration of one of the sisters to Syria due to the establishment of Israel in 1948. The first frame shows an old lady arriving at the Ataturk Airport, taking a bus and then losing her daughter. She only has a hotel address in Taksim district with her. The audience watches an old lady seeking to find the hotel in Taksim's chaotic streets.

The sixth short film *Bolis*, directed by American director Eric Nazarian, is the story of an Armenian originated American. Armenak is an oud master, who comes to Istanbul for an important music festival for the first time. He goes to an old Istanbul neighborhood in order to trace his Armenian ancestor. Armenak is linked to his past identity when he finds his grandfather's old house. This short film reveals old Turkish structures squeezed into the modern city, the Muslim and non-Muslim cemeteries.

The seventh short film *Epilog*, directed by Josefina Markarian, tells the travel of famous Greek author Petros Markaris (the scriptwriter of the film as well) to Istanbul, where he

is born. The film reveals islands, ports and the Galata tower affect the city's memory as well as the personal memory of Markaris by showing him pacing through meaningful places in the city, which were abandoned due to the political and social storms during the 1960s.

The majority of the film takes place outdoors. So, it allows us to compare Istanbul with earlier periods as the most recent film. We can divide the short films of *Don't Forget Me Istanbul* into two groups in terms of the city. In the first one, is the scenes show the new modern face of Istanbul and in the second other the scenes refer to the old Istanbul. There are mainly aspirations of old Istanbul and scenes reminding that the city has not lost its soul however it has changed in the meantime.

The New Generation Cinema takes the urban scene of Istanbul in relation with the concept of modern city life. Just as the city presented a unique way of living along with new spatial and temporal relations, cinema produced cumulative and radical shifts in human perception and experience of the visual world in terms of both space and time (Tuncer 2005). No film in the 2000s describes Istanbul as a city "paved with gold", but as "the city of casualties" and draws an image of characters who get stuck in the traffic jam and feel the claustrophobia due to being framed within the frames (Tayfun Pirselimoğlu, 2002). It can be seen that the tediousness appears as a city problem specific to itself as a city landscape in movies describes Istanbul in different styles (Çiçekoğlu 2015).

3. MODERN GATES OF THE CITY: TRAIN STATIONS AND AIRPORT

Haydar Paşa Train Station was both the landmark and the gate of the city in most of Turkish films from 1960's up to the late 1970's. For newcomers it was the contact zone with Istanbul. The migrants arrive in the city and encounter this structure while dreaming of a better life in Istanbul. It is a starting point of the city and constitutes their first relations to urban life.

In Figure 2, the first frame of *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), we see the peron of the Haydar Paşa Train Station. The family is having a conversation inside of the station. It can be observed from Figures 2a and 2b that Haydar Paşa Train Station was used as a symbolic structure of Turkish Cinema.When migrants arrive in the station they start dreaming of a better life in Istanbul. When they get out of the train station, they face the Marmara Sea and ferries, which carry them from Asia to the European side. The Haydar Paşa Train Station maintains such an important function.

Figure.2: The scenes of Haydar Paşa Train Station from inside and outside.

(a) *(b)*

Source: **a**.1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b**.1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film Production

In the film *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold), the story starts with the Haydar Paşa Train Station, where Ökkeş Uyanık arrives in the city with his family. Haydar Paşa was still the main transportation hub that connected Istanbul with Anatolian cities in late 1970's still. Despite the Bosphorus Bridge was built in 1973, the director chose to show Haydar Paşa as an arriving point to the city because of affordable transportation costs.

Figure.3: Last scene of Haydar Paşa Train Station in Gurbet Kuşları.

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), as the family couldn't adopt to urban life at the end of the story, family bonds started to break. To build up the family again, they decide to go back to their hometown with two missing members and depart the same station. When the time comes to leave the city, the family members see newcomers in Haydar Paşa who have the same dreams about Istanbul as they did. The story ends at the Haydarpaşa Train Station where it started and they leave Istanbul on a black train to go back to their hometown (Figure 3).

Figure.4: The scenes of Sirkeci Train Station from inside and outside.

In short film*The Half Moon Strangers*, Sirkeci station is featured instead of Haydar Paşa Train Station. Sirkeci Train Station is also a connection point between Europe and Istanbul has a historical importance with its structural forms and history as Haydar Paşa Train Station (Figure 4). Having lost its importance with the diversity of the means of

transportation and technology, it waits for a new function as an empty building in the city memory.

Figure.5: Contrast between two gates

(a)	*(b)*

Source: **a.**1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b.**2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

In Figure 5, we see two arrival points in different periods. From the late 1970's on, Haydar Paşa Train Station lost its importance for the city. Atatürk Airport was opened in 1953; however, it became more popular after the 1980's because of traveling got cheaper by that time.[3]

As a reference point, Istanbul has always continued its existence in movies. Considering the movies, there are groups emerging in each period with regards to the collective images of the city. Also, these images have repeated themselves in the films. Considering these elements, stations (Haydar Paşa Train Station, Sirkeci Train Station) and the Ataturk Airport define the arrival concept and the entrance to the city. Haydar Paşa Train Station appears as a constant image of Istanbul in the films, which was used by the directors as an admirable structure. It can be seen from the movies that the Ataturk Airport becomes a symbol of metropolitan Istanbul image from the 1990's on.

The fifth short film *Almost* tells the story of two sisters meeting in Istanbul. The first frame shows an old lady and her daughter arriving to the Ataturk Airport. The director lets the audience watch the conversations at the exit gate of Ataturk Airport. The old

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[3] Travel by plane was expensive in the 1950's, it was not much preferred in the beginning. When the terminal was enhanced and the voyages increased in the1990's it become Istanbul's new gate. A master plan was prepared in 1971. The first terminal project designed by the architect Hayati Tabanlıoğlu led to a construction project of a airport. The Airport structure is one of Istanbul's modern project with the expression brought by the modern design and aircraft technology. In the next new generation cinema, airport is seen both as an international and domestic arrival point.

lady cannot speak any foreign language. Even so, they can easily enter the city. Contrary to Haydar Paşa Train Station, everything seems more systematic here.

C Blok (Block C) depicts the night image of Ataturk Airport, which is close to Atakoy district (Figure 6). The access to the city is now much easier and timeless. Haydar Paşa has now become a nostalgic artifact in collective memory as the historical landmark of the city. The entry-exit or the escape from the city is done through Ataturk Airport.

Figure.6: Night view of Atatürk Airport

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

By the way of train stations and ports, one can see that Istanbul has taken its place in collective memory as much as individual memories as illustrated in the first film. A train station is certainly not only the memory of departing from a country; it is also a nodal point of visits to Turkey. Istanbul doesn't only belong to the people of Istanbul; it belongs also to those who pass through it (Şumnu 2002).

4. VIEWING ISTANBUL FROM THE EDGE: BOSPHORUS AND THE SILHOUETTE

Well-known city images and representational forms give new meanings to the city when the urban space of Istanbul is used in different social contexts. The view of Bosphorus is used to an excessive degree in many films; yet this beautiful city scene which has appeared in the background of most love stories in Turkish cinema is foregrounded as a physical living space and thus it addresses a completely different urban reality (Tuncer 2005).

When we look at the place where Istanbul stands in cinema, we see the city with its legendary and unique natural decor. The silhouette of Istanbul has remained in the forefront in Turkish cinema at all times. The first image of Istanbul was represented as the image in memories formed by the hillbased topography of Istanbul, its houses and mosques.[4] Monumental mosques continuously make statements in the overall impression of the city.[5] Sometimes Istanbul silhouette maintained its existence as a character, and sometimes it was used by the directors as a background urban décor in order to describe the atmosphere of the city.

In two films *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold), families get out of Haydar Paşa Train Station, and then see the ferry and Maiden Tower in the Bosporus view, which is another typical image of the city of Istanbul. This is the first time they encounter with the city. Istanbul is a costal and unique city in the world that creates many images of itself without effort. Istanbul is divided into two areas by the Marmara Sea.

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[4] As a city, Istanbul has many hills some of which are famous with their architectural monuments, like mosques and hamams. In the 1960's, the Turkish cinema used "Çamlıca Tepesi", especially used for lovers' secret place to meet which was later the known as "Aşıklar Tepesi". Lovers would come to this hill with their car to watch view of the Bosphorus. Turkish films created the image of that hill as "Aşıklar Tepesi"" in our minds.

[5] Just as in his travelogue *Journey to the East*. Le Corbusier represents the city as a creative dialogue between the subject and the object, the self and the city. Le Corbusier's notes focus more on the historical side of the city in the south of the Golden Horn; "Stamboul". he gets used to the city, he starts having pleasure from its daily scenes such as the passing by boats and the cypress trees then identified with the Ottoman Istanbul. Le Corbusier especially adores his visual experience of the city from the sea. (Morkoç 2004).

Figure.7: Contrast between two gates

(a)	*(b)*

Source: **a**.Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b**.1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film Production

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), Fatma is amazed when she sees the ferry for the first time, which gives her the feeling of making the right desicion with moving to Istanbul (Figure 7a). In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold), when the family members get out of the Haydar Paşa Train Station, they come across the Marmara Sea and the Maiden's Tower[6], which is a historical and unique landmark for the city at the background image in the frame (Figure 7b). In the film, we see the Maiden Tower's before the its restoration.

Another important point in the scene is when the family members get out of the Haydar Paşa Train Station and notice the plaque that marks the population of Istanbul as 5.168.000. This also shows that Istanbul is already a big city in the late 1970's. Along with industrial growth, Istanbul started to receive more migrants. Ökkeş tells his son to write plus 4 on the population plaque. This scene is an obvious mark of urban migration. The newcomers add themselves to the total population on the plaque of Istanbul. This scene explains how migrants come and cause the population of Istanbul to rise. Arriving with a piece of luggage, they come with a dream to become part of urban life.

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[6] The Maiden's Tower is restored for a James Bond movie, *The World Is Not Enough* in 1998 and completed in 1999. Outer walls of the Maiden's Tower covered with white clay look very different in the 2000's. The film reminds us how a landmark's face can change after several years.

Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City Paved with Gold) reflects the collective struggles with the dilemma of belonging or not belonging to the city. The social problems divide and the city causes a diverse society to emerge. Orhan Aksoy shows the silhouette of Istanbul many times to remind the audience that Istanbul is still a glamorous city even when the migrants struggle with urban life and its living conditions.

Figure.8: Haybeci is watching Istanbul view

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), when the family arrives the city, the first person they meet is Haybeci. Having a poor and disapproved look, Haybeci shares wit the family the same dreams about Istanbul. In Figure 8,"*becoming shahs of Istanbu"* is Haybeci's first words about Istanbul while looking at the city silhouette. Haybeci and the family encounter again several times in the city. We see him climbing up in the society and improving his social status. Yet, he doesn't have interest in adapting himself to the urban life and its culture. He couldn't be part of urban culture; however, he was not out of it totally. Halit Refiğ uses Haybeci character as a figure of inner migration and its effectiveness on the assimilation of the city (Türeli 2010, p. 160).

The silhouette of the city, which is represented in engravings before cinema, is the first image placed in memories. As this image protects its power, it also differentiates each period. This differentiation is related to the new accretions into the city and also to Istanbul being interpreted differently by the directors in every twenty years. While the city takes on the task of being a silhouette in the 1960's; the description of the city as a silhouette has been changed in terms of structure and is also identified by the lack of

sense of belonging in the 1980's. In the 2000's, the silhouette of the city was represented as beautiful from distant but a chaotic fact within itself. Despite this, Istanbul silhouette has been framed in a nostalgic air atmosphere, which can be described as bringing back the old times.

The transformation of the city image of Istanbul on the big screen has occurred not only in terms of the spatial characteristics of the cityscape, but also in terms of the social dynamics of urban living. In this sense, there is a need to examine the conceptual presentation of the city of Istanbul in relation with the changing living conditions and shifting values in urban area alongside with the visual appearance of Istanbul. Istanbul has mostly served as the main paradigm for the cityscape and different modes of its presentations in cinema.

While the concept of neighborhood lost its old function and importance, the emergence of "Housing Estates" satisfied the needs for housing newcomers in Istanbul. Housing estate areas composed of high-rise buildings in the peripheries of the city started also to create a new silhouette of the city after the 1970s. (Ataköy, Ataşehir, Göztepe Soyak Housing Estates, etc.) (Coşkun 2003, p. 81).

Figure.9: The view of Ataköy-Bakırköy residential blocks from the coast in that period

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

"Filmic stories" draw invisible boundaries of the city by going beyond legal patterns such as the city boundaries, municipality and urban area. They rather focus on the

feelings of individuals and their experiences in lived- in places (İşler 2010). In *C Blok* (Block C), high-rise housing blocks built on the seaside create a boundary with the sea when seen from a distance (Figure 9). Tülay, while going around aimlessly with her car, finds herself in the same place again. Tülay, who cannot feel belonging anywhere, is in fact aware that she will return to these cold and artificial blocks again. In this movie frame Tülay turns her back to the blocks and displays an unhappy, depressive image. This image of Bakirkoy shore at the Marmara Sea JOİNİNG with the sea reminds us that there is a border. Tülay comes here often to think but the view of the blocks are always at the background. This background is completely different from the familiar Istanbul cityscape. The character does not feel that she belongs in here.

It is not possible to talk about urban memory during the period of the movie *C Blok* (Block C). Atakoy district is a newly established area and houses constructed as prefabricated are literally scattered onto the land. Blocks resembling enormous machines create a dystopic image. The audience cannot either an image belonging to Istanbul when watching the film.

In *C Blok* (Block C), it can be seen that the modern satellite silhouette of the city has emerged as an alternative to the Istanbul silhouette due to the rising apartments. High-rise residences and offices behind the historical peninsula are also a matter of discussion affecting the silhouette of Istanbul today. It is understood that the director Demirkubuz critically in focuses on this point in a time when middle and upper-income communities seek for a new residence in the peripheries from 2000 on. However, it is understood that satellite towns such as Ataköy and Bahçesehir are now add-in cities inevitable for Istanbul and cannot be denied in terms of sociological and urban design elements. This notion is evident because they can be seen in the period's films and scenarios. Although the cityscape changes in time, it maintains its general appearance in collective memories. With the change in its meaning and getting more modern, Istanbul has its own place in Turkish cinema and has a vital importance in cultural dimension.

In *Uzak* (The Distant), Ceylan emerges as an ambitious geographer of city life, exploring the spaces that irrevocably separate people both in the street and indoors. The

director is inspired by the visual beauty of the city, despite the bleakness of its wintery cityscapes - a far cry from the familiar picture-postcard Istanbul. The film is full of images of quiet desolation, from the snowy streets of Istanbul to the half-capsized ship that lies in its harbor. It suggests a state of disconnection that Ceylan believes is an unavoidable part of modern city life. (Romney 2004).

Looking far onto Istanbul's cityscape is an old habit. Scenes of watching the silhouettes of Bosphorus and Golden Horn generally appear in Turkish movies shot in Istanbul.As can be observed in the auteur-oriented cinema of this period, the representations of 'the city' and the 'rest of the country' varied from the disenchanted realist portrayal of the cityscape (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

Figure.10: Mahmut and the Cityscape

Source: Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

Nuri Bilge Ceylan shows the feelings of being trapped in the city from long-range cinematographic angles and tries to make the audience feel the city. What is reflected from the camera is also important. Eventhough the screened scenes are marginalized from the place on which the director settles the camera, a partticipation option is presented to the audience with the portrayal of the director. The characters look into the distance while thinking (Figure 10). In fact, they feel neither comfortable in this city nor welcomed by the city meet them nicely. The natural sound use in the film drags the audience into the film.

Figure.11: Galata Pera View in the Evening

*Source***:** Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

The audience meets frames where Ceylan reveals Istanbul as a vintage. Ceylan represents the cityscape of Istanbul in a nostalgic way (Figure 11). When the city lights starts to illuminate and the darkness falls, the non-aesthetic view brought by modern and irregular urbanization is covered. And the nostalgic cityscape of Istanbul emerges. This view is used in almost every movie for the outdoor shots of Istanbul. No matter how dark the directors shoot movies, they have made references to the nostalgic atmosphere of Istanbul.

Figure. 12: Snowy Istanbul

Source: Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

Yusuf slowly walks across a snowy expanse before emerging into the foreground and is briefly framed as a loner starkly detached from the landscape: one of several comparable shots that give Yusuf a pathetic but imposing outsider status (Figure 12).

Voyeurism has often been a subject in cinema. In fact, watching a movie itself may also be a voyeuristic activity in its nature in that the audience seeks pleasure in looking at lives of other people. For instance, Alfred Hitchcock's *Rear Window* talks about voyeurism (Yeirim 2013). What is also in parallel with their voyeurism is the experience with cinema itself, in which the audience peeps in his personal life looking at the screen as Mahmut is looking to outside through his window (Figure 13).

Le Corbusier to his engagement with the reality of mass media, where "the window in the age of mass communication provides us with one more flat image. The window is a screen." (Colomina 1996, p. 332). Window is the rectangle of the window that changed 'outside' into landscape. The window acts as a screen for the audience. So the audience sees unframed views which are frames inside of the frames.

Simmel mentions that a life spent in pursuit of unlimited pleasure bores people. Things in boredom lose their meaning and values, as well as their importance. Everthing is dull and gray for bored people, nothing is more preferred than anything else, because "cities are the real districts of visual representation." (Simmel 2003, pp. 91-92).

Figure.13: Grey blocks of Istanbul

*Source***:** Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

The winter season of Istanbul is seen in the film. Even though snow can cover the top of the concrete structures, the grayness of the air and structures cannot hide under the snow. Modern city drowns urban people. However, Mahmut does not feel belonging to the village he sometimes escapes to. It is a place visited by him to take a breath from time to time. Nuri Bilge Ceylan makes the concept of belonging to be felt very good in this movie. That is to say, urban people are neither entirely urban nor countrymen. Mahmut is seen while is watching dark clouds from the frame of the wide horizontal window in this poetic portrayal of Istanbul (Figure 13).

Figure.14: Cemetery with Maslak- Levent plazas as a background

Source: 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

In Unutma Beni Istanbul (Don't Forget Me Istanbul), the Muslim and non-Muslim graves are depicted in the movie. While the character is praying in the graveyard, the business center plazas create in the cityscape of Maslak-Levent in the background. Graveyards are one of the few remaining green fields in Istanbul. Cemeteries in fact create a path for people. The cemetery, just like the surrounding urban space, offers a highly evolving landscape (Perouse 2001).

Cemeteries are actually places of memory. Pierre Nora remarks that memory is built spatially. According to Nora, the memory is articulated to concrete and physical places such as cemeteries, cathedrals, battlefields (Bayhan 2013). Therefore, memory enlivens in such a geographical place. Places such as monuments and museums become

prominent as places of memory. Moreover, even a street name serves a function in keeping collective memory alive (Bayhan 2013).

Figure.15: Old postcards

The place in collective memory is secured not only through the replication of its images but also through the repetition of its narrations in poems, stories, novels, drawings, postcards (Figure 15). In *Unutma Beni İstanbul* (Don't forget me Istanbul), Armenak finds postcards belonging to old Istanbul in his former home. These postcards reminds him of the nostalgic part of Istanbul, which is unknown to him even. These photos make him feel more belonged to Istanbul. And it makes a connection between himself and his past. The longing to old Istanbul is emphasized in this scene.

Figure.16: Illuminated signs of the City

Source: 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

Istanbul is now a metropolitan city. Electricity iswidely distributed and used through the modern cityscape in several waves. The types of advertisement in the city also change depending on time as we observe in other films during the periods. In Figure 16, a film frame of Hotel O is seen. Chaotic illuminated billboards meet the stranger arriving in the city. This complex and chaotic, illuminated dark cityscape reveals Istanbul. In fact, such illuminated billboards and lights, which can be seen in metropolitan cities, show the audience the dark cityscape of Istanbul.

5. MOVEMENT IN THE CITY

In urban life, movement combined with rhythm shape the elements of the city, which are streets, transportation systems and people. The circulation in space is combined by these elements through movement. In architecture, movement and rhythm can be express through texture, light, proportion, scale or color.

Space, which is dynamic during the production process, becomes static after the completion in architecture. It gains its essence with movement and time.Therefore it can be said that time defines space with mobility and motion. Hence, movement in time results with continuity in architecture and discontinuity in cinema. Consequently, montage refers to time and continuity refers to space. Therefore, movement is the binding term for space and time. Space and time concepts can be expressed through movement. The separation of these two concepts is possible through movement (Highmore 2005, p. 9).

5.1. FERRIES AS AN URBAN IMAGE

Path is the second element of Kevin Lynch's theory. When new comers enter the city in films, we watch the movementof characters in the city and how they cope with the transportation system that is not easy in Istanbul. In Turkish films, we see certain elements like ferries that are especially emphasized by directors. Ferries carry the characters from the Asian to the Europian side. The audience can watch how the migrant men characters experience the city as migrant men upon their arrival.

In two films, *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold) made between 1960s and 1980s, up on arriving the city, the newcomers encounter the Marmara Sea. Bosphorus is the edge for Istanbul. Istanbul is divided into two sides by water. The ferries connect the two sides of the city in that period. A ferry on the Bosphorus is a unique image for the city and it is part of collective memory.

In these two films, the newcomers arriving in Istanbul as migrants take ferries and cross the Bosphorus. In fact, the ferry is a transportation vehicle, which is a collective image

belonging to the Bosphorus (pathway) in the city. The audience watches this from framed spaces when the characters first meet with the city in both films.

Figure.17: Ferry as an urban ımage

Source: Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production

In Figure 17, we see a frame from *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile). *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) is a black and white film. To show the full potential of spaces in the city and to complete the full image, directors take advantage of the sounds of city. The family sees the ferry in the Bosporus view and hears the sound of its horn. The family becomes excited by the first sight of a ferry running on Bosphorus.

Figure.18: A film frame from Golden Horn

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

In *C Blok* (Block C), Tülay moves to Cihangir district in Beyoğlu at the end of the movie. While Tülay is watching the ferries at the coast line of Bosphorus, the Haliç, the Bosphorus and the coast line are shown in the movie and presented as urban images. The director associates the old Istanbul with a sunny and blue sky (Figure 18). Ferries and ports are integrated with the urban image of Istanbul.

As Wenders has mentioned at the Berlin City Forum, going away from the city brings a missing emotion with it. A city can be "observed" in the best way by being outside of the city. This narration of the space with journeys reveals the fragmental structure of the space and only the audience can connect and identify these venues in a time basis with his/her memory. The "estrangement" sense brought by being in different cities also describes the estrangement emotion in the cities that we assume to belong (Eroglu 2003).

The ferry image collages were used in each period by the directors as a characteristic of each time. For example, the ferry is the most apparent one and it represents the nostalgic side of the city, which we still have today.

Piers are also one of the important structural elements belonging to the islands. Istanbul piers both remind the former period considering their structures, and are the meeting points of the ferries and their permanent presence. Piers and ferries are integrated elements of the city when Istanbul is mentioned. Ferryport is both "place" and "space". Both 'space' and 'place' is considered in their relation to collective memory (Şumnu 2002).

5.2. BRIDGES: GALATA AND BOSPHORUS

The Golden Horn has an important meaning for Istanbul. It divides the historic peninsula and Pera - Beyoğlu district. The Galata Bridge is a physical and symbolic link between the traditional Ottoman city of Istanbul proper and its westernized districts of Galata and Pera. Hence, the Bridge bonds two distinctive cultures (Şumnu 2002, p. 44).

The Golden Horn is an edge for two sides and connects them. Galata Bridge was the first bridge of Istanbul, which became both the city's landmark and path due to its

function. As it is seen in Figure 19, people use it to cross from Sirkeci to Beyoğlu districts and vice versa. The Galata Bridge embodies three elements of the city at the same time: Path, Landmark and Node. Before the use of cell phones, people used to meet at the Galata Bridge.

Figure.19: The Galata Bridge is path and Landmark of the city.

Source: Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production

Figure.20: Fishermen over the Galata Bridge

*Source***:** 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

Galata Bridge and the New Mosque appear in the first scene of *The Half Moon Strangers,* (Figure 20). Eminönü has had commercial importance due to its crowded nature and location throughout the history and is still carrying this situation. Golden

Horn is in fact both an edge and path for Istanbul and creates an area with touristic flair. Galata Bridge is a unifying element between the old town and the other side on this edge. The stranger sees the first path as the Galata Bridge with fishermen on it. The bridge becomes a landmark with its history for the city and a path connecting two sides.

Figure.21: Vehicular and pedestrian traffic, tramway seen at Galata Bridge

*Source***:** 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

In *The Half Moon Strangers,* activities that take place on the bridge, besides the movement of people and vehicles, are displayed as spontaneous and momentary acts like the constant motion they accompany (Figure 21). In contrast, the defined, stable, and enclosed spaces below the bridge provide a hideaway for fishermen and people who enjoy eating in the restaurants under the bridge (Şumnu 2002, p. 44).

Karaköy-Galata district and old Istanbul are connected by the movement of vehicles, cars, buses, tramways, and pedestrians. In terms of connection, the tramway is highly significant because during the reconstruction of Istanbul at the turn-of-the-century, its passage over the bridge became an event (Şumnu 2002, p. 44).

The Eminönü district known as one of the major business district of Istanbul is also featured in the *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold). It is located at the end of the Golden Horn, it has a ferryboat port next to the Galata Bridge opening to the Marmara Sea.

As seen in Figure 22, the Galata Bridge is shown again as a landmark of the city in *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold). There are large and small fishing boats, which still exist today. Even after the Bosphorus Bridge is built, the Galata Bridge protects its importance as a node, path and landmark of the city. It connects the old town to the Karaköy district and has historical importance since the Ottoman period. We can say that the Galata Bridge is a constant urban image of Istanbul.

Figure.22: The Galata Bridge

Source: 1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film Production

Figure.23: Bosphorus Bridge

(a) *(b)*

Source: **a.**Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production, **b.** Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

The fast growth of the city continues in the 1970's as well. Despite the unemployment in the beginning of the 1970s, migration to Istanbul continued. The personal car ownership increased and new suburban settlements were developed with in this reaching distance.

In a word, Istanbul's suburban areas started to be urbanized. The Bosphorus Bridge, built in 1973, and the public transportation between two continents became easier especially to Anatolian cities. By this development, migration to Istanbul became easier. Migrants were expected to identify themselves as urbanized. (Tekeli 2009). In Figure 23, we can see the Bosphorus Bridge in both *C Blok* (Block C) and *Uzak* (The Distant) . The directors of both films are from the new generation cinema. The audience sees the Bosphorus bridge as a decor from the distant in both films. The directors of this period reveal the Bosphorus Bridge as the modern metaphor of the city. Thus, the bridge has an important role on the modernization history of the city.[7]

5.3. HIGHWAYS AND ROADS

Istanbul is a city that has grown rapidly since 1950s. When the single party period ended and a multi-party period started, in 1945 political changes directly affected Istanbul, which then occupied the largest slice of the economy of Turkey. Istanbul's urban face started to change with those political changes. In the period of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the most radical city planning projects were proposed and undertaken. Some buildings were demolished to open wide boulevards, like Vatan Street, Atatürk, Kennedy and Barbaros Boulevards in the city. Those boulevards still form the main roads of Istanbul. Some Ottoman and Byzantine monuments were also destroyed to widen the streets. In 1950s, new highways and public transportations were constructed to build new settlements in Istanbul. Within these radical steps of renewal, Istanbul's urban face has deeply changed (Esen 2010, p. 51).

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[7] The Bosphorus Bridge has been recently renamed as July 15th Martyr's Bridge in honour of the failed July 15 coup victims.

Figure.24: The Change in Vehicle Density

(a)	*(b)*

Source: **a**. 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b**. 1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film Production

A road is seen in the first frame of *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) (Figure 24). The shortage of the vehicle density in 1964 is obvious in Istanbul. Both the vehicle and human density is very low. In the second frame of the *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved With Gold), we see the crowded Istanbul streets in the 1970's. The city looks untidy and chaotic. We can say that the city grows faster than it is planned. We see the modern structures between the new highways like Barbaros Boulevard[8]. The density ratio of urban houses has also increased depending on the blazed trails. In the film, the vehicles are more colorful and varied, in comparison to the 1960's.

In the 1980's, the most important factors influencing the city structure in this period were globalization and international investments. Although blossomed economically, Istanbul became a metropolis where significant problems occurred in terms of its spatial dimension (Gül 2009). Mostly based on transportation, Dalan operations similar to Menderes operation in the 1950s made their mark in this period. Tarlabaşı underwent its main physical change in the second half of the 1980s. 370 buildings on each side of Tarlabaşı Street were confiscated and demolished in Dalan period.

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[8] Barbaros Boulevard opened in 1957 as a result of Adnan Menderes's urban development city plan. Barbaros Boulevard is one of the important axis of the city. The traffic jam in the boulevard still exists as a problem in 2016.

Figure.25: When İstiklal Street is open to traffic

Source: Turgut, K., 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie].   Istanbul: Uzman
Film Production

One of the most important images in *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) is
the moment when Istiklal Avenue is open to traffic (Figure 25). Istiklal Avenue is the
most important path in Beyoğlu. It has a social and historical significance in the
memory of the city. Big marches and great festivals have taken place on this avenue.
Istiklal Street was closed to traffic with a ceremony on 30 March 1990. Mayor Dr.
Nurettin Sözen announced that, instead, the old rails in the warehouses will be tracked
between Taksim-Tunnel and two of the old trams will run between these locations
(Hürriyet 1990). This case is a significant change for Istiklal Avenue, one of the most
important centers of the city. In the 1980s, Istiklal Avenue was deteriorated and shared
the state of being shopping center with Halaskargazi, and Rumeli streets in Şişli.

Istanbul has many definite and various images that are featured in many films. As
mentioned above, the images can contain an individual structure, district, human
movement or sounds of the city. When you move in the city, either walking or traveling
in a vehicle, in every movement or wherever you are looking, your viewpoints will
change and consequently the images as well. The cinema audience sees the images over
the director's choices. So the figures and backgrounds, scenes, the character's standing
point according to a tree gains more importance by the frame. However, some of the
film scenes can be coincidental, most of them are constructed by the director to support
the idea of the story.

Figure.26: Alone in Taksim

In the short film *Almost*, the Syrian character looks for a hotel who knows neither Turkish nor English. The old woman is lost. She tries to find her hotel in Taksim by asking people with a map in her hand. Everyone she has asked tries to help her but the character has difficulties to find her hotel as a stranger in the city. In one frame, we see the woman walking in Taksim (Figure 26). The human population increased and vehicle traffic is still shut down in 2000's. Although the main axis of Beyoğlu district is Istiklal Street, the old lady troubles to find her way to the hotel due to the lack of language and her age.

Figure.27: Yeşilköy Airport Way

In *C Blok* (Block C), the director shows us Ataköy and its environs as Tülay travels in her car (Figure 27). The audience experiences the district together with Tülay. While Tülay moves around in her car, the audience experiences the periphery of Istanbul. During the movement, the gigantic blocks that she tries to excape can be seen in the back scene. While moving next to the airport road, the departures of the planes can be also seen. The grey water of Marmara Sea attracts the attention in Bakirkoy-Atakoy coast road. In the film, the moving images are always in grey tones. The place where Tülay and her husband live consists of giant buildings that can be singled out from a far. Everything is monotonic here. In fact, there is not any sign that reveals the identity of the district. The district is without an identity; therefore, it turns the residents into identifiable people.

Based on Kevin Lynch's theory, the legibility of the city or district is very understandable in these scenes. To some degree, the urban environment can facilitate/limit one's orientation depending on the structure and characteristics of the physical elements of the city. In this regard, Lynch's (1960) concept of imageability/legibility has been fundamental in the urban design, planning, architecture, and environmental design fields for a few decades. Lynch argued that a strong imaginable city could facilitate humans' orientation in the city (Lynch 1961).

Figure.28: An overpass at Eminönü district.

Source: İnanoğlu, T., 1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film
Production

In Figure 28, we see an overpass in the Eminönü district. Overpasses were widely used
to regulate the pedestrians' mobility within the city centers especially in crowded
districts. When the screen frame is observed, it can be seen that the overpass divides the
view. The overpass is a key path as a city element. With their structure and formation,
Istanbul's overpasses always visualize a fluid movement in both directions. Because
they are considered as infrastructural elements, they are not really designed. However, if
we look at some developed cities, bridges and overpasses are design elements for the
city like in Paris. They become holding points to watch and sometimes to perform for
the people living in that city. In Istanbul, however, overpasses are built in the same
metal structure and are not integrated into urban environment.

Figure.29: The open market area

The open market area is one of the important nodes for Istanbul connected to the main roads. This situation started to change after the 2000s. The local governments arranged closed spaces for the open market, so the voice of the space becomes different because there is no man yelling to sell his products, which they mostly bring from rural areas. In Figure 29, we see the Sirkeci market place with full of trucks, vegetables, fruits and farm animals in the movie. The open market area in Istanbul illustrates urbanity in a traditional image. The untidiness of the market is a habit that comes from rural type of living the background of the scene, we see the mosques of Istanbul that create the silhouette. In the film, Ökkeş Uyanık goes to the market to find a job so that he saves money to buy a tractor. Ökkeş Uyanık is a honest man, who pays attention to justice. He couldn't understand how to adapt to the city and to its people. He sees that the city is shaped according the people's selfish attitudes.

5.4. STAIRS OF ISTANBUL

Public stairways of Istanbul are important connections because of the topography of the city. Lynch emphasizes paths of the city as a vital organization that become strategic points for connection and movement in the city. Intersecting paths and joints are vital images for the city to build satisfactory structure. For the traveler, urban structure is

fundamental to experience the city (Lynch 1960, p.98). Therefore, the steps of Istanbul are important elements of the city.

According to Lynch (1991), the joints are in a clear relation with other circulation elements to make the city more legible. However, Istanbul's steps do not align easily because of their organic structure and are sometimes not well designed. In the scene image below, we see the newly built steps of Cihangir. In Figure 30a, two characters in the film experience the city by walking and climbing these steps. Important issues are discussed between two characters. When they are moving, the camera is following them from behind and we see concrete buildings in Cihangir district that are under construction. When they cross the street, we observe that the streets are empty and, thus, do not perceive Istanbul as a crowded city.

Figure.30: Istanbul stairs in films

| (a) | (b) | (c) |

Source: **a**.1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b**. 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production, **c**.2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

In Figure 30, we see the stairs connecting the upper side of Istanbul to the down side in comparison of three films. Istanbul is presented as a path and node due to its geographic nature in almost every film. It is clearly visible that stairways in the night image of Beyoğlu are connected to the apartment entrances. In the *Gurbet Kuşları*(Birds of Exile), Ayla and Ahmet are having a conversation and we see the stairs and buildings that under construction in the background. The concrete apartment blocks were newly built in the period. *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), the director shows the stairs as a connection path to the apartments at night (Figure 30b). People enter their houses by the help of stairs. In short the film *Almo*st, the old lady tries to reach her hotel, however she has trouble with her knees and climbing up to stairs (Figure 30c). So the stairs are not helpful for the old lady. Here the director emphasizes

the difficulties of Istanbul's topography. Yet it can be seen that the stairs have not changed in the city and they play an important role in terms of urban design for Istanbul.

6. BEYOĞLU: A DISTRICT OF DAY AND NIGHT TIME

In the film *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), the following line is to hear while the back streets of Beyoğlu are shown:

> *There is no such thing as easy as to revile Beyoğlu... A good reporter swears to Beyoğlu. I am a novice reporter, I will praise Beyoğlu.*

In the beginning of the 20th century, Beyoğlu - Pera had a largely non-Muslim population, the lifestyle of which is reflected on architecture, social life and their languages. The Pera district is known for its multicultural structures like churches, synagogues, lavish homes, elegant hotels, restaurants, and bars. As it is known, the Beyoğlu - Pera's inhabitants were from upper class Turks and foreigners, who lived there until the 1960s. The population started to change due to inner migration and the return of non-muslim residents to Greece and elsewhere (Sasanlar 2006).

Figure.31: The view of the Beyoğlu-Galata in the background.

Source: Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), after arrivig the european side of Istanbul the migrant family, rents a low cost old wooden kiosk in Balat district. As soon as they arrive in the city, they get swindled when they hired a garage. Two brothers are seen having a conversation after they settle in their new neighborhood (Figure 31). When the camera focuses on the faces of Selim and Murat, the view of the Beyoğlu-Galata can be

seen in the background. They had just come from Maraş to Istanbul. Selim says: "I wish we should have moved to the other side." We understand that the Galata- Pera region symbolizes the rich part of the city.

Industrialization attracted new migrants to the region. Migrants rented affordable apartments in Beyoğlu. Marginalized groups settled down in less popular districts of the city. The face of Beyoğlu and Pera changed at the margins. From the end of the 19th century on, the architecture of the district remained the same, but the lifestyle and the interiors of apartments have changed.

In Istanbul during Dalan's city administration, 370 historic buildings taking place on both sides of Tarlabaşı Street was condemned by expropriation in late 1980s. This situation spoilt the texture of the district , and the historical relationship of Beyoğlu with Tarlabaşı has been cut. The reason behind the application of this project was presented as the acquisition of urban transportation network and the solution of the existing congestions. However, this intervention divided the historic district into two parts and resulted in the total migration of Greek inhabitants, the occupation of empty houses by the marginals, migrants and transvestites, the continual neglect and marginalization of the district.

In the 2000s, Istanbul has experienced a shift in urban policy approach from leading uneven, excessive and speculative urban growth towards managing 'urban transformation' that has been put implementation with urban (re)development / renewal / regeneration / revitalization initiatives (Sakızlıoğlu 2007).

Tarlabaşı is a mixed-use, culturally diverse neighborhood in the centre of the city known for its high crime rates. Urban renewal plans shaped by the municipality did not include any social mechanisms, measures and programs to prevent the displacement of the low-income and marginal groups living in Tarlabaşı in this process. Rather, they have encourage a radical change in the socio-cultural profiles of the residents to create a 'new' Tarlabaşı as a prestigious cultural center in the city. In other words, the process of gentrification has started in Tarlabaşı (Sakızlıoğlu 2007).

Figure.32: Tarlabaşı laundries

Source: 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

The Tarlabasi streets can be seen in the short film *Jewish girl* (Figure32). These houses cause this district to be more introverted by being torn apart from Taksim because of the construction of the new year Tarlabasi avenue. In the movie, the dance of the gypsies and the play of children on the streets are seen before the urban renewal starts. This kind of spatial change indicates that the potential reproduction of unequal city development process would bring Tarlabasi to the brink of renewal; it can be said that the disadvantaged groups living in poor conditions in Tarlabasi are faced with the rise of displacement (Sakızlıoğlu 2007).

Figure.33: A Film Frame from the Park Before Gezi Park Protests

Source: Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

In *Uzak* (The Distant), Taksim Gezi Park can be also seen in the film (Figure 33). This scene shows the rare green spaces in the city before the Gezi Park events. Although Gezi Park seems to be empty and unused in this scene, it is a space to breathe heavily between the jammed blocks. Along with the uncertainty of the future of Gezi Park, the last green areas of the city is about to fade away. Designed by Henri Prost in 1930's, the park is rather part of an urban plan and of collective memory of the city.

The connection between 'urban memory' and the city is significant. Urban memory was easy to define in the traditional city, whether it be classical, medieval or Renaissance. The image of the city facilitated identification with the past and the present as a political, cultural and social entity. Cities are based on that ethnic and social diversity and the accompanying exclusion have made it difficult to create a collective urban memory for the citizens to identify (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

6.1. THE OLDEST LEGEND OF THE CITY: GALATA TOWER

Figure.34: Galata Tower, Beyoğlu district

Source:Turgut, K., 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

As in seen in Figure 34, the director pins downthe first moment when Haydar enters Beyoğlu by placing Galata Tower[9] at the very center of the image. Galata Tower is the most important landmark of Beyoglu area with its structure, height and form. At the

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[9] Galata Tower is built by the Genoese in 1348. The nine-story tower is 66.90 meters tall and is used to be the city's tallest structure when it was built in its period.

same time, Galata Tower is the main focus point shown of the documentary movie featured in *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu Rear Side).

The Galata Tower creates a space with its form in the city and also in the memory of the Istanbulites due to its historical importance. On the other hand, the city experienced by the body and the memory is recollected through texts that describe the real connection. The Galata Tower is a public landmark that is favourably located in collective memory of Istanbul. In other words, within the context of memory, the subject of interest in this chapter is "maps of meaning" because, as mental constructs, they refer to the way spaces are remembered (Şumnu 2002).

Galata Tower is no longer the tallest structure of the area but still one of its historical urban landmarks.In the movie of *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu Rear Side), we see Galata Tower as a focal point between historical houses in Beyoğlu. Şerif Gören presents Beyoğlu with the imagery and spatial perception to support the affactive meaning of Beyoğlu's past.

The frame feautered in Figure 34, gets Haydar's attention and urges him to take step into an unknown world. In fact, Haydar makes the audience experience Beyoğlu district. The movie allows the audience to experience Beyoğlu with all its reality. Haydar in the movie shows the socio-cultural identity of the area by pacing all of the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. The reporter of the documentary movie actually emphasizes Beyoğlu as an important element of collective memory due to its cultural heritage, and its historicity through old music and dances despite of its corruption in the 1980s.

Şerif Gören deals with current problems of his time and reflects these on the subjects of his cinema. The psychological war of individual with the world he lives, the heavy living conditions steming from disorder in society, identity crisis due to migrations and estrangement sense arising from urbanization are among the subjects frequently handled by Şerif Gören. He works on the themes of city, immigration, identity, existence and traditions.

Figure.35: The Director's Approach to Galata Tower

It is said that cinema contains two types of movement. The first type of is the movement of the performers in front of the steady camera. The second one is the movement of the camera. In this section, the movement of the camera will be handled more. However, movement of the camera does not only convey the physical vivid of the image, it also transfers the objects to the audience in different ways by changing the distance to its subject through passing from different point of views and shooting scales.This type of tracking, in which the camera is traveled from a remote plan to a closer one, occurs in a vertical area on the surface of frame.

The movement of the camera allows the audience to take action, to move through space and time and to perceive the outer world differently while sitting in the theather motionless. It also causes the spectations to perceive the scale of the structure with the camera movement (traveling) approaching towards Galata Tower (Figure 35). The audience can percieve and experience the place in a better way through this camera movement.

Figure.36: Galata Tower and surrounding before renovation

Source: 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

In Figure 36, we see the surrounding of Galata Tower. In this frame, the streets are seen as empty and dark due to poor lights at the night time. The reason for Şerif Gören to shoot the movie at night is create another identity of Beyoğlu rising together with the dusk, which is hinted in the name of the movie. As a matter of fact, the nightlife continues here and the dusk in alleys leads us to experience Beyoğlu as a place lived in the night. The shootings in the film are made to support the argument that Beyoğlu has two distinct, day and night time .

6.2. RELIGIOUS SITES

Every city possesses places that evoke urban imagination and strong meanings for the citizens and capture the image of the city as a whole. Better cities are those that host multiple meaningful places, meanings that are persistent over time, but also senses that are strengthening the sense of belonging of its inhabitants who perceive a profound articulation with their own collective cultural identity in the urban form (Rodriguez, 2012, p. 185). Places can give meaning to urban life and become iconic for the community. It is desirable for a city to be a source of iconic meaning, as noted by Holzapfel (2005, p. 55).

Figure.37: The Churchs of Beyoğlu.

| *(a)* | *(b)* |

Source: **a.** 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b.** 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Bird of Exile*)*, Halit Refiğ successfully illustrated those ethnic characteristics of the area by showing churches in the background. We see a character, who plays an Armenian woman, and a church behind her in the same frame. Halit Refiğ turns the characters into more powerful figures through using architectural elements in a cinetographic way (Figure 37a). Halit Refiğ reminds the audience of the layered structures of the Beyoğlu - Pera district while showing the churches and, thus, questions who the real inhabitants of the city are. During the movie, the camera focuses on the faces of artists, but the narration spaces depict the sights, sites and artifacts of Istanbul. In the second frame, St. Antuan Church is featured in *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) as one of the landmarks of Istiklal Avenue (Figure 37). The fact that St. Antuan Church is shown in the film indicates that Beyoğlu has a multicultural structure; but this ethnic structure does not exist anymore. The church was built as a reinforced concrete structure in Neo-Gothic style by Italian architect Guilio Mongeri, born in Istanbul. Şerif Gören showed St. Antuan as a powerful image as a landmark like Galata Tower and made a reference to Beyoğlu's cultural identity.

6.3. PASSAGES

Passages are urban structures that give a special characteristic to the Beyoğlu district. Passages are built in the Neoclassical Style of the 19th century by foreign architects and are generally ornamented with ancient figures. Such passages include shops, theaters or restaurants. In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), we see the Aznavour passage and its connection points that open up either to another street or sometimes to a small square.

When you walk on the street, you come across with the entrances of passages that are highly tall and have a wide arch. Sometimes it is hard to recognize the passages when you walk as a stranger in the street. There are hidden passages on Istiklal Avenue, which are spread in Beyoğlu district such as the Aznavour passage.

Figure.38: Passage of Aznavour at Beyoğlu.

(a)   (b)

Source: **a.**1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, **b.** 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

As seen in Figure 38a, the Aznavour passage was one of the famous shopping nodes of the city in the period. In addition to that, we notice that the passage is a connection point for citizens. Passages function as paths and nodes for citizens. In the first scene of *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), we see the passage as a path, which connects two streets as a passageway (Yiğitpaşa 2010, p. 203). The second frame of *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) also shows how much Çiçek Pasajı has changed after the 1980s. Haydar enters Çiçek Pasajı (Cite de Pera) to drink beer. However, the old and outdated version of Çiçek Pasajı is featured in the film. The Passage becomes its current state after a restoration in 1988. It is understood that the place was full of bars and coffee houses before the restoration. Even though it is not mentioned in the film as Çiçek Pasajı, it can differentiated from other passages because of its architectural feature.

Figure.39: Back alleys of Beyoğlu and street vendors at the Fish Market

*Source***:** 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

In the film, *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), flower-sellers are placed on the streets and passages of Beyoğlu (Figure 39). It is understood that the district is also lively at night time because these stands are also open until late at night in Beyoğlu. In addition, it is seen that there are urban elements used for shadowing the stands with white canvases hung between the buildings over the shopping street. And these canvases form an open air venue and define the commercial outlets. The type of use is still visible in the public spaces of Beyoğlu.

6.4. PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT

Cinema-going from the 1920s to the 1950s is almost decidedly remembered as a collective experience (Stubbings 2003, p. 71). Memory is also collective in another way. We often remember an activity with others, which we did not experience ourselves firsthand. Halbwachs explains it as:

> *Film history cannibalises images, expropriates themes and techniques, and decants them into the contents of our collective memory. Movie memories are influenced by the (inter)textuality of media styles – Fredric Jameson has gone so far as to argue that such styles displace 'real' history.*

In 1960s, the Beyoğlu - Pera district was a decent place for upper and middle classes to meet. We see the characters who explore the city, hang around especially in Beyoğlu and socialize in one of many cafes, theaters, nightclubs and patisseries in the area (Türeli 2010, p.148). The City Theater is a node for young Istanbulites. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the city theaters had their golden age.

In her book Secil Buker, a movie theorist, describes going to movies also as an expression of modern city life. Going to movies means for middle-upper classes performing a middle-upper class identity wearing special clothes, having dinners in certain locations. The cliquey/elitist narration comes to the forefront where movie theathers is located in Istanbul and especially in Beyoğlu. The presence of cinema in public places has created an environment for socializing and mixture of genders (Akbulut 2014).

As the memory-related studies show, "event related memory is developed subsequently" (Kruppa, 1985). Therefore, individual experience is transferred into collective experience and memory and becomes a part of the cultural memory (Jan Assmann 2001, p. 24).

Figure.40: The City Theater in 1964 and cinema posters on the wall in 2014

| (a) | (b) |

Source: a. 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production, b. 2014. H. Karabey (Artistic Director). *Don't Forget Me Istanbul*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Asi Film Production

In Figure 40a, the City Theater is shown as a gathering place of the educated and young generation of the period. The City Theater was an important node to socialize. The public was attracted to new movies featured in movie theatres. In the other frame from *The Almost*, the old lady seems to be standing in front of a wall in Istiklal street (Figure 40b). In 2000s, movie theaters have been mostly moved to the shopping malls. Here, a comparison between periods is possible due to the cinema signages and the posters hung on the walls. However, in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), a big luminous western style board glitters in front of a movie theather as this was usual in the 1960s.

In the late 1970s, the video industry started to take over cinema businesses. With the wide usage of television, the crisis of the cinema has become deepening. The interest for cinema was reduced, which resulted in the closure of cinema theaters. Great movie theaters started to shut down; and they are turned into malls, auto parks (summer theaters) and partly small public halls. Moreover, this case excluded Beyoğlu district from being an area preferred by families for entertainment. While the area was chosen as a premise by marginalised groups, this situation turned Beyoğlu into an old-fashioned district and the urban scene started to change (Erkılıc, 2009, p. 146).

In Istanbul, Beyoğlu and Tünel are the districts with a high capacity for day and nighttime usage. When offices and shops close restaurants and bars open their doors and attract customers for entertainmet. Beyoğlu is the city's major entertainment, culture, art and commerce focus (Soygeniş 2001).

In *Beyoğlunun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), Haydar shows the active real/ everyday and the dark side of Beyoğlu by experiencing the district street by street. It is understood that the director Gören makes the images quite simple and shows what is going on. In the movie, only a few characters in Beyoğlu are featured. The leading role of the film is Beyoğlu and the face of its nighttime. In this respect, the movie carries a documentary feature.

Figure.41: A bar in Beyoğlu

As seen in Figure 41, Haydar finds himself in the middle of chaotic noises due to the fact that Beyoğlu is the center of nightlife, bars and pavilions in the 1980s. The difference between the streets while Haydar passes from a street to another is unmissable. The director emphasizes this district as one of the most beautiful neighborhood of Istanbul in spite of being a territory preferred by marginal groups back in 1980s. It is observed that Beyoğlu contains many contrasts in terms of sounds as well as its cultural structure, where music halls and ale houses reflect the effects of arabesque culture.

AlSayyad comments that 'Berlin's modernity was the product of a new experience of space, time and motion', and demonstrates that the concept of the modern city and street lights were the sharing of the same characteristics as those found in cinema, thus providing a 'collective understanding of place' (AlSayyad 2006, p. 34).

Figure.37: Neon signs in Beyoğlu

Billboards have become an element of the city for globalizing Istanbul. However, it is seen in the film *Beyoğlunun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) that the arebesque culture and advertising boards of the time are specific to this districts. Neon signs are signages are recognizable at night time (Figure 42). They were used to highlight the identity of Beyoğlu. Due to these signages, the audience can understand what the atmosphere of this place is without going there. The director shows what kind of a place Beyoğlu is by emphasizing these neon signs in the movie. These colorful signages the perception of the audience regarding Beyoğlu, as a place of entertainment.

Beyoğlu is one of the most crowded districts of Istanbul and had its share from the rapid growth of the population. As seen in Figure 42, advertisement boards, which do not reflect the historical identity of the region and night illuminations, emphasize the irregular view and neglected streets. The lights have been interlocked. This does not fit with the identity of the district, but some marks of arabesque culture can be found in this frame.

6.5. HOTELS

The derogation of Beyoğlu district left itself to a big change in 1990s. Istiklal Street and its neighborhood made an important progress as a culture and entertainment center. It contains the work of enlivenment of the authentic identity and historical values within its historic/old urban texture, intellectual and individual based processes led by

professionals and as a result of such efforts land prices were accelerated (Yıldırım 2006).

Figure.38: Hostels intensed in Beyoğlu district

Source: Turgut, K., 1987. Ş. Gören (Director). *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Uzman Film Production

While Haydar tours on the streets of Beyoğlu in the dark of the night, the audience is also experiencing the places shown in the movie. It is surprising that he is so quite that only his steps can be heard without anything else like a horor movie especially on the streets. Hostels signs can be seen in one scene (Figure 43). These little hostels were the kinds serving to the nightlife of Beyoğlu in 1980s. This frame actually enables the comparison of Beyoğlu with *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) made in 1960s. The sociological change in the district can mostly be observed between these two films.

In the short film *The Jewish Girl*, Fayez a writer, who lives in London, comes to Istanbul in order to meet with his Israeli girlfriend. They stay at the Great London Hotel in Beyoğlu district to have a romantic weekend. This hotel actually evokes the splendid era of Beyoğlu in collective memory. The hotel was restored proper to its 19th century state. When compared to *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side), some changes in the district can be observed. The buildings were renewed and restored proper to the texture. The fusty view of the1980s has disappeared.

Figure.39: The most modernist constructions of the city

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) reveals the advanced sides of the city in the 1960s and shows the Hilton Hotel in Maçka, which is near Beyoğlu (Figure 44a). Halit Refiğ strengthened the perception of the third dimension in the two-dimensional silver screen by using character images together with the city images as figure ground relationship in the scenes of *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile). We see the Hilton Hotel that represents the modernization period. The Hilton Hotel is mentioned as a landmark of the period and of the International Style. When opened in 1955, it was the tallest modern building in the city. In that regard, it was a reflection of Istanbul's modern urban face. As seen in Figure 44, the camera focuses onto the faces of the characters in the films when they have conversation. In the second frame, the film of *C Block* (Block C), which was made in the 1990s, shows the structuring of Istanbul's periphery and the old Crown Plaza is seen between the characters (Figure 44b). This concrete modern hotel located at the end of the Bakirkoy beach appeals to the elites of the area similar to the Hilton Hotel in the previous period. This building is a landmark of Ataköy-Bakırköy district and the first hotel built in the area that modified the silhouette of this area.

Figure.40: The Marmara Hotel, the Intercontinental Hotel and the Hilton Hotel

Source: İnanoğlu, T., 1978. O. Aksoy (Director). *Taşı toprağı altın şehir*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Erler Film Production

In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), the director shows the modern face of Istanbul to the spectators by illustrating modern contemporary high-rise buildings such as the Hilton Hotel, the Intercontinental Hotel (the Hotel Ceylan International now) and the Marmara Hotel. The main reason for analyzing this film here is that it shows various districts of Istanbul by looking at two sides, both planned and unplanned faces of the city. As seen in Figure 45, the modern and high-rise buildings are shown in the film as a symbolism of modernity in the city. The Hilton Hotel is still preferred by the upper class as a node. In the 1970s, the height of buildings has risen in comparison to the buildings of the 1960s. As the structure of the city developed, the Hilton became less important in terms of modern structure due to the developments in the construction sector, which brought various high-rise and modern buildings following the Hilton Hotel in upcoming years.

7. DUALISM IN THE CITY

7.1.LIVING IN A GECEKONDU OR AN APARTMENT

In the late 1950s, the modernization of agriculture and economical developments caused Istanbul's population to increase day by day. Especially, the inhabitants of small towns started to come and settle into the big city to have new opportunities. Consequently, the government had to make a city plan law for dwellers and immigrants in that period. (Tekeli 2009).

Families who came from rural areas had not enough money to buy an apartment. They started to build their own houses on vacant land around the city center. Those houses called "gecekondu" were mostly built in one or two stories. When migrants were building their "gecekondu", they brought their traditional rural life and tried to keep them alive in the metropolis. Migrants could neither adapt themselves to the city life nor become urbanized. They continued their lives as if they lived in rural areas. These two sociological class differences were considered as the main topic of the Turkish cinema in that period (Tanyeli 2004, p. 102).

In cinema, early images of Istanbul depicted the city as a tidy and more livable place. Films promoted Istanbul as a dream city almost paved with gold. With the emerging migration problem, social cinema directors started to discuss the phenomenon of "gecekondu" after the 1960s. The first "gecekondu" images of Istanbul depicted in films resembled the images of a typical small Turkish village. Those "gecekondu" areas had generally a small square, a coffeehouse with one or two storied houses around them (Seçkiner 2009, p. 57).

Figure.46: Four family members watching the other size Beyoğlu

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), the family migrates to Istanbul, to the big city and has a dream of conquering Istanbul in a figurative meaning. They rent a low cost old wooden Turkish house at Çarşamba, Balat district, which is a poor neighborhood (Figure 46). Istanbul is a difficult city to live. They are totally strange to urban life. However the inhabitants continue their traditional habits in this poor neighborhood and welcome the newcomers. Çarşamba overlooks the Golden Horn from the top of a hill. The family members watch the Golden Horn out of the window and fall into hopeful and thankful dreams as newcomers. The whole family members wonder about the developed and rich part of the city since they move to Istanbul. Istanbul is a place where they want to find out new opportunities in their lives.

Figure.47: An old Turkish house

In the sixth short film of *Unutma Beni Istanbul* (Don't Forget Me Istanbul), *Boris*, Amenak comes to Istanbul for the first time and feels like he has known the city for many years. As he searches for an old instrument shop among narrow streets in the city center, which his grandfather used to own a long time ago, he wonders what could have made his parents leave the city before he was born. The streets seem like extracts from his childhood memories, memories that have never existed (Şenerdem 2011). He goes to the neighborhood where Armenak family lives. In this neighborhood, old Turkish houses are in a neglected and devastated situation due to financial difficulty of the families living in there (Figure 47). These houses, in one of which the Armenian families used to live, are still beautiful and impressive even though they don't have the magnificence of the past. The director refers to the neglect and apathy of these monuments in Istanbul.

In the 1960's, a new group of contractors also emerged in Istanbul known as "yap-satçı". They started to construct new modern apartment blocks for the middle-income and high-income classes on the land of old houses in the city. As an overpopulated city, Istanbul's population reached 9 million in the 1960s and urban growth became severe under these problematic issues in this period (Tekeli 2009).

Figure.48: Fatma's suicide in the midst of grey blocks of Istanbul

Source: Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), the youngest daughter Fatma starts a new friendship with her neighbor, who shows her the city districts where the upper classes live. Fatma's behavior is not welcomed by her family and her brothers. Fatma left her home to marry a rich young man, who lies and cheats on her. She becomes a prostitute to earn her life. For two big brothers, it is important to restore the family's honor. Eventually they find Fatma, but she commits suicide by jumping from the top of the roof of an apartment block. The ferroconcrete buildings concentrated in the background of Fatma can be seen in Figure 48. The affect of unplanned housing made by property developers and contractors can be observed on Istanbul's silhouette. This can be seen in *Uzak* (The Distant) as well.

Figure.49: Two Faces of Istanbul

Source: Recep, E., 1964. H. Refiğ (Director). *Birds of exile*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Artist Film Production

Halit Refiğ defends the dialectic vision that is reflected in his films (Türk 2001, p.153). Especially in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile), we see a series of contrast in scene frames one after the other. Refiğ illustrates the class difference by featuring open places chosen in urban areas. Like in Lefebvre's theory, open places become lived spaces when occupied by characters in the city. As seen in Figure 49, we see the characters walk in the modern part of the city like in Maçka or Tarabya. Immediately after this scene, two characters are seen looking at the squatter houses. It can be said that *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) prepared a substructure for the new generation cinema of the 2000's because of the character's relationship with the city of Istanbul and their perception of the city as new arrived inhabitants. Hence, the spectators can also feel the newcomers' inability of settling in the city of Istanbul.

Refiğ also adds that two continents bringing the Asian and European cultures together makes a hierarchy and creates contrasts in the city. He uses dialecticism in his films that reflects both his sociological ideology and social ethnical differences in terms of the geographical location of Istanbul (Türk 2001, p. 155).

Regarding migration and the construction of gecekondu houses, Istanbul is affected from political changes. The first effect is seen with the inner migration to Istanbul. Gecekondu houses are illegally constructed on the state-owned lands, which has caused an increasing number of migrants and of new squatter houses in the city. Those slum areas created in that period are visible now in Istanbul. In the 2000's, some gecekondu areas have been redeveloped to build new housing estates by TOKI. We can say half or more than half of the Istanbul's inhabitants live in the outskirts (Boggs & Petrie 2008, pp. 371-372). Some of them sustained in the city like the Haybeci character in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile). Halit Refiğ used specific buildings and views of gecekondu areas as background images in order to reflect the reality of the period. In his films, we see such scenes shot in revelant urban areas that are either planned or unplanned.

Figure.41: Gecekondu Settlement in Istanbul

The settlement of migrants is also shown in the *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold) (Figure 50). The family calls their relatives to arrange a place to stay for a short time as they will go back to their village. In this film, the squatter settlements look more developed than those appearing in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile). The area where they settled is not different from their village. It has a coffeehouse, a small square surrounded by one storey, illegally built houses. Those houses become legal after public improvements law of the 1980's. Then private developers (yap-satçılar) turned them into four or five storey apartments.

Figure.42: Fatma Works in a Modern Apartment Block

In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), Ökkeş Uyanık's wife Fatma starts to work in a apartment flat as a housemaid (Figure 51). The apartment is located in a new settlement area. The middle or high income groups prefer to live in four or five storey apartment buildings. In the period, housing co-operatives also constructed in new districts like Ataköy. In the district of Maçka, Nişantaşı and Teşvikiye, modern apartment buildings are still constructed in this period (Özdamar 2006, p. 49). The owner of the flat wants Fatma to wear modern cloths at work to adapt to the city life. Fatma doesn't know the city and its dwellers very well, however, she adopted to the modern life of the city easier than her husband in the film.

In the film *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), we watch the city of Istanbul through migrant's eyes and realize how they perceive the city. In the movies, it is shown that the upper class society barely accepts the migrants. The film scenes capture the human behaviors and analyze them as they are. In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), we clearly see the contrast between rural and urban society. Orhan Aksoy emphasizes those problematic issues by representing urban dualism in Istanbul.

In films produced the problem since 1990s people migrating to Istanbul has fallen behind; instead, the struggle of the natives with Istanbul, and even strifelessness, insensitivity and solitude of them have gained more meaning with the visuals of Istanbul and represented in the cinematic images of Istanbul.

Looking at the modern city and trying to understand the urban limitations, the relationships both in the physical and imaginative approach are the theme scopes of architecture and urbanism. In everyday life, city has its own appearance within the human minds. The structure of the city is constructed by human minds and memories. So the cultural scenes are shaping and describing the urban life in many dimensions. Also they are determining the limits of the city.

7.2. LIVING IN THE CENTER OR PERIPHERY

The fast growth of the city continued in to the 1970's. Despite the unemployment in the beginning of the 1970s, migration to continued Istanbul. The personal car ownership

increased and the suburban settlement was developed with this reaching distance. In a word, Istanbul's suburban areas started to be urbanized. (Tekeli 2009).

Old and rich families in Istanbul considered selling their mansions they inherited from their families and about moving into new apartments. Now the whole city lives in apartment buildings. High-income groups, on the other hand, head from apartment buildings in city centers to suburban areas that are seen as second class housing. Cooperative apartment houses and community buildings (such as Levent and Ataköy) in urban fringes attract attention.

While the concept of neighborhood lost its old function and importance, new "Housing Estates" satisfied the needs for housing in Istanbul. Housing estate areas composed of high-rise buildings in the peripheries of the city after the 1970s. (Ataköy, Ataşehir, Göztepe Soyak Housing Estates, etc.) (Coşkun 2003, p. 81).

Urban people in a good economic condition have changed their living environments from the streets of the city to the closed sites that have been surrounded by walls, having security officials, equipped with closed circuit camera systems and trespassing alarms and being concerned about who will be allowed to come in (Bauman 2011, pp. 171-172). In a sense, they form "safe communities" also known as gated communities out of the streets of the city, away from uncertainties and foreigners.

By the 1990s, the contemporary Turkish cinema, starts to focus on the individual, who experiences social chaos and personal trauma and becomes the undesirable other in Istanbul. As the modern city and the social structure of the city change, the relations between individuals gain different meanings. While the individuals move away from each other, estrangement from the community is experienced. The movies start reflecting the result of the psychology studies and rediscovered as a consequence the changing social structure in the city along with modern lifestyle (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

In *C Blok* (Block C), the scenes are mostly shot in Atakoy district. Ataköy was the largest satellite city founded in 1958. The Taksim–Ataköy coast line was the connection between the center and this new suburb positioned beyond the city walls by Emlak

Bankası (The Real Estate Bank, a public institution), that constructed housing for upper- and middle classes on the housing rather than low income groups. The first construction phase of 7-8 neighborhoods started to be built towards the end of 1988 and completed in the second half of 1990. Block C mentioned in the film is located in this area (TMH, 2006). Established to provide the need for housing of middle income group in Istanbul, Ataköy turned into a luxury residential district for high-income groups (Istanbul Encyclopedia, 1993).

The director resembles Atakoy to housing districts in Franco's Spain or Stalin's Russia and uses them as a metaphor of being trapped and confinement in Block C. Demirkubuz was imprisoned at Block C at the time after the coup of 1980s. Similarly, Tülay, feels like she is in prison when she is living in Block C. Surrounding block Tülay's view in every frame of the movie Ataköy blocks resemble prison walls because of their height and density. As can be seen in Figure 52, the buildings sedulously cover the frame and seem as "night rising monsters" for Tülay (Onaran 2007).

The routinized movement of the wipers that Demirkubuz shows at length at the opening of the movie reflects Tülay's feelings about her life, which is routinized, boring and monotonous. Director Zeki Demirkubuz used three tools in order to reflect these feelings: wipers, cold colors and silence. The repetition element reinforces the feeling seclusion besides creating a sense of the uncanny. The characters are in a maze and cannot get out whatever they do. In a closed world, everything repeats itself (Suner, 2005, p. 185). Perhaps, these dark films are the gates opening towards to the monotony, rationality of modern time and bureaucratic monotony.

The issues of the period's houses and slums are now away from the simplicity and pureness that the main film character would solve. During these years in which even owning a slum has become difficult, new immigrants of Istanbul can either find a place in the most remote slum neighborhoods or in the ruined environment of some suburbanized city centers (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

The apartment in which Tülay and her husband Selim are having communication problems, is in one of the upper floors of the housing block. It is a bone-dry apartment

like their relationship. The inside of the house is designed with modern elements such as table, corner lamp, authentic carpets, gramophone and potted plants; however, it is seen that the characters are not in any relationship with these entities. The maintenance, cleaning, arrangement of these objects, in fact, belong to Aslı, who is the housekeeper. The couple mostly watches television when they are at home. They don't start any dialogue between each other; they neither talk about how they spend their days nor about what they watch.

Figure.43: Sky view from the site of Block C

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

This film technique insures that the person becomes integrated with the room, becoming a part of this room, a lifeless "object" by reducing the depth. The visual tone of Block C is already gray and dark (Figure 52). Similarly, the illimination is either too low or high natural light is only used in the scenes with Tulay's friend Fatoş and the janitor Halet. Most of the shootings are made either in the evening or early morning, when the natural light is too low. In Demirkubuz's cinematic venues and characters, the individual is estranged by elements of modernity in urban life and begins to become idless, wane and stereotypical.

The main character usually wanders in and around Ataköy. Ataköy does not bear any sign of belonging to the identity of old Istanbul because it is a newly-built satellite town. These houses designed in entirely modernist style remind the director of modern prisons. The changing life standards, the changing social structure and the technological

improvements influence the panoramic view and plans of the cities. The film questions such developments and their negative impacts on urban life.

The scale and density of housing blocks is one of the negative impacts. The buildings are very high, which makes them hard to be recognized. This negatively affects the need for human scale in designing urban spaces (Coşkun 2003). Such buildings create an inhumane environment, which are designed with the aim of producing a large number of dwellings in a short time. In large scale housing estates, common public spaces are designed between blocks such as sports fields, playgrounds, schools, open spaces, social services, green areas and small squares, which are connected by dynamic areas such as sidewalks and roads.

Figure.44: Blocks acting as a background in the film

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

In the film, there is a slow- rhymed fiction consisting of long static sequences, frames within frames imprisoning the characters. Housing blocks function as visual background. By contrast with the accustomed silhouette of Istanbul, there are always blocks in the background (Figure 53). Tülin refers to the blocks as giant monsters. The sky portrayed in moving pictures is usually gray as the blocks.

In *Block C*, we encounter the city's estranged people who struggle with modern life. Tülay emphasizes her gecekondu life tagging her along when she goes to her mother's

home after many years by these words: "I watched television without feeling any discomfort, just like I belonged there all the time".

Block C illustrates the lifestyle of blocks that seemed to be the ideal from the angle of dystopia. Türeli (2001) identifies the relationship of the films with architecture with architectural visions. Türeli defines architectural visions as accepted cities, utopian cities and dystopian cities. She also examines dystopian cities under the titles of factory city, bureaucracy network city, estranged city and futuristic dystopian city.

Figure.45: Entrance door of Block C

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

In Figure 54, the apartment entrance is defined by a red door and the block entrance is emphasized by using color. In contrast to the grayness of the blocks, the entrance and exit are extremely stressed. At the door, it is written "Entrance is forbidden for sellers and beggars". Blocks "marginalize" others both with their forms and implementing some house management rules. Not everyone can enter these blocks. The apartment janitors of Block C live in a poor underground apartment. Four walled slums of the past now seem to be buried in the basement floors and turned into semi-floor janitor apartments (Türeli 2001).

Its concrete outcome involves considerable physical modifications: urban concentrations, movements of population and the multiplication of what we call 'non-

places', in opposition to the sociological notion of place. A place can be defined as relational and historical and is concerned with identity in contrast to space. The non-place is the opposite of utopia: it exists, yet it does not contain any organic society (Augé 1995).

Zeki Demirkubuz reflects the notion of non-places to the audience with the tools he used in the film. Tülay wants to run away and escape from Ataköy district, where she does not feel belonging. If she runs away from there, she cannot turn back to her hometown due to the values Ataköy torn from her. Therefore, the hometown is not a place anymore for her. She has now embarked on new quests. The sense of belonging is emphasized in the movie.

Figure.46: A film frame from Golden Horn

Source: Demirkubuz, Z., 1994. Z. Demirkubuz (Director). *C Blok*. [Movie]. Istanbul: Mavi Film Production

Tülay moves to Cihangir district in Beyoğlu center at the end of the movie (Figure 55). In the scene an expression is used in her voice showing that she is more peaceful and liberated. While Tülay is watching the ferries at the coast line of Bosphorus - Haliç, the elements of Bosphorus and the coast line are shown in the movie and presented as urban images. The director associates the old Istanbul with a sunny and blue sky. One of the importance of this film is its criticism to the soulless block apartment living, the artificial modern life and the feeling of belonging. Having a documentation value, the movie illustrates how Istanbul has grown and expanded since 1990s.

The current globalization, its exclusive implementations in city life and communication tools have changed the relationship with the stranger and turned them into nobody. The tendency of withdrawing to the gated communities with safety overthrow physical proximity among people in the city.

After 1990s, the immigrants and natives of Istanbul are mixed and even the immigrants have more effectiveness on the structure and culture of Istanbul. The occurrence of unemployment, the issue of sheltering, cultural and moral distortion, the disappointment the migrants, the loss of hopes, living in solitude, individualism and estrangement coincide with the period and changes in Istanbul after 1990s. Istanbul as a cosmopolitan city confronts a plurality of meanings and lifestyles in Beyoğlu and due to the of coexistence slums, huge buildings, trade centers and new infrastructure. On the one hand elsewhere; slums and small houses are documented and also in the movies along with East Anatolia's problems appearing in Istanbul. At the same time, some movies picture global and wild environment of the cosmopolitan city. The cinematic views of Istanbul change as the social and physical landscapes of Istanbul change (Onaran & Yücel 2011).

The new generation cinema takes the urban scene of Istanbul in relation to the concept of modern city life. Just as the city presented a unique way of living along with new spatial and temporal relations, cinema has produced cumulative and radical shifts in human perception and experience of the visual world in terms of both space and time (Tuncer 2005).

As the city grows, the distances between people get wider; the individualization and the distance between people and the "others" also grows. While the relationship with environment divides people and creates contact-free activities, the life which cannot be lived as a whole makes people move away from seeing other lives and touching them (Koçak 2007).

The city is made of multiple cultures, which are diverse and inhomogeneous. In recent films of 2000's, urban fabric is not only used as decor but also as a place for the creation

of identities and psychology of the characters. Sometimes, it is an area or a place, which becomes the main character in the movie.

Figure.56: A street in Cihangir district in where Istanbul's row apartments are lined

*Source***:** Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

In the movie *Uzak* (The Distant), we see the neighboorhood of Cihangir (Figure 56). The neighborhood structure of Istanbul has not changed since it was built (Onaran & Yücel 2011). Districts, apartments, nearby streets and avenues enabled making movies realistically as a documentation and as cinematic decors of Istanbul city. The relationship between house-district-urban and place trilogy and the piece-whole relation can be seen in the movie in an interactive way. Social life-place interaction reflects on to the streets, districts, neighborhoods and the urbanlife. This interaction hosts lots of regular and irregular influences synchronically within the social life. Social life relations become an important matter as much as the physical conditions in the meaning of place-making. In Turkish movies, not only the family is used as a social life unit, but also craft-neighborhood relations, the quarter life and urban life on a large scale are reflected as well (Sarı 2010).

Figure.57: Prince Islands

In the seventh short film *Epilog*, the script writer and the Greek citizen Josephine left Istanbul many years ago and revisits one of the Prince Islands (Figure 57). Josephine talks about his real memories of his childhood. The island is where his childhood was passed and is full of happy memories. Today, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Assyrians mostly reside there. In fact, the island is an escape place for them and has been so throughout the history. The Prince's Islands is an old to be suburb of Istanbul, where there are still old Greek and Turkish houses maintaining their magnificence. The Islands give the impression of being both inside and outside of Istanbul. This can be understood from the dialogues in the film. The islands in the memory of Josephine have barely changed both sociologically and culturally.

The changes in Istanbul were directly reflected on films just as the economic and social changes in the country have first taken place in Istanbul. In this way, cinema has served as a mirror for the city from very early years up to the present. If the city is organized as a new social form of modern epoch, cinema is the most appropriate cultural form of this age that can capture and reveal transience and flows characteristic of the city (Tuncer 2005). Especially the social realistic films carry this new approach to urban life as a visual concept. Istanbul is getting out of being just the city of strangers and is also reflected as the city of modern-day problems.

8. SOUNDSCAPES OF ISTANBUL

Images and sounds it give the opportunity to people to see and experience distant cities, which they may not be able to visit in their entire lives. Alsayyad explains the influence of cinema on the society in the following manner (Alsayyad 2006, p.1):

> *Film also captures the mentalité of society, disclosing much about its inner as well as outer life. Movies influence the way we construct images of the world, and in many instances they influence how we operate within it.*

Istanbul is a cinematic city that has its own unique sounds like ferry sounds, sounds rising out of the mosques, peddler's yelling, car horns and the sounds of seagulls etc. We have the opportunity to listen to the unique sounds of the city and to compare those to other sounds when analyzing selected films featuring Istanbul in different periods. To experiment, one may choose a street scene and watch it with the volume on and off. Then one may contrast sensational difference between two scenes. The image of the city has the sensational dimension that we hear every day. Movies use aural senses to imagine more easily and realistic in the cinema. Urban sounds included in the cinema are referred to in each film, and soundscapes depending on the periods and the ways in which it becomes part of collective memory will be discussed in this chapter.

Istanbul's urban sounds appear in the screens whenever actors and actresses move, wait for a bus, or train or ferry, or simply talk with sounds in the background. Sometimes when the camera shows the silhouette of Istanbul, the sounds of ferries, car horns or seagulls can be heard, simultaneously lead the audience to understand the exact location of the city that is presented in the film. Representing something creates new spaces on two-dimensional cinema screen.

"Sound is pervasive and encompassing sensorial aspect of film" (Ross 2012). Sound is not more important than the image; however, it is supportive of the image making it easier to visualize the cityscape in spectators' minds. They complete each other to solve the complexity of cinematic city (Ross 2012). For example, the ferry horn is the most apparent one and it represents the nostalgic side of the city, which we still have today. However, the train sound cannot be heard in the movies any longer due to the

mobilization of the Haydar Paşa Train station to another place, although it used to be utilized frequently in Turkish movies of the 1960s.

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) is a black and white film. To show the full potential of spaces in the city and to complete the full image, the director took advantage of the sounds of the street. Produced by humans, nature or vehicles, sound is used in cinema to complete and enhance the spectators' perception of the images in the films. Halit Refiğ used the naked noises of streets, sounds of ferries or trains and conversations on the streets.

In *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile) and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold), the migrant characters experience the city upon their arrival. When they arrived the city, they came across with the Marmara Sea. Bosphorus is the edge for Istanbul. The families come across with the ferry and hear the sound of its horn. Ferries connect two sides of Istanbul. Therefore, according to the era's movies, it can be said that ferries are subjective elements creating the image of the city.

The seagulls also belong to the Istanbul's sound image as much as ferry horns. One of the all-time favorite shooting locations is the Bosphorus, sonic representations of which conventionally include such sounds as shrieking gulls and vapor whistles. They have been carrying passengers in the Bosphorus since the 1850s and are considered as an emblem of Istanbul. Films taking place in Istanbul, the seagull sound is a key of the city's seaside soundscape underlining the location of the city between two continents (Kytö 2013).

The audience hears the sounds of pavilions, bars and dark deserted streets of Beyoğlu in the film *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side). The arabesque influence in that period can be observed from the arabesque music played in bars. While Haydar walks in Beyoğlu, sometimes he walks in a deserted street and sometimes in a crowded street. These deserted streets remind us almost of ghost towns. Nowadays, Beyoglu is still crowded and its nightlife continues its hustle. The number of deserted streets decreased due to the increase in the number of settled population.

In *C Blok* (Block C), the conversations are very limited. While Tulay takes a ride with her car, only the sound of highways can be heard. The director uses rythmic sounds in order to point out a monotonous life. Although the sounds of dangling doorbells and elevators from one frame to another in the movie may not seem realistic, it contributes to the restlessness atmosphere (Haller 2003). The lack of music in Block C, the sound of wipers, footsteps or the sounds like television and the cold and grey tones of Istanbul bring us to the loneliness of modern times and worries created by it (Öztürk 2006).

Figure.58: Mahmut and the Cityscape

Source: Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

When compared to the 2000s some of the Istanbul images have changed while some of them have not. In some streets, the lack of sound also tells us about the crowds of Istanbul in the period. There are few speeches in Nuri Bilge Ceylan's movies. In the film *Uzak* (The Distant), there are intermediate shots of objects and cityscapes that are part of the story (the mouse strip on the floor, the pouring snow outside the window), the off-screen sounds (whistles of ships and cries of gulls) that open up the frame, the graphic matches of contiguous editing (Figure58). The film presents the everyday, heterogeneous soundscapes of contemporary Istanbul. The storylines and soundtracks are realistic focusing on diegetic.

Figure.59: A Night view of Golden Horn

*Source***:** Ceylan, N.B., 2002. N.B. Ceylan (Director). *Uzak*. [Movie]. Istanbul: NBC Film Production

In Figure 59, the silhouette of Istanbul can be seen and the Bosphorus with boats and. We see the nighttime ambience of Istanbul and hear again with the sound of a ship's horn. The new generation of sound designers and the possibilities offered by changing sound technology have shifted the focus of sonic Istanbul from public space to providing more detail for personal and private spaces. The main characters construct their private soundscapes (Kytö 2013).

Soundscape has a common characteristic in all films. It was mentioned that Istanbul contains many subjective sounds that are different from the other cities in the world. However, because the city is in a rapid development, subjective sounds are not able to protect their persistency and they are changing constantly. In that regard, Turkish films are also important documentaries in terms of the soundscape concept in Istanbul.

With the changing technology, it is easier to distinguish the outdoor sounds. The voices demonstrating similar properties as of the 1960s to the present, such as ferries, seagulls of the Bosphorus, the sounds, create, in fact "soundscapes" in the people's memory. The city increased car sounds, human voices with the growth of the city create the dynamic and unique sounds of Istanbul.

9. CONCLUSION

Within the context of cinema and the city, Istanbul is reflected onto the silver screen under the influence of the economical and social changes. In this study, it is observed that, in many movies, the city is described as a space of love, desires, dreams as well as disappointments, failures, and loneliness. This is actually an indispensable part of modern city structure.

In this study, the emergence of the city, its development transformation into a metropolis together with modernism as well as the representation of Istanbul's urban images are examined. Based on these images, maps and charts are drawn to show the selected elements of the city and locations and to compare images according to their sustainability, continuity and permanence in urban memory. First, within the conceptual framework of historical developments, associations and intersection points, the interactions between architecture, city and cinema are discussed in connection to the analysis of Istanbul as a cinematographic city. As in many countries in the world, the popularization of cinema and urban modernization historically overlapped in Turkey, especially in Istanbul. While Turkish cinema always reflected the practices of social development and modernization, it included urban space, architecture, housing and immediate surroundings as its field of research.

Turkish cinema and Istanbul are always in mutual interaction. The structural and socio-cultural changes in the city led to changes in the structure of the cinema as well as determining the topics in movies. The topics the cinema employed did not only influence the audience and change their lifestyles, but it also led to the transformation of their structural framework. As a result, as the city of Istanbul nurtured Turkish cinema, the cinema played an important role in the transformation of the city.

In order to validate this theory, some periodical parallelisms between the development periods of Turkish cinema and the urbanization processes of Istanbul since the 1950s are determined. All the movies chosen from each period are evaluated by looking at the urban images dealing with their urban representations and the use of architecture, housing and immediate surroundings in order to explain the results obtained in a systematic way. At this point from 1960s to 2010s, the images that were used intensely

and the change of these images were comparatively observed in terms of the representation of the city's development in cinema.

Istanbul, apart from being the background image in many films, has also become a means for directors to tell about the ideologies, political views, modernism, culture, and socio-economic structure. Istanbul has become the center of Turkish cinema, as well. Most of the stories take place in Istanbul and almost all movies are produced in Istanbul. Istanbul has been used in different themes in Turkish cinema during and after the Yesilcam (Green Pine) period. Istanbul of the black-and-white period has left its mark on the audience with its streets, the tail fin cars roaming the empty streets, taxis and the unique view of the Golden Horn. People were exited when they saw the Haydar Paşa Train Station surprised to see a city with their luggage in their hands in, the Bebek coast, seaside residences and mansions while traveling on a boat and the old Beyoğlu as it was back then.

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold) are two movies of early period, which present the stories of people migrating from rural regions to the big city, Istanbul, with the hope of having a better life and becoming modern. In the scenes of Istanbul that are reflected in the movie, squatter settlements formed by mass migration are represented that are located in the peripheries of Istanbul and its cityscape. Istanbul has been represented as a city formed by its center and peripheries. While the social urban life focused on the center, new arriving inhabitants settled down around the peripheries. They had to live sometimes in illegal squatters and sometimes old traditional Turkish houses.

In the so-called 'arabesque' movies period from the 1980s to the 1990s, Istanbul was displayed from the eyes of the immigrants or the countrymen. *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold) and *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) are the examples of this movement. Istanbul is shown more realistic in the arabesque movies. These movies speak of the desperate cries of migrants in the slums and the country people's life in Istanbul. The conflict between urbanite and country people is emphasized accompanied by the arabesque music. This situation illustrates the experience of country people discovering Istanbul, their settlements and their

engagement with the city, which is presented in the cinema in parallel with the arabesque culture.

When it comes to the end of the 1990s, the a Arabesque culture lost its efficiency in Turkish cinema. The social crisis in the city that could be seen in the cinema has driven it into structural changes at the same time. In the period of 'New Generation Cinema', the city was visualized as a place described with more modern concepts such as solitude, estrangement, freedom, individualism, the rapid flow of time and the erosion of ethics. In this process, according to the modernization by definition, individuals started to break off the relation day by day with not only themselves but also the environment they live in, which resulted in estrangement. Modern city people seem to be stuck between the high-rise buildings and the small people due to the urban sprawl.

The directors like Şerif Gören, Zeki Demirkubuz, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Ümit Ünal, Fatih Akın, and Hüseyin Karabey have adapted the other face of the city into the screenplay with its urban, cultural features and all its reality. Each director reflected Istanbul to the cinema in his/her own style. This reflection is actually the subtive view of the directors and lets the audience to see Istanbul blended with that time. The main emotions in the movies of Zeki Demirkubuz and Nuri Bilge Ceylan are being urbanized, feeling belonged, settling in the city or leaving it. The way of expressing these emotions over Istanbul by each director is different. The character in the movie by Zeki Demirkubuz emphasizes that urbanized Istanbul is not actually Istanbulite. This leads to the feeling of not feeling belonging, disidentification, being unhappy and having a monotone life. The monotony repeated in the scenes actually refers to the fast, mobile but monotonous life of the city. For example, Nuri Bilge Ceylan focuses on the frames, which present people who cannot adopt to Istanbul life. The main character watches Istanbul from distant just like the audience. Neither the character loves the city nor the audience. Both of these directors approach Istanbul as grey, cold and monotone in itself but chaotic from the outside. Istanbul as a city takes its place in the cinema with its people, chaos and its cultural side as well as its modern structure and individuals becoming estranged.

The theme that is especially emphasized after 1990s is loneliness in Istanbul. The individuals in the city are stuck in buildings and they are urbanites estranged from the city, the society and 'small' people coming from the country. These small people

attempt to exist in the city and their belongingness to the city is emphasized. Although the city seems to push down small people, it also surrounds them with the sense of belongingness. The other group modern people who come from within Istanbul and who are completely estranged from the city. The attitude of these people, who are skeptical, distrustful, and who only reaches out to the society only when they have to, is unresponsiveness. Istanbul is presented as a city where individuals live next to each other, share the same public transportation for hours without talking to each other, walk among the crowds of people, and go through the same place together every day.

In the cinema, Istanbul was first seen as a place where the dreams come true; but later, it has turned into such a city that experienced and produced suffer, solitude and estrangement in addition to the danger and insecurity. What stands out more than happy moments are the problems in the city. In most of the films, in accordance with the reality, disappointments and problems have increasingly developed into fights, violence and illegal life.

One of the directors of this period, Zeki Demirkubuz, does not take migration as the center in the scenarios; but he chose the characters from the estranged people of the city. The places they live are generally suburbs, slums, and ruins. In the movies by Demirkubuz, migration is generally presented to the audience as a secondary theme. The depressions brought about by urbanization without industrialization turns into estranged, half-dead characters. The movie takes place in the newly constructed Atakoy district and the new high-rise buildings in the district are represented as gigantic structures by the director. This district, which was all planned as a new settlement for people, forms the feeling of disidentification and the urge to run away due the absence of a human-scaled structure in the settlement.

The movies *C Blok* (Block C), *İtiraf, Masumiyet* and *Üçüncü Sayfa* in which Zeki Demirkubuz represents the small people of the city; *Uzak* (The Distant), in which Nuri Bilge Ceylan mentions the psychological crisis of modern people of Istanbul; *Unutma Beni Istanbul* (Don't Forget Me Istanbul), in which Hüseyin Karabey emphasizes Istanbul as a transit city, are all representations of the so-called "New Turkish Cinema".

Consequently, Istanbul is reflected in the movies more realistically after the 1990s as a contaminated city where there is a lot of estrangement. The romantic background no longer exists; the images of modern city intensify, and illegal lifestyles are more common. While Istanbul was completing its modernization process, it still carries the rural features that are peculiar to it. The life in Istanbul was conveyed to the cinema through people living in Istanbul. For these reasons, the representation of Istanbul in Turkish cinema after the 1990s is more cultural when dimensions are taken into consideration. In fact, the places such as Galata Bridge, Haydar Paşa Train Station. Istiklal Street, churches and silhouettes are the same places used and shot again by the directors under the matter of sociological examinations during that period. This is one of the important results of this study.

Although the perception of the city and the ways it is perceived changed in time, Istanbul has always continued its existence as a reference point in movies. Considering the movies, there are groups emerging in each period with regards to the collective images of the city. Also, these images repeated themselves within the films. These repeating urban elements can be sorted as: the gates of the city (landmarks), the Bosphorus and the Silhouette (edge), the movement in the city (paths), Beyoğlu (district), dualism in the city (nodes) and soundscapes.

Considering these elements, the stations (Haydar Paşa station, Sirkeci Station, Ataturk Airport) define the arrival and entrance to the city. Haydar Paşa Train Station appears as a constant Istanbul image in the films, which was used by the directors of each period by its structure form. It can be seen from the movies that Ataturk Airport becomes a symbol of metropolitan Istanbul image beginning from the 1990s on.

The silhouette of the city, which is represented in the engravings before cinema, is the first image placed in memories. As this image protects its power, it differentiates each period as well. This differentiation is related to the new accretions into the city and also to Istanbul being interpreted differently by the directors in each period. While the city takes on the task of being a silhouette in the first period (1960- 1970s), the description of the city as a silhouette has been changed in terms of structure and is also identified by the lack of sense of belonging in the second period(1980- 1990s). In the third period (2000- 2010s), the silhouette of the city was represented as beautiful from distant but a

chaotic fact within itself. Despite this, the Istanbul silhouette has been framed in a nostalgic atmosphere, which can be described as bringing the old times back.

When we look at the place where Istanbul stands in the cinema, we see the city with its legendary and unique natural decor. The silhouette of Istanbul has always remained in the forefront of Turkish cinema at all times. The first image of Istanbul was represented as the image in memories, formed by the topography, houses and mosques of Istanbul. Sometimes, the Istanbul silhouette maintained its existence as a character, and sometimes it was used by the directors as a background urban décor in order to describe the atmosphere of the city. Although the cityscape changes in time, it maintains its general appearance in collective memories. With the change in its meaning as it gets more modern, Istanbul has its own place in Turkish cinema and has a vital importance in cultural dimension.

Newly arriving people branch over certain ways in order to get to their arrival points after their first meeting with the city. These ways are repeatedly shown in the cinema. Galata Bridge is represented as both a place and a location in terms of being a node as well as a path. Galata Bridge appears as an ageless landmark of the city in each period. Bosphorus Bridge is presented as part of the cityscape and a representation of the modernized face of the city in the 1990s. Together with stairs defining the accessibility of the city, these city elements are approached differently by directors of the each period

Beyoğlu is an important district for Istanbul as well as for the cinema. The district has a cosmopolitan culture with its day and night life, churches, passages, places of entertainment and hotels. It has a special urban character with Galata Tower as unique landmark. The churches, especially the ones in Beyoğlu such as Aya Triada and St. Antuan, presented in the movies of three periods remind of the audience the ethnical and multicultural structure of Istanbul. This remembering allows the audience to understand the way of reconstruction of the city and that the center of Istanbul has a multi-layered structure. The hotels in Beyoğlu we see in *Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) are small and messy to serve the nightlife of Beyoğlu. However, we know that Istanbul is growing and modernizing as well. While the hotels represent the modern face of the city, they also represent the inaccessibility at the same time. The Hilton Hotel appears in the first and the second period. It can be seen that the Hilton

Hotel is used in the background in order to emphasize the urban concept in these periods. In the third period, it can be observed that the Hilton Hotel, which was a landmark of the city once, is no longer a part of the city's modern face, but high-rise buildings in Levent-Maslak district are. Like in *C Blok* (Block C), we see the new structures and a new high-rise hotel, The Crown Plaza by presenting high-rise buildings the films of in three periods, there is an emphasis on the modernized urban structure of Istanbul in each film.

The problem of houses and slums in this period was by no means a simple one that a hero would solve alone. In these years, in which owing a slum was also difficult, the immigrants, newcomers to Istanbul either found some places for themselves in the slums or took refuge in collapsed areas in some marginalized city centers.

In such a situation, Istanbul is a city that contains rural and urban areas in itself making the country and urban people encounter anywhere. Istanbul is now presented as a real metropolis in the recent Turkish films, in which the city images are excessively involved with the high-rise buildings, luminous billboards at night and the newly constructed airport. Istanbul comes into being together with its chaos, conflicts and mess. In the movies, it is also displayed whether people in the city can cope with such conflicts and this kind of urban life or not.

The city is now divided clearly into the center and the periphery. In some movies, when the nightlife of Istanbul is being described, the dangers, illegal jobs and affairs are also emphasized. With its spooky streets, Istanbul, especially Beyoğlu, represents the center, which does not give a sense of security to the people. While dangerous situations that a person may go through are told in the movies, we come across bars, dark alleys, taverns, underpasses, under bridges, car parks and other places where these events occur.

Finally, ferries are the only images that have not changed in each three periods. In fact, ferries draw an image specified to Istanbul with both their sounds and being a connecting element of the city, which is separated by sea. Ferries connect the center and the periphery side to each other (the island and the Asian side).

As a result of this thesis, city images that took place in urban memory were revealed with reference to the Turkish movies, which were examined periodically. Three maps

and charts are drawn according to whether the images of the city preserve its existence or not, the parts of the city which lost their functionality but their structure remained the same or the parts that were completely erased from the urban image. The connections and relations of the city images in these maps were revealed interpretively with the legends. Also the image analyses, on which the Turkish cinema focuses periodically, are shown. The purpose of these maps is to reveal a historical collective memory map generated from the urban images of Istanbul in Turkish cinema in total of these three periods.

The first map, which is drawn by comparing the images formed as a result of repetition of the aforementioned urban images (bridges, hotels, stations, cityscapes, sounds of the city, ferries), determines the density of these images used in Turkish cinema (Appendix A.1). The image representation of both the center and the periphery in three periods can be observed through this map. The movement of people around the city center and around the images gathered in the center are intensely observed in the first period. It can be also said that Istanbul movies shot in this period create a constant city image in the memory of the audience. In the second period, the number of both films and films shot outdoors decreased due to the crisis in movie sector. Therefore, small districts were chosen for the films in this period. Urban images lead us to understand both the sociological and cultural life styles of the district and to see specific images more intensely. The third period enables the audience to see Istanbul as a third eye. The directors provide the audience to question the situation of Istanbul. The notions of beautiful, ugly, crowded, loneliness, peace, being inside or excluded are added to the images against these interrogations. When the urban images of these three periods are examined, it is possible to connect these periods according to theelements of Kevin Lynch. These connections can dissapeare or be weakened within the period. While the first map reveals the intensity of urban images and urban elements, the second map shows the relationship and connection of these imagesin the network (Appendix A.2).

We cannot observe cinema apart from architecture. The influence of the city on cinema is incontrovertible. While examining the cinema in this thesis, it was observed that on the contrary to other theses, the cinema and the architecture cannot be separated into their sharp periods. The differences encountered between the movements in cinema can

either continue or appear in a different way. These movements reveal the directors, approaches to cinema and urbanism. As a result of this, there is no sharp periodic division in this thesis.

Urban elements can be observed in a chart comparatively. A visual chart has been created in order to enable to understand the usage frequency and density and to display the task of urban elements in making urban images and representing Istanbul in comparison of periods and films (Appendix A.3). As a result of this chart, the appearance or dissappearance of each element, their multitasks and representations can be seen. For example, while Galata Bridge continues its existence in each period, it also takes on multiple tasks such as being a path, landmark and a node in the city. While the Haydar Paşa Train Station had been a node, landmark and a path before, now it has turned into a memorial landmark for the city. Or the Hilton Hotel was a landmark back in the 1960s, but now it marks the beginning of modernism and modern lifestyle only in collective memories. This visual chart also enables us to envision that the reappearance or disappearance of urban images will inevitably continue in the future as long as Istanbul keeps being a cinematographic city for both film directors, their audience and the inhabitants of the city.

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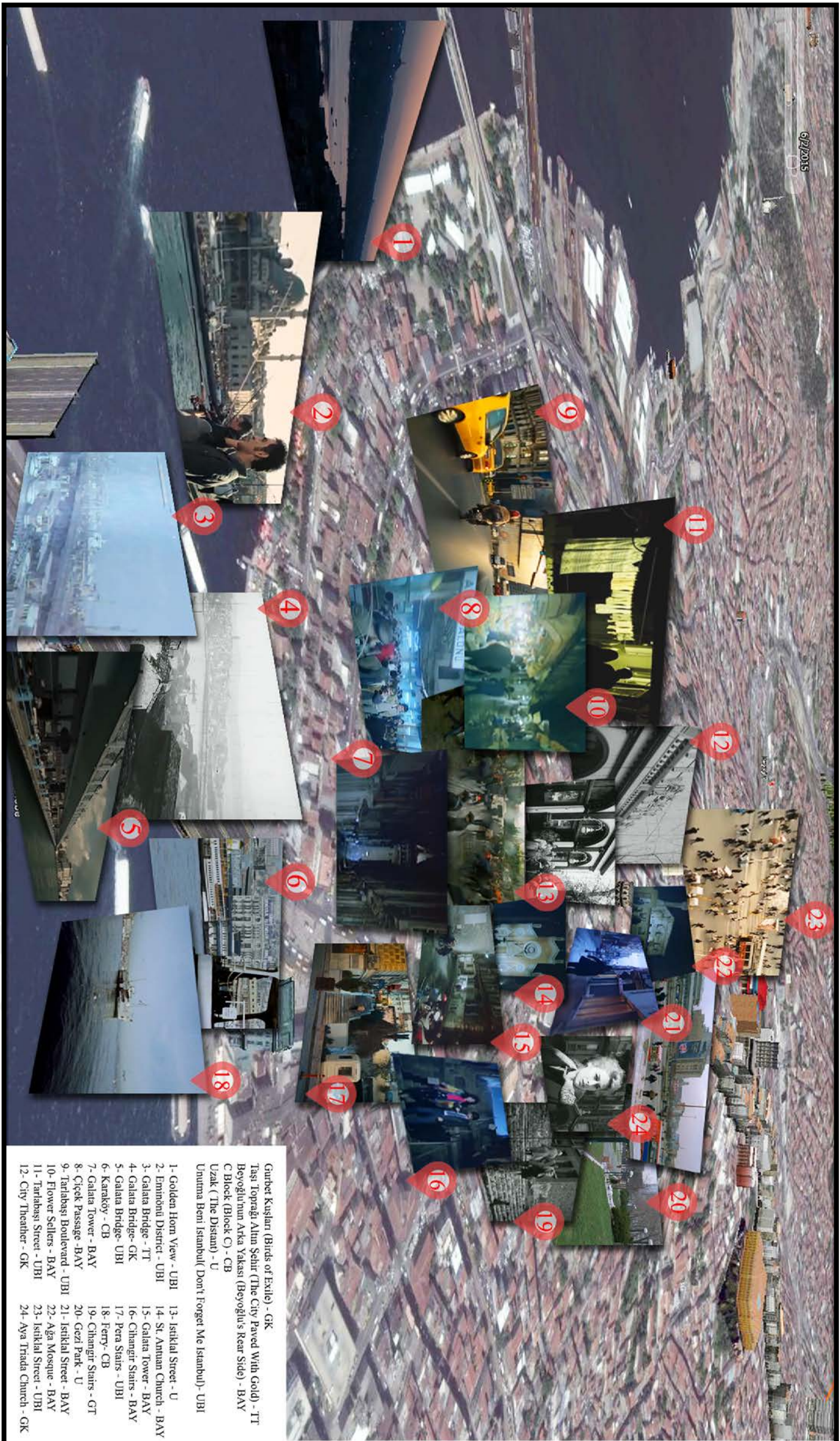Gibbons, F., 2004. Death in Yenice. Guardian (UK). [online] 6 May 2004, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2004/may/06/turkey.world [accessed 20 July 2016].

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.1: Table of cinematic mapping of Beyoğlu - Galata district

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile) - GK
Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City Paved With Gold) - TT
Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası (Beyoğlu's Rear Side) - BAY
C Block (Block C) - CB
Uzak (The Distant) - U
Unutma Beni Istanbul(Don't Forget Me Istanbul) - UBI

1- Golden Horn View - UBI
2- Eminönü District - UBI
3- Galata Bridge - TT
4- Galata Bridge - GK
5- Galata Bridge- UBI
6- Karaköy - CB
7- Galata Tower - BAY
8- Çiçek Passage - BAY
9- Tarlabaşı Boulevard - UBI
10- Flower Sellers - BAY
11- Tarlabaşı Street - UBI
12- City Theather - GK

13- Istiklal Street - U
14- St. Antuan Church - BAY
15- Galata Tower - BAY
16- Cihangir Stairs - BAY
17- Pera Stairs - UBI
18- Ferry - CB
19- Cihangir Stairs - GT
20- Gezi Park - U
21- Istiklal Street - BAY
22- Ağa Mosque - BAY
23- Istiklal Street - UBI
24- Aya Triada Church - GK

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Appendix A.2: Networking map of urban images according to selected films
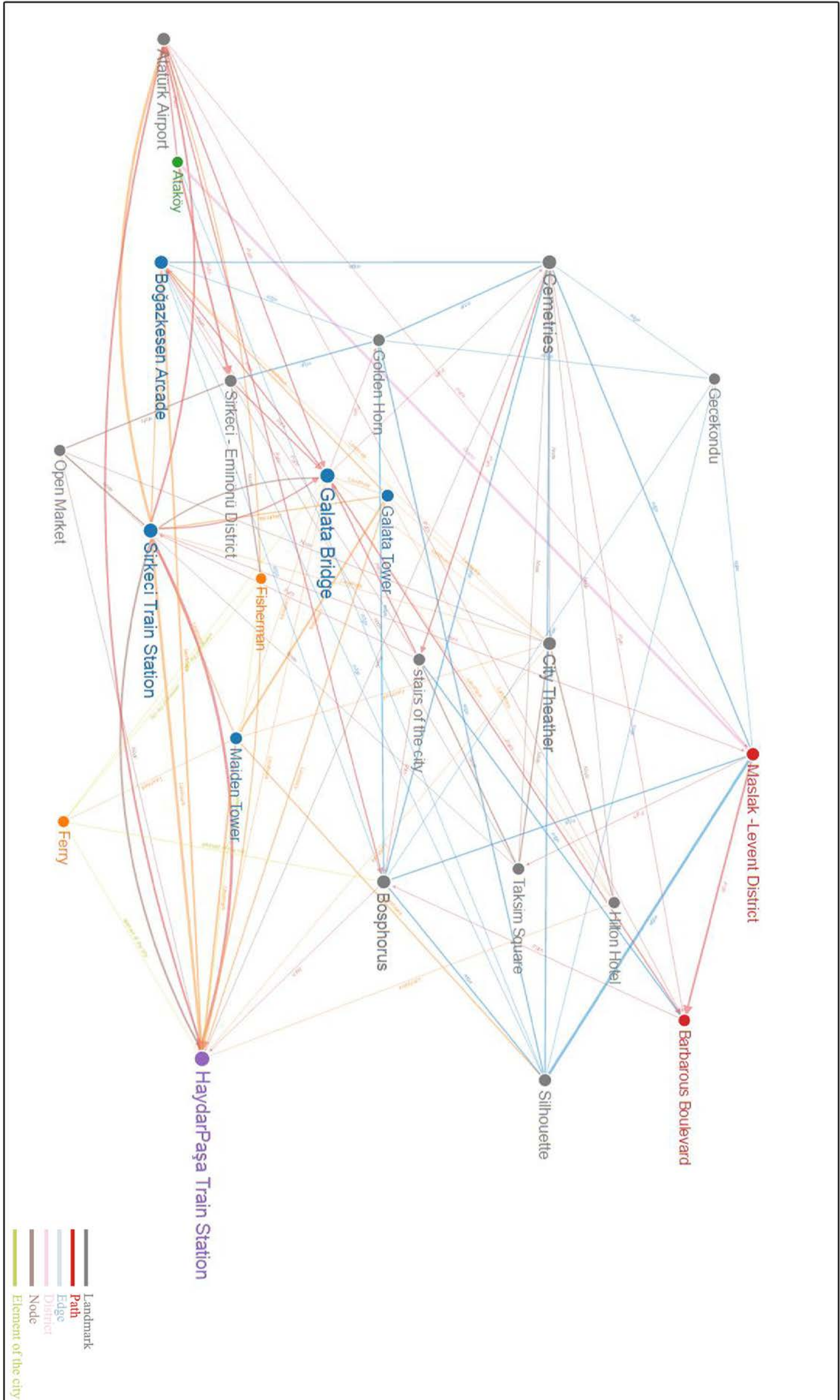
	The Film	Bridges	Cityscape	Ferries	Hotels	Religious Monuments	Stations	Highways
From the 1960's to the 1970's	*Birds of Exile* (1964)				Hilton Hotel	Aya Triada	Haydar Paşa Train Station	Barbaros Boulevard
	Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (1978)	Galata Bridge	Karaköy- Galata View		Hilton Hotel	✕	Haydar Paşa Train Station	
From the 1980's to the 1990's	*Beyoğlu'nun Arka Yakası* (1987)	✕	✕	✕	Small Hotels at Beyoğlu	St Antuan	✕	İstiklal Street
	Block C (1994)	Bosphorus Bridge	Ataköy- Bakırköy Blocks	Golden Horn	Crown Plaza	✕	Atatürk Airport at night view	Yeşilköy- Airport road
From the 2000's to the 2010's	*The Distant* (2002)	Bosphorus Bridge	Eminönü- Sirkeci	Galata Bridge	✕	Blue Mosque	✕	Taksim Square
	Don't Forget Me İstanbul (2014)	Galata Bridge	Bosphorus		Great London Hotel at Pera	Non-Muslim Cemetery	Atatürk Airport	Taksim- Tarlabaşı road