

PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES IN TURKEY:
THE CASE OF SOCIAL REALIST AND NATIONAL FILMS OF 1960s

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ABSTRACT

PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF SOCIAL REALIST AND NATIONAL FILMS OF 1960s

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This thesis highlights the significance of patriarchal structures and their reproduction in women's social position through the feminist perspective. Patriarchy is a dominant structure both on production and reproduction sphere. Patriarchy, which is a dominant structure in every sphere of social life has material basis and controls both women's labour and sexuality. With this framework some concepts such as the types of women's labour, paid and domestic labour, family, honour, violence and masculinity are used in order to understand patriarchy. Patriarchy is not a fixed structure; on the contrary it has been changed according to the different mode of production and different social and cultural structures in which it takes place. In the scope of this thesis, the examples of 'social realist' and 'national cinema' are analysed sociologically. The social, economic and political structure of Turkey in between 1960-70 has some special importance. In addition to that, the institution of cinema had some important changes at the same period. Meantime, it is important that not many studies were done in woman's subordination for this period in Turkey. Not only woman's subordination in the scope of patriarchy, but also mutual relations of men and the role of men in reproduction of patriarchy were analysed in the film analysis.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Turkish Cinema, Socialist Realist and National Films.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE 1960-70 ARASI ATAERKİL YAPILAR VE PRATİKLER:
1960’LARIN TOPLUMSAL GERÇEKÇİ VE ULUSAL FİLMLER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, feminist perspektife bağlı olarak ataerkil yapılar ve bunların yeniden üretiminin kadının toplumsal konumun analizindeki önemine dikkat çekmektedir. Ataerkillik hem üretim hem de yeniden üretim alanında hâkim olan bir yapıdır. Ataerkillik, toplumsal yaşantının her alanında hâkim olan ve maddi temelleri dolayısıyla tarihsel boyutu olan; kadının hem emeğini hem de cinselliğini denetleyen bir yapı olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu çerçevede ataerkilliği anlamak için kadının emek kullanma biçimleri –ücretli ve eviçi emek-, aile, namus, şiddet ve erkeklik vb kavramlar kullanılmıştır. Ataerkillik sabit durağan bir yapı olmayıp tersine farklı üretim biçimlerine, farklı toplumsal ve kültürel yapılara göre değişik biçimler gösterebilen bir yapı olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu tez kapsamında 1960–70 döneminde ‘toplumsal gerçekçi’ ve ‘ulusal sinema’ anlayışıyla geliştirilen filmlerden örnekler seçilerek bu filmlerin sosyolojik analizi yapılmıştır. 1960–70 dönemi genel olarak Türkiye’nin toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik yapısı anlamında belirli özelliklere sahiptir buna paralel olarak Türk Sineması bir kurum olarak bu dönemde önemli değişiklikler yaşamıştır. Bu dönem aynı zamanda Türkiye’de kadın tarihi anlamında da daha az çalışılan bir dönem olduğu için önemlidir. Filmlerin analizinde ataerkillik kapsamında yalnızca kadının ikincil konumuna değil erkekler arası ilişkilere ve bu ilişkilerin ataerkilliğin yeniden üretilmesindeki rolüne de bakılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ataerkillik, Türk Sineması, Toplumsal Gerçekçi ve Ulusal Filmler.

To My Little Brother Erdal

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. RESTORING WOMEN TO HISTORY BY QUESTIONING THE LEGITIMATION OF PATRIARCHY	6
2.1. Introduction	6
2.2. Questioning Patriarchy as Criticism of Social Order	7
2.3. Explaining Patriarchy on Production Sphere	9
2.4. Analysing Patriarchy with the Togetherness of Gender and Class.....	13
2.5. Invisibility of Women’s Labour in Turkey	24
2.5.1. Changes of Women's Employment from Rural to Urban	25
2.5.2. Marriage and Fertility.....	30
2.5.3. Studies on the Situation of Women's Employment.....	32
2.5.4. Educational Level of Women and Working Issues.....	35
2.6. Conclusion	36
3. RESEARCHING PATRIARCHY VIA CINEMA: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH	37
3.1. Introduction	37
3.2. Methodological Trajectory of Feminist Film Analysis	38

3.2.1. From the 'Distorted' Images of Women to the 'Lack of Femininity' in Films.....	39
3.3. Reconsidering Films as Sociological and Historical Materials: A Feminist Point of View	44
3.3.1. Cinematic Images as A Part of Social History	45
3.3.2. Undertaking Feminist Research	47
3.4. The Focus and the Aims of the Study	50
3.4.1. Choosing the Films and Producing Data	52
3.4.2. Limitations	54
3.5. Conclusion	54
4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL REALIST AND NATIONAL CINEMA MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY	56
4.1. Introduction	56
4.2. A Brief Summary of the Socio-Economic Conditions	56
4.3. The Development of Turkish Cinema until Post-1970s: A Short Historical Review	60
4.4. The Rationale of Social Realist and National Cinema in the Structure of Cinema Industry	66
4.4.1. The Predicament of Film's Production and Reception	67
4.4.2. Turkish Cinema Movements and the Environment of Social Thought in the 1960s-70s	71
4.4.2.1. “Cinematheque Group are Traitor” Versus “Directors are not Intellectual”	76
4.4.2.2. Social Realist Cinema	78
4.4.2.3. People's Cinema	81
4.4.2.4. National Cinema	83
4.5. Conclusion	88
5. UNDERSTANDING PATRIARCHY VIA CINEMA: A FEMINIST ANALYSIS	90
5.1. Introduction	90
5.2. Patterns of Masculinity and Crisis of Patriarchal Structures	91

5.2.1. <i>Gecelerin Ötesi: Manhood as Neighbourhood Friendship</i>	91
5.2.1.1. Symbolic Dimension of Male Friendship: "The Lights of Istanbul" Exclusive For Women	96
5.2.2. <i>Hızlı Yaşayanlar: Truck Driver as Male Worker Companions</i>	100
5.2.2.1. Housewife versus 'Independent Woman'	106
5.2.2.2. Male Companions on the Road and Women	108
5.2.3. <i>Kuyu: Endless Well of Fatma</i>	109
5.2.3.1. 'Osman the Snake': Osman Is a Man and He Has Always Been A Man	115
5.2.3.2. 'Sexual Honour' Belongs to Everyone	119
5.3. The Gendered Context of Class Critique	122
5.3.1. <i>Duvarların Ötesi: If These Walls Would Talk...</i>	122
5.3.1.1. Gül Targan: Neither an Artist nor a Person, Daughter of Rahmi Bey	127
5.3.2. <i>Acı Hayat: Marriage as a Survival Struggle of Nermin</i>	130
5.3.3. <i>Suçlular Aramızda: Power of Capital versus Power of Morality</i>	137
5.3.3.1. "He Was A Thief But He Was the Head of Our Family"	145
5.4. Reproduction of Family as an Idea	147
5.4.1. <i>Gurbet Kuşları: Urbanization as A Degenerated Face of Women</i>	148
5.4.2. <i>Kırık Çanaklar: Self-Sacrificed Women and Unity of the Family</i>	161
5.4.3. <i>Kırık Hayatlar: Loose Women and Holy Family</i>	169
5.4.3.1. "The Worst of the Husbands is better than none"	172
5.4.4. <i>Ana: Mother of Her Son, Not Her Daughters</i>	180
5.5. Conclusion	185
6. CONCLUSION	187

REFERENCES	196
APPENDICES	207
Appendix A. List of Films	207
Appendix B. Interview with Halit Refiğ	232
Appendix C. Turkish Summary	241
VITA	248

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. 15+ Aged Women's Participation in Work Force (%).....	26
Table 2. Distribution of Active Men and Women in 15+ Years Old in Labour Force According to Sectors	33
Table 3. The Number of Turkish Films in the Period of 1960-70.....	67

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FILM POSTERS

GECELERİN ÖTESİ (Beyond the Nights).....	207
KIRIK ÇANAKLAR (Broken Dishes)	209
OTOBÜS YOLCULARI (The Bus Riders)	210
YILANLARIN ÖCÜ (The Revenge of the Snakes)	211
ACI HAYAT (Bitter Life)	212
ŞEHİRDEKİ YABANCI (Stranger in Town).....	213
ÜÇ TEKERLEKLİ BİSİKLET (The Bicycle with Three Wheels)	214
SUSUZ YAZ (Dry Summer)	215
ŞAFAK BEKÇİLERİ (Dawn Guards).....	216
DUVARLARIN ÖTESİ (Beyond the Walls)	217
GURBET KUŞLARI (Birds in Exile)	218
HIZLI YAŞAYANLAR (The Men Who Live Fast)	219
KIZGIN DELİKANLI (The Angry Young Man)	220
KARANLIKTA UYANANLAR (Those Who Awake at Dawn)	221
KEŞANLI ALİ DESTANI (The Legend of Ali of Keşan)	222
SUÇLULAR ARAMIZDA (The Guilty Ones are Among Us)	223
HAREMDE DÖRT KADIN (Four Women in A Harem)	224
KIRIK HAYATLAR (Broken Lives)	225
SEVMEK ZAMANI (A Time to Love)	226
HUDUTLARIN KANUNU (The Law of The Frontier)	227
ANA (The Mother)	229
KUYU (The Well)	230
BİR TÜRK'E GÖNÜL VERDİM (I Loved A Türk)	231

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of patriarchy that has been widely discussed in the field of socialist feminism, notably in 1970's has come to the forefront as an abstract concept at this particular period, whereas beforehand, it stood at the periphery. The coexistence of capitalism and patriarchy has attempted to discuss this in various forms. In this framework of production and reproduction, especially domestic labour, the family and paid labour have been discussed.

After this period, post-modern debates have caused Marxism and feminism to lose their importance, or their actuality, or its power of explanation of sociality. Nowadays, the concept of patriarchy has been reargued within the concept of social reproduction. With the contribution of criticism to patriarchy, this perspective either reconceptualises the labour, or use the concept of reproduction by underlying the concepts of subjectivity and culture on a material base (Mies, 2001; Ferguson, 1999; Jackson, 2001, Bryson, 2004).

Generally, studies on patriarchy in Turkey are focused on paid labour as this contributes to emancipation of woman. Domestic labour is also argued in this context.

The aim of this thesis is to study patriarchy in Turkey between the years 1960 and 1970 via the Turkish films of this particular period. There are two reasons

choosing of this period: Its ignorance in women's history studies and cinema movements.

The determining differences of the period between 1960 and 1970 read as follows: import substituted economy policies; the relative development of democracy after the 1961 constitution; the engagement of actors in daily politics from different social segments, and lastly, the proletarianisation and expansion of the unionist movements on a wide social base. In this period, Turkey was in search of its specific political line about the policies of modernisation and westernisation that is criticised widely both on an economic and cultural level, by a wide-range of critics.

The studies on women's history were rare, and woman as a subject is invisible in the period between the years 1960 and 1970. Women's history studies are mostly focused on the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic. These policy-oriented perspectives necessitate arguing the problem of women, both for their own identity as being a citizen.

This study tries to make the analysis of patriarchy related to 1960 and 1970 period by distancing itself from the above perspective. The analysis of patriarchy will be carried out on the basis of women's labour, access to the public sphere, relations in the family, control of sexuality, and violence. The controlling mechanisms and ways of women's position in both public and private sphere, in the production and reproduction sphere will also be elucidated upon. Equally, both gender and class, as analytical tools, for analysing patriarchy will be used. Furthermore, in this perspective, it is not only women, but also men and their relations towards each other will also be analysed.

Within the confinements of this period, I will refer to the cinema, which aids in understanding the patriarchal thought of that time, although it is evaluated as a secondary source of official history. I will analyse the films chosen as a woman

spectator with a feminist perspective and a background of absolutely non-formal education in the cinema field.

Even though the films are artistic and cultural products, they are seen as an important source from a sociological point of view to understand the social relations of the period, in which they have been produced. In this context, this study does not include any classical film studies.

I will make a sociological analysis of the films with a critical point of view by using feminist methodology but I will not approach the analysis based on semiology and psychoanalysis, which are used in various feminist cinema studies. Generally, feminist film studies try to find answer to the question of “How women are depicted as a subject in films?” which necessitates focusing on identity and differentiation. The second aim is to touch on a universal woman subject from the samples of particular films. Psychoanalytical analyses of films view women as passive objects of desire, and they also present them in a passive position to the audience. Its critics refer to this perspective as gaze theory, also lived through a transformation. This also has been building on ahistorical view and the universal definition of woman. Semiological analysis has focused on the elements that affect the form of film, for understanding the representation of women in camera movements, lightings, editing and so forth.

In fact, this methodological proposition projects the following two challenges. It accepts cinematic images as legitimate historical materials, in contrast to understanding formal history, and applies feminist sociological approach, which has a marginal place, in cinema studies. Nevertheless, I hope that if such a methodological stance can give voice to the existence of women in history, it is worth taking the risk.

The period between the years 1960 and 1970 has two important characteristics from the perspective of the Turkish cinema. Firstly, it is quantitatively the most

productive period of the sector. Secondly, the cinema offers strong relations with social life. That is to say that, directors had been active in daily politics by being political actors who have been interested in the social issues of society and transferring them to the screen. In this way, the samples of ‘social realist’ and ‘national cinema’¹ that are produced in this period form the sources of this thesis. Most of these films are rooted in real events and nourished from the social realist literature. As a result, they increase their significance as the products of social thought. Sociological analysis of these films with a feminist point of view can give us some clues about the social, economic and cultural conditions of that period, as a well as a way of thinking.

It is basically such an interrogation that the following discussion will provide. In Chapter II, patriarchy is problematised from different perspectives to form the perspective of the thesis. Patriarchy is conceptualised as a material basis of women’s subordination with the analysis of patriarchal structures and practices, both in the production and reproduction sphere. In this chapter, it is also claimed that there is an invisibility of women’s labour in Turkey. This means that the power of patriarchy is fully exercised both in urban and rural areas. The important data about the invisibility of women’s labour in the period between 1960 and 1970 is about the changes in women’s employment.

Chapter III focuses on the methodology of researching patriarchy via the cinema with a sociological approach. Firstly, the methodological trajectory of feminist film analysis which focuses mainly on the “distorted images of women” and “the lack of femininity” in films will be discussed. Secondly, films will be reviewed from a feminist point of view as sociological and historical materials. That is to say that, I will discuss the importance of cinematic images as a part of social history. Thirdly, the aim and focus of this thesis and the process of choosing the

¹ I am not using the phrase ‘national cinema’ referring to ‘Islamic cinema’ throughout this study.

films and producing data will be mentioned. Lastly, I will concentrate on the methodological limitations.

Chapter IV develops on the historical background of social realist and national cinema movements in Turkey. It provides a presentation of the economic and political relations characteristic of Turkish society during the period 1960-70. The development of Turkish cinema until post 1970's, with a short historical review, will also be mentioned. Secondly, the rationale of social realism and national films in the structure of cinema industry; the conditions of film production and reception will be evaluated. The other main issue is the Turkish cinema movements and the environment of social thought in the 1960's and 1970's that argue that "cinemateque followers are traitors" versus "directors are not intellectuals". In this part, the social realist cinema, people's cinema and the national cinema will also be discussed.

Chapter V is about the analysis of ten films that are chosen according to the methodology above. In this part, the discussion is divided into three sections. First, the patterns of masculinity and crises of patriarchal structures that are included the films "Gecelerin Ötesi" and "Kuyu" by Metin Erksan, "Hızlı Yaşayanlar" by Nevzat Pesen will be mentioned. These films can be termed as 'men films', as they focus on men and friendships between them on the narratives (Ulusay, 2004). The second discussion is focused on the gendered content of the class critique that is analysed in the films "'Duvarların Ötesi" by Orhan Elmas, "Acı Hayat" and "Suçlular Aramızda" by Metin Erksan. Films in this group are based on the criticism of the upper class by always using women as a tool to achieve their aim. Third, the focus will be on the reproduction of the family as an idea within the films "Gurbet Kuşları" and "Kırık Hayatlar" by Halit Refiğ, "Kırık Çanaklar" by Memduh Ün, "Ana" by Lütfi Akad. These films refer to the crisis of the family and then reunification within a different social context.

CHAPTER 2

RESTORING WOMEN TO HISTORY BY QUESTIONING THE LEGITIMATION OF PATRIARCHY

2.1. Introduction

It is important to pay attention the directors' social position and political perspectives to find the traces of patriarchy in the films. Actually, Turkish films of the period between 1960 and 1970 point out the social structure of Turkish society. Directors represented social problems of Turkey while they were trying to tell stories of ordinary people. So they, whether consciously or not, put the women's condition socially, economically, politically and culturally disadvantaged in relation to men. Women were portrayed in traditional roles such as "wife", "mother" and "housewife". Being a good wife or a good mother and housewife was prerequisite for women. Beside, men had an importance of being a breadwinner for the economic well being of family.

They claimed that they represented social reality and problems of Turkey at that period. So it seems possible to find the traces of patriarchal thought of that period in their films, although they were also part of this. In this dimension, there is the necessity of analysing the films on the basis of conditions of material life for discussing the situation of women in Turkish society. Why they were doing social realist cinema, it is supposed that they depicted the real position of women in society.

The aim of this thesis is based on the idea that understanding of society must be based on the analysis of conditions of material life and an attempt is needed to provide feminism with such a materialist grounding for the analysis of films. By taking into account the contradiction of directors above, analysing the situation of woman in a materialist ground with a feminist perspective necessitates the explanation of material basis of women's subordination.

Patriarchy literally means the rule of father. Weber uses this concept in order to explain traditional power relationships in pre-industrial societies. By the 1960s, with the development of feminist movement in the West the concept of patriarchy has been defined differently as gender relations. This definition means the system of domination of men over women in every sphere of life.

Feminist thoughts which focused on patriarchy as a system of domination differs each other about on the basis of patriarchy and how the patriarchy is structured. In general radical feminism focuses on the reproduction sphere, family and sexuality whereas Marxist feminism focuses on production sphere and tries to explain women's subordination as a result of their class position in capitalist mode of production. Socialist feminism tries to combine class and gender, production and reproduction sphere in order to analyse women's oppression.

2.2. Questioning Patriarchy as Criticism of Social Order

Radical feminism sees women and men as different classes and men always exploited women through the history in every society. Radical feminists try to explain how men control women's body and sexuality. With the slogan of 'personal is political' they tries to show the mechanisms of women's oppression in private sphere. They have a claim to carry on everything about daily life to the political sphere. As result of this claim, sexuality, reproduction, fertility, sexual harassment and rape are the fundamental concepts of radical feminist thought.

Radical feminist theory considers gender as the primary form of social inequality and rejects Marxism and the concentration on 'production'. This theory emphasizes the roots of the inequality between men and women rest on the 'reproduction' sphere and family. Men and women forms a different 'classes' because the first division of labour in history is the sexual division of labour and this condition creates a domination relations between men and women which form the first class divisions in history. Patriarchal structure goes on with this division and this structure continues of its existence with different mode of production and at the same time independent from them throughout the history. Oppression of the women is universal in spite of the differences which based on class, race and ethnicity.

Firestone as a radical feminist argues that the different biological structures of men and women are the source of the subordination of women: "Biological mothering and its concomitant features of menstruation, and the tyranny of heterosexual reproductive practices are the material base of women's oppression" (Humm, 1992:66). Women are compelled to the private sphere because of their reproductive peculiarity. Therefore they have secondary position in a society and lack of economical power. Firestone suggests that the technological development will maintain the control of women over her body and her reproduction so women can be 'free'. Firestone tries to explain the relationship between reproduction and sexual division of labour. But her attempt is criticised because of its universal aspect and utopian 'emancipation' (Humm, 1992:66).

Millet (1987) does not agree with Firestone and argues that the base of women's oppression is not in biology but on the contrary in 'the social construction femininity'. Millet takes patriarchy as an overarching category of male dominance. For her, patriarchy is a project of establishing a fundamental system of domination which independent from the capitalist or any other mode of production. She states that "There is a deeply entrenched politics of sexuality, beginning with the reproduction of patriarchy through psycho-social

conditioning in the family which operates in all economic and social structures.” (Humm, 1992: 61). Patriarchy plays an important role in the hetero-sexual relationships of individuals because there is a domination of male power in these relations. So the family as an institution forms the base of the heterosexual power relations in all kinds of society whether capitalist or not.

Delphy (1992) as a material radical feminist argues that there are two modes of production; capitalist mode of production and patriarchal/domestic mode of production. She asserts that patriarchy is a mode of production in which men appropriate their wife’s labour via the institution of marriage. Delphy uses Marxist concept of exploitation and sees women -producer- and men –exploiter- as different classes. Men appropriate their wife’s labour by marriage contract. Women take place within domestic mode of production and her labour is exploited by men. Women’s labour is unpaid in domestic mode of production because of the particularistic production relations between men and women. This is not related with the quality of the products or the use value of the products. The marriage contract is also is a working contract which shows that women take place in domestic mode of production. The marriage contract means absolute appropriation of labour which is not free. This condition is valid for all modes of production and in every society through the history. So, for Delphy, patriarchy has a universal characteristic. Women’s emancipation based on fighting against men.

Radical feminist theory is criticised because of its universalistic, ahistorical aspects. Bradley states that “In this view all societies are characterised by male dominance which is seen as rooted in the family and in particular in women’s reproductive role.” (Bradley, 1989: 57)

2.3. Explaining Patriarchy on Production Sphere

Marxist feminists focused on production and tried to explain women’s position according to their class. Women are in a secondary position because they are

obstructed to realise their labour power potential. There will be no women's problem after they will belong to working class or their labour will become a commodity. The main contradiction will be between working class and bourgeoisie class.

Women's issue has been explored firstly by Engels in Marxist tradition. Engels argues that the main reason of the secondary position of women is private property. Bourgeoisie women are more oppressed than the proletariat ones because they have to produce heirs. Conversely, proletariat women do not have any property. The emancipation of women means joining of women to the labour power. Capitalism will destroy the patriarchal relations and domestic works will become socialised in socialist societies. Engels considers the oppression of women as a part of oppression of labour.

Zaretsky (Hartmann, 1986: 6-7) focuses on the different experiences of men and women in capitalist mode of production and asserts that gender divisions are formed by the capital. According to him capitalism creates the separation of public and private sphere, and paid work and unpaid domestic work. Since this separation women are excluded from paid work. Both men and women are differently exploited in a capitalist mode of production because they do not join labour force in same conditions. Men are exploited because of their paid work whereas women are exploited because of their exclusion from paid work which is the main reason of the women's oppression. The weak point of her argumentation is that she does not explain why women take place within private sphere whereas men in public sphere.

Marxist feminism has explained the peculiarity of women's oppression in two points: The cost of the reproduction of the labour power is imputed to women's unpaid domestic labour. Also, women's responsibility of reproduction becomes the reason of their oppression in production sphere. Women's oppression has been considered with 'domestic labour' and 'reserve army of labour' in capitalist societies. Inquires of the relationship between the family and organisation of the

production process; and the relationship between organisation of labour power and sexual division of labour has been done around these two concepts.

For Marx, the aim of controlling labour process needs an industrial reserve army labour or relative surplus population as a necessary product and a lever of capital accumulation. In Marx, reserve army labour described as three forms: The first is the “floating” forms that result from the expansion and contraction of capitalism and consequent attraction and expulsion of workers. The second is “latent” form of the reserve army is which composed of workers who have not been employed in capitalist industry, but who are underemployed in their current jobs as a consequence of capitalist expansion, such as agricultural workers. The third form is termed the “stagnant”. This is composed of workers who are in irregular employment for long hours at low wages. Family is the source of reserve army of the labour. It is argued that family, in reality, is divorced only from the labour process but continues to play a vitally important role in the system of capitalist production as a whole. The implications of this theoretical framework were offered in respect to advantages of capitalism. Family was functional for capital as following reasons: The women’s domestic labour within the family functions to lower the male labour power by producing use values which are necessary production and reproduction of labour power as a commodity. In this case, capital pays wages, which are lower than the costs of production and reproduction, since part of the costs of reproduction are met within the subsistence economy.

Reserve army of labour criticised in some points (Ecevit, 1985). Firstly the employment and unemployment of women explained with the need of capital. Secondly this concept can be valid only for married women. Thirdly it does not explain the conditions of paid women’s labour. Lastly, it does not pay attention to the changes of the role and the place of women’s labour in labour market which depends on capital accumulation.

The domestic labour debate focused on the economic and cultural significances of women's unpaid domestic work. Dalla Costa emphasises the relationship of domestic labour with capital and the importance of domestic labour in capitalist societies. She argues that women not only reproduce labour at home but also they produce surplus value. Because of this condition she states that women should demand wages for housework.

By demanding wages for housework and by refusing to participate in the labour market women can lead the struggle against capital. Women's community organizations can be subversive to capital and lay the basis not only for resistance to the encroachment of capital but also for the formation of a new society. (Hartmann, 1986: 8)

As the previous quotation emphasis, Dalla Costa's suggestion of 'wages for housework' has both political and theoretical implications. According to her, politically it plays very important role both in the emancipation of women and in the formation of new society. Theoretically Dalla Costa makes a contribution to Marxist feminism by emphasising the importance of housework.

To sum up, Marxist feminism argues that unpaid domestic labour reduces the value of labour force because women reproduce the labour power without taking any cost. So wages are below the cost of reproduction and production. Moreover the idea of family wage creates secondary position for women in the labour market. It assumes that husbands get wage for whole of family so women's labour has been appraised cheap labour in the labour market. Thirdly, women's labour has been recognised as a reserve army of labour for threatening labour force in order to keep wages on the low level.

According to Bradley (1989: 57) Marxist feminism comprehends women's position in terms of 'the needs of capital' not the benefits of men as a social group. In other words both domestic work and reserve army of labour are evaluated in terms of the needs of capitalism. This kind of evaluation criticises because of its functionalist dimension and economic reductionism. This economic reductionism leaves out the domestic labour from feminist analysis.

Women take place in reproduction relations whereas men take place in the production relations in capitalist system. Consequently patriarchy has been assumed universal but ahistorical system however capitalism has concrete historical dimension.

2.4. Analysing Patriarchy with the Togetherness of Gender and Class

Socialist feminist thought accepts the basic premises of Marxist thought and claims that patriarchy as a different system plays an important role in women's exploitation. Socialist feminism has made some criticism to Marxist and radical feminism during the second half of the 70s. These criticism aims to overcome sex blindness of Marxism and ahistorical perspective of radical feminism.

Mitchell unites a nonmaterialist account of patriarchy with a materialist account of capitalism; patriarchal relations determine the sexuality while capitalist relations determine economy. Mitchell argues that classical Marxism pays insufficient attention to reproductive functions. She claims that "Women's subordination comes as a result more of historical changes in production and specifically from changes in four structure." (Humm, 1992: 89). These are reproduction, production, socialisation of children and sexuality. These four structures are interdependent to each other and combine in family. Mitchell contends women's liberation depends on the radical transformation of these structures because patriarchy is controlled through culture and unconsciousness. Therefore the overthrow of patriarchy depends on both material and psychic revolution.

Barrett (1988) points out that sexual division of labour historically predate capitalism. So she tries to explain women's oppression independent from the general operation of the capitalist mode of production. In addition to that Barrett argues that women's oppression takes place at the level of ideology (Barrett, 1988: 20). In other words, she stated that "patriarchy is only one historical type of male dominance, which may take many forms" (Bradley, 1989: 53). Barrett

argues that it is specifically the institution of the nuclear family to enable men's to dominate women not simply men's greater economic power over women. This is because the family or Barrett's term "family-household system", controls women's access to paid labour by handicapping her as a reproducer and pleaser of men (Barrett 1988). The institution of the family creates and constructs a sexist gender ideology making inevitable the sexual division of labour because women's roles at work and at home reinforce each other. In other words she emphasises "the way in which ideology has a pivotal role in the construction of gender, particularly through the institution of family and the ideology of familialism" (Freedman, 2001: 49).

There has been a tendency to locate the oppression of women principally at the level of ideology and easy to see how the autonomy of ideological processes have been seized on by feminists concerned to emphasise the importance of gender division in the capitalist social formation. Rejection of economism led to a radical re-prioritising of ideology in which the question of gender division can be situated. It has become possible to accommodate the oppression of women as a relatively autonomous element of the social formation.

Women's oppression generally analysed in two theoretical frameworks in socialist feminist tradition. Both of these approaches accept that patriarchy exists before capitalist mode of production and it has a different form with the capitalist form of production or it articulated with capitalist mode of production differently. So any kind of analysis of patriarchy should include the relationship between the patriarchy and capitalism. The first one is the unified systems theory and the second one is dual systems theory. Unified systems theory tries to integrate "class and gender analysis into a totalistic theory of capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism" (Bradley, 1989: 58).

Young, who is the unified systems theorist, suggest that 'gender division of labour' should be the main category in order to explain women's subordination which should be analysed within the unification of patriarchy and capitalism

(Tong, 1989). She states that “the project of socialist feminism should be combining the insights of Marxism and feminism into a unified theory which can understand capitalist patriarchy as a single system in which the oppression of women is a core attribute” (Bryson, 2004: 20).

Jaggar (Tong, 1989; Bryson, 1992) argues that capitalism and patriarchy are inseparable structures. Both production and reproduction which includes sexuality and conditions of procreation should be taken together in order to understand women’s oppression. She uses Marx’s concept of alienation in an extended way. According to Jaggar alienation is not only used to explain the relationships in paid employment and the family but also “it involves a loss of control over production and sexuality and the provision of emotional and material support to men in a form that denied women’s own needs” (Bryson, 1992: 241). There is a ‘disguised’ alienation in the family because relationships within the family are not based on money. “Men benefit emotionally, sexually and economically from this concealed alienation; they will therefore resist any attempts to commercialise women’s services” (Bryson, 1992: 241). Jaggar claims that the impoverishment of human relationships under capitalism and women’s economic dependence are the source of alienation. The overcome of alienation and liberation of women will be possible if the modern physiological knowledge and reproductive technology will use in order to freeing reproduction and sexuality.

Eisenstein (1999) uses the concept of “capitalist patriarchy” in order to define the system of oppression. Capitalist patriarchy means that “the existing mutual dependence of the capitalist class structure and male supremacy” (Eisenstein, 1999: 196). She argues that the political analysis of socialist feminism should focuses on this “interdependence” of capitalism and patriarchy. Eisenstein asserts that understanding of ‘differential power among women in terms of their relation to men and the class structure’ necessitates new conceptual tools. In consequence, she develops some categories in order to highlights the distinctions

among women in terms of their work in the family and the paid labour force. These are;

(1) working women outside the home, distinguishing professional from non-professional; (2) houseworkers, distinguishing housewives from wealthy women who do not work; (3) women who are houseworkers (housewives) and also work outside the home; (4) welfare women; and (5) unemployed women (Eisenstein, 1999: 212).

In addition to that Eisenstein also highlights the importance of the marital status of women and race.

Contrary to Eisenstein, McDonough & Harrison (1978: 17) use the concept of patriarchy in a materialist context. They talk about a two-fold definition of patriarchy: the first is the control of women's fertility and sexuality in monogamous marriage and the second is the economic subordination of women through the sexual division of labour and property. In capitalism, capitalist relations of production dictate patriarchal relations.

Dual systems theory asserts that capitalism and patriarchy are separate systems so they must be analysed separately; but at the same time they are interrelated systems. This approach aims to combine a Marxist class-based analysis of capitalist production with a radical feminist account of gender relations under patriarchy. As Bradley states that dual systems argues that "Class cannot be reduced to gender or gender to class. Each must be theorised separately, although at any given historical moment they are found interacting." (Bradley, 1989: 59).

Hartmann, like Barrett, claims that patriarchy predates capitalism. According to her sexual division of labour or job segregation by sex is a crucial factor in women's subordination throughout the world. Hartmann uses the theory of "dual systems" of economics and argues that the two systems of patriarchy and capitalism are distinct but these are interacting forms of oppression because both help men to maintain power by wage differentials, by segregation at work, by the

concept of family wage (capitalism) and by assigning women to the domestic sphere and appropriating her domestic labour (patriarchy).¹ As Bradley states, Hartmann tries to find material base for patriarchy and “trace out the different forms taken by ‘men’s control over women’s labour power’ in different historical stages.” (Bradley, 1989: 54)

Hartmann (1986: 18) contends that capitalist development creates hierarchical structures for workers but it does not determine ‘which places are filled by whom’. Conversely gendered and racial hierarchical structures establish ‘which places are filled by whom’. Hartmann defines patriarchy as

A set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women. Though patriarchy is hierarchical and men of different classes, races, or ethnic groups have different places in the patriarchy, they also are united in their shared relationship of dominance over their women; they are dependent on each other to maintain that domination. (Hartmann, 1986: 15)

The material basis of the patriarchy is the controlling of women’s labour power. Men prevent women to reach some critical productive resources such as waged labour and also control women’s sexuality. Monogamous heterosexual marriage is the main institution for controlling of women’s labour power and sexuality. (Hartmann, 1986: 15)

Because women are often financially dependent on men, they cannot refuse to do this unpaid work in the home; and in type of vicious circle, the fact that women do unpaid work in the home acts as a barrier to their accessing training and better employment. In addition, men control women’s sexuality and reproductive capacities and thus determine when they will have children and in what conditions, which again limits women’s access to well-paid jobs. (Freedman, 2001:50)

¹ Hartmann explored her ideas about patriarchy on her article “The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism. There were some discussions about this article; they were edited by L.Sargent in *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: A Debate of Class and Patriarchy*.

Hartmann (1986: 18-19) identifies the most important elements of patriarchy in capitalist societies. These are heterosexual marriage (as a result homophobia); childrearing and domestic work as women's work; economic dependency of women to the men (supported by the arrangements in the labour market); the state; institutions which based on the relationships between men such as clubs, unions, sport facilities, universities, firms, churches and armies. Moreover she asserts that these elements should be explored in order to understand patriarchal capitalism. The relationships between men are very crucial on realisation of patriarchal relations in capitalist societies.

Hartmann's attempt to theorise patriarchy is criticised on some points. According to Beechey her approach has certain problems and difficulties: while sexual division of labour was treated as external to capitalism; capitalism was narrowly defined, and gender divisions were treated in a universalistic manner (Beechey 1987).

Bradley (1989) also criticises Hartmann because of her sexist point of view. According to her, Hartmann defines patriarchy in terms of relations between men; the relations between men and women have a secondary place in Hartmann's formulation. Moreover Hartmann's attempt to find out the material base of patriarchy shows her approach's economic reductionism:

“the location of the material base in the analysis of ‘labour power’ gives privilege to the theorising of production, ignoring other aspects of the relations between men and women that go on in the family and elsewhere: the dominant role of men in sexuality for example.” (Bradley, 1989: 54)

The initial tendencies to meet Marxism and feminism during the early seventies became widely critical topic in the climate of 1980s. Theoretical performance of 1980s, however, is to start by accepting the Marxist categories as sexists, not just as sex-blind. Therefore, meaning of the combining the Marxism and the feminism reinforces the idea that women's oppression is merely a supplemental

topic to the major concerns of Marxism because dual systems theory did not challenge the framework of Marxism seriously enough (Nicholson, 1987).

One of the consequences this sort of criticism is the effort of re-historisation of the Marxist categories. Nicholson's arguments specifically about production seem to be very interesting in terms of the production-reproduction dualism that constitutes main dilemma for the socialist feminist theory. For her, using the category of production or labour to designate only the making of concrete material objects in a modern factory is "one of the unnecessary tragedies of Marxian theory". While Marxist theory emphasizes the historical and contingent nature of the capitalist mode of production, with the emergence of capitalism, the economy became "defamilialized". Pre-capitalist modes of production carried on not only the consumption but also the production of large numbers of commodities in the confines of kinship units with the industrialisation process, the family lost its functions of production and became increasingly a unit of reproduction and consumption alone. Feminists can thus find in Marxist theory a powerful framework for analysing the historicity of kinship relations.

On the other hand, categories of production and economy, which properly characterize capitalism alone, are generalized across cultures and history. The result, Nicholson (1987) argues, is the narrowing down of the concept of production to the production of food objects and commodities alone. The concept of production is interpreted as necessarily distinct from "reproduction", thus, aspects of capitalist society are falsely universalised and gender relations in both pre-capitalist and capitalist societies are obscured. Thus, for Marxist theory "gender" becomes irrelevant as an indicator of class status although in pre-capitalist relations, gender is very fundamental class indicator, and although the separation of the economic from the family and household remains incomplete within capitalist society.

Walby (1990) tries to overcome these criticisms and develops more comprehensive understanding of patriarchy. Walby (1986 cited in Ramazanoğlu, 1998) states that the main weakness of Marxist feminism is the assumption that there is a harmonious articulation patriarchy and capitalism because Marxist feminist analysis does not contain understanding of conflict.

The exploitation of women's labour is the main subject of the tension between capitalism and patriarchy. Because of the patriarchal structures, women's labour is cheaper than the men's labour, so capitalists have interests in the employment of women. But patriarchal strategy resists this condition because its existence depends on the exploitation of women's labour in the household (Walby, 1990:185).

According to Walby gender discrimination can be explained by intersection of patriarchal, capitalist and racist structures on women's labour. This approach combines the different parts of women's life and focuses on the historical relationships of them. (Ramazanoğlu, 1998:63) "Gender relations cannot be understood outside an analysis of patriarchy, capitalism and racism. The other side of this claim is that the form of class relations cannot be appreciated outside an analysis of patriarchy, and that changes in capitalism cannot be explained without an examination of its intersection with changing patriarchal relations." (Walby, 1990: 198)

Walby (1990: 20) defines patriarchy as 'a system of interrelated social structures in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women'. According to her, patriarchy is formed six structures: patriarchal mode of production; patriarchal relations in paid work; patriarchal relations in the state; male violence; patriarchal relations in sexuality; and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions such as religions, media and education.

Firstly patriarchal mode of production takes place in the household in which housewives are producing class whereas husbands are expropriating class

(Walby, 1990: 21). Secondly, patriarchal relations in paid work takes place at the economic level. Here, patriarchal strategy is the exclusion of women from better jobs and segregation of them into the worse jobs. Thirdly, the state is characterised by the patriarchal, capitalist and racist structures. It plays an important role in the solution of the tension between patriarchy and capitalism about the exploitation of women's labour (Walby, 1990: 50). Fourthly, male violence means rape, wife beating, sexual harassment etc. "Male violence against women is systematically condoned and legitimated by the state's refusal to intervene against it except in exceptional instances." (Walby, 1990: 21). Fifthly, patriarchal relations in sexuality are characterised by heterosexuality and sexual double standards for men and women.

Heterosexuality is an important patriarchal structure. The form of control of women through sexuality has changed, nor merely a substitution of one form of control for another equally pernicious. There has been a move away from the rigid private form of control women's sexuality towards one that is freer and more public. (1990: 127).

Lastly patriarchal relations in cultural institutions are based on the representation of women via patriarchal gaze.

Walby argues that although these six structures are relatively autonomous, they have 'causal effects upon each other, both reinforcing and blocking'. Moreover she states that any studies on patriarchy should include not one but several of these structures in order to avoid reductionism and essentialism. (1990: 20). For this, Walby gives an example of sexual harassment in order to show the relationship between gender patterns of employment and patriarchal sexual practices. "Sexual harassment acts both to control women with work and to exclude women from certain types of work." (1990: 52).

Walby identifies two forms of patriarchy, private and public. The differences between them are based on 'the relations between the structures' and 'the institutional form of each structure'. (1990: 178)

Private patriarchy is based on household patriarchy. Individual patriarchs who are husband and father expropriate women's labour; and they individually and directly subordinate women. There is an exclusionary patriarchal strategy in private patriarchy and this strategy is carried on with the support of other patriarchal structures.

“Public patriarchy is a form in which women have access to both public and private arenas.” (Walby, 1990:178). Public patriarchy is based on public sites such as employment and state. There is a collective expropriation of women's labour. Public patriarchy based on segregationist and subordinating patriarchal strategies.

Six patriarchal structures exist both in public and private structure. The change from private to public patriarchy means the change the relations between six patriarchal structures and within the structures. Moreover it also refers to which structure will be dominant. (Walby, 1990: 177).

The transformation from private to public patriarchy has created some changes on those six patriarchal structures. The main control is over reproduction not the detention of women in household structure. Patriarchal strategy has changed from exclusionist to the segregationist for women in paid work. State subordinates women rather than exclude them. Women's sexuality did not controlled individually by their husband; on the contrary it is controlled publicly. Cultural institutions did not exclude women any more but they subordinate them. (Walby, 1990: 179)

Walby makes a very comprehensive definition of patriarchy which tries to combine both the Marxist and radical feminists' approach to patriarchy. Although she studies Western societies especially England it may seem possible to use her point of view for non-Western societies. It is important here this comprehensive point of view in order to understand the patriarchal structures which are represented in Turkish cinema.

Kandiyoti's definition of patriarchy is also crucial in this study. Kandiyoti (1997) states that there is a classical patriarchy in Turkey as in the Middle East and in big part of South and East of Asia. Classical patriarchy depends on the older men's authority in patrilineal extended family. The structural characteristics of this kind of patriarchy are patterns of respectability depends on age; different hierarchies for women and men, gender based range of activities; gendered spatial structures; expropriation of women's labour and production capacity by their husband's ancestor (Kandiyoti, 1997: 170). In addition to that there is a Collective control of women's sexuality and the reputation of men depends on women's chastity

One way of understand how patriarchy functions in daily life is to look at the social relationships. For this concern, not only the relationships between women and men are important but also the relationships between men are very crucial. According to Kandiyoti (1997) the hardening of the control of womanhood means the permanency attributes of femininity. It is not possible to say it for masculinity. Masculinity is a statue which is not given and permanent. On the contrary it is achieved and there is always danger of to lose it. So men always must prove and expose their masculinity. This condition might be one of the causes of dangerousness of women's sexuality. When the women's behaviour is interpreted as a threat to masculinity, violence becomes the tool of obedience. (Kandiyoti, 1997: 73-75).

With this theoretical base I will firstly focus on the studies about women's labour and employment in the next section in order to maintain historical bases for the analysing films. I will try to give the relationships between patriarchal structures in Chapter 5 which aims to analyse Turkish cinema between 1960 ad 1970. Studies on women's labour and employment in Turkey began in the midst of seventies and it was influenced by the second wave of feminist movement and also feminist literature in the West. These studies which increased rapidly in 1980s and reached today, dealt with relationship between women's labour and

employment, causes of the low participation of women in labour force, women's employment attitudes and status, sectoral distribution and the rates of participation women in the labour force.

2.5. Invisibility of Women's Labour in Turkey

The participation of women in the labour market and the percentage of women with paid work in many developing countries are lower than that of the developed countries. Additionally, general relevant statistical data on gender basis is lacking. (Kardam and Toksöz, 2004) In this context, Turkey, as a developing country, shows similar characteristics other developing countries.

In relation with this problematical context, Özbay (1998: 150-151) states that since there is no reliable written data which documents the increase in employment among women that started to be discussed during the First World War, any study has to consider this shortcoming. Another important point to be taken into consideration is that in spite that the majority of working women in this period were employed in agricultural production, the conventions about the increase in employment refers to women working in non-agricultural occupations.

These debates came into limelight when urban middle class women of the period began to work as civil servants, in state institutions, exclusively men's domain at the time, and working class women began to work in textile factories. Women began to work intensively in these paid and formal works, which are known as "men's job" (Ecevit, 1998; Özbay, 1998).² This situation which involves women's in working life is realised positively by society and is encouraged by the intellectuals and the government (Çakır, 1994). Özbay (1998: 151) extends on the argument by pinpointing that "in this period to work in formal jobs is considered as an indication of 'modernity' and 'emancipation' even for

² Shorter (1986 cited in Özbay, 1998: 151) thinks that, at the beginning of the century, this short term increase in women's employment in the formal sector occurred mainly in İstanbul due to demographic reasons.

intellectual and feminist women. But, most of the women were fired by the end of the war".

It is seen that since these arguments highlight the formal sector, whereas there was no evaluation done on the women who work in the informal sector. However, in this period, as Johnson (1995 cited in Özbay, 1998: 153) explains in his Istanbul study, there was an increase in the number of women working as maidservant or charwoman in the informal sector.

2.5.1. Changes of Women's Employment from Rural to Urban

In the early years of the Republic, the evaluation of women's employment, women in rural areas were not taken into consideration, in contrast to women who were employed in non-agricultural sectors. This is very relevant to the conceptualisation of Kemalist reforms that conceptualises republican women as being educated, open minded and liberated. It would appear that there is lack of concern with rural women who are not embraced in the general picture of the Republic. This particular group is seen as inward looking, uneducated and unliberated. This state of affairs had an impact on the women's movement at that time as the main target was the middle class women.

The interest on the agricultural production and peasants came to the fore in 1930s. Starting with this period, the women who formed more than half of the work force in agricultural were considered as being unpaid family workers and also included in statistics:

Intellectuals-male of this period almost never mentioned peasant women labour in their articles about peasantry and peasants' economy in periodicals like *Kadro*, *Ülke*, *Yurt* and *Dünya*. The 'Peasant' concept was used only for men (Özbay, 1998: 155)

Moreover, it is seen that women's labour was included into the first peasant researches (Berkes, 1942; Stirling, 1965 cited in Özbay, 1998: 155).

The composition of women's labour both in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors between 1950 and 1970 are as follows: During the 1950's it can be seen that 80% of the active labour force population works in agriculture and women as being unpaid labour force in the family made up more than 50% of the agricultural population (Kazgan, 1979: 139).

Table 1. 15+ Aged Women's Participation in Work Force (%)

Years	Total Active Population		Non-agricultural Active Population	
	The rate of women's participation in labour force	The rate of women in total labour force	The rate of labour force in non-agriculture in women labour force	The rate of non-agricultural active population in total active population
1950	81.5	47.0	3.5	17.8
1955	72.0	43.1	3.9	19.8
1960	65.3	40.3	4.7	26.5
1965	56.2	37.9	4.0	28.2
1970	45.3	37.5	10.0	34.8
1975	37.0	35.2	10.4	37.8

Source: Kazgan (1979: 162)

Table 1 demonstrates that in 1950, 81.5% of 15 years old plus are in work. In this context, women constitute 47% of the total number of those in work. This percentage seems very close to the number of working men within the work force. Only 3.5% of the active women work in non-agricultural activities. According to Kazgan (1979: 139-140), although the level of urbanisation and industrialisation is still very low, the percentage of the active population who works in non-agriculture seems to be only 17.8%.

In 1975, 15 years and older women's participation in the work force declined rapidly to 37%. Working women, within this percentage constitutes 35.2% of the total number of working people. In spite of this striking fall of the proportion of women's participation in the work force, the proportion of active women

working in the non–agriculture sector does not perceive the same swift. The proportion of women in employment has fallen systematically and rapidly since 1950’s onwards, in parallel with the decline of the proportion in agriculture activity. One of the reasons of this decrease is due to an observable increase in women and child migration. Furthermore, the enlarging structure of the informal sector³ and the growing unrecorded economy can be also taken into consideration (KSSGM, 1999: 21).

In 1955- 1970 period, the rapid shift from rural to urban areas caused this sharp decline in the participation of women in the labour force. In this context, most of the women who used to work in agriculture areas as unpaid family worker have relocated in the urban work force. (Makal, 2001: 123) According to Makal, while making these evaluations, one needs to take into account that statistics do not necessarily reflect accurately the situation of women who work in urban and rural areas.

Since 1950’s the process of migration from rural to urban areas results in the change in women’s labour and employment, which in itself exposes two significant phenomena. One of these has been the phenomenon of “feminisation of agriculture” as a result of the migration process based on men’s mobility (Ecevit, 1994, Kandiyoti, 1997; Özbay, 1998). In addition, those women who work in rural areas as unpaid family worker take a ‘housewife’ role after migrating to the city as they tend not to be participants in the labour markets (Makal, 2001; Kazgan, 1979, İlkaracan, 1998).

The debate of the phenomenon of ‘feminisation of agriculture’ started in 1970’s, thanks to the analysis of the intense rural transformation process. In this period, feminist analysis related to women’s labour in rural areas also took place. In these works, the main issues were the concentrated use of women’s labour in agriculture and the phenomenon of ‘feminisation of agriculture Studies on

³ 1960 ve 1970’li yıllarda enformel sektör genellikle kırdan kente yeni göç edenlerin ‘geçici’ iş faaliyetleri olarak belirmektedir. (Demir, 1995: 78)

women's labour and employment in Turkey began in the midst of the seventies and were influenced by the second wave of the feminist movement and also by feminist literature.

These studies, which saw a rapid increase from 1980s till the present day, dealt with the relationship between women's labour and employment, reasons of the low participation of women in the labour force, women's employment attitudes towards employment and status, sectoral distribution. According to Özbay (1998: 157), chief factors in the feminisation of agriculture tests on land ownership in agricultural production, the kind of the agricultural product, and technological level of means of production. It can said that the 'feminisation of agriculture' in small land-owner families produce for the market, or/and rural peripherals, who cannot afford themselves agricultural products or/and in landless families.

Kandiyoti (1997: 61) also points out to the phenomenon of 'feminisation of agriculture' in such a way that, since the migration to the cities is a men-dominated process, women who stay in the villages are required to do more work than previously expected. She also indicates that, men who work as marginal small producers in agriculture migrate to urban areas to look for temporary or permanent jobs, so that they could earn additional income. These circumstances, entrusted the responsibility to women in agricultural work, and created the concept of 'feminisation of agriculture'. Additionally, as well as agricultural jobs where women work intensively, non-agricultural production such as carpet weaving is also linked women's work (Ayata, 1987; Kandiyoti, 1997).

Another change occurred as a result of the migration from rural to urban areas. Rural women, formerly working as unpaid family labourers become 'housewife' by being pushed out of the work force.

Kazgan (1979: 141) indicates that in the second half of the 1970's, women who worked in the urban areas constituted 11% of the urban work force; most of the urban women's main function was that of a 'housewife', and they were not

employed in the labour market. Kazgan (1979: 141), laments that the basic factor is that the division of labour by gender still continues in Turkey: “Rural women as unpaid family -worker, in fact, carry out the extension of housework activities, do not take part in the job market”.

According to Makal (2001: 123), similar to these unpaid family workers in agricultural production this women who live in urban areas, do not have the essential education and skills to work in economical activities in urban areas. For this reason, their role as housewives still runs true. Compared to rural areas, their economic participation in the urban labour force is very limited. While evaluating women’s participation with the labour force between the years of 1950- 1960, Ecevit (1993: 119) expresses the following valid thesis:

For women, working out of house as a wage earner is not a primary goal; if they work they see their work as temporarily and compulsory. The chief place they want to stay is their house and the activities they want to do are housework and mothering.

Prior to 1980, research shows that besides professional occupations, the main reason why women wanted to join the labour force was the struggle to make a living. As such, they expressed that when money is no object they prefer to be a “housewife” (Çitçi, 1979, cited in Özbay, 1998).⁴

The double burden of women both at home and work is a widespread concern and runs parallel to this idea. This is a significant issue in feminist literature that is examined in various ways related to women’s labour and employment.

⁴ There is no data on the named period related to women’s employment in informal sector. Therefore, these evaluations have been made on only women’s employment in formal sector. There is no information about whether women, who choose the status of ‘housewife’, make any work to earn money at home. The same evaluation can be made for men’s employment as well. There are very little information about men’s employment, their wage, and sufficiency of this wage, apart from those well- paid men working in formal sector thanks to the income substitution policies. While making evaluations related to this period, these points must not be regarded.

Mackintosh stresses the importance of double burden for women. According to Mackintosh (1984 cited in KSSGM, 1999), household labour of women, which constitutes the expression of 'marriage contract', creates the basic inequality. The 'naturalness' of the hierarchy of the household makes women accept easier the notion of hierarchy in their work life. This state of affairs in social relationship continues in other areas of life as well.

Özbay (1998: 161) states that women's class positions are very crucial for the double burden of them. She also admits that if one does not take this into consideration, there will be problems in interpreting the relation between the double burden of women and employment.

For the double burden of women Kandiyoti (1979 cited in Özbay, 1998) emphasizes that the experiences of women who live in Western countries and in Turkey are different. While women have some institutional supports like kindergartens in Western countries, Turkish women have not such kind of support. Middle class women can still work thanks to other women who share their responsibilities at home, such as childcare and housework.

Women's domestic labour is assumed to be a natural form of unpaid labour. Therefore, the participation of women in the labour market results in carrying a double burden. Their work outside the household has not been helpful to transform their household relationships. That is to say, while they have to shoulder this two fold responsibility, the money they earn is considered as a 'contribution' to the household income. This prevents women from choosing to work outside. In general, the household economy does not allow women to have a free choice when it comes to work. This staying at home condition of women affects their marriage and even fertility rates.

2.5.2. Marriage and Fertility

In 1960s and 1970s, studies on marriage and fertility attempt to explain the low level of participation of women in the labour force. According to Kazgan (1979: 142) the high rate of women's fertility and of marriage in Turkish society are closely related to their alienation from the labour market. She stated that, in the labour market, the negative correlation between marriage and fertility is an observed universal phenomenon. In Turkey, a developing country, in most families, low level of mechanization of housework, the insufficient institutionalisation of childcare, the high rate of unemployment should also be included.

In this period, the demographic transition theory, which was used to meaningfully explain the declining rate of fertility in Western societies, was also used in Turkey. According to the demographic transition theory (Özbay, 1994, 1998), urbanisation and industrialisation encourage women to work, and therefore they tend to limit their childbearing. It is envisaged that the decrease of women fertility rate depends on the increase on the level of women's education and employment as argued in modernisation theory.

Based on their findings in 1966 in Turkey, Stycos and Weller (1967 cited in Özbay, 1994, 1998) refuted this theoretical assumption. They claimed that the causal link between female employment and fertility showed a reverse trend in urban Turkey. To put it more simply, since women have large numbers of children, they do not work. Accordingly, scholars highlighted that the high fertility rate of women is a predicament for the employment of women. Feminist challenges run counter to these arguments. From a feminist perspective, lower fertility rate amounts to a high level of women's employment.

In 1970s, the first feminist critique of the above argument is echoed by Boserup (1990). The critic explains the fertility rate influence on the low level of women's employment in developing countries. According to Boserup (1990) in the urbanization and industrialization processes, women are excluded from the labour market, and this increased the marginalisation of women's labour. The

marginalisation of woman's labour caused an increase economic dependence of women on men.

Thanks to Boserup (1990), feminist studies focused on the articulation of patriarchy with capitalism, which causes the low-level participation of women in the labour force in urban and rural societies. Nevertheless, Özbay (1994: 10) stated that feminist studies have no effect on official statistics and the same categorisations and estimations were done in the labour force analyses. Women, who are not embodied in the labour market and related statistics, are assumed to be housewives involved in childcare and housework. Moreover between 1960 and 1970 there are also limited studies on women's employment in the period.

2.5.3. Studies on the Situation of Women's Employment

Women's labour shows different characteristics in comparison to that of men in its distribution to sectors as well as its ratio to man's labour. Additionally, qualification of the labour force, employment status and educational level has effects on the situation of women's labour force that is influenced by sectoral distribution of employment. Table 2 shows this characteristic of women's paid labour.

Table 2. Distribution of Active Men and Women in 15+ Years Old in Labour Force According to Sectors

Years	1955		1960		1965		1970		1975	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture	63.5	95.6	61.2	95.0	58.4	94.1	52.6	89.0	50.1	88.2
Industry	12.6	2.3	14.5	2.7	16.0	1.5	17.0	5.4	15.7	3.9
Services	13.8	1.6	16.0	1.9	16.4	2.6	17.6	4.7	30.1	7.7
Others	10.1	0.5	8.3	0.4	9.2	1.8	2.8	0.9	5.9	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Kazgan (1979: 164)

Table 2 shows the distribution of employed men and women in various sectors in the years between 1955 and 1975. According to sectoral distribution of employment, the rate of women working has intensified in agriculture. In 1970, a small portion of increase among women in industry and service sectors occurs. Secondly, the participation of women in the industrial sector between the years of 1970 and 1975 was especially concentrated in manufacturing. What came to be known as ‘women’s jobs’, such as tobacco, textile, food, chemicals, and packing. Kazgan (1979: 144) argues that the reason of the intensification of women’s labour in similar activities is partly due to traditional value systems. Indeed, along with its relations the valuation of women’s labour is seen as being less qualified.

Ecevit (1993: 120) states that in 1960’s, the rate of demand of industrial work between women is lower than the service sector in the cities. In that period, the service sector had expanded considerably and created more job opportunities for women than men. In spite of these opportunities, women participate in labour market at lower rates. The negative effect of patriarchal ideology has been stronger on the labour market participation of women when compared to men, than the economic structure.

Kazgan (1979: 144) stated that between the years of 1955-74, the ratio between women's wage and men's wage witnessed a change of 2/3 and 4/5. In her view, women had lesser qualifications than those of men. In addition, Turkish Labour Law prohibited women's labour in sectors that have higher wages, such as mining, construction, and heavy industry. Other reasons could be presented as being women's employment in labour-intensified jobs, and lesser participation in labour contracts.

Kardam and Toksöz (2004) argued that import substitution growth model of the economy between 1960 and 1970 period affected the wages of women and men:

Women's employment rates were low in this period mainly depending on the fact that the main income earners, namely the husbands' wages were considered sufficient for the living of the family. The tremendous growth of foreign currency deficit gave the first signal for the end of this development strategy. This low rate of participation of women might affect both the status of work and women who works in different sectors (Kardam & Toksöz, 2004).

Dating from 1955, 91.4% of women's labour is reconsidered to be unpaid family workers. Although, the proportion of unpaid family workers has declined overtime (86.6% in 1975), changes are insignificant, especially in employer and self-employed categories. However, it is observed that the proportion of employees has increased. The increase in the proportion of waged workers is the highest among the other employment status groups. (Kazgan, 1979; Makal, 2001; Özbay, 1994). In this period, the rate of women who work in paid jobs is low in urban areas. According to Ecevit (1993: 117-118), while the significance of wage labour increases in the cities, women participate in limited rates. Notably, there is an excess instability in the gendered structure of the working population in non-agricultural sectors. The same is the case in industry and service sector.

For Makal (2001: 128) the data that is derived from the studies conducted by the General Population Survey includes many predicaments. In some years, most of

the women in rural areas are exaggeratedly registered as ‘unpaid family workers’. This situation increased the number of women as unpaid family worker in rural areas.

Kazgan (1979: 145) argues that among the workers who are registered in social security institutions, the percentage of women never exceeds 9% even in the mid-1970s. Moreover, it seems that the number of women working in home production and small-scale production has not appeared in statistics. According to Kazgan, the reasons mentioned above, causes unreliability in the statistical data related to women’s wage and the issues of social security.

2.5.4. Educational Level of Women and Working Issues

Lower level of education of women is presented as being the reason of lower rate of women’s employment. Kazgan’s table (1979: 168) which signifies the relationship between women’s education level and the rate of women’s participation in labour force exerts that, the higher the education level of women, the higher proportion of women’s participation in the labour force. The percentages of women’s participation in the labour force in non-agricultural sectors in 1975 are 5% among women with primary school education; 12.5% among women with secondary school education; 30% among women with high school education; and 70% among women with college education. This percentage is only 1.3% among illiterate women.

Three out of four women in agricultural sector are illiterate (in 1975). For Kazgan (1979: 151) “among the totality of non-agricultural production, out of the half of the women’s labour force in comparison to education, 29% of them are unqualified, and 20% of them is qualified”. The rate of women in the industrial sector is 93%. The highest rate of qualified women’s labour force is concentrated on the service sector; 41% of them had professional and college education.

In this period, Öncü (1979 cited in Özbay, 1998) concluded that, “there are relatively a higher number of women in professional occupations than those women were from higher classes in Turkey.” This is related to power politics/policies on education and employment.

In this section it is tried to indicate the main features of women’s position in some spheres such as paid and unpaid employment in rural and urban areas, the effects of marriage, fertility and education on women’s employment. For this aim some statistical data is used. The aim is not to discuss the women’s position but only represent the conditions of women during the 60s in Turkey.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter showed the theoretical perspective about the conceptualisation of patriarchy. The importance of the combination of class and gender for the analysis of patriarchy tries to explain in the first section of this chapter. This point of view maintains more comprehensive understanding for the patriarchal structures and practices. Besides that, the exclusion of women from public sphere, expropriation and exploitation of women’s labour, control of her sexuality, the subjection to violence with the related to institutions such as family and state are emphasised in this chapter.

In relation with general theoretical discussions on the subjects above, the social and economic situation of women in Turkey is put forward to the period of 1960-1970, by mentioning on invisibility of women’s labour at that time. In addition to theoretical perspective of the thesis, the factual knowledge about women in Turkey provides the framework for the analysis of films on materialistic grounds of domestic and waged labour, the family, sexuality and violence that forms the tools of patriarchy. This necessitates the feminist perspective of the researcher to clarify the situation of women on materialistic grounds.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCHING PATRIARCHY VIA CINEMA: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1. Introduction

Using cinema for analysing patriarchy has both their own methodological difficulties and opportunities. The main difficulty, without doubt, originates from a very particular character of the research 'material'. Here, in my view, a researcher who insists on a sociological approach, as in this study, faces by two main obstacles:

First, film is not a phenomenon that can be easily treated as a 'social fact'. Even though social scientific practice is also open to the epistemological promise rejecting the existence of facts 'in their own right' by virtue of their socially constructed nature, film in itself is an intended construction as a cultural product and an aesthetic creation. Therefore, using film as a sociological material has to clarify itself methodologically, not only within the traditions of social research, but also, within the methodical scope of cinema studies.

Second, scientific investigations as 'study of things' acknowledge that socially bounded knowledge is at the same time subjected to the researcher's own gaze, therefore, propose particular research processes that are dependent on particular methodological stands for the formation of knowledge. However, by virtue of being art images, films form gaze circumstances that can be very exceptional in relation to their 'spectators'. In other words, the researcher's act of *looking* at her

object of knowledge is actively constructed action by cinematic images. This situation is different from, to some extent, the general context of the relations of researcher to the analysed subject in sociological investigations.

This chapter tries to elucidate its mode of investigation in cinema studies concerned with the above-mentioned predicaments. To start with, the first section elaborates specifically the main lines in feminist film criticism/theory to underline their contributions and limitations in cinema studies. After I address some of the unsatisfactory features arising from feminist criticism, I will outline the main lines of arguments in the sociological approach, which still has a marginal place in cinema studies. In this section, I will somewhat ask how films can also be used as 'social facts' – a question, which is different from to some extent the contemporary engagements of feminist film studies, but which would provide an opportunity to seek a gender-stratified society because of its historical and sociological concerns. This question will also constitute the focal point of the third section, which is organized around two main themes: first the importance of the feminist point of view and feminist knowledge, and related to this, the second section I will elucidate on the what makes up a feminist researcher or that of being a 'spectator' in the context of cinema studies.

3.2. Methodological Trajectory of Feminist Film Analysis

To begin with, it would be necessary to ask why we search methodological scope of cinema studies in the case of feminist film analysis, even though it is still "a growing and changing" phenomena in the field, as Davis and Maxwell (1983/84: 18) point out.

For reliability, the analytical priority of this study, namely the investigation of patriarchy, is first related with the feminist contribution to cinema studies, with its exploration of how patriarchal gaze and representations are constructed on the screen. In addition to this, feminist film analysis by itself can represent the general context of cinema theories. This in itself is more connected to film

theory, which is not often being necessarily a feminist stance. In fact, feminist film criticism and theory "came about as Cinema Studies, as a disciplinary area, was in its foundational stage", in Kaplan's own words (2000: 3): It therefore, became a constitutive component in the development of cinema studies more than in other disciplines of social sciences. As Petro (2004) points out, from the start feminist film theorists aiming to develop a critical understanding of texts, codes, and conventions of sexual difference "saw this project as central to film theory, not restricted in its consequences to a feminist subsection of film studies" (Petro, 2004: 1273).

However, it can be said that the characteristics which cannot easily be found in other fields of feminist studies –for instance, feminist literary perspectives, emerged at the end of decades of academic literary studies (Kaplan, 2000). Overall this creates a more controversial relation between the political commitments of feminism and analytical engagements. In order to observe this relation, which also contributes to marginalisation of sociological approach in cinema studies, one should take a short glance at the history of feminist film criticism/theory in relation to social theory. In the following section I will consider the methodological implications, and not to rehearse the history in question in detail¹.

3.2.1. From the 'Distorted' Images of Women to the 'Lack' of Femininity in Films

Feminist film criticism/theory was raised upon the challenge that was created by the second wave women's movement in late 1960s. As a social movement, feminism, without doubt, has brought about a critical confrontation, not only with the macro structures of society, but also, the practices of everyday life. Therefore, it has rendered 'visible' the category of gender in all forms of knowledge and areas of inquiry by recommending itself as a critical perspective.

¹ For a detailed discussion on the literature of feminist film criticism and theory see for instances Kaplan (ed.) (2000); Carson & et. al. (eds.) (1994); Penley (ed.) (1988).

Nonetheless, the most striking characteristics of this period related to feminist film criticism/theory is apparently that in looking for the answers that has been provoked by the woman's movement the philosophical work of linguistics, Saussurian semiotics, Althusserian Marxism and psychoanalysis theory, rather than feminist theoreticians. Serve as a model in looking for the answers that has been provoked by the women's movement. This is quite evident that Welsch (1987: 66) in her own words said that, "it would be possible to build a course in feminist film criticism without explicit analysis of the work of feminist thinker". I will deal with how the closeness of feminist film criticism produces the results in semiotics and psychoanalysis rather than feminism, especially in methodological point of view². Although necessarily feminist film criticism was nurtured theoretically by non-feminist social thoughts, the political climate of the second wave of feminism became an important source regarding the history of discipline.

The political challenge of women's movement initially evoked the critique of sexist bias through the exploitation of women as images in cinematic narrative (Davis & Maxwell, 1983/84). Molly Haskell and Marjorie Rosen were seen as the pioneer exemplars of feminist film criticism in the field (see Smelik, 1995). Their focus vested particularly on the question of how the images of women in film that are presented through patriarchal fantasies distort women's 'reality'. Based on these interpretations, the depictions of women such as a spectacle of virgins, victims and vamps were the misrepresentation of "how they 'really' are, and that of "what they 'really' want" (White, 2000: 116). In other words, by arguing that cinematic stereotypes reflect 'how society treats women' (White, 2000: 116), the pioneer feminist criticism broadly maintained the "unquestioned assumption of cinema as cultural mirror" (Smelik, 1995). That is why this initial

² This affiliation with semiotics/psychoanalysis rather than with the field of feminist inquiry is now a very debatable issue in feminist film studies revolving around for instance questions 'does feminist film theory still exist as such – or has it been absorbed or diffused by broader theories of media, culture, and gender?', or "does psychoanalytic theory still has something to offer feminist inquiry?'. See for example Signs (2004) in which the mentioned-questions and discussion concerning the history and current state of feminist film studies were posed.

criticism was called exemplars of 'reflection theories' of women and film (see White, 2000), or the 'image-centred approaches' (see Davis & Maxwell, 1983/84) and were immediately abandoned in the first half of 70s. This period of feminist film criticism/theory contrary to early feminist criticism/theory that seeks a relation between women's images and reality, raised an ideological construction and the years that woman has been worked as a 'sign'. Claire Johnston's (1999) works "Women's Cinema As Counter Cinema", published in 1976, and Laure Mulvey's article (1988) "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" are important milestones and act as a trajectory for her later studies. Both fostered the theoretical ground of feminist film criticism for semiotics, the ideology critique of Althusser and psychoanalytical approach, respectively. In this way, subjectively, the new concepts like 'desire' and 'visual pleasure' were introduced to the field.

Johnston (1999) starts her political and polemical work with criticism of 'image centred' approach. In fact, by underlying how women myths were used in the cinema is helpful, the depiction of women stereotypes is driven by the comprehension of monolithic view of the media, which cultural productions depicts as being 'repressive and manipulative'. In other words, though the identification of sexist stereotypes grasped the ideological implications of the cinema, it is not sufficient for exposing "how ideology is inscribed into the actual material of cinema" (Davis & Maxwell, 1983/84). Therefore, this diverts from justifying the structures of women's images which produce them and through which they perform.

By departing from the main premise of semiology³ –namely, the negation of the identification between sign and object– Johnston (1999: 254) argues that "cinema involves the production of signs... the sign is always a product. What the

³ For a Turkish study on semiotic approach in film analysis see Bükür (1985) advocating psychoanalytical perspectives as well in the Turkish film studies; see her several articles in *25. Kare: Sinema Kültür Dergisi*, a Turkish cinema journal. For instances Bükür (1999) investigating the term of 'prostitution' in the titles of Turkish films in terms of semiotic approach and Bükür (1998) presenting an exemplar of psychoanalysis in the case of 'Hamam' film.

camera in fact grasp is the 'natural' world of the dominant ideology". That is, there is no any pre-given meaning that would be reflected by cinematic images because film itself is a language constructing/manufacturing the meaning. In her words:

In rejecting a sociological analysis of woman in the cinema we reject any view in terms of realism, for this would involve an acceptance of the apparent natural denotation of the sign and would involve a denial of the reality of myth in operation (Johnston, 1999: 249).

Therefore, given that cinema is male-dominated and sexist, a woman signifies "not herself, but by a process of displacement, the male phallus" (ibid: 249). In short, there is no woman as woman in films; the sexist ideology of cinema is precisely "responsible for the repression of the image of woman as woman and the celebration of their non-existence" (ibid: 250).

The gaps in semiotic analysis stemming from being not able to "explain why women are made into objects nor does it explain cinema's fascination" (Smelik, 1995), was filled by psychoanalytical theory. Mulvey (1988) was and still is, by White's words (2000: 116) "the single most inescapable reference in the field - and arguably in contemporary English-language film theory as a whole".

In her influential article, Mulvey (1988: 57) proposes psychoanalytical theory "as a political weapon, demonstrating the way the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured film form". By starting from Freud's description of the scopophilic (pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object), Mulvey argues that "the image of woman operates as signifier of sexual difference that confirms man as subject and maker of meaning through the structure of the gaze and narrative itself. The woman, therefore, is "to-be-looked-at-ness" (ibid: 62). The structure of pleasure in looking, which is split between "active/male and passive/female" (ibid: 62), that is, the lens of the 'phallic', helps to explain how sexual difference constructs visual pleasure in classical cinema, namely Hollywood, and why women are made into objects.

By the 1980s, the main concern of psychoanalysis approach to cinema, namely how female subjective is constructed through the phallogentric narrative and images and of how meta-psychological structure of films results in massive exclusion of the female subject position, became an increasingly fashionable questions.⁴ Discussions generally revolved around these questions, focusing mostly on the visual pleasure of the female spectator: Whether the gaze is inherently male? Can women also have the gaze? How is the female character's desire represented? (Smelik, 1995: 72).

Psychoanalysis has often been criticized for focusing on the classical period of Hollywood cinema and film analysis were made just by a restricted number of films (see Smelik, 1995; Tseelon, 2000). Henceforth, it is controversial that psychoanalysis can be applied to different cinemas, and furthermore, it is a monolistic perspective from the view of female subjectivity notion. Since feminist film criticism/theory builds the sexual difference in the axis of psychoanalytical subjectivity, it neglects socio-historical differentiations among the women in the audience. Therefore, it treats feminist film theory as being insufficient to understand the relationship between gender, ethics, class and nation, etc. (White, 2000: 119). Moreover, psychoanalytical construction of female subjectivity makes women impossible to comprehend the 'active gaze' because it assumes that "woman cannot desire the image because they *are* the image" (White, 2000: 119, emphasis in original).

Given that feminism is an analytical inquiry as much as a political commitment, the last point become particularly important. The assumption that cinematic narrative is an inherently phallogentric construction considerably devastates the basis for generating counter cultural products of feminist film studies. However, this basis requires not only to challenge the patriarchal representations, but also,

⁴ For a discussion how feminist film theory has used psychoanalysis see Walker (1984). Moreover see Creed (2000) for a study reviewing the history of psychoanalytical theories in cinema studies. Psychoanalysis is also favorite approach in the Turkish cinema studies, see for instances the study of Derman (undated) investigating Godard's cinema and that of Bükler (2000) analysing Hitchcock's films.

to pose feminist representations. As Hammett (1997: 96) argues, "what is needed is not a feminist position vis-a-vis representation, but feminist representations".

Feminist film criticism/theory seems to have been a vital challenge to the patriarchal view of cinema but it has equally contributed to the marginalization of sociology in film theory (Tudor, 2000). In other words, cinema studies "tended to focus excessively on the film text (and film language) at the expense of any systematic understanding of the context within which texts are produced and understood" (Tudor, 2000: 191). Therefore, any attempt to promote empirical work, according to Tudor, was condemned with the label of 'empiricism', "an allegation which was applied as indiscriminately as it was empty intellectual force" (Tudor, 2000: 191). In terms of feminist film criticism/theory, the affiliation with psychoanalysis or non-sociological view of the cinema meant that the historical experience of women is perceived on the ground of abstract female subjectivity that is constructed by discourse. In my view, this point equally signifies that sociological approach to cinema suffers from the loss of feminism.

3.3. Reconsidering Films as Sociological and Historical Materials: A Feminist Point of View

In the previous section, the trajectory of feminist film criticism/theory, which was involved in linguistic theories and the internal world of psyche rather than in feminist theory, has been discussed. Given the political commitment of feminism, this involvement has become a debatable issue because it carries a burden of having ahistorical bias and a pessimistic view about social change. Therefore, it can be asserted that there is still a blank sphere in cinema studies, on which further studies from a feminist sociological approach can be conducted.

To pursue this point is far beyond the theoretical scope of my study; however, it equally shows the surrounded limitations in the methodological effort of this study. First, as we stated before, there is a gap between feminist film analysis

and feminist theory as a whole. Second, sociological approach to films has been and still is a marginal tendency of cinema studies by the late 1960s in which the interest of semiology appeared (Tudor, 2000). Film theory developed in accordance with the textual construction of subjectivity and the structural psychoanalysis. Indeed, this does not mean an absence of social dimension in film analysis, but rather that it suffers from an application of sociological theories or method (Tudor, 2000: 190). In this line of thought, "a sustained sociology of film", in Tudor's words (2000: 191), "is still something of a pipe-dream".

Given these limitations, the methodological effort presented below should be deemed as a search emphasizing only the need of sociological enterprise. Therefore, I will content with the question how films can be appraised as visual materials having sociological and historical features by using a feminist point of view.

3.3.1. Cinematic Images as A Part of Social History

Visuality, for a long time, has attracted the interest of historical discipline as long as it is only a part of an aristocratic culture or power like museums, collections or paintings (Ferro, 1995). Historiography, only at the turn of this century, has inclined to "new sorts of archive telling of different sorts of life, telling in effect a different history" (Andrew, 2000: 179). Ferro (1995), a historian who is an insistent advocate of cinematic archive, asserts that even the aesthetic and rhetorical elements of fiction films include some points at some level, which would be a concern to all historians. Indeed, first and foremost film is the 'history'.

A film is History even if it is a vision of reality or not, a document or fiction, real or imaginary. Our postulate is this; an event that is not happened (or why not? An event that has happened also), people's believes, intensions and imagines are History as much as History. (Ferro, 1995: 32).

Undoubtedly Ferro's emphasis on film as a historical document, is first related to the critique of history, which resides in the network of authority and operates as the act of power. It can easily be seen that, history as a discipline is a direct component of the knowledge production rearranging hierarchical construction of society. For Ferro (1995: 59), therefore, "the primary mission of the historian is to give the History back which the institutional mechanisms have deprived to the society". This mission cannot be contented with the existing archives but to form and even to create new archives which will expose the ones their witness not been registered. Ferro (1995) suggests cinematic images as such historical materials.

However, cinematic images as historical document are first a methodological problem. For a historian advocating that social facts exist 'in their own right' that is quite independent of individuals' ideas about them, the fictional reality of film is so factitious that cannot form an evidence. Contrary to this, Ferro (1995) also claims that elements of the truth can be determined from fiction and imagination and defends that films are witnesses related to their imaginations in their particular period. The former emphasises that the films can be a historical archive supplying a connection to real vision of the past. For this reason, as Ferro (1995: 62) asserts, the "Imaginary Museum", which can serve as a reference to Russia's past through films, is properly valid for Turkey. Given that the conditions of film production, which were based ultimately on outdoor shooting, but not on the studio system, the social realist films of the 1960s have a crucial archive attribute, even only for the historical story of urban spaces. Especially, *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Otobüs Yolcuları* and *Acı Hayat* are the films providing visual information about urban space in the first half of 1960s for Istanbul.

The latter point, claiming that the films at the same time witness the images of their period, proposes that cinematic images must be taken in consideration as a part of a larger social context. By asserting that each society accepts the images in the direction of its own culture (Burke, 2003: 198), this proposition differs

markedly from psychoanalytical and semiological approach examining images in itself. Therefore, it first posits a concrete-historical context instead of abstractness of the subconscious for images. Second, as required by the necessity of this larger context, it considers cinematic images in relation with non-cinematographic variables. Accordingly, films do not only consist of cinematographic image-object. That is, film is realised with “something that is not a film; that is to say, with its creator, shooting, audience, critics and the relation with the social order” (Ferro, 1995: 33); for the world depicted on the screen becomes understandable by including it to the actual world that creates the film (Ferro, 1995: 32).

In brief, images such as texts and oral expressions do not only refresh the past in our imagination, but also constitute the historical evidence through which we would analyze the social mentality of the period (Burke, 2003: 13). Insofar as images are put into historical context, every film with its inclusions and exclusions could provide us with crucial insights showing how and where the borders are constructed in society. This point, if we consider how official documents lapse into silence concerning women's working and family life, suggests that the images, which are excluded by the formal history are the legitimate or valid historical evidences (Burke, 2003). However, analysing films that aims to make visible the excluded subjects of history have to first specify how we can ensure that the knowledge of historical-sociological are both adequate and legitimate. The rest of this section is related with this issue, including the main reasons why I am employing a feminist standpoint theory as a methodological ground in my research.

3.3.2. Undertaking Feminist Research

As pointed out earlier, sociological analysis of film assumes that every film shows us something about society. Nevertheless, "what a film, or films, tells us about society cannot just be accepted as 'evidence', but must itself be explained and interpreted in terms of the groups and the viewpoints with which they are

connected" (Hill, 1986: 2). To be a scientific 'evidence' is essentially concerned with the epistemological problem forming a particular theory for specifying the possible forms and conditions of knowledge that is related with how to understand the nature of social reality.

As a feminist researcher I believe that to produce knowledge from the feminist point of view is primarily a philosophical struggle over "what constitutes legitimate knowledge and what criteria establish knowledge of social reality" (Ramazanoğlu, 2002: 12). Placing women at the center of inquiry have a profound effect not only on the traditional subject of a given discipline but on the status and the nature of theory (Stacey & Thorne, 1998). Insofar as gender is deemed as a theoretical category rather than as a variable, even elucidating and filling in gaps in scientific knowledge mean paradigmatic interrogation that challenges to the conceptual foundations of the traditional fields of theory and empirical research. For instance Kelly-Gadol (1987) shows how looking at the past through an unequal sexual order leads to reevaluate the historical turning points and to transform the theories of social change by asking 'did women have a Renaissance?'.

To pose gender as a theoretical category, in my view, is primarily the epistemological challenge of feminism to androcentric nature of scientific thought. It is because that this challenge necessitates a celebration of the subjective and emotional dimensions of knowledge that provides the basis for new knowledge claims. That is why, a feminist standpoint theory with its emphasis both on women's subjective experiences and on 'the researched 'subject' as an actor (Stacey & Thorne, 1998) forms the theory and analysis of the research process, namely, the methodology of my study.

Feminist standpoint theory is based on 'the privileged knowledge' of the women's experiences and explains why exploration of the lives and experiences of the women is necessary to understand and criticise the ground of oppression (see Hartsock, 1981; Harding, 1996; Mies, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1996). The notion

of privileged knowledge is indeed "the project of making experience visible" (Scott, 1991). By this assertion, feminism shows that there is a history under pressures and privations within the course of women's everyday life, producing knowledge of past and present, and claims that this unrecorded and silenced experience can only be understood in respect to the position of the oppressed.

In claiming women's subjective experience, feminist standpoint theory states that to understand the world from the particular position of the oppressed also reveals how knowledge is socially and historically constructed, while being represented as objective and value-free. This point introduces the conceptualisation of the oppressed as 'knowing subjects' in order to make their experience visible and criticise scientific activity.

However, the notion of knowing subject, according to methodological caution of standpoint theory, does not mean that their knowledge is 'innocent', 'pure' or 'true'. But rather this means that the knowledge of the oppressed constitutes an area of intervention in which the experience of oppression is transformed into standpoints throughout which our lives are re-interpreted and re-constructed (Hartsock, 1981). In claiming the experience of women, feminist standpoint also aims to pose women's oppression as a ground of political resistance; for 'experience' is socially constructed.

In sum, the key characteristics of feminist research from the standpoint theory can be gathered under these three topics: the celebration of subjective experience of women, the political commitment to the emancipation of women, and the advocate of analytical attention to the researcher's experience in the research process. Therefore the emphasis on the context of knowledge evokes the recognition of the power issue in the process of research and analysis, which, proposes to investigate the interaction between the researcher and researched subject.

Considering that I investigate inanimate objects, to pursue the last point seems to be unnecessary. However, having a feminist standpoint also demonstrates my personal involvement as a researcher and as a woman spectator in the non-interactive world of cultural artefacts (Reinharz, 1992). For, as Ramazanoğlu (2002: 147) argues, "the point of doing feminist social research is ... to give insights into gendered social existence that would otherwise not exist".

3.4. The Focus and the Aims of the Study

The focus of this study may be described as an attempt to understand the patriarchal structures in Turkey through the relationship between daily life, which was depicted within the social realist and national films in the years of 1960-70 and the economical-political changes including the patterns of social thought in the same years.

Searching patriarchal structures through the cinematic daily life rests on the following assumptions. First, because patriarchy includes at the same time intimate forms and structures, its transformation or its re-arrangement is strongly necessitates the reproduction of both individual and social worldviews within the concrete experiences of daily life and symbolic levels (Saraçgil, 2005). Therefore, daily life is an important resource by which we can penetrate the mentality of societies. Second, cinematic images, as we discussed earlier, are also historical products, created in particular social, political, economical and intellectual conditions. Surely, this does not mean that aesthetic images are simply a mirror of social reality. Conversely it means that all artistic expressions taking place in a particular semiological and linguistic structure may help us to understand the symbolic forms in which gendered social existence is uphold or transformed in relation to the social and historical practice.

Insistence on cinematic images as a part of social history has also particular importance in terms of both feminist historiography and the characteristics of Turkish cinema in the years of 1960-70s. It has to be remembered that, by the

1990s, feminism in Turkey has attempted to make visible women's social position in the history by claiming gender as a category of social thought⁵. Despite its short history as a discipline, feminist historiography in Turkey has not only explored the invisible story of women in the constitution of the Republic and the modernisation process of Turkey, but also, has interrogated the conceptual foundations of historical and political perceptions by using oral histories, women's autobiographies, letters, memories and so on.

However, the focus of feminist historiography in Turkey is rather directed towards the late Ottoman and the early Republican period because of its inclination to political history⁶. On the other hand, the studies concerning the recent past of Turkey before 1980 is, again, limited with the political history (see for instance Tekeli, 1982), particularly by the socialist movements, such as the history of activist women (see Akal, 2003), or the patriarchal patterns in the socialist novels of that period (see Saraçgil, 2005). Therefore, it can be asserted that women's recent history in Turkey in relation to wider framework of patriarchal structures still needs to be investigated. The scrutiny of patriarchy through the cinematic images between 1960 and 1970 aims firstly to be a part of such an effort.

Given the characteristics of Turkish cinema in this period, social realist and national films seem to be rich material for the study of social history (Kayalı, 2004). By the late 1950s, as will be discussed later, Turkish cinema became a widespread phenomenon in terms of both film production and reception by originating the tradition of self-reflexivity, namely, thinking and discussing about the cinema itself as a part of film production. Social realist and national cinema appeared in this period as a movement possessing a distinguishable cinematic language and narrative from the mainstream Turkish cinema, namely Yeşilçam. In terms of film theory, both movements aimed to depict the story of

⁵ For the feminist historiography in Turkey see for example Berktaş (1999).

⁶ See for example Çakır (1994); Durakbaşı (1998); Arat, Z. F. (1998); Durakbaşı (2000; 2001); Tekeli (2003).

'ordinary people' within their own 'ordinary conditions' on the screen by resting on particular perspectives concerning the social problems and transformations of Turkey.

Both traditions, by this peculiarity, were strongly involved in the structure of social thought of the period. It appears that social realist and national cinema, as required by these distinctive characteristics, render vivid material through which we would explore the relationship between patriarchal imagination of society at the symbolic level and the concrete experiences of daily life. The rest of this section shows the implemented procedure for exploring this topic and producing evidence.

3.4.1. Choosing the Films and Producing Data

The universe of social realist films was constituted by resting on the following studies of the history of the Turkish cinema: Özturan (1964 cited in Scognamillo, 1998a), Refiğ (1971), Kayalı (1994), Yaylagül (2004). Since there are slight differences concerning the number of social realist films among the mentioned studies, I constituted a broad list including national cinema films as far as possible. It seems that total 34 films as exemplar of social realist and national cinema films were produced in the period of 1960-70. By using personal relations and the chief Turkish cinema archives such as Anadolu University, Department of Cinema-TV Archive; Ankara University, Faculty of Communication Films Archive, Mimar Sinan University-Sami Şekeroğlu Film Archive and Uğur Film Production, I could obtain 23 films, which were accepted to be important illustrations of the social realist and national cinema movement.

Although I watched at least twice all the 23 films, I only appraised 10 by taking into consideration the following contextual criteria. First, was the production of manhood identity and manhood values through which gender hierarchy is created and maintained? The three films of which narratives were mainly knitted around the world of men were appraised within this category. With its narrative ground

resting on the male friendship *Gecelerin Ötesi* (Metin Erksan), in terms of the identification of skill with masculinist attitudes *Hızlı Yaşayanlar* (Nevzat Pesen) and with its critique of sexual violence *Kuyu* (Metin Erksan).

On the other hand, the three films, *Duvarların Ötesi* (Orhan Elmas), *Acı Hayat* (Metin Erksan) and *Suçlular Aramızda* (Metin Erksan), were taken to exemplify narrative structure focusing on the class critique of social reality. Here, the main motivation of my inquiry was to understand how and why their approaches to class inequalities are loaded with the elements of patriarchal ideology.

The last criterion was oriented to the reproduction of the family as an 'idea'. The films, *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ), *Kırık Çanaklar* (Memduh Ün), *Kırık Hayatlar* (Halit Refiğ) of which narratives rest on the different class background were chosen in order to understand how the ideology of the family is reproduced beyond the horizon of class differentiation. In this section, *Ana* (Lütfi Akad) was appraised as a film depicting the constitutive role of motherhood in the notion of family.

Although the traces of each criterion can be found at some levels in each film, I preferred to limit them in accordance with their thematic focuses to avoid repetitions and to include the variety of directors as far as possible.

After the initial watch, aiming to become familiar with the construction of narrative and characters, I investigated each film by focusing on the plot, the dialogs, the socio-economics details of characters and their places in the narrative. To put at more simply by the term characters' place in the text, the signification in the construction of the narrative and their importance in the interpretation of world that films promoted. Therefore, I also paid attention to the historical background of filmic texts, that is, their references in the 'extra-textual' social and historical practices. Given that social realist and national cinema movements depart from particular insights concerning the social structure of Turkey, it was important to seek the social and political environment of the

fictional practices engaged in selected films. For this objective, I also resorted to the directors' assessments about their films by including the characteristics of social thought of that period.

In conclusion, my discussion of the films should be seen as analytical rather than evaluative, more interested in questions of constraints and borders within the social-political mentality of that period in terms of gendered hierarchy.

3.4.2. Limitations

Methodologically the fundamental limitation of my study originates from the peripheral location of 'doing sociology of film' in cinema studies. As discussed earlier, feminist work on film still largely persisted in the analysis of textual constitution of subject relying on the psychoanalytical method. It caused an inordinate difficulty and time to arrive to a proper mode of analysis that would be sensitive to the theoretical and methodological concerns of this study.

Although there are studies dealing with sociological approaches, their relativeness in limited numbers is another difficulty of this thesis (see for instances Güçhan, 1992; Kalkan, 1988). Moreover, these studies have been realised in the perspective of cinema discipline. Secondly, researches on women in the cinema have been mostly on the nature of portrayal of women in films and some historical studies are largely from the Yesilçam period⁷ (see for example Özgüç, 2000; Kalkan & Taranç, 1988; Öztürk, 2000). These studies include differences when considering their approaches or the periods they focused on. Thirdly, it would be impossible to have access to films that are categorised as social realist. Therefore, there are difficulties in getting access and using the insufficient archives of Turkish cinema.

⁷ See for examples Soykan (1990); Suner (1990) and Behçetoğulları (1995). These studies focus on the melodrama in the period 1960-70 of Turkey and the relations of women to these melodrama films.

3.5. Conclusion

In this section, I attempted to evaluate the difficulties in analysing film as historical and sociological materials stemming partly from the methodological tendency of cinema studies and to display how my research coped with this. By the late 1960s the interest of semiology has gradually engendered the marginalisation of sociological understanding in cinema studies. In the 1970s, film theory flourished under the direction of structural psychoanalysis. Since then, film studies have sustained in general "radically unsociological view of cinema" (Tudor, 2000: 191). Similarly, feminist works on film embrace the field of psychology to analyse phallogentric construction of cinematic images in a very 'individualised' and 'ahistorical' way.

In order to overcome this difficulty and to maintain the critical power of feminist view, I preferred to count on historical-sociological understanding of film relying on feminist methodology. In other words, in claiming that women's everyday lives experiences constitutes the basis for valid and adequate knowledge, I thought of films as visual materials possessing historical and sociological features, not as aesthetic or rhetorical product, consisting of cinematographic characters.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL REALIST AND NATIONAL CINEMA MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to display the historical background of social realist cinema movement in Turkey to bring out its main features with respect to the cinema understandings and narrative. In the first section, I will present a brief historical overview of the socio-economic conditions in the period 1960-70. Then, I will consider the development of Turkish cinema until 1970s, thereby focusing on the main changes in the field of cinema and the general characteristics of cinematic products. The intention here is not to re-address the problems in the historiography of Turkish cinema, but to designate the general dynamics of the film production, which caused the rising of social realist movement. In the third section, I will concentrate on the details of the conditions of film production in 1960s, which had determined and restricted alternative searches in the field of cinema. This section will also include the main lines in the debate on the cinema understandings in 1960s, and their roots in the history of social thought in Turkey.

4.2. A Brief Summary of the Socio-Economic Conditions

After The Second World War, the Turkish economy mainly based on agriculture, began to integrate with world capitalist system, particularly in the spheres of defence and politics. Before 1950 significant steps had been taken towards

integration with capitalism together with the memberships of Marshall Aid, The Council of Europe, NATO and European Economic and Co-operation Foundation. It had been assumed that these political steps would attract foreign capital, and in this way, the industrialisation rate would increase. Thus, the 'westernisation' had become an important trump in interior politics (Zürcher, 1993: 341). The Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti- DP) came into power in 1950 with this promise. The DP used to have completely different cadre from the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- CHP). There were virtually no military originated or/and bureaucrat deputies. The DP was in close contact with trade bourgeoisie and grand landowners and used to have anti- etatist and liberal economic programme. In fact, they made laws to encourage foreign investments (Zürcher, 1993: 327).

The DP government tried to aggravate agricultural production by means of the policies, which give priority to transfer foreign capital and extend on the infrastructure (Keyder, 1983). The infrastructure investments were directed to shift from public transportation to private transportation; therefore, the railway transformation, which used to have great significance since the foundation of the Republic, replaced by highway transportation (Zürcher, 1993). Notably, the second half of the 1950's paved the way for economical initiatives that resulted in growing manufacture and services sectors by creating a domestic market. In this way, migration movements began from the rural areas to the cities, starting in 1950's and receding in 1970's. Even though the rural population saw a significant increase after 1950, it proportionally tended to decline (Gülöksüz &Gülöksüz, 1983: 1248). Whereas the capital accumulation was not at the same level as much as the immigrants could be massed in the cities, newcomers began to be amassed in such work places categorised as 'informal sector', in which insecure, easy to access in and out, temporarily and unorganised works exist. Zürcher (1993) declares that, in spite of the lack of statistical information, during the DP period the most benefited classes were firstly the great landowners and secondly traders and industrialists. Those wage earners and informal workers

constituted the economically disadvantaged classes. The class structure of the DP government, based on great landowners and trade bourgeoisie, as will be analysed later, had become one of the critical themes of social realist films.

The second half of the DP government, as Boratav (2004) mentioned, was a “congest and re-accommodation” period. The expected foreign capital transfer had not occurred and a prevalent recession period affected the economy. As a result, liberal foreign policies had been replaced by a controlled export and import substitution policies. The DP government, after 1955, in addition to financial embarrassment, began to practice an increased repressive rule. Moreover it tried to have strict control over the press, university and army. On the 27 May 1960 a coup d’etat replaced the DP.

After the military intervention, the new constitution came into force after a referendum in 1961. The new regime was based on democratization and import substitutive economy politics. By the term of Küçük (1983), this intervention is the transition from the commercial capitalism to industrial capitalism based on the import-substitution politics, which necessitated a planned economy by the hand of the state. The State Planning Organization, which was established in 1960, had prepared economic, social and cultural development plans for every five years (Zürcher, 1993: 385). Import substitutive industrialization was the main theme of The First of the Five- Year Development Plan.

The new economic model of the period was based on the production for the domestic market and the import of the energy, raw material and semi finished goods from abroad. Boratav (2004: 123) argues that one of the characteristics of the period between 1962 and 1976 was the populist politics of the political regime, especially on distribution and social security such as subsidies, tax reduction, import limitations and high custom tariffs for the industrial products of Europe and America, interference on the rate of exchange, subsidy politics for agricultural products and high rate of wages for industrial workers. These politics were the result of multi-party parliamentary regime sustaining the

representation of the masses of people in politics and had results high incomes for the peasant, as well.

Import-substitution model was very successful on the economic growth for a while. The average rate of the growth between 1963 and 1976 was 6.9% per year (Zürcher, 1993: 387). However, the excessive dependence of the domestic market on the import of spare parts and material from the foreign market, reinforcing the dependency to reserve of foreign money, were the weakest point of the import substitution model.

At the same time, this period was marked with an increase in the number of people who migrated to foreign countries, especially to Germany. “In 1962, 13 thousands, in 1970, 480 thousands Turkish workers came to Germany; by 1974 the total number had reached to 800 thousands of Turkish workers” (Zürcher, 1993: 394). 1960’s had witnessed not only the born of domestic industry but also the rise of workers movement.

The most effected part from this rapid socio- economic evolution within 10 years had been women. In spite of this fact, the most salient feature of the period in the transformation of both agricultural structures and also urban labour market, the women have not been taken into account, even in statistical measures. The invisibility of women’s labour is not a simple qualitative indicator problem; what we are referring to is the conceptual problem which affects the content of socio-economic transformations. For instance, it is not possible to grasp how surplus-labour, without losing its connections with the rural area becomes a part of the urban labour market, without exposing the place of women’s labour in agricultural production. Similarly, it is not possible to understand the patterns of proletarianisation and also how newcomers get rid of the duality of being industrial worker or unemployment, without knowing what constitutes the informal urban labour and housing market. Both these stipulation mean at the same time a woman history.

If the Turkish economy was written down from the viewpoint of the history of unequal division of labour by gender, it would be seen that the ‘invisibility of women’s labour’ was not a simple ideological illusion, but rather a material relation in which we could understand gender-class interaction. I hope that the social- realist films analysis at least proves how 'the invisibility' helped to sustain unequal division of labour by gender.

4.3. The Development of Turkish Cinema until Post-1970s: A Short Historical Review

There are three basic studies which are often used in the history of Turkish cinema namely Özön (1995), Scognamillo (1998a) and Özgüç (1988). Though all three were often criticised for their major thematic: First, there were no written history of Turkish cinema within the framework of the history of Turkish culture (see Kayalı, 1998). Second, the cinema historiography which exists in Turkey is generally written with the effect of social transformation in mind (see Özen, 2001). Third, understanding the cinema historiography of Özön, based on “a modernisation desire which aims to reach western standards” (Işığın, 2000:200), and therefore an evolutionary/progressive point of view (see also Işığın, 2004).

The criticisms in question played important roles in both acknowledging the tradition of cinema historiography in Turkey and changing the existing Turkish cinema perception. Although the problematic of cinema historiography writing albeit its importance, it is not the aim of this study. By keeping in mind that this study’s historical focus is based on the 1960s, the following historical periodisation adopted from Özön (1995) is intended to give descriptive information about Turkish cinema history. In other words, the periodisation in question represents an analytic frame of the problems related to historiography problematic.

Özön (1995) classifies Turkish cinema history mainly on the axis of the transformation of political governments. According to this, the “first period” incorporating 1914 and 1923 starts with the establishment of “Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi-Central Army Cinema Office”. For the first time films were being shot regularly in this period. Broadly speaking the main reason of these film productions is to meet the requirements of armed forces propaganda and to document the effects of the First World War.

The second period covers the years 1923-1939 which is called “Tiyatrocular Dönemi” by Özön. This period adopted this name because of the major figures which dominates Turkish cinema (especially Muhsin Ertuğrul) come from the theatre and also almost all the films shot in this period were a reproduction of theatre links. Therefore the style of the theatre reflects actively on the forms of the films. Because of these above mentioned characteristics, Özön (1995) claims that Muhsin Ertuğrul, who is the founder of Republican Turkish Theatre, has influenced the development Turkish cinema negatively. Furthermore, Özön thinks that this influence persevered for a long time in the Turkish cinema. Taking all these facts into consideration the theatre has been treated as a superior art form but on the contrary, the cinema was treated only medium of entertainment. The dominance of Muhsin Ertuğrul in the Turkish cinema is supported by İpek Film which was the major film distribution network in Turkey in this period.

The critiques of Özön about the dominance of the theatre on Turkish cinema are generally supported by the evaluations about the history of the Turkish cinema. According to these evaluations the theatrical aura of the films shot in the period of 1928-39 has affected negatively the development of cinema language in Turkey. The importance given to this effect shows itself strongly in Abisel’s (1994) following hypothesis. According to Abisel, if there had been different content and style experiments related to cinema language in this period, today’s Turkish cinema production would have been different. On the contrary, the general thoughts of this period of Turkish cinema which were under the

influence of the theatre is evaluated differently by Onaran (1999). According to Onaran (1999: 204) Muhsin Ertuğrul's theatre-like cinema cannot be considered as a "fault" but more likely "it must be considered as a style in cinema which is also experimented in Europe in that period".

The characteristics of Turkish cinema regarding the developments in the period of 1928-39 surely cannot be reduced to the dominant role of the theatre. Abisel (1994: 28) also mentions the lack of demand of the cinema and explains this situation by the internal structure of the cinema sector as well as the lack of support of the political governments to this sector. According to Abisel;

... With this market which is under the influence of foreign films – which we pointed that this market is restricted only by major cities in this period- and a single production company with no investment power and restricted man power of Turkish cinema, no other result could be expected (Abisel, 1994: 28).

Abisel (1994) points out that the political government of this period did not fully support the cinema industry. On the contrary, they supported other fields like the theatre, music and fine arts, both in education and production sense. The relation between the early republican period state politics with the cinema was restricted only to short films, and these short films were directly edited for ideological and political instruments of the state. These short films were meant to be used as propaganda films in internal and external political fields. Furthermore they dealt with the thematic studies like citizenship and public health, or displayed the beauty of nature and historical places of the country.

Although the third period of the Turkish cinema (1939-50) referred to as Transitional Period by Özön (1995) - pointing out as the preparation to the next stage-, it is in fact, the period where important events took place regarding the development of Turkish cinema. First of all, the contact with the European cinema market was broken because of the Second World War. This resulted in importing American films via Egypt which resulted in the distribution of

Egyptian films in the domestic market. However Özön (1995) mentions that the expected progress in Turkish cinema could not be achieved because of the Second World War, post-war period witnessed rapidly emerging new cinema distributors and cinema producers. It can be seen that this progress was so effective that it continued to the end of the “dominance of theatrical tradition” in the Turkish cinema. On the other hand Özön claims that there are still some traces of theatrical tradition, and he also underlines that Egyptian films affect the Turkish film industry and the progress of Turkish film language negatively. As a result of these two factors, the Turkish film industry can be evaluated just as a dubbing industry. On the contrary, Cantek (2000) claims that Egyptian films enlightened the domestic cinema, and for this reason, the influence of Egyptian films cannot be undervalued for the analysis of the Turkish cinema history.¹

The Transition period is followed by “The True Film Producers” period as referred by Özön (1995) which incorporate the period 1950-70. According to Özön, the first half of this period, in other words 1950-60 period, has got two important characteristics. First, in order to protect the domestic filmmakers, there had been a reduction on the “Belediye Eğlence Resmi” taxes in the favour of domestic films. Second, we see the rise of a new generation lead by Ömer Lütf Akad, were trying to build up their own particular cinema languages. Their contribution resulted in cutting ties from the theatre world. According to Özön, the dynamics which contributes significantly to the artistic development of Turkish cinema faced difficulties in economic and political life (economic corruptions, lack of democracy, uprising of conservatism). Contrary to previous

¹ For more detailed information about adventures of Egyptian films in Turkey see Cantek (2000). Cantek establishes a relation the interest in Egyptian films with Turkish music in the period of 1938-50. According to Cantek, prohibitions of Arabic words in film music in Egyptian films caused to make film music adaptations. This adaptation covered not only writing Turkish lyrics in place of Arabic words but it caused also making the film music totally in Turkish. Consequently Turkish adaptation of Egyptian film music met the demand of Turkish music because in that time according to modernisation politics Turkish/Ottoman classical music has been prohibited. Intensive interest in Egyptian films caused to adaptation of the content of the films gradually. Eventually Turkish films take over of Egyptian films in the film market. The interference and substitutive protective politics of the state with the implementation of infrastructural alterations which facilitates the development of domestic film industry played an important role. For more detailed information on the effects of Egyptian films in the same period see Evren (1999) and Ayça (1992).

periods of the Turkish cinema this period started to demonstrate socio-economic reflections on the movie screens. Therefore “The True Film Producers” period, in spite of remarkable developments, ends up with an increasing number of films which their point of reference in Özön’s own words was in “exploiting religious beliefs” because of the difficulties in economic and political life.

The 1960s are the years that Turkish cinema became quite popular. In this period, cinema spreads to the squatter settlements of major cities and the cities in the country, especially in the form of open air cinema. This is the period that Turkish cinema reached the masses and phrased as “Yeşilçam Sineması”. But Özön (1995) uses this phrase in broad and metaphorical sense, in order to refer to the deficiencies of the Turkish cinema – such as stereotyped characters like poor woman versus rich man, stereotyped narratives, melodramas, soap operas, complicated intrigues, unbelievable coincidences, bookish dialogues and so forth. Contrary to this approach which degrades Yeşilçam Sineması and demonstrates a familiar example of ordinary perception of Turkish cinema, Daldal (2005) evaluates Yeşilçam Sineması in terms of both Turkey’s social change and also Turkish cinema history:

Arising of Yeşilçam is quite harmonious with the dream of creation of “consumer community” of Democratic Party. Up to 70 % tax reduction of Municipalities, electrification of centres in the country, rapid increase of cinema halls turn cinema production business to a gold mine (Daldal, 2005: 65).²

According to Daldal (2005) the evolution of the Turkish cinema to an industry on the home front with the help of Yeşilçam, gave rise to a serious infrastructure to the social realist movement. This would reflect in the future with the energetic of the new cinema generation, and the development of cinema criticism and publications. Similarly, Ayça (1992) criticises the simplistic explanations which evaluates Yeşilçam cinema as a bad imitation of Hollywood cinema. According

² Halit Refiğ, in 1971 (see Refiğ, 1971), made a similar evaluation almost with the same terms about how Yeşilçam cinema laid to groundwork for social reality and then national cinema trends.

to Ayça in order to understand Turkish society, that is to say the socio-cultural hallmarks of Turkish spectators, Yeşilçam cinema should be viewed in a socio-cultural perspective.

According to Özön, firstly the “The True Film Producers” period, which dates between 1960 and 1965, is the period when both the questions “how should we tell?” and “What should we tell?” were answered. Thus for the first time in Turkish cinema history “social problems” were reflected on the movie screen. The second half of “True Film Producers” period, which dates from 1965 to 1970, according to Özön, is the period where all the known patterns of Yeşilçam cinema tried to be introduced again the name of ‘Halk sineması’ (People’s Cinema) and ‘Ulusal sinema’ (National cinema).

‘Public’ or ‘National’ cinema turned to “revolutionary cinema” arguments in the 1970s. This transformation happened as a result of young cinema producers’ generation like Yılmaz Güney, and some other young people who were involved in his productions. With periodisation of Özön (1995), this stage is called *New Cinema Period* (Genç – Yeni Sinema Dönemi) and ranges from 1970 to 1980. This period characterises the effort to produce films, apart from “Yeşilçam sineması” stereotypes. Özön emphasizes the effects of Turkish Cinema Archive, notably the film shows of Cinematheque Association, cinema magazines and increasing number of films, serials and documentaries on TV, on the growing generation of young directors. He also points to a distinctive characteristic of this period namely, the strong relation between cinema and literature. This underdevelopment and problems in rural area changed the focus in cinema production which dealt more with social and economic issues. Therefore the thematic of the films of this period were in general, immigration, proletarianization process, squatter settlements (gecekondular), unionisation of workers and migration abroad. With the uprising of the women’s movement after 1980, subjects like sexuality, patriarchy and emancipation of women were included to this thematic field.

In addition, the political diversity and complexity of the 70s also reflect on the cinema. Besides “revolutionary cinema”, the “Islamic (milli) cinema” movement was also featured. Second half of the 70s witnesses the pornographic films period known as 'sex furyası' in Turkish cinema history. Following this period, with the effect of the widespread access to television and the post military coupe in 1980, saw the start of a deep crisis period in the Turkish cinema.

With this short historical review, this study tried to constitute a general panorama about the history of Turkish cinema history for more than half an era. In order to understand the place of social realistic films, which form informative materials of this study of this era, one should look in detail to the production and reception conditions of films in the period of 1960-70.

4.4. The Rationale of Social Realist and National Cinema in the Structure of Cinema Industry

As we stated in the previous chapter, textual world of films, requires studying both socio-economic history of their own period and cinematic practice and language. For this reason, in order to understand a specified historical period, it may be more helpful to look at the films which were produced around a thought in place and analysing the films one by one. The directors of social realist films in Turkish cinema history tried to extend the limits and patterns of existing film production conditions. These films were reflecting a specified foresight about the social structure of Turkey. In other words, firstly, the entire industry or apparatus of the cinema, which is, the context and manner in which film texts are produced and consumed. Secondly the question “What should we tell?” of Özön (1995) which characterises the first half of 1960-70 period and called “True Film Producers Period”. That is to say that it is the transition from cinema language to thematic searching. This question was so important that it caused “cinema movements” in the Turkish cinema history in such a short period between 1960 and 1970.

4.4.1. The Predicament of Film's Production and Reception

Unfortunately we do not have any comparative- historical studies which can serve as a reference point to determine how we compare with other underdeveloped countries' experiences or for that matter how we differ in the process of the cinema industry. But, we can still point out to some peculiarities which make us understand the production conditions of social realistic films of the Turkish cinema industry, in relation with capital and state.

Director Halit Refiğ (see Appendix: B), who is one of the leading characters of social reality and national cinema movements, points out to the existing conditions that lacks capital accumulation-, such as the lack of state or industry support to the cinema in contrast to core capitalist countries - and explains the existing film production conditions as a result of an “enterprise system”, peculiar to Turkey. This system that will be discussed in detail later describes the film production conditions, especially the period 1960-70.

The 1960-70 period which is also called the “Golden Age” (see for instance Antrakt, 2003) in Turkish cinema history studies, has quantitative and qualitative distinctiveness that represents this qualification. If we look at the Turkish cinema quantitatively, there is no other period where so many films were produced, so many halls were opened and so spectators went to cinema as in these years. Table 1 clearly shows the increase in the number of produced films since 1960. The Turkish film industry is far beyond these figures now, and it is also striking even for the world film industry. For instance in 1961 Turkey ranked in the 8th place on domestic film production scale in the world (Özön, 1995)

Table 3. The Number of Turkish Films in the Period of 1960-70

Year	Number of Films
1960	78
1961	113
1962	131

Table 3 (Continued)

1963	128
1964	180
1965	213
1966	240
1967	208
1968	177
1969	230
1970	226

Source: Özgüç (1988).

This period in addition was the period of stars hegemony. Indeed stars were interfering in all the processes of the film production, sometimes they were treated as being more important than the director. The types of the films which were produced as “Yeşilçam cinema” are (Özgöç, 1998), saloon comedies, initiating with Nejat Saydam’s “Küçük Hanımefendi” film (1961); films with child heroes and heroines, like Ayşecik and Ömercik; adaptations from domestic and foreign cartoons: Killing, Baytekin, Fantoma, Mandrake, Tarkan, Karaoğlan, Malkoçoğlu, etc. (1967); and adaptation from fairy tales like Pamuk Prenses ve Yedi Cüceler (1970).

According to Abisel (1994) there were three important reasons that prevent directors or script writers to produce 'idea of film' in this period: First, the pressure of the local film distributors. Second the existing star system as they were determinant elements on the role they perform and setting up the narration. Third, censorship mechanisms that affect producers more than the directors and script writers as they were the ones who produce the films and scenarios that censorship committees will not object to. In other words the management system played a very importing role in the production processes of Yeşilçam cinema or 'popular Turkish cinema' films.

Turkey was divided into regions as far as film distribution and film screening in this period was concerned. This was not just a geographical division, but at the same, time reflected the 'taste' of these regions:

For example Samsun region has a tendency to the films with religious motives and films that shows sacrifice and belief samples. The demand of Adana region was the films with much fighting scenes in them. Appropriate scenes that meet the needs of the each region were being inserted almost with a mathematical method parallel with the ratio of the advance payment (Abisel, 1994:101).

Infrastructural work of cinema industry could not be realised because film producers were not used to have enough capital, moreover the money earned from the cinema was not spent on investment. To this effect, the economic problems of Turkey, as an underdeveloped country are seen in the cinema sector, and this situation made the cinema field a more risky business to invest in.

The above mentioned conditions resulted in the establishment of a cinema sector management and Anatolia was divided into a number of management regions. The “Advance payment” system saw a dependency on management. Consequently the managers who only had financial worries but no artistic apprehension became the fore runners of film production:

The managers come to Istanbul in spring season, visit the producers and settle the things down; they were playing an important role on how many and what kind of films will be made and deciding who is going to play in these films. (...) The main decisive effects of the managers were seen on the relation with small production companies. These companies which could make only a few films in a year were totally dependent on these managers’ demands in order to guarantee to sell their films. These companies were waiting spring. Because they were doing nothing about the preparations of the film without taking any advance payment. Consequently the players and the theme of the most films were determined on which region these films will be shown and from where the most advance payment was taken (Abisel, 1994: 100-01).

Producers were working with regional managers in two different ways. They were either turning over the management rights to the regional managers or they were marketing the films directly to the regional managers. In the first position the managers were taking 25% management commission and giving the rest of the revenue to the producer. The second situation was less risky because the

amount of the revenue was not important so the producer was not worried about how many people were going to watch the film (Şener, 1970:135).

The effects of the managers were not only on the producers as they were also an influential powerful factor on the owners of the cinema halls. For this reason the producers who produced films which differed from the managers' demands, were having difficulties to find cinema halls to show their films. Managers who are "undercover owners of the films" were threatening the cinema hall owners by not supplying them with films to show (Işığın, 1997).

Şener (1970) points out that there was no need of capital in order to make films, if we take into consideration how the system worked at this period. First directors were making a contract with two stars and then they were getting in touch with the managers. The managers always had a tendency to give advance payment because the money they were going to pay for a completed film would always be much higher. Furthermore, the managers were making such advance payment by bonds not cash money. The producers then change these bonds in a bank in order to get cash money to make the film. While shooting the film, if they were short of money they had to take some more advance payments from different regions, in order to complete the film. According to Şener (1970:138) the films made under these conditions were based on a principal which stipulated that. The film is sold to 5 regions and the particular film in question will be produced by this money. The profit the producer receives comes from one or two other regions.

Akerson (1966) indicates the cinema of an underdeveloped country does not evolve. He adds that this underdevelopment reflects on industrial and artistic dimensions of the cinema. In this respect Turkish cinema spectators had to watch such films under the control of some commercial rules. One of the rules was "block booking" which was applied to foreign films; the second rule was "blind booking" which was applied to domestic films. According to this second rule the spectators watched the films that were produced by taking advance payment and

this payment was paid only by looking at the artists and the script before the production of the film had started.

Akerson (1966) thinks that one of the factors that so many films have been produced in this period is application of the style of amortisement. The producers were making a few more films hastily at the end of the fiscal year in order not to pay the taxes on the income that amounted to more than the expenditure of a film. With such an infrastructure which resulted in commercial considerations at the expense of artistic considerations, the produced Turkish films were evaluated as being insufficient for the foreign markets. Akerson (1966: 28) proposed some measures in order to change this situation, and to protect the cinema from television. He recommended, tough political interventions “to determine a quality level that will protect good film against bad film and to bring a quality censorship that prohibit showing the films (domestic and foreign) which degenerate cinema art”, and some economical solutions, such as “to nationalise the cinema management and let the state set up studios and film laboratories”.

4.4.2. Turkish Cinema Movements and the Environment of Social Thought in the 1960s-70s

The period between 1960- 70, has been the most intense and massive period on the debates and works which focused on the question of “How would Turkish cinema be?” Almost all the basic trends in Turkish cinema today, such as realist cinema, people’s cinema, national cinema, revolutionary cinema/new cinema and Islamic cinema, have emerged either in this period or their basics goes back to this period (Scognamillo, 1998). Turkish cinema along with the directors and critics have never found themselves in such rich, extensive and widespread debate climate, and also have never got involved in social life as much as this period. For this reason, it is not possible to understand the films of this period without considering the environment of social thought of the 60s.

The 60s were the years where social and political movements spread all over the country. Not only the cinema but Turkey itself was looking for an answer to 'where society is going to'. Especially in terms of social realist and national films, the most striking characteristic of the existing discussion agenda was the new content of the westernisation critiques.

The 1960s again was the period which had questioned the ideal of westernisation with its economic-political content, having been invigorating again by the DP government. The ideal which was believed to be "an innocent affectation" was rapidly replaced with the argument of "a conscious politics which serves to the benefits of the ruling class" intention (Tunçay, 1983). Indeed, Turkey in the 60s, like other underdeveloped countries, was searching for constructing different political projects in new problematic areas like 'development', 'independence', 'progress', 'land reform' and 'third world' (Aydınöglu, 1992).

At the same time this political search relied on an intensive opposition movement which comprised both the organised labour class movement and the intellectuals on the largest scale. The first tendency is represented by the Turkish Labour Party (Türkiye İşçi Partisi – TİP) which was established by trade unionists at the beginning of 1961. TİP which was an agent of the efforts of the politisation of the labour class shortly reached to the masses and became the focal point of socialist opposition. TİP brought the subjects of independence, industrialisation, foreign capital, land reform and social justice, into the Turkey's political agenda.

10 months after the establishment of TİP, second tendency represents the publication of the journal YÖN which published its first issue with the manifest "Aydınların Ortak Bildirgesi-Common Declaration of Intellectuals". This manifestation was an important step in "showing the basic ideological tendencies of Turkish intelligentsia", with more than thousands signatures, among them the cinema writer/critique Nijat Özön, and one of the most famous directors of social realists and national cinema movement Halit Refiğ (Kayalı, 2004). This has

created historical effect which would determine both the Turkish left and the political environment of the country.

The journal of YÖN in its first issues, exhibits future characteristics in respect of its political tradition which in those days dealt with some topics which were to be discussed by the Turkish left agenda after 1980 (Aydinoğlu, 1992). Although these characteristics were lost, YÖN, according to Aydinoğlu (1992) was the first 'leftist journal' as it too leads in discussing the Kurdish problem and women's issue. YÖN's important historical function is connected with its pivotal role in taking shape of the ideological-political tendencies of Turkey in the approaching 20 years.

According to Aydinoğlu (1992), the YÖN movement represents the "radicalism of small bourgeoisie" that is 'specific' to Turkey of 1960's; an inheritance which makes it a 'meeting' place for authoritarian, reformist and Marxist tendencies. That is to say, a model of Kemalism which is the "only succeeded revolutionist" form in the modern history of Turkey. Kemalism is the idea of Kemal Atatürk who is the founder of the Turkish Republic incorporating the following six principles; secularism, etatism, nationalism, reformism, republicanism and populism. It might be the first movement in the world that aimed the transformation of civilisation with the state wills (Gole, 1990: 66). That is why, the YÖN movement tended largely to the aspiration of grand social transformations with streak of elitism, believing that the reformism of the state will by being away from the facts of state and class.

The definition of socialism, including the principles of Kemalism affected significantly the ideals of the intellectuals of that time. Social, economic and political context of that time might have necessitated this kind of interaction in the eyes of intellectuals, who also believe in the Republic and Kemalism. As Halit Refiğ points below:

YÖN was in the outermost limit of socialism considering the conditions of that time. As a matter of fact the thing, which harmonise the socialism and Kemalism, was the socialist thought which does not deny Atatürk (Türk, 2001: 128).

Following the above idea of socialism, the political programme of YÖN was based on these basic principles; non-capitalist path of etatist development, anti-imperialist stance in foreign policy, an opposition to foreign capital, reforms in social justice, a fair income distribution, and radical land reform. This political programme describes TİP in the same way as YÖN, would be in a very basic differentiation to the question of which historical phase Turkey is in the 60s. The fundamental arguments of the debate revolved around the questions of class structure of Turkish society. Thus the political axis of grand transformations – namely, is Turkey a semi-colonial country which necessitates a vast class alliance like worker-peasant-national bourgeoisie or is it a dependent capitalist country which requires directly a socialist revolution? The former accepts capitalism substantially, in terms of international exploitation relations, in such a way that it puts the emphasis on Turkey being a country with Asian features, having dependent economy and feudal features. The latter mostly focuses on labour- capital relations on domestic level, and puts the weight on a socialist transformation project by means of a working class party.

Not only did the intellectual environment and political activity of the period, but also the above-mentioned arguments themselves hold a distinctive place both in the formation of social realist and national cinema currents, and in the content of the films these currents were produced.

Primarily, in this period, where the largest section of the intellectuals tended to embrace radical politics, the chief directors and the writers of Turkish cinema had become a direct participant in this argumentative environment. Firstly, the question of what Turkish cinema should tell, had been discussed with reference to a social transformation perspectives. The second, even if it was debatable, what the term ‘national’ meant (Belge, 1983), anti- imperialist accent encouraged

the search of giving national character to the culture. The third, the intellectuals unlike from previous periods “had chance to see the masses as subjects” during this period (Aydınöglu, 1992: 54).

In an atmosphere where political activity spread all over society, the target of changing and transforming the world, inevitably had to take lower classes into consideration as a historical subject. This phenomenal reality was underlined in the cinematic search of the period between 1960- 1970. Accordingly, it was not a coincidence that the debate schedule started with the questions of ‘for who do we make cinema?’ and ‘what do we make cinema for?’

The most salient debate in the area of the cinema took place between the directors who belongs to the Turkish Film Archive and those critics/writers belonging to The Cinematheque Association³. On the one hand, directors such as Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ, Lütfi Akad while continuing to produce realist cinema productions within Yeşilçam framework, still joined in the debates of cinematheque group. The Cinematheque group ignored the patterns of realist cinema despite all its differences from Yeşilçam cinema.

Consequently, one needs to take into consideration the debates of the first period which was shaped around the duality of Turkish cinema/Western cinema. This in itself would grasp the intellectual journey of the realist cinema trend. As a matter of fact, this duality, which was structured in the beginnings of 1960’s and 1965 onwards, write into the opposition of national cinema vs. Young/New/Revolutionary Cinema.

³ For the details of this debate see Özön (1995); moreover see Scognamillo (1997) (1998b) and (1998c). For how these debates are perceived and interpreted by both the young generation and the ones who took part in it in those days today, see the “Türk Sinemasında Yol Ayrımı” interrogation file in Antrakt: Cinema Journal (2003). It is seen that in spite of these past years there is nothing much changed in basic arguments of the both sides.

4.4.2.1. “Cinematheque Group Are Traitors” Versus “Directors Are Not Intellectuals”

According to these ‘Cinema’ group, including Halit Refiğ, cinema in Turkey is to be produced not for westernised intellectuals, or critiques/writers, but for the people which constitute the majority of population. So, if the public issues are worked up in a simple way, an adverse position towards Yeşilçam Cinema can be realised (Şener, 1970). Refiğ thinks that cinema critiques and writers in Turkey are affected by Western culture, and their aesthetic views are shaped by Western values, which changes their way of looking at Turkish cinema. Hence, Refiğ asserts that those critiques and writers who are not aware of Turkish social structures and art traditions, and who are foreign to their own societies, cannot make appropriate evaluations.

Metin Erksan emphasises that “audience is conditioned in three ways”, in the analysis of “National Turkish Cinema and Solutions” organised by Ant Journal.

The audience poisoned by the agents of cultural imperialism (majority of these agents are found in cinema critiques and writers. Some student organizations can also be considered as home of traitor agents); foreign films; some cinema writers who takes tribute from many players and sublimate this players and films made by this players (cited in Kaya Mutlu, 2001: 211).

Erksan’s emphasis not only gives information about cinema critics and writers of that period, but also, reflects the tension between critiques/writers and the directors. Those critics/writers who called themselves intellectuals assert that one needs to make some regulations so that Turkish cinema, which has been under the domination of commercial cinema, would acquire universal qualifications and reach the required level.

Movie-makers advocated that making films in terms of commercial rules is much more appropriate. Some movie-makers following Halit Refiğ produced new theories. Its name was first “people’s cinema” later turned into “national cinema”. What they want to say briefly is

that it is important to make the films which people like. We could not make such films. So, we made mistakes. As a matter of fact we should make films that people enjoy (Kutlar, 1985).

The film critiques/writers tried to institutionalised 'Young Movie- Makers' movement as a 'new cinema approach' by establishing groups such as 'The Witness Cinema Group', 'Hisar Short Film Contest', 'Turkish Cinemateque Association' in contrast to existing Turkish cinema in the 60s. Particularly, Turkish Cinemateque Association used to have a crucial role among the film critiques/writers (Şener, 1970). The place of Turkish Cinemateque Association that was founded in the 1965 was very important within the institutionalizations efforts. Turkish Cinemateque Association aimed to develop cinema culture in Turkey by showing classical films (Kayalı, 1994).

This association was an important step for critiques/writers towards universal cinema. Kutlar (1985) defined Turkish cinema as an institution, which brings together “a group of people who lives in Turkey and wants to know about world cinema”. This definition also shows that as a result of existing cliques Turkish film directors have almost no interest in world cinema.

Broadly speaking, the cinema conception of the Young Movie-Producers is based on the ignorance of all the things related to Turkish cinema. Turkish cinema especially Yeşilçam Cinema was seen as “a slew needs to be drained” (Scognomillo, 1997). The Young Movie-Producers movement define themselves by the stucked opinion of Kutlar (1968/reprinted 1998).

It is a cinema showing the reality of country to throw fresh light on people who live this reality, based on documents, activator, informational, going hand in hand with political action, making deep analysis, being more efficient with authentic styles (Kutlar, 1968/reprinted 1998)

In contrast to Young Movie-Producers, Halit Refiğ (1971: 89-90) was in favour to discuss Yeşilçam Cinema compared to the One Party Rule. Accordingly, there

was Muhsin Ertuğrul as a “one man” in the cinema during the One Party period. In the Democrat Party period, in parallel with the shift of power from the centre to the periphery, Yeşilçam Cinema also unfolded in Anatolia. Thus, Yeşilçam Cinema could be taken as a progressive and positive step in cinema history, since in this particular way, according to Refiğ, Yeşilçam Cinema paved the way for the development of people’s cinema and national cinema.

These debates on national identity were the most salient particularity of 1960’s. While the critics/writers group asserted that national identity is only possible to move from 'Yeşilçam’s exploitation system' to independent 'innovative cinema'; the other movie-makers group claimed that cinema is an industry based on audience, for this reason it needs to reach to the people and they want to realize this within Yeşilçam (Erdoğan, 1995).

In 1966, what happened in a panel in Turkish Cinemateque Association, made the connection lost almost completely between the critics/writers group and movie-makers⁴ (Şener, 1970: 98). Whereas, as Kayalı (1994) mentioned, the strict polarization coming from the above-mentioned dispute was reinforced by political ideas belonging to Turkey’s social structure and cultural features other than the directors or film itself. Consequently, the differentiations of 'national', 'revolutionary', 'İslamist' in cinema debates, as Kayalı mentions, is related to worldviews which go beyond the cinema. In fact, within the debates of that period, it is not possible to find any polemics in which film names were mentioned, let alone meaningful criticisms of each film.

4.4.2.2. Social Realist Cinema

⁴ This factionalism tradition which stated with this debate still carries on today. In social reality and national cinema debate, the ones who are in favour of the moviemaker group were gathered in Mimam Sinan Fine Arts University, Cinema TV Centre who took over the tradition of Türk Film Arşivi (Turkish Film Archive) and the writers and critics who are in favour of Cinemateque group were gathered in Istanbul Film Festival which is organised by Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts.

Social realism in cinema aims to edge towards concrete problems of daily life and uncover 'ordinary' looking phenomena which are dependent on a broad social context. Zavattini who defines this as “escape from fairy tale” suggests that:

The raw material that you embroider, search your own circle, while taking simple situation in which people exist, search which element they are composed of; away from professional actor, since being a person in somebody else’s model means incline towards an accounted issue; and escape from technical ornaments which could constitute an obstacle between you and reality. (Zavattini, cited in Onaran, 1999: 131, 132)

Whereas social realist trend was understood to be a direct political tool in Turkey, Uçakan’s pursue further engagement:

Both in art and in politics in order to participate the struggle to save Turkey from underdevelopment: one needs to incline social problems; the problems of those oppressed labourers whose rights usurped, the consequences of urbanisation and industrialisation must examine and the ways of solution must be found (Uçakan, 1977: 26).

The social realist trend saw its first illustration with Metin Erksan’s film *Gecelerin Ötesi* (Beyond the Nights) which was shot in 1959 and was released in 1960. He also produced a lot of movies. The most influential films of this trend are: *Yılanların Öcü* (The revenge of the Snakes), *Acı Hayat* (Bitter Life), *Kırık Çanaklar* (Broken Dishes), *Susuz Yaz* (The Arid Summer), *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds in Exile), *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (Those Who Awake at Dawn) and *Suçlular Aramızda* (The Guilty Among Us) (see Appendix: A for other films and details).

If we follow Halit Refiğ’s determination, the duration of the social realist trend in Turkish Cinema History is limited to 5 years. For some reasons that will be mentioned below, Halit Refiğ thinks that social realist trend came to an end in 1965.

Refiğ (1971) explains the emergence and collapse of social realist cinema approach in terms of the transformation of the governments. Accordingly, the social realist approach started in 27th of May 1960 when the military came into power, both ended in 10th October 1965 when Justice Party won the elections. What lies behind this connection Refiğ established between social realist trend and the transformation of the political governments in that the evaluation of generally Westernised movements as lack of social environment in Turkey. Henceforth, the social realist trend was impressed by both Italian neo-realism, in which the idea of “personal expression” of directors firstly appears and American realist cinema. Moreover 27th May 1960 coup can be considered as a part of a movement which was realised and supported by the intellectuals. In other words, if there had been a mass support, the Justice Party would not have won the elections, and social realist films would have been followed more people and earned more takings at the box office.

Refiğ being a controversial figure observes that social realist trend, which he defines as the “first serious leftist movement”, was neither understood by the people, nor the critics and writers who defined themselves as leftist and criticised the social realist trend seriously (Refiğ, 1971: 35). In the same book, Refiğ asserts that the failure of the social realist trend cannot be associated with the personal failure of the directors. The significant reason is that the historical conditions of Turkey, in many ways do not determine a bourgeoisie class, therefore, Western style bourgeoisie films are destined to fail. (Refiğ, 1971: 41, 51)

Refiğ’s observation in the cinema context which is an institution can be fully explained as follows. Firstly, there are different mechanisms of the cinema industry in Turkey and in Western societies. The conditions of making art film in Western societies have been much more relevant. These films are made with a small budget and there are certain cinema halls reserved for them. On the contrary, the directors cannot be protected and supported by the state in Turkey, both in film producing and showing times. This explanation is based on the

assumption that the cinema is thought to be an institution, in such a way that, the problems come from the absence of cultural politics of the state. Here, the problematic view is linked with the indifference of the people, or the failure of the films. This accounted by the number of viewers or box office receipts in comparison with Yeşilçam Cinema (Refiğ, 1971: 34) and apart from Otobüs Yolcuları (Bus Passengers), Acı Hayat (Bitter Life) and Gurbet Kuşları (Birds in Exile), could not be successful.

As an active member of social realist cinema trend, Refiğ defines the period of Turkish Cinema until 1960's as a period under the effect of Western thought and cinema trends. Since the other directors and scriptwriters, including him, were influenced by Western sources and grown up with Western culture. This has brought the alienation from the society and at the same time becoming a stranger to the problems of society. For Refiğ, the historical process that resulted in the awareness of the situation, and subsequent 'awakening', started with the question of the failure of social realist films.

4.4.2.3. People's Cinema

For Refiğ (1971: 51), what determines the position of movie-producers, be it the other individuals in society, is the cultural and economic structure, art and technological level of society itself. Consequently, Western and Turkish societies, whose historical developments and civil service structures are different from each other, so the art and aesthetic developments are expected to be different too.

In this context, Refiğ, who compares Western and Turkish societies, asserts that the individualist world view seen in Western Europe societies is a particular feature to the bourgeoisie whereas in Turkey, a collective world view has been dominant based on “nomadic Turkish traditions, Islamist Law, and Ottoman State system” (Refiğ, 1971: 52). Moreover, Refiğ argues that Western bourgeoisie has national characteristics. On the contrary, there has been no real

bourgeoisie class in Turkey as there was only a small critics/writers group who imitated the bourgeoisie. This group prefers films produced in the West instead of the films by Turkish directors who try to realise bourgeoisie art. This constitutes the class basis of the failure of social realist trend as an intellectual bourgeoisie movement (Refiğ, 1971: 53).

Refiğ argues that it is not possible to talk about an exploitation system based on capital since the film producing conditions is determined by the labour. The capital is obtained indirectly, through the ticket takings and if people give up going to the cinema, very few films can be shot. This constitutes one of the signs of why Turkish cinema is treated as people's cinema. As a matter of fact, since populist film trials projected Western Populist patterns, Turkish people ignored them. Yet, populism based on historical features of Turkish society, will be helpful both to create authentic films and also "give a chance to build a bridge between intellectual Turkish movie-makers and the people" (Refiğ, 1971: 88).

Metin Erksan (1989: 142) also asserted similar approaches to Refiğ with the following statement:

From the beginning till today, official institutions such as the state and the municipality, state banks, private banks, big private institutions, universities, intellectuals, have not been beneficial, have not interested in Turkish cinema; on the contrary they have been harmful to Turkish cinema besides they have despised Turkish cinema (Erksan, 1989: 142).

Metin Erksan also underlines that in parallel to Refiğ, since Turkish people make cinema call into being by watching the films, Turkish cinema can be considered as people's cinema. In addition, the language of the films, being Turkish, has been effective to render Turkish cinema as People's cinema. Turkish is not an international language and for this reason, Turkish films are mostly watched and understood by Turkish people.

In addition Erksan highlights that production conditions emphasizes the context. As Vardar (2005) points out, Refiğ mainly defines people's cinema through the film making processes. People's cinema remained as contextual formula so there are not any people's cinema film samples. In other words, people's cinema played an influential role in the transition from social realist cinema to national cinema trends.

4.4.2.4. National Cinema

Turkish cinema history meets the concept of 'national cinema' after the second half of 1960's. As the most important voice of the concept, Halit Refiğ, starting from the years 1966-67 began to represent his own cinema perception with a 'national cinema' concept. Refiğ (1996: 184) underpins that theoretically his biggest source is Kemal Tahir's thoughts and novels. Furthermore, he expresses that he was affected from Tahir's basic idea that "Turkish society is quite different from Western societies, even most of the time Turkish society has got opposite development lines".

Refiğ defines 'national cinema' as a cinema form whose theories were projected by Metin Erksan and himself and also the Turkish Film Archive. "National Cinema" was born as a reaction to the admiration of "social realist cinema" and "Western cinema". However, the continuity of the existence of national cinema depends on the support of the people as much as the support of the state, not forgetting cultural policies. Since there is no support of the state in Turkey 'National Cinema' has become limited to several films such as 'Four Women in Harem' (Haremde Dört Kadın), 'Time to Love' (Sevmek Zamanı), 'I Love a Turk' (Bir Turk'e Gönül Verdim) (Refiğ, 1971: 92).

Refiğ (1971: 97) points out that Western Cinema is nurtured by other products of its own culture like the theatre, plastic arts and literature. "The individuality" which exists in all these areas comes from private property. On the other hand, there no importance is given to the individual in traditional and Turkish plastic

arts, in such a way that Turkish films only become national when they reflect “description of representative types from society and public conscience”. Moreover, for Refiğ (1971: 88), Turkish cinema is related to Turkish folk arts such as Anatolian folk pictures, Turkish folk stories, meddah (Public storyteller), ortaoyunu (a theatrical genre once popular in Turkey) and Karagöz (Turkish shadow play). For this reason, Refiğ emphasises that if you ignore Turkish cinema you also ignore Turkish folk arts. He (1996: 185) asserts that the most important factor to bring to an end the national cinema view is to burn the film 'Tired Warrior' (Yorgun Savaşçı)

The views of the film directors, cinema writers and managers of two prominent cinema institutions of that period take place in a scrutiny on national cinema made by Ant Journal in 1968.

These film directors who take part in social realist trend, such as Duygu Sağıroğlu, Lütfi Akad, Atif Yılmaz and Metin Erksan elucidate national cinema by emphasising national culture. According to Sağıroğlu (see Scognomillo, 1998), Turkey has got its own resources in the development of national cinema and universal values. On the other hand the western or eastern aesthetic way of thinking does not suit to Turkey. Therefore the only way to reach a universal level is to develop on the basis of nationalist values.

Akad (see Scognomillo, 1998) defines national cinema as based on the realities of the people, for the people and by the language of the people. Yılmaz (see Scognomillo 1998) indicates that within the existing production conditions – absence of the support of the state and private capital- the films, which reflect historical and social characteristics and cultural aggregation, constitute national Turkish cinema. Erksan (1968, cited in Scognomillo 1998) argues that;

All the thought products of the thousand years are the basis and substructure of national Turkish cinema. Since thousand years every product, which Turks are created, developed and stamped its

originality, continues in national Turkish cinema, in conscience, in subconscious, or in a mode of believers (cited in Scognomillo 1998).

On the other hand, when cinema writers evaluate the issue within the same perspective, generally, they criticize the existing cinema structure and the way it works. In doing so, they follow 'universal' as a point reference.

Kutlar (see Scognomillo, 1998: 56) emphasises that in today's conditions, existing national cinema in Turkey can be considered as insufficient in economical and aesthetic points of view, whereas it would prove its being national when it reaches to the level of universality with its own authenticity and revolutionary perception.

Özön (see Scognomillo 1998) looks at the issue from a different perspective than that of Özön. The main duty of the film director is to reflect the way of living, the realities and the problems of society. According to Özön, the film director must not be engaging in developing a film theory or having theoretical debates.

Dorsay (see Scognomillo 1998) states that the point of departure of national cinema is the history and social and cultural structure of society; the presence of national cinema is still controversial in Turkey.

Turkish Film Archive director Sami Şekeroğlu (see Scognomillo 1998), whose views are close to movie-makers, accentuates that national Turkish cinema is shaped by Turkish thought, both in context and form which aims to solve the problems of society based on their own culture.

The manager of New Cinema Journal, which is a publication of Turkish Cinematheque Association, Hüseyin Baş (see Scognomillo, 1998) defines national cinema as a trend that looks after its own past and aims to reach high levels of civilisation; in favour of people and is responsible to make labourers conscience of their rights.

Sezer Tansuğ who is the representative of Young/New Cinema approaches the issue differently than the others, and declares that this issue is not necessarily a political one. National cinema can be defined within an art conception, style and form. Also, these points must be taken into consideration while evaluating Turkish films (see Scognomillo, 1998).

Contrary to Tansuğ, Üstün Barışta (see Scognomillo, 1998), one of the young movie-makers, also argues that the concept 'national Turkish cinema' is indeed a political concept. But it does not mean that this movement would be a political; conversely it means that it makes a film, which would be based on the understanding of 'political cinema'.

On the other hand, Artun Yeres (see Scognomillo, 1998b) asserts that in fact, Young Cinema approach aims to produce films, which reflects honestly the problems, realities and traditions of society in Turkey, whereas the films produced so far are mostly Western imitations.

Vardar (2005) specifies that what stands behind the idea of cinema is the disharmony of westernisation phenomena in the social structure. In fact, national cinema has as its target "the criticisms and the art comprehension of the intellectual who alienate her society". This phenomena itself displays saliently in Halit Refiğ's films (see especially *Şehirdeki Yabancı* (Stranger in The City)).

The idea of national cinema has been formed in the thoughts of Kemal Tahir, Sencer Divitçioğlu and Selahattin Hilav (Refiğ, 1971; Kayalı, 1994; Şener, 1970; Yaylagül, 2004). Accordingly, in Ottoman society, private ownership did not develop and there was private ownership only of the land. For this reason, Turkish society used to have different development lines when compared with Western societies. This different development levels resulted in such a way that it is not possible to reach Turkish society by Western forms. Since there is no developed class structure in the Western sense, a Western way class struggle cannot be contemplated in Turkey.

This thought that was shaped in the second half of the 1960's, has been criticised by those who establish its intellectual foundations. Kemal Tahir one of these critics, in an interview with National Cinema Journal makes weaker and hopeful criticism compared to the others:

The reason why prominent moviemakers share our historical features and the idea of searching right is because cinema considered being a people art without medium. For this reason the actual figures of our cinema would see this reality before the ones who work in the other art branches. They would search and develop their way in this direction and they would give great art pieces (Kemal Tahir, 1968, cited in Daldal, 2005: 123- 124).

After the 1965 anti-imperialist stand, which shaped the idea of national cinema, culturally it turned anti-West. Selahattin Hilav criticises the denial of Marxism and its historical materialism approaches, just because they are the product of the West and also, evaluated these thoughts as 'Westernization' or 'cultural imperialism':

One must not make mistake by treating capitalism and imperialism same and unique with Marxist idea based on the negation of the first ones. Today intellectual and scientific means, which provide us resist to the West, are also product of the West. It is a duty today from socialist perspective to use these opportunities in the hands of general human race against the West (capitalism) (Selahattin Hilav, 1968 cited in Daldal, 2005: 124).

Sencer Divitçioğlu declares that Marx and Engels wrote the book that examines the concept of Asian mode of production and Ottoman social structure in the 14th and 15th Centuries 'Asian Mode of Production and Ottoman Society', not to analyse the issue, but to ask a question. So, take out to establish a relation between Asian mode of production and Turkish cinema:

In my opinion, the only thing we can do as social scientists and they as artists is to turn ourselves, and search it. This can be possible only by throwing new questions and answering them... We are not in a position to reject anything in advance. Considering national artists

being in a condition of avant-garde, especially in such a communication and transportation age, and also seeing the national borders are getting larger for art, one would realise that above-mentioned argument is not wrong...(Divitçioğlu, 1968, cited in Daldal, 2005: 124, 125)

As a matter of fact these criticisms cannot be regarded as free from the political thought of the period, and also, from 'Yön movement' stance that directors are affected seriously.

4.5. Conclusion

Among the moviemakers group the most written material was produced by Halit Refiğ. For this reason, along with his other works which explain the state of affairs at the time, his writing has become a primary source. However, what Halit Refiğ has written down seems problematic from the point of view of social realist cinema, people's cinema and national cinema approaches. This also reverberates to the other works. This problem not only appeared at conceptual level, but also caused a complexity to determine which films are the samples of social realist, people's and national cinema. In my opinion, what Halit Refiğ wants to say can be summarized as follows: When social realist cinema films started to be produced, the moviemakers of the period dealt with social problems contrary to Yeşilçam popular cinema. Cinema is also considered to be an industry as much as it is an art field. When the film audience does not deliver the expected interest, the answer to the question of "where did we make mistake?" is explored in People's Cinema. Passing from the phase of "people's cinema" to "national cinema" it is conceived that the interest of the audience would not be enough either. Therefore, what is needed is to have the state support and national cultural politics. At this very stage, cinema had been undertaken not only by the films produced, but also associated with concrete cultural politics and audience.

According to Daldal (2005: 125) there are two reasons why 'national cinema' movement appeared and was legitimised after 1965: Firstly, after 1965, as a

result of political and economical difficulties, the directors' wish of their intellectual identities was to be realised in the cinema industry. Secondly, due to the conflicts they had with leftist critics and Cinematheque group, the shift of the directors witnessed a trend "towards right". In Daldal's view this determination, particularly the second one, seems quite problematic. According to this determination, Metin Erksan and Halit Refiğ, who have had no relation with the right, after 1965, shifted towards the right. Their films *Haremde Dört Kadın* (Four Women in Harem), *Time to Love* (*Sevmek Zamanı*), *Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim* (I Falled in Love with a Turk) have been recorded as rightist films in cinema history. However, this evaluation seems to be made only by with a current way of looking. Among these films, only *Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim* can be included taken in this category because of its religious motives. Halit Refiğ expresses that religious motives are generally considered to be a part of culture and he also adds that he had reflected them in this way in his films (see Appendix B).

The interpretation for his first determination is that the situation must be evaluated not as a 'desire' but as a necessity in existing conditions. When we look at the situation from the viewpoint of the moviemakers of the period, what we can say at first sight is that, they tried to produce films running counter to existing cinema views which could get any support from neither the state nor the cinema writers/critics. Furthermore, they had to deal with censorship. The filmmaking circumstances were also devoid of audience support, as most important income source and also sole indicator of the success. From the framework of their conception almost eliminates filmmaking circumstances at all. A point to be remembered is that, today, films, which, ingrain Turkish cinema history are, also these films.

CHAPTER 5

UNDERSTANDING PATRIARCHY VIA CINEMA: A FEMINIST ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The aim of analysis in this study is primarily the concept of patriarchy. As pointed out in Chapter 2, patriarchy is considered as a material social structure and practice. The argument that patriarchy resides in a particular social and historical context refers to the understanding of gender as a hierarchical social division rather than a cultural distinction (Jackson, 2001). Given the dominancy of the cultural and psychoanalytical comprehension in feminist film studies, the emphasis of 'material existence' only intends to recall sociological insights concerning the comprehension of patriarchy and gender.

Stemming from this attitude, in this chapter, I will attempt to discuss patriarchal structures and practices via social realist and national cinema films. At the level of social interaction and practice, I limited wider context of gendered material existence in the context of selected films with the social construction of masculinity that plays "a primary role in ascribing meaning to relations of power" (Ramazanoğlu, 2002). The films in the first section will be analysed in terms of the patterns and crises of manhood identity. Then, I will focus on the material inequalities between classes in terms of their sex-blind perspectives. The subject of the second section is concerned with this topic. The question how gendered hierarchy is sustained through division of labour, notably the relations of household and the idea of will be the last field of inquiry.

5.2. Patterns of Masculinity and Crisis of Patriarchal Structures

Until recently, gender studies have largely been based on the scrutiny of women and femininity, even though gender has been conceived as a hierarchal construction of femininity and masculinity including "the assumed normality of specific forms of social and sexual relations between women and men" (Jackson, 2001: 289). Similarly, cinema studies appear to reveal women's stereotypes in screen. However, as Kandiyoti (1997: 171) argues, it is necessary to "consider the institutions that are primarily responsible for exclusion or marginalization of the women but responsible from production of manhood identity and manhood values". On this account each one of these institutions and relations refer to the gendered order in which manhood is defined, reinforced and limited (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). This section will analyze the gendered practices of manhood in the textual restriction of the selected films. First our focus will on one of the 'private lives' of men that is localised in the public sphere, namely, neighbourhood friendship, in the case of *Gecelerin Ötesi*. Secondly we will consider the masculinity of work, as in *Hızla Yaşayanlar* and lastly we will consider sexual violence in the case of *Kuyu*.

5.2.1. *Gecelerin Ötesi*: Manhood As Neighborhood Friendship

Symbolically manhood friendship "is expressed as discussions with content like moral intentions, political views and standards of judgement done among with the same sex" (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004: 39). *Gecelerin Ötesi* (see Appendix: A) can be seen as a typical neighbourhood friendship film in both ways.

The film criticizes the socio-economic policies that are popularized by 'creation of one millionaire in each district' of the Democrat Party government (Kayalı, 1994: 91). This is maintained through 'saving' efforts of seven friends' lives or ideas who grown up in an old and poor district of Istanbul. The only solution they are offered with is robbery. When film credits were showered on the film release the following words capture its content and arguments: "This film is

about seven young men. This is a true story. When a millionaire appeared in every district, also such young people appeared in these districts.”

Although the seven male characters of the film have different life styles and expectations, this never reflects on the “shared world” of “manhood friendship” (Kandiyoti, 1997). They owe their friendship not to their common class root but to being all men. Feminine characters are like categories that are “left behind” of this world which “never shared” with them (Kandiyoti, 1997: 77).

Fehmi (Kadir Savun) is a truck driver who carries goods across the country. He lives with her sister Sema (Mahmure Handan) and he dedicated his whole life for her possible future marriage. This devotion seems to be a phase that Fehmi has to succeeding in his life. While he was chatting with his friend Ekrem in a Turkish bath he says, “If Sema was not around I would leave here”. Fehmi raised his sister alone because he lost his parents and he wants to do his 'last duty' for her. He says to his sister’s fiancé, “Life has wasted me anyway; you at least have a decent life.”¹ He is also the big brother, not only he is the eldest of all but also feels responsible for his sister as much as the friends group in the district.

Ekrem (Erol Taş) works in a thread factory. He lives with his mother, brother and sister and he is solely responsible from the maintenance of his family. The whole weariness and anger of working as a breadwinner since he was seven years old is clearly captured in these two scenes. First, when a social security inspector comes to the factory and during the inspection notices a child worker who tries to hide from him. Ekrem sees his own past and also his future from the child’s fear and effort to save him from this situation: everything is still the same. The factory scene ignores of any existence of the relation that is formed with the other workers. Indeed Ekrem felt all alone there.

The second scene starts with Ekrem’s arriving home quite tired and his loneliness in the factory persists in the form of a different loneliness at home. His

¹ Hayat bizi harcamış zaten, bari siz insanca bir ömür sürün.

sister was busy sewing; she raises her head says 'welcome' to him and turns backs to what she was doing on the sewing machine. When Ekrem asks his mother to prepare clean underwear because he will go to hamam (Turkish bath) his mother says "Don't you see it? My hands are dirty. You prepare it yourself". Ekrem's depression at home can be clearly seen. His 'loneliness' is tied with being the sole breadwinner figure is shown in the lack of gratitude which is usually taken for granted in such situations. In Ekrem's emotional deprivation there is an important indicator which underlines the gendered characteristics out of the breadwinner: Deprivation implies that women should 'appreciate' men with their material and symbolic practice. 'Appreciation' is seen to be one of the constructive elements of manhood. In fact it neutralizes the offering of women's domestic labor to men's service. In this instance, as is required by this neutralization, women's labor in the reproduction of household becomes totally invisible. As a result the breadwinner notion takes its gendered character by firstly negating women's labour. This particular in-house scene strengthens the sexist content of class burden.

However, the quarrel between Ekrem and his little brother has equally offers a narration when we can understand the class content of manhood. While Ekrem is preparing his underwear his little brother breaks a window in the house while playing football on the street. When his brother comes in to the house in order to continue playing, Ekrem shouts at him, "We could hardly buy you a pair of shoes, you break the window of the house!"². His anger continues by exhibiting the anger that shows the relation "between class characteristics and expression of masculine aggressiveness" (Kandiyoti, 1997: 194). Ekrem manhandles his little brother with anger. The younger character is living his childhood without even thinking of the financial outcomes of the broken window. Ekrem's anger turns into resentment of childhood when the mother takes his brother's side. He

² Biz sana pabuç yetiştiremezken, sen tut evinin camlarını kır.

complaints to his mother, "I had not a single happy day like these children" and calls her to account for, "Who turned me into this?"³.

Sezai (Suphi Kaner) and Yüksel (Metin Ersoy), members of the friend's group, are two Rock-and-Roll passionate guitar player who claim that they were not understood in Turkey. Their walls of their room are all covered with famous rock star posters of that time like Elvis Presley. Their biggest dream is to go to America where the western allure and personal salvation wish are clearly echoed. One of the characters complains:

I have no luck; I wish I could be a football player then basketball player. Why on earth didn't I go for football? Football players earn so much that they can spare some money. If I were a football player I would be very rich⁴.

Cevat (Ziya Metin) is a theatre actor with no regular income except working as a walk-on part sometimes and married with Aysel (Meri Dolçe) who is also a theatre actress. He has not found a job in 'serious theatre'; on the other hand, he refuses to perform in operettas because he thinks that it does not project "true artistic principles". He is an idealist who wants to open his own theatre. Therefore, the responsibility to earn the necessary money to survive is left to Aysel who should 'not carry' artistic principles. Cevat and Aysel, as will be later discussed, are an important example. This situation will help us fully understand how masculinity patterns are treated in the case of contradictory conditions when the man is not the breadwinner, as in this case.

Ayhan (Oktar Durukan) survives by drawing cartoons for newspapers. He is desperately in love with his neighbour Sevim (Suna Selen) who is a singer. But he cannot catch her attention at all because he is short of money. Sevim is shown as a woman with a character who is fond of luxury, and plays with Ayhan's

³ Bir gün bile şu çocuklar kadar mesut olamadım. Kim getirdi beni bu hale?

⁴ Ben de talih yok, futbolcu olacağıma basketçi oldum. Ne diye futbolcu olmadım? Futbolcular paranın turşunu kuruyorlar. Futbolcu olsaydım, köşeyi dönmüşüm.

passion professionally. This is an important feature which will be elucidated upon, not simply for women stereotype but for how “family paradox” (Davidoff, 2002) is constructed.

Last member of the group Tahsin (Hayati Hamzaoglu) contrary to Sevim, is engaged to Sevim (Fehmi’s sister) but they cannot get married because of financial shortage. His “only consolation is the engagement ring”. Tahsin, who is working as helper to Fehmi, is the only character who believes in work for achieving his goals- he is struggling to get a driving license in order to be a taxi driver in Istanbul. His distinction from the others is made dramatic by not only keeping him out of the robbery operation but also showing him as totally unaware of the incident. But the differentiation in question is never shown to be moral distinction. On the evening when they went to a bar, Fehmi counts Tahsin out from the ‘losers’ list but does not blame the others either.

Fehmi: Do you know what I think Ekrem? There is no decent man from our district. None of us worth’s a penny. Sezai and Yüksel are two vagabonds whose only concern is to go to America; Cevat is a jobless smart aleck actor; Ayhan is a strange guy who falls in love to the all women he sees; you Ekrem, are a stunted and depressed in boredom. We are wasted people. Even liquor cannot cheer us up. We have to do something for ourselves otherwise we will be ruined⁵.

Fehmi, the same evening on the way back robs a gas station without letting his friends know. When giving them their shares he pinpoints that, "Only money can take you out from this dead-end. Otherwise you will get lost"⁶. But what finishes them happens to be the money by which they were hoping to achieve happiness and success. The impasse is stressed with the Cevat’s cue in the Raskonnikof

⁵ Fehmi: Biliyor musun Ekrem, ne düşünüyorum? Bizim mahalleden hiç adam çıkmadı. Topumuz beş para etmeyiz. Sezai ve Yüksel Amerika’ya gitme derdinde iki serseri; Cevat işsiz ukala bir aktör; Ayhan önüne gelen kadına aşık olan bir acayip adam; sen Ekrem, can sıkıntılarında bunalmış kavruk bir insan. Bana gelince... ömrünü direksiyon başında geçiren zavallı bir adam. Biz harcanmış insanlarız. İçki bile bizi neşlendirmiyor. Bu topluluğa bir şeyler yaptırmak lazım, yoksa mahvolur gideriz.

⁶ Sizleri düştüğünüz çıkmazdan ancak para kurtarır. Yoksa kaybolup gidirsiniz.

role in *Crime and Punishment* by Dostoyevski, just before he is arrested: “I have done the bad things to do good things but I failed”.

As we stated earlier, neighbourhood friendship as one of the important moments of cultural definitions of manhood contains a “common destiny” which is explicitly tied to a specific goal, and also based on a material ground which represents a spatial segregation between sexes (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). Neighbourhood friendship is a male-dominant ground where women are totally excluded or marginalised. In *Gecelerin Ötesi*, women cannot be seen as independent characters; their existence is subjected to men. But women’s subsidiary positions have a vital position for production and also on the continuation of male-dominant formations like neighbourhood friendship. *Gecelerin Ötesi*, has important details about how symbolic and spatial production of male dominance is dependent on the subordinated position of women.

5.2.1.1. Symbolic Dimension of Male Friendship: "The Lights of Istanbul" Exclusive For Women

It can easily be said that basic moral, ethical and political orientation exists in male friendship symbolically: In *Gecelerin Ötesi* a purpose and operation is based on the solution of every character’s own personal problem. Even if the emphasis on 'personality' seems to be in conflict with the unity of purpose and operation, it has got a crucial place in male socialisation or the symbolic reproduction of male dominance.

The idea of men’s view that they have to solve their problems by themselves, accepted as one of the typical features of male socialisation (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). Conversely the counter idea involves the risk of feminisation. The loneliness 'purified from feminisation' is necessary so that masculinity is seen to be a statue. No doubt, the cultural definitions of manhood and womanhood are relational definitions belong to the gendered order of society. In other words, in

order to understand manhood as a statue, first of all, we should assume that womanhood cannot be taken “as a success or an acquisition, rather it should be considered as given” (Kandiyoti, 1997: 74)

In *Gecelerin Ötesi*, the place of women characters typically reinforces womanhood as a given situation. The unity of purpose and action, which man friendship covers, at the same time, is produced with this reinforcement. For example, actress Aysel, in contrast to Cevat, does not lead a life dedicated to artistic ideals. Besides, there seems to be no difference between her being an actress or wage earner. In fact, she appears in the operettas in which her husband refuses to act as he finds that such works do not rise to his artistic ideals. Aysel seems like a housemate who wants to have a “model husband”. We see her doing the washing at some stage, furthermore, her performance solely emphasises Cevat’s artistic ideals. Aysel’s home-taking pay may seem to be linked with eliminating the patriarchal expectations.

The mechanisms reinforcing patriarchal expectations provide significant presumptions in work addresses both masculinity patterns and gendered social order. The man’s secondary position in livelihood, and as Kandiyoti (1997: 195) points out, “is not suitable for sexual division of labour”. For this reason, Cevat is warned by his friend, who is a stage player and lives in the same neighbourhood: “there are gossips around your wife’s working”. His friend, who also has ideals of being a stage player, laments that “he has to give up because his family needs to be fed”. Simply put, the existing situation, in spite of the innocence of artistic ideals, has been a threat to Cevat’s manhood. For this reason, it is not enough to emphasise the ideals to eliminate the threat. Thus, Cevat defends himself:

In order to make people stop gossiping, I should waste myself, shouldn’t I?... One cannot easily adopt herself/himself to stupid

theatre and ignorant cinema. Who will perform genuine art in this country? I want to perform genuine art.⁷

This defence is weak for a man who has 'sacrificed' himself and has given up his ideals for his family because a threat against manhood is swept away by its rehabilitation. We see this repair mechanism is realised in two ways in the film. First, Aysel's behaviour is condemned as "there are a gossip around your wife's working" is shown only as 'earning money for bread'. In this way it is differentiated from Cevat's artistic identity. Aysel supports this differentiation. In one scene she says Cevat who thinks he behaves unfair to his wife for he is not working:

Am I not your wife? I am obliged to do these. Besides, this is what I want. You can't prevent me doing so. I believe in you. From now on I have nothing to give you any more. You had better content with this, don't bother⁸.

The disharmony between patriarchal expectations and economical reality tried to be overcome with little "symbolic manhood shows" (Kandiyoti, 1997: 196). For example, every evening Aysel is given a lift either by Cevat or by neighbours who are also their stage friends. In this way, the power of her working alone for home's livelihood is weakened by being in need women image. Moreover, Cevat is a person who prefers to sitting in cafés, going to nightclubs even though he is unemployed. In other words, he is pictured in man friendship's 'outer world'.

In a similar way, the character Sema has a personality which encourages her fiancé Tahsin's characteristics. Someone like Tahsin who tries to stand on his own feet by trusting his labour power, is reinforced by an 'ev kızı' (as different from that of housewife, a woman status represented with virginity) who has no

⁷ Millet dedikodu yapmasın diye kendimi harcamam lazım değil mi?...Budala tiyatro ile cahil sinemaya kolay uyamıyor insan. Kim gerçek sanatı yapacak bu memlekette? Ben gerçek sanat yapmak istiyorum.

⁸ Karın değil miyim? Mecburum bunları yapmaya. Üstelik arzum bu benim. Engel olamazsın buna. Ben sana inanıyorum. Şimdilik bundan fazla sana verecek bir şeyim yok. Sen de bir zaman bununla yetin, sıkılma.

expectation rather than marriage. When Tahsin returned from İstanbul, semi-rejoices when she declares that, “My sole consolation is this engagement ring. I take power from it while you are not here. As if there is a magic in it, I feel good when I kiss it.”⁹

Conversely, the real component that reinforces Tahsin character is the connection between women’s sexual 'chastity' and man’s honour. When their marriage date is decided, Sema, takes Tahsin to their two floors house’s window and the following exchanges take place:¹⁰

Sema: I will not look at İstanbul’s lights alone, you will be with me. When you were not here, I looked at these lights in front of this window. There were joy, richness and happiness in them. Most nights I wanted to go to them and not return. Do you know? Üsküdar’s girls are thought to be like the flies, those who run towards the light and burn and die there.¹¹

Tahsin: These are all left in the past; I am here with you any more.

First, 'the lights of İstanbul' is primarily, without doubt, a class mobility promise. Second, and more importantly, for women this promise seems to be realised by a man. For this reason, it is charming and untrustworthy. In other scenes Sema emphasises İstanbul’s lights cannot frighten her anymore since she will get married. Consequently, Sema points out the metaphor of lights do not only project class mobility, but also, the idea of the control of women’s sexuality by men, which does not belong to women themselves. (Kandiyoti, 1997: 73). What makes Sema 'ev kızı' is the view from her window of “İstanbul lights”. That is

⁹ Beni tek teselli eden nişan yüzüğü oldu. Sen yokken bütün kuvveti ondan alıyorum. Yüzükte bir tılsım var sanki, onu öpünce iyileşiyorum.

¹⁰ This scene is wanted to be censored by Censor Institution of the period based on the idea that, 'it makes ideological, economical and social propaganda against national regime and makes also discrimination between Asia and Europe' (Altuner, 2005).

¹¹ Sema: Artık İstanbul'un ışıklarına yalnız bakmayacağım, sen olacaksın yanımda. Senin olmadığı zamanlarda bu pencenin önünde hep bu ışıklara baktım. Onlarda sevinç, zenginlik, mutluluk vardı. Çoğu geceler, bir daha dönmek üzere o ışıklara gitmek istedim. Biliyor musun, Üsküdar'ın kızlarını pervanelere benzetirler, hani ışığa koşup sonra da yanıp ölen pervanelere.

Tahsin: Bunların hepsi geçti; artık ben varım yanında.

why, the home as the family heart must be seen as both spatial and space also, symbolically a place where women sexuality is controlled and restricted. This restriction corresponds with the 'outside', which is Sevim.

In contrast to Sema, Sevim is a singer who is a participant with the lights of İstanbul. We learn of her profession when she is invited as a guest singer in a nightclub. In the course of the film she is neither depicted as Aysel in her workplace, nor as Sema doing the housework. On the contrary, we see Sevim, doing sports at home, going to a nightclub with her male friends, getting into a taxi, or walking the street. In other words she does not seem to be subjected to any kind of control or for that matter no restriction over her own sexuality is forthcoming. What makes Sevim 'outside' is exactly this uncontrolled sexuality. That is why she is the only woman character who has no family or family bonds but she reminds us of the family with all her presence.

5.2.2. *Hızlı Yaşayanlar*: Truck Drivers as Male Worker Companions

*"We want you to live not die but we want you to live a little fast."*¹²

"When man and woman relationship is taken into consideration, anything that woman does not do or cannot do is linked to manhood" is one of the answers of Gutmann to the question "What is the manhood?" (1997 cited in Özbay & Baliç, 2004: 92). This definition, although criticised for undervaluing masculine women and feminine men (Ozbay and Baliç, 2004), fits the long distance truck drivers image especially in this film. Being a driver is described in the labour market as one of the professions that women cannot do. That is to say that truck driving is a 'man's job'. As will be discussed later, the question how truck driving is designed to be a 'male job' reveals both the construction of division labour on the ground of sexist ideology and the reinforcement mechanisms of masculinity in the daily life.

¹² Ölmenizi değil yaşamanızı istiyoruz ama biraz hızlı yaşamanızı istiyoruz.

We can read the phrase *Hızlı Yaşayanlar* (see Appendix: A) in two ways. First, the speed associated with driving a truck fast. If men do not drive fast they will lose their job. Second, being a driver is described as a profession for men. In such situations being fast complements the necessary cultural definition expresses their macho image which they always have to prove. In fact “manhood is not given but a taken statute; it can never be achieved at last because there is always a risk to lose it” (Kandiyoti, 1997: 75). To be the fastest has two advantages both moral and financial. First, to be appreciated by their surroundings gives approval to their manhood’s identity; secondly, the share of being the 'fastest' from the betting 'who will be the fastest?' that played by the people who are waiting for them in Ankara.

The film is about the lives of four long distance truck driver driving between Istanbul and Ankara. These four people carry four different papers – Yeni Sabah, Milliyet, Tercüman and Ekspres Postası. They load the evening press of the papers to their trucks and carry them to Ankara and also distribute them to the other provinces on their way. The only thing they are asked for is to get to Ankara within five hours without having any accident. This requires fast driving. Being fast and courageous defines not only work but also manhood. In this way, the required driving skills are directly saturated with a sexist prejudice.

Orhan (Ayhan Işık) is a driver but he has not been working for a while. He lives with his mother and his ill sister in a *gecekondu* (squatter housing). Unfortunately his father passed away. That is why it’s his responsibility to take care of his sister’s expenses - hospital, doctor, medicine, food, and so forth. The mother, on the other hand, does the household chores and consequently is responsible for re-production of labour. Orhan is the only person who has the potential of being paid labour, so he is the only breadwinner in the house.

When Orhan hears that Yeni Sabah paper is looking for a driver, he applies for the job. The manager sets the tone by implying that they were looking for a driver who drives fast, “We want you to live not die, but we want you to live a

little fast”. The manager sends him to Mustafa Dayı who is in charge of truck maintenance and repair in the paper’s garage. The first thing Mustafa Dayı does is to try to dissuade Orhan from this job. He warns;

Isn’t there no other job? Go and work as a private driver, take the lady and the gentleman to do the shopping, wait for them outside the mall or the restaurant. On no circumstances you should take the job you are being offered. Go away before you are wasted. I told this to all the others. Now their bodies fill up the graveyard. One should not drive himself to death at this age.¹³

Indeed the above reinforces the dangers and risks linked with the job and the manhood stress involved.

İnce Salih (Ekrem Bora) owes this nickname to his sentimental personality and to the flower which he carries on his collar. Besides, the characteristics of the house he owns and its association provide the idea of space. There are obvious differences in the established relations with the houses between İnce Salih and the others. İnce Salih is not a stranger who is just staying in the house. He is a 'visible' one living in the house. But for the others, the relationship with their house is that they are breadwinners. İnce Salih prepared his house for Fatma, the woman when he has been in love with for a long time but never had the courage to tell her. This house is well decorated with lacework flowery designs all waiting for Fatma. He talks to the furniture and says, “She will come here and you won’t be alone any more.” When he comes back from work to the house he always talks to the furniture and the flowers: “A woman’s hand is different after all. She knows where everything should be placed.” But when Fatma’s feminine hand, tried to operate the gas pump the situation changes: “Leave it to me; this work is not for you.” According to his plans, Fatma will be just a housewife and living happily with the furniture and flowers and he will find another job in

¹³ Dünyada başka iş yok mu, git hususi takside çalış, hanımla beyi alışverişe götür, mağaza kapısında, gazino kapısında bekle, ne yaparsan yap ama bu işe girme. Buralarda ziyan olmadan kaç, senden öncekilere de söyledim, hepsini toplasan bir mezarlık doldurur, senin yaşında ecelin üstüne araba sürülmez.

Istanbul and quit driving on the highways. On the same day when he finds out that Fatma has chosen Orhan, he over speeds and had an accident in which he died.

Kara Cemil (Turgut Özatay) is the fastest and the fearless driver among all. He has a lover who is working in a night club who lives with her maid in an apartment. Kara Cemil does not approve of this night club venture. “That’s enough! My fast life is good enough for both of us.”¹⁴ There is an ongoing tension between them about this. His lover asserts:

Your money is not good enough even for this house’s rent and the kitchen expenses. What about my cosmetics and pocket money? I am used to all this. I cannot do with less.¹⁵

Kara Cemil is working as a driver in one of the paper’s trucks. He owns a garage and he makes money by the betting but he still complains, “No matter how much I earn, she always asks for more! That’s why I always look for new opportunities.”¹⁶

The above demonstrates a cruel judgement which threatens his “manhood”. He always has to prove his prowess by bringing home enough money. Kara Cemil, in return, always calls her *kahpe* and *kaltak* (whore, prostitute); she has got no name. He beats her not obeying his warnings for not staying home and going out, and going to night clubs while he is not at home. All this is a failure and his manhood was dented as. She left home the very next day. Moreover he calls the managers of the night clubs in Istanbul and Adana, and demands to be informed if for some reason she makes an appearance. Moreover, he requests them not to let her work in their clubs.

¹⁴ Burada paydos artık! Benim hızlı yaşamam ikimize de yeter.

¹⁵ Senin paran buranın kirasına, mutfağına yetmez be, nerede benim süsüm, harçlığıım? Alışmışım, aza kanaat etmem.

¹⁶ Bizimkine para yetiştiremiyoruz. Ne kazansam öğütüyor, mecburen avanta kolluyorum.

By doing all this, Kara Cemil's main concern was to dominate her and control her sexuality that is threatening him. Eventually, when he understands that he cannot do so he admits that, "All I said was for nothing. No good can be achieved by force. There is only one thing left to do which is to leave the house. I am sure one day I will find a decent and honourable girl"¹⁷ 'Honourable and decent' girl contrary to his lover, is a 'normal family' girl; a girl who spends her life at home who is easy to control at the same time (Ramazanoğlu, 1998). This girl will not complain about the money he brings home and will not humiliate his class.

Kara Cemil could not prove his manhood socially because his lover is such a woman who refuses to be the 'woman of his house'. This put her sexuality in a position that is dangerous and has to be controlled. Consequently, her ventures in night clubs threaten his manhood and put his honour in danger. As a result, he increases the intensity of his control mechanism- violence- gradually; he first threatens her, and then beats her, and at last when she leaves him, he tries to prevent her finding a job.

Kriko (Kadir Savun) is the most desperate one among all. He faces a big crisis in proving his manhood identity indeed. He has difficulty to maintain the notion that men are superior, arising for the influence of his brother and surroundings. His ability to drive fast is always tested; consequently, it made him apprehensive. But this always makes of losing his manhood (Kandiyoti, 1997). Kriko's brother was doing the same job but after an accident he became handicapped and could no longer work. After this incident, he had to take care of his brother's family too. On this account, he has to break up with his fiancé because of financial problems. This makes him slow down on the road because in driving fast he might end up with the same fate and the family's income would be in jeopardy: "When I hit the road such a fear overcomes me. I am not afraid of

¹⁷ Bütün laflarım kuru sıkı zorla güzellik olmaz yapacak bi iş var apartmanı boşaltmak elbet bir gün helal süt emmiş birini bulacağım.

death but disappear; if I die the, three will finish after me.”¹⁸ This interior fear effects his driving by arriving late to his destinations and the boss threatens to fire him but also his manhood is always questioned by his brother and the bet players because of his new driving style. His brother compensates his not being a breadwinner by inflating his manhood qualities. He brags about the accident he had had which showed his macho image, making sure that Kriko does not forget to follow suit. The patriarchal tension between them causes Kriko to criticise his brother’s manhood, “You act worse than a woman by staying always at home bro!”¹⁹ Although he is shown as the one who 'has an income' but he is not appreciated but humiliated, even though he risks losing his manhood to earn this income.

Orhan lost his father so he has to take care of his mother and sister and Kriko has to take care of his brother’s family because he is handicapped. They both live in an old wooden house in a poor district. Thanks to his first salary, Orhan does the shopping for the house and buys some expensive meat and medicine for his sister. On his way home, Kriko buys some fruit which implies that it was a rare commodity at home. Kara Cemil and İnce Salih are breadwinners and this is shown as not involving any self-sacrifice but as an obligation. This obligation in fact is coded with the hidden assumption that the male breadwinner is compelled to spend his money for only his well being and not for his family. Conversely, if a woman is a breadwinner, her all money goes towards the family’s welfare. If the women spend this money on herself, this is interpreted as being a sign of selfishness. Conversely, for men this is not obligatory. If a man spends his money on his family’s welfare this is shown as being a feature of self-sacrifice. It seems that these opposing views underline the gendered division of labour.

Cemal with his daughter Fatma (Pervin Par) run a gas station in a desolate place on the Istanbul-Ankara highway where no other building blocks the

¹⁸ Lakin yola çıktım mı o Allahın belası korku bi bastırıyor ki, ben ölümden değil yok olmaktan korkuyorum, ben ölürsem arkamdaki üç kişi tükenir.

¹⁹ Evde otura otura kadından beter oldun abi.

surroundings. They also live in this desolate place. Fatma helps her father during the day and works in the gas station day and night since her father has not been feeling well. But the gas station is her father's work place; he owns it. This can be seen in while during his medical treatment he runs away and returns to the gas station and when he sees a stranger who had replaced him, he kicks him out. Loosing his position would have meant not only a loss of income but at the same time, 'manhood' status is put in danger. This pressing upheaval has been accelerated by his ill health. Indeed Fatma is described as being only a helper and not a permanent worker in the gas station.

5.2.2.1. Housewife versus 'Independent Woman'

Family ideology sets women apart in the patriarchal system (Ramazanoğlu, 1998). While some women fit a defined family model and the domestic sphere, the ones who run counter to this appear to be a threat to the family and at times as setting a bad example in order to legitimate the family. Basically the ideal concept of women characters is depicted in films to underline positively to social position of women. Women characters, in ideal family concept, took part in the film basically for making the class and social position of men clear.

While Fatma, Orhan's mother and his sister Zeynep and the wife of Kriko's brother are all considered as 'normal family women' not diverting from the ideal family concept, Cemil's lover being an 'independent' woman who side-tracks from this. Orhan's mother and the Kriko's brother wife are characters who play minimum part in the film with both their existence and their labour. But if we consider both households, they are the ones who realise the portrayal of both the household and the labour. Since Zeynep is ill, there is no need to control her work and sexuality.

There are two women who characterise different parts of view: Fatma and Kara Cemil's lover. Fatma is a 'normal family' woman, who is defined by the patriarchal ideology. She is depicted as a woman who internalizes the male

control over of her labour and sexuality. She knows how to behave and calls every man *abi* (brother) so that she can camouflage her sexuality indeed her sexuality does not offer any threat.

As Kandiyoti asserts (1997: 76), "in a society that is differentiated on the basis of sexuality honour of men is closely related with women's behaviour", Fatma can only participate in the public life by treating herself as a woman having a distance sexuality – indeed she behaves as if she is sister of them.

However, social control depicted by Kara Cemil “You are a beautiful young girl and this is a deserted place” while Fatma defends that, “Everybody knows us here brother Cemil.” But Cemil warns that, “There might someone who does not know you and you will be in trouble for no reason”.

Fatma’s mother has died; she works in the gas station during the day until her father gets sick, later on she works day and night. She is also responsible for the household work. But she is not getting paid for the job she does in the gas station because it is a family business. And this is perceived as unpaid work where her input is taken for granted. The authoritarian command will pass from her father to her husband. In fact, her future husband İnce Salih assets, “Leave it to me, this work is not for you”. After she marries, her father’s authoritarian command will be inherited by her husband.

The difference between Fatma and the lover of Kara Cemil lies in their contradiction whereas Fatma takes for granted her subordinate role in her working surroundings; Kara Cemil’s lover is fond of spending money. “What if she is satisfied with what she gets? Why is she not doing this?” Fatma intensifies this contradiction.

Kara Cemil’s lover is working in a night club. She is not in the scope of ideal family definition and as we see in all other films she is a woman with no social connections. All these conditions do not seem to be a threat and danger for her

sexuality. Besides, she is a woman who earns her own money but like Sevim in the film 'Gecelerin Ötesi' only her consumption characteristic is emphasised. She is a real threat to Kara Cemil's manhood because she does not let him control her sexuality and labour. Indeed, by rerouting from the "stereotype family" woman, Kriko agrees that, "Honour and faithfulness are not for her. She thinks she will be happy without them"²⁰.

5.2.2.2. Male Companions on the Road and Women

The most striking characteristic of the film is that the cruel competition of Orhan (Ayhan Işık), İnce Salih (Ekrem Bora), Kara Cemil (Turgut Özatay) ve Kriko (Kadir Savun) on the Istanbul-Ankara highway turns to an intimate friendship when they are not driving. The clearest example to this is when Mustafa Dayı introduces Orhan, who is a new comer, he says to the others, "Despite the competition involved in work you will all help him" and Kriko answers, "No question about it, when the job is done, friendship starts". When Kriko has a heart-to-heart talk with Orhan, he also mentions his fear of being fired as a result of not driving fast enough. Then Orhan promises this; "I will slow down for you. This might happen to all of us in the future".

Not only is labourer's solidarity that is part and parcel of the job is underlined but at the same time the above quote contains sexist patterns. When Kara Cemil sees his lover with some other men at the night club, Kriko joins him in the fight. While they were leaving the night club their words to the other men emphasises their masculine and labourer identity: "You also live fast but not as much as us. You also pass away fast, this is not for us"²¹.

Cemil's illness is an opportunity for Orhan and İnce Salih to prove not only their worth, but also to show their manhood characteristics, like reliability and

²⁰ Namus, sadakat o kadına hikaye! O bunlarsız da mutlu olacağını sanıyor.

²¹ Sizlerde hızlı yaşıyorsunuz ama bizim gibi değil, çarçabuk göçüp gidiyorsunuz, bize gelmez böyle.

protectiveness towards Fatma. When the competition between them turns to a fight, Kriko and Kara Cemil interfere and do not let them fight. Kriko suggests going to Fatma and asking which one of them she prefers. This is a very rational solution accepted by both of them and they continue driving. İnce Salih drives faster than Orhan. On the way they come across a group of drunken people, having fun in the middle of the road. When İnce Salih asks them to move, a fight broke out. It was Orhan who runs to help İnce Salih. Indeed companionship means to forget any disagreements including women, when you are at the wheel.

As we have mentioned earlier, all this cannot be the result of class solidarity. In fact men from the same class who share the same point of view is linked to 'womanhood' in order to project their identity. During the journey there are two particular places which they all have a break and meet. One of these is the gas station, which Fatma and her father run, and the other is a restaurant in Ankara where they eat. Alcohol is also served in this restaurant. The importance of this restaurant is not that only men go there, but the distinctive named dishes: Cadillac soup, greasy differential gear, sparking plug, exhaust, and so on. This shows that being a driver is not just a job, but a life style which has its own cultural codes.

The film *Hızlı Yaşayanlar* starts with, "Dedicated to drivers. Let God please the souls of 'The Men who Live Fast' " and ends with the following statement:

These men have to live fast in any case. There is no right to live if you are not fast in this world. The next generation, in order to live in comfort, will live fast as they did. Let God please the souls of the one who live fast and die for this goal²².

5.2.3. *Kuyu*: Endless Well of Fatma

²² Bu insanlar her ne olursa olsun hızlı yaşamaya mecburdurlar, bugünkü dünyada hızlı yaşamayana hayat hakkı yoktur. Bundan sonraki nesiller de refah içinde olmak için onlar gibi hızlı yaşacaklardır. Hızlı yaşayıp bu uğurda toprağa gidenlerin ruhları şad olsun.

Kuyu (see Appendix: A), Metin Erksan's movie made in 1968, is accepted as an example of national movies. *Kuyu* is adapted from a real life story by Metin Erksan as it was in '*Suçlular Aramızda*'.

Kuyu starts with a quotation "Treat women kindly" from Nisa sura of the Koran. Osman (Hayati Hamzaoglu) and Fatma (Nil Göncü) are two young people living in a village. Osman proposes marriage to Fatma several times but she refuses his proposal and her family does not put any pressure on her in this situation. In spite of all this Osman abducts her several times. He uses physical and psychological violence to her every time; he makes her stand still and makes her feel defenceless by raping her several times. But Fatma never says "yes" to Osman. This makes Osman increase his violent behaviour gradually. Fatma's last remedy was to kill him by burring him in a well, after which she kills herself.

Critical evaluation in *Kuyu* can be evaluated in three categories. First, the movie defines that Turkish peasants are brutal and wild²³. This reflects the view point of the period about village life, peasantry, and the 'sublimation of peasantry' which are treated in the movie. Secondly, *Kuyu* is evaluated as a movie in which 'an obsessive passion' is brought out. From this perspective, Altıner (2005) evaluates this movie as the 'unreturned passionate love' of Osman's to Fatma. Erksan also makes a similar comment in 1985:

A man has abducted a woman five times to the mountains. He was sentenced, and after his release he abducts her again; a passion. In the fifth one, when they wander in the mountain, they come to a well, the man goes down to the well, and the woman closes the lid of the well with a stone. I would make a visit to the woman in jail, but I couldn't. (Erksan, 1985: 35).

The same perspective is found in the evaluation of Görücü (2002). For Görücü, *Kuyu* narrates the 'fatal passions and loneliness of the individuals', and the

²³ See Kayalı (1994) for the critiques mentioned above.

heroes here are the characters of Erksan's surrealist/abstract/fantastic world, as it was in '*Sevmek Zamani*'.

Such an evaluation explains that the violence in this movie is only that the 'deviant passion belongs to the individual'. Abbot & Wallace (1997:246-247) states that violence against women needs to be examined from a different perspective. Such explanations as it is mentioned above are grounded on liberal/psychiatric outlook and men who use violence are defined as sick and psychopaths, who need to treatment. These views do not only prevent us in understanding the social, economical, and cultural bases of violence, but also, prevents us from identifying that violence against women on a large scale by men is a social problem.

Finally, an explanation will be evaluated that is the director's view. Kayalı (1994) states that the resistance of women against social, economical, and cultural difficulties derives from a different perspective and is reflected with a simplified cinema language. Indeed, Kayalı asserts that

Kuyu treats women's issue that cannot be derived from other problems and that cannot be solved even different matters would be solved in the framework of the rural woman's drama thereby resting on the meaningful totality (Kayalı, 1994: 26).

According to Kayalı, Kuyu is a film which runs parallel with recent woman films in this context but with its ending it is totally different. In the final scene is Fatma kills Osman and then kills herself. I totally share Kayalı's views but what I refuse to accept is the last scene where that patriarchal social structure was legitimated and re-produced. In 2005 opinionated that given the chance Erksan would shot the film with a different ending scene.

At the end of the movie, Osman goes down into the well to drink some water again, but while drinking, his foot slips and ends up in the well. He tries to rescue himself but Fatma cuts the rope with a stone, and throw it into the water. Osman fails to climb and drown. If I had

the opportunity I wouldn't show this scene. The movie ends with the scene of Osman trying to salvage himself. Moreover, I would never agree with Fatma's suicide, if I would make the movie again now (cited in Altner, 2005:82).²⁴

Here, the movie would be shot as a narrator to express a man's world and the violence, which is different from the viewpoint mentioned above. In a broader sense, it is possible to understand the violence against women as a part of women's subordination (Abbott & Wallece, 1997). Sexual violence is not just any physical, visual, verbal or sexual act, it is also hurts and degrades women, and moreover controls women by the violent fear involved. The violence controls and limits the lives, behaviours, and the activities who are subjected to violence, as well as those who have a 'fear of violence'.

The movie begins with the scene in which Osman keeps an eye on Fatma while she is having a bath in the river. Being aware that she was being watched, Fatma tries to escape but Osman catches her. He pulls her hair, ties her hands, drags her by tying a piece of rope to her belly, and brings her to the mountains in such a situation she could not escape. Osman warns her that,

If you don't accept to come voluntarily, I swear, I will pull your dead body. Nobody can rescue you from me. I told you not to escape; you cannot run away from my hands. Either you will be my wife, or I'll kill you²⁵.

Indeed, we see the beginning of Osman's injuries that will be made not only to Fatma's body, and also to her self-esteem. Although abducted and raped many times, Fatma is not a woman that could be conquered. She never says 'yes' whatever Osman inflicts on her body. And this is a situation which prevents him marry Fatma, and it threatens his manhood. He cautions that "If you don't accept

²⁴ Erksan defines *Kuyu* as a "passione movie" (1985:35), in an interview in 1989, TV2, he says "while I was making *Kuyu*, where were the feminists?" (cited in Kayalı, 1993). I think it cannot be ignored the contribution of feminist movement in Turkey when Erksan states that if he would make the movie in 2005, he would allow Fatma's suicide (cited in Altner, 2005: 82).

²⁵ Kendiliğinden gelmezsen şart olsun ölünü sürüp götürürüm, kimse elimden kurtamaz seni. Rezillenip kaçma dedim sana, kurtulamazsın elimden ya benim karım olursun ya gebertirim seni.

to marry me, I will wander in these mountains till doom day; I will be the cause of your dead. Say yes”. To which she replies, “May your family be destroyed, and your house be ruined”. As was mentioned previously, it is a state that prevents Osman’s superiority, husbandhood, and his authority. It does not leave any room except proving himself by his sexuality. Osman uses this sphere by insulting, dehumanizing, and treating Fatma like an ordinary object.

After the Gendarme sent him to jail, Fatma turns back to her home, and seeks refuge in her family. Her mother Hatçe teyze, supports her, but as the people in the village begin to gossip, she tries to convince Fatma to get married with someone.

Hatçe Teyze: My bad fated girl, men annoy every woman. It is up to you but since there is a chance of marriage accept it. There should be a man protecting you. He is not your match, he is old but at least he is wealthy. It cannot go on like this my girl.²⁶

Facing with the troubles, the family cannot accept Fatma’s tainted honour anymore, and they try to pass it over to another man by marriage.

HatçeTeyze: In village life if a girl is abducted twice her status is not good. You do not fancy anyone but the ones who accepts you fancy you. So get married with the one who likes you. İbrahim is not a bad guy. My God protects you; this destiny has also bad ways, when it comes to my mind I get crazy. You may be serving raki and wine to bunch of scoundrels in *Oturak Alemi* (a drinking party featuring music and dancing woman). Isn’t it a pity? I will burn in hell until the last judgement. If I and your dad die what would happen to you? What would a lonely woman do?²⁷

²⁶ Kaderi kara kızım benim erkek kısmı her kadına sataşır, sen bilirsin ama kısmetin çıkmışken evlenmeli, başında bir erkek olmalı senin dengin değil yaşlı ama hiç değilse malı mülkü var, bu böyle sürüp gitmez kızım.

²⁷ Köy yerinde iki defa dağa kaçırılmış kızın durumu kötüdür. Sen kimseyi beğenmiyorsun ama alan seni beğeniyor. O halde sen seni beğenenle evlen. İbrahim fena adam değil. Allah saklasın bu kaderin kötü yolu da var kızım, aklıma geldikçe deli oluyorum. Oturak âlemlerinde it köpek

Fatma's continuous refusal to Osman leads to her marrying Ibrahim (Ahmet Kostariga). But she leaves home on the wedding night. Ibrahim, who wants to be her future husband, is an old and wealthy man. He accepts to marry with a girl who was abducted in the mountains twice, because he doesn't have an alternative. For old Ibrahim, Fatma is a woman used by men 'erkek artığı'. But by the escape of Fatma on her wedding night, Ibrahim's manhood is degraded and threatened. People commented on that as "You are wrong. The meat smelled by a dog shouldn't be eaten" and Osman's physical offence to himself after being released from jail reinforce the insult. Moreover, he loses financially because of the wedding expenditures, and he can not get back the gold jewellery given to her family. It is as if he made a failed investment.

Fatma's escape from the wedding place signifies that she would be away from the protection and support of her family and her mother, who represents the patriarchy at home. Hatçe Teyze, although she is old still participates in agricultural production because there is no other labour force at home except her husband. After Fatma is abducted, she experienced a trauma and couldn't work for sometime. The main workers are the parents themselves without having someone helping them as paid labour. It shows that they are small-scale landowners, just produce for their subsistence. Hatçe Teyze's participation to labour force may be explained as being a cause for her getting patriarchal authority from her husband. She is the one who makes decisions, and who decides about the marriage of her daughter or the rejection of the marriage candidates. The only thing her father could do is to approve with her mother when she yells at Fatma, "I don't have a daughter like you. Get out of here; Shame on you. May you be destroyed and your named be doomed. You are the black sheep of the family".

Fatma's only alternative is to go to 'oturak alemi', because she does not surrender to her family and to the control of the village community. Indeed, it is

takımına rakı şarap dağıtmak da var. Yazık değil mi sana o zaman ben mahşere kadar yanarım. Babanla biz ölürsek ne olursun sen, kimsesiz bir kadın ne yapabilir?

the patriarchal structure itself which puts her into dilemma; she will either get married and be the woman of her land, or be a ‘bad woman’ who serves drinks in ‘oturak alemi’ to drunken men which will exclude her from the village community.

For the Gendarme, as the representative of the state in the village, the only thing that can be done is to save her from Osman, to send her to her family, and to sentence Osman to jail. In doing so, Fatma’s own solution is spoiled by the Gendarme. She begins to live in the mountains with Mehmet (Demir Karahan). She accepts that by saying, “I can’t go back, nor do I have another place to go. Is living in the mountains harder than dead? I used to live in the mountains. Also this time I come here voluntarily”. Mehmet is a prisoner escaped from jail after his sentence by capital punishment. Mehmet is also the one who rescues her when she tries to hang herself. He is also the first man who treats Fatma as a human being, and as someone who shares his destiny instead of looking at her as a sexual object.

Mehmet: Your misfortune is at least as much as mine. I feel sorry for you. This is our destiny, we cannot change it but in spite of this misfortune we have to live on. Look at me for instance; I am sentenced to death. I am running away from death. I feel lucky if I live one more day. What will happen when I die? Only four dogs will laugh after me. You have to try to live and fight against evil until the day comes.²⁸

Mehmet and Fatma begin to live together in the mountains for a long time. At this stage the Gendarme begins to search for both of them. One day, Mehmet is killed in a gun fight with the Gendarme, and Fatma becomes alone again.

5.2.3.1. “Osman the Snake”: Osman Is A Man And He Has Always Been A Man

²⁸ Senin talihsizliğinin de benimkinden kalır yanı yokmuş çok üzuldüm kaderine alın yazılarımız buymuş bizim, değiştirmek elimizde değil lakin bu kara talihe rağmen gene de yaşamak lazım. Bak bana karşında idamlık bi adam var, ölümden kaçıyorum ben, bu dünyada bir gün daha yaşamayı kendimce kar sayıyorum. Zira ölürsem ne olacak dört tane köpek gülecek arkamdan eceli gelene kadar insan bu dünyada kalmalı, kötülüklerle savaşmalı.

In contrast to womanhood, manhood is a taken for granted, and it has to be proven continuously. To the question of 'what is being a man', Brannon (1976 cited Scully, 1994; Atay, 2004), refers to four main themes, namely avoid from every behaviour, and characteristic which carries femininity traits; to be successful and to acquire a social status; to be a breadwinner for the family, and to be strong, aggressive and courageous. Dolly (1983 cited in Scully, 1994) adds sexuality to these characteristics. In brief, being a man is to have a sex appetite which is not satisfied during a sexual intercourse.

It is possible to evaluate the systematic torture and violence directed to Fatma by Osman within the framework of these characteristics. Although Osman had previously threatened Fatma several times before, she ignored these threats. In this situation Osman had to proof Fatma how powerful he was:

Osman: This is our wedding house, you will be mine here. I give you one more day; till tomorrow think and tell me yes or no if you want. But you are bound to say yes because we will be in bridal chamber tomorrow morning for sure. Look what I bought for you from the market. There are all kinds of dresses here. They have been here for two days. I did not want it to turn this way but it is all because of you. I ran after you for months; why didn't you simply say yes to me? You don't like me, do you? You been saying you cannot do something by force several times; we will now see if it is true or not. I will wait till tomorrow morning. This is what I could do. If you say yes with your own will, no problem; if not God forgive me then! Even if Azrael comes he cannot save you from me. Speak to me damn it! Say a word for God sake! Aren't you afraid of me? Beg me! Cry, shout! Damn you.²⁹

²⁹ İşte düğün evimiz burası, her iş burada olup bitecek. Sana yarın sabaha kadar müsaade veriyorum, düşün taşın yarın sabah bana evet de, istersen de deme. Ama mecbursun evet demeye. Zira yarın sabah seninle burada muhakkak gerdeğe gireceğiz. Bak sana neler aldım çarşıdan her bir giyecek var. Bunlar iki gündür burada duruyor. Böyle olmasını ben de istemezdim ama kabahat senin. Aylarca arkandan koştum ne diye benimle doğru dürüst evlenmeyi kabul etmedin? Beni beğenmiyorsun değil mi? İkide bir zorla güzellik olmaz diyordun bakalım olur muymuş olmaz mıymış şimdi göreceğiz. Bak sana yarın sabaha kadar müsaade verdim erkeklik bende kalsın rızanla he dersen iyilikle benim olursun yoksa, yoksa.. tövbe tövbe azrail gelse seni benim elimden kurtaramaz. Konuşsana lan bi allah kelamı etsene. Korkmuyor musun benden, yalvarsana, ağlayıp bağırsana lan!

When Osman realizes that although the threats and forces used against Fatma, did not work, he begins to increase the pressure on her. It is not enough for him to have her body unless she does not approve him. Moreover, Fatma's resistance means that she would not eat, drink. To try to escape is unacceptable by him. He does not perceive them as a rejection. Fatma is in a bad mood now, but once she has sexual intercourse with him, her mood will change. After the rape, Osman performs gusül abdesti (to perform the ritual ablution of the whole body) as it is customary on wedding nights:

There is nothing like water in this world. Human being's sins can only be purified by water. Come here, wash your body. Your sins would be purified. Don't hesitate. Come to the river. Don't be sorry. There is no way to repair that damage. Now you are my wife³⁰.

Then, he forces Fatma, who resists his invitation, going to the river, and rapes her in the river again. Osman always exhibits his sexual potential as a male, but he does not understand why Fatma does not oblige.

My desire for you never ends. Fatma I desire you always. You are a beautiful woman. What if you love me a bit? Don't stand there like a stone! Be energetic, be a little flirtatious. We are husband and wife now. We have everything in common from now on. We have to love each other; what don't you like it in me? Other women are dying to get me.³¹

Osman's sexuality is stressed by the perception of rape as being the outcome of male sex drive. The power of this sex drive depends on cultural attitudes and values. Abbott & Wallace stated (1997: 248-49) that, "This kind of biological expressions is sustained and legitimizes by patriarchal ideology and patriarchal relations."

³⁰ Su gibi birşey yoktur bu dünyada, insanın günahlarını ancak su temizler. Hadi sen de yıkan bakalım senin de günahların temizlensin öyle boynu bükük durmada gir suya. Üzülüp durma böyle nasıl olsa iş işten geçti tamiri yok bu işin karım oldun artık.

³¹ Sana doyamıyorum Fatma ikide bir canım seni çekiyo, çok güzel avratsın, ne olur sen de beni sevsene biraz. Böyle taş gibi heykel gibi durmasana, içinde kanın oynasın, cilve yap biraz bak artık karı koca olduk, kaçgöç, ayrı gayrı kalmadı aramızda. Birbirimizi sevmemiz lazım neremi beğenmiyorsun benim, başka karılar deli oluyor bana.

F. Sabah (1992 cited in Kandiyoti, 1997:75) states that Muslim patriarchal discourse aims at making women and their sexuality 'neutralized'. From this perspective, if a woman's behaviour is perceived as a threat to manhood or male honour, as a last resort the submission of the woman is provided by the means of violence.

Osman: Woman is created from man's anklebone. Why did God created man first and then woman from man's tiny bone? Did God do this without thinking? Of course not! Whatever He does there is a good sign in this. He did this so that woman to walk behind the man. That's why woman should never think of going against man's wishes.³²

In the continual trial of Fatma's submission, Osman refers to religion in order to define manhood and womanhood. Ramazanoğlu (1998:204) argues that religion with other institutions which exist in society helps to define the frames of motherhood, child bearing, and the meaning of crime, as well as the limits of human's values and the respect to be expected.

Yet again, Osman abducts Fatma to the mountains. He ties her nude body to a tree. This was the torture to the limit on Fatma, and also, the most insulting one. Fatma expresses her disgust:

I am disgusted by you and all other men. You abducted me, not me but my dead body. Is it human what you did? Look at me! Even animals do not do such a thing to a human being.³³

Osman was sentenced to jail because of this. Moreover, he had sexual intercourse with her. According to tradition if a girl is abducted to the mountains, no one wants marry her. For Osman, Fatma does not have an alternative other

³² Kadın kısmı erkeğin aşık kemiğinden yaratılmıştır, Cenab-ı Mevlam neden erkeği önceden yaratmışta kadın kısmını neden sonradan, erkeğin küçük bir kemiğinden yaratmıştır. Hak-teala Hazretleri düşünmeden mi yapmıştır bu işi, hayır düşünmez olur mu? Onun her işinde bir hikmet vardır, kadın kısmı erkeğinin arkasından gitsin diye yapmıştır bu işi, onun için kadın kısmı erkek kısmının sözünden çıkmayacak.

³³ Senden de bütün erkeklerden de öğreniyorum. Benim kendimi değil ölümü kaçıyorsun, senin ettiğin insanlık mı? Şu halime bak, insan kısmına hayvan bile yapmaz bunu.

than himself, but she still does not understand Osman's values and continues to reject him. As Kandiyoti argues (1997: 75):

The conclusion is to deform and to weaken the human side of the women whether they are reduced to the level of an animal, my stressing their sexuality as it is in erotic discourse, or they are defined as physically and morally weak, as it is in religious discourse.

In all dialogs between Osman and Fatma, she either lies down on the ground motionless or standings with tied hands. Osman makes circles around her and talks. He questions his authority over Fatma and his manhood:

All my life was spent in jail for you; I will marry you even if you are a bitch. This time only death can separate us. You should understand that. You married with Mehmet of Taşpınar, but you have lived on the mountains for months. What is missing in me?³⁴

While Osman keeps Fatma 'motionless' by the threat of a gun and physical abuse, he also tries to make her dependent on himself by using honour, tradition, and religion.

Osman finds Fatma, who serves drinks in 'oturak alemi' and abducts her again. As she comes to realize that the only way to be free from Osman is to kill him, she throws stones at Osman when he goes down the well to drink water. The well becomes a grave for Osman. After this event she kills herself.

5.2.3.2. 'Sexual Honour' Belongs To Everyone

Controlling woman's sexuality is the major characteristic of patriarchal understanding. Mernissi (2003) states that in oriental societies virginity is accepted not as a personal problem but a social problem. As it was mentioned above, Aunt Hatçe (Aliye Rona) advocates her daughter and supports her in the

³⁴ Bütün ömrüm senin uğrunda mahpus damlarında geçti, kahpe de olsan seninle evleneceğim, bu sefer bizi ölüm ayırır aklına koy bunu. Taşpınar'lı Mehmet'in avradı olup aylarca dağlarda gezdin, neyim eksik ondan benim.

family structure till she escapes on the wedding night. During this time, she curses Osman, but the swearing is directed to Osman's mother Emine. It exerts the privileged place of the family institution by Fatma's virginity, and the control over sexual honour related to this issue:

Hatçe: Let God give you all the evil! Emine woman, couldn't you restrain your son Osman? Shame on you both! You two spoiled my lovely girl. I now understand why they call your son Snake Osman. Could you do anything by force? I told you million times that Fatma does not want Osman. Don't go to her. Fatma doesn't want to get married with Osman. I wish God will paralyze you. I wish God punish your family. I hope you burn in hell damn woman. I have no girl to give your cursed family. You perturbed my precious girl. How dare you come and ask for my girl?³⁵

The village community supports the family circle view. Fatma, who is abducted to the mountains and who lost her virginity, becomes a public material for those men in the village who try to satisfy their sexual needs. For them, "Odds and ends do not matter. It is nonsense to make calculations on these issues". A virgin woman, who is protected by the family ideology, but has an illegitimate sexual intercourse becomes polluted, indeed becomes available to everybody. A 'polluted' woman's body cannot be cleaned by water, and remove this taboo, in contrast to man's 'polluted' body.

Well is a movie which analysis manhood. Osman totally represents the theme that "manhood is a state that should have to be proved continuously". From the beginning, Osman is a man who is rejected; therefore his social authority is questioned. Although his complete authority and domination over Fatma, and the reason for abducting and torturing her many times are the main motives for

³⁵ Ocağınız batsın, ölü suyunuz kaynasın, allah bin türlü belanızı versin ulan Emine garı, oğlun olacak o Osman namussuzuna gem vuramadın mı sen, yazıklar olsun sana allah bin türlü belanızı versin. İkiniz bir olup gül gibi kızımızın başının etini yediniz. Tevekkeli yılan Osman dememişler oğluna, zorla güzellik mi olurmuş, sana kaç kere Fatma Osman'ı istemiyor dedim, varmayın kızımın üstüne. Fatma Osman'la evlenmek istemiyor, inşallah inmeler iner bir tarafına, cellât bıçaklarına gelesi karı, Allah kahretsin sizin ailenizi, cehennem ateşlerine yanın, körolası karı. Ben de sizin uğursuz ailenize verecek kız yok. Gül gibi masumumu perişan ettiniz, hem sen ne yüzle bana gelip kız istiyorsun?

the approval of his manhood. Osman can only repair his damaged manhood by increasing the level of violence. To be rejected is a very traumatic experience for a man. Rejection of a man by a woman is perceived to be an offence and unrespectful behaviour to a man's honour. Therefore the man can only repair the damages done by increasing by showing his powers towards that woman. He cannot eliminate this offence in another way, other than repressing it by a continuous and strong violence.

Why did she end up committing suicide at the end? One of the explanations is that Fatma did not have any alternative. However, such an explanation ignores the resistance and the strength of Fatma when she is faced with trouble.

Ending Fatma's story in suicide runs parallel with the patriarchal pattern. That is to say that the end of 'bad' women, or those who were subjected to evil deeds, whose 'sexual honour' were damaged in some ways, is usually achieved through death. Here, we may argue "Why did not that woman continue to live?", instead of "Why it all ended in suicide?". Since, we know that she tried it before, had to go to 'oturak alemi' but she has beaten Osman by carrying on with her life at the end.

'Honour' is defined within the frame of sexuality for women. No alternative other than death is offered to a woman whose 'sexual honour' is tarnished or lost. This patriarchal idea, which constructs the base of the movie, is coded as 'pollution' in contrast to the purity represented by water. Indeed The End of Fatma, a character from a real life story, reflects the patriarchal perspective of the period and of the movie's director's view. The director, who previously criticized the patriarchal structure of society, both legitimizes and reproduces the patriarchal ideology brought about Fatma' death.

Honour for women is defined from sexual point of view. If a woman's 'sexual honour' is lost or damaged, there is no other choice than death itself. This patriarchal thought, which is the main theme of the film has been coded by a

dirtiness. Conversely, cleanness and pureness are represented by water throughout the film. This tailored dramatic ending role of Fatma, who pointed that she really lived, in fact, reflects the patriarchal point of view of that period and the director. He reproduced and legitimated the patriarchal social structure and ideology to with Fatma's death.

5.3. Gendered Context of Class Critique

As stated in the previous chapter, in the late fifties and the beginning of the sixties the notion of 'development' was formulated as a problem of 'underdevelopment', through which the mechanisms of capitalist expansion or imperialism had been sustained. Social realist and national films appeared in that period by proposing critical perspectives about 'making a film' that is more concerned with the material inequalities within society. This section is an attempt to investigate the class-based imagination of society that was depicted in these films, in respect with the category of gender. Therefore, the main question of enquire is based on the sexist construction of the notion of 'class inequalities' itself, but not simply on the ignorance of 'women'. Each film in this section represents different class stratum. The film, *Duvarların Ötesi* was designed on the narrative of lumpen-proletariat men; *Acı Hayat* presents the story of an engaged pair who are working class in relation to the upper class, and the film, *Suçlular Aramızda* portrays the world of a bourgeois family.

5.3.1. *Duvarların Ötesi*: If These Walls Would Talk...

*Efendiler gibi yemek" için çatal-bıçak,
kadın için etek-bluz...*³⁶

Duvarların Ötesi (see Appendix: A), is about six men who escape from prison. These men, as Scully (1994: 21) also stated, "believe that their salvation depends on being always alert, and been tough, bored, afraid, angry and lonely".

³⁶ Fork and knife to "eat like gentlemen", skirt and blouse for woman...

Mektepli (*Educated*) (Tanju Gürsu), Kemal (Özden Çelik), Dede (*Grand father*) (Danyal Topatan), Babaç (*Largest and oldest male in a poultry*) (Erol Taş), Halıcı (*Rug seller*) (Hayati Hamzaoğlu), Ayı Mahmut (*Mahmut the bear*) (Hasan Ceylan) succeeded to escape from prison and crossed over the wall. However, a difficult life awaits them more outside than inside. During their escape they were forced to take a woman, as hostage, who was walking with her fiancé, and took shelter in an oil warehouse on a sea shore. They know neither the identity of the woman nor how to escape from the warehouse. They, in fact, survived from one wall but ended up to another. Their sheltered warehouse is near an edge of a cliff, is surrounded by the police. The ‘insiders’ and the ‘outsiders’ show class differentiations; the spatial characteristics of the warehouse symbolises this differentiation sharply. ‘Insiders’ got stuck both socially and spatially. There is no space to move around, neither outside the warehouse nor inside social circles. They will go either to the cliff or ‘surrender’ to the reality outside.

Insiders/outsiders differentiation is reinforced by the class position of the hostage. Gül Targan is the daughter of a notable influential business man, Rahmi Bey (Feridun Çölgeçen) and she is a famous theatre actress. She provides them with a chance to benefit from her money. They demanded from outside all the things that they had missed and could not consume until now; grilled bluefish, baklavas, chocolates, apples, boiled pounded wheat, raki and fork and knife to “eat like gentlemen”. The film extends on the prisoners’ inner criticisms and conflicts. That is how they perceive the outside, and how the outside views them. At the end, three of the prisoners die and the others are surrendered; Gül Targan returns over to her family.

Kemal is the only one who has no nick name among the prisoners who is in the prison because of a blood feud. He has been sentenced to 15 years for murdering two people who were performing ablution in a mosque court, when he was 14. Kemal, while talking with Gül Targan implicated that a blood feud is an indication of underdevelopment, uneducated people and has a class dimension;

“You are different. You are educated, have money, you have a father; don’t bother us, we were all born with four feet and will die with four feet”.³⁷

Dede found himself in for dealing in heroin; he is also a heroin addict himself. Dede hid a large amount of money before going into prison. He promises to reveal the place where the money was hidden to the members of the heroin gang, in order to help him escape. The escape plan was organised by the members of the gang.

Babaç was in prison for murder. His family, unlike the others, features heavily in his life. Among the crowded masses waiting outside, we see his family. Also Ayı Mahmut is in prison for being a thief. He is not a Moslem but he never mentions this ‘differentiation’ till he dies. When his body dropped into the sea as his testimony Babaç says, “Mighty God, forgive Ayı Mahmut. He was not a Moslem but he was good”.

Mektepli is in prison for stealing cars. We find out that his real name was Erdoğan: “Not Erdoğan but Mektepli. They first changed my name in prison”. In prison, the above characteristics differentiate people from each other not the names. Mektepli is the only educated one. Although he is young, he is the leader of the group; everybody consults him, listens to his comments, and most of the time, let him take the last decision. The hierarchy among the prisoners is determined not by age but by their education level.

Halicı is in prison for raping and killing a young girl. Everybody except Mektepli, think that he killed someone to save his honour. We can argue that Mektepli’s maintains this secret because of the non-written rules in prison. As Scully (1994: 21) stated, “not to use personal information about someone against himself” can be seen as a norm in prison. But the apparent contrast between killing for honour and rape is striking. While killing for honour is accepted as a

³⁷ Sen başkasın. Okumuşsun, paran var, baban var. Bizlere bakma, biz hepimiz dört ayak geldik dört ayak gideceğiz.

'respectable' action among men, raping is contemptible conduct. If we think that woman's sexuality has been constructed as a function of a power relation to men, on similar lines we can assure that rape as being 'abducted' and killing for honour as being 'respected': they both follow a patriarchal norm where woman's sexuality serves as an indicator of man's power. This norm is strengthened by showing Halıcı as a pathological character. First, the whole story of the film is constructed over the criticism that crime has not a personal but a social base. But Halıcı has spared of this criticism. Contrary to other crimes there has been no social reason for the rape. The director depicts the class differentiation indeed he stigmatizes the reasons for being lack of education, underdevelopment of culture, traditional values or poverty, except in Halıcı ease. He underlines Mektepli's words that the real criminals are not those men who got stuck in the warehouse but society itself:

Mektepli: Why did you gather here? Why did you turn this place into a fairground? Did you make everything work fine outside by putting us in jail? Will everything be fine if you hang us? We are finished; what will do us good if you listen to us or write about us? We were right before we were put into jail, why didn't you listen then? There are ones whose crimes could not be uttered among you, why don't you find out? We are not the only ones who are guilty³⁸.

Secondly, throughout the film Halıcı has been insistently kept out from the typology which is spoiled by social order and the rape is entirely reduced to a character disorder. First Halıcı attempts to rape Gül Targan. He was again the only one who attempts this and this makes us believe that there is an uncontrollable sexual urges connected with the rape (Abbott & Wallace, 1997). When Mektepli saves Gül Targan, Halıcı defends himself, "She doesn't give a damn! Why do you take this so seriously? You beat me like hell! Just for a bitch!"³⁹. After that, the most important rule of the prison has been broken by

³⁸ Buraya neden toplandınız, niçin burayı panayı yerine çevirdiniz? Bizi hapse attınız da dışarıda işler yolunda mı gitti? Bizi asınca iyi mi gidecek? Biz artık bittik, dinleyecek, yazacaksınız da ne olacak! Hapse düşmeden evvel haklıydık, neden o zaman dinlemediniz? Suçları söylenmeyenler var içinizde onları bulsanıza! Yalnızca suçlu olan biz değiliz.

³⁹ O tınmaz ki, sen niye ciddiye alıyorsun? Kıyasıyla vurdun bana, hem de bir yosma için!

Halıcı again by betrayal. Halıcı finds a way to make a secret agreement to save himself for the police in his negotiating outside.

There is 'poverty' inside and a relation web which projects the class bases of the Democratic Party Government 'outside'. The story happens in a district where olives and the olive oil business takes place in the Aegean region. With the character Rahmi Bey, being a member of an old and well-known family of the district, and Sütçüoğlu who owns the warehouse which the prisoners took shelter, in depicts the class structure. Keyder (1992) pinpoints to Turkey's of DP (Democrat Party) political years which they tried to instil:

A privileged class in peasantry which becomes a natural extension of DP organisation consists of rich farmers of the relatively rich districts who work as brokers in the free market ideology. The founders of the party themselves were huge land owners of commercialised West Anatolia (Keyder, 1992: 54).

Since the one who was taken as a hostage was the daughter of Rahmi Bey, all the representatives of the state in the region were represented. Rahmi Bey's class power, is vividly described in a way that if the kidnapped person was from a lower class, they would interfere immediately, without taking into account the life of the kidnapped. The ideal that the state apparatus overcomes the 'political benefits' seems to be worn out. For instance, the trust of the police and the trust to the state as we often see in various films cannot be seen in this film at all. We witness the opposite happenings in this film. Here the state and the justice system itself almost start to collapse. The thing which is strongly emphasised is that being poor turns you into a criminal.

However, the class critique of the film turns to a total abused picture, especially when depicting the warehouse owner, Sütçüoğlu. He was only worried about the goods in the warehouse; He hired the warehouse to the gang members who were planning to save Dede (heroin dealer). When they offered him money he did not think twice. This shows that he is selfish and sly; at the same time the

traditionalism which symbolises the populist DP view of Islam. For example, while the reporters were interviewing him the photographer wants to take some picture of him he stands out as being religious, “God forgive you! Don’t you know that we are Muslim?”

However, in order to both reveal the distinctive feature of class and to understand how lower class men cope with the class power represented by upper class women, we should explore Gül Targan as only woman character of the film.

5.3.1.1. Gül Targan: Neither an Artist nor a Person, Daughter of Rahmi Bey

Gül Targan is a famous theatre player. Like all other single women, her class status is derived from her his father. For this reason, she represents the figure of a daughter for both insiders and outsiders. Despite her fame and professionalism, only her class characteristics are emphasised. Even her fiancé, Sezai Bey’s role helps to underline Gül Targan’s class position. He is described as being sheepishly when compared to Rahmi Bey’s power and other head official of the district, head of the police and the reporters, throughout the film. Besides, he is a man whose fiancé has been kidnapped when he is around but his power is so weak that he cannot stop the kidnappers.

Gül Targan is also the representative of the class power of Rahmi Bey for ‘insiders’. When the kidnappers found out that she is theatre player, one of them comforts himself, “What artist? Is she theatre artist? I thought she is involved something serious.”⁴⁰ But these comforting words were not good enough to handle her class power. The prisoners asked for her to be “properly dressed”, in other words Gül Targan attire should conform to wearing skirt and blouse unlike trousers she usually wears. Even when a woman hostage is in question, class power of her can only be broken by 'feminization' of her appearance.

⁴⁰ Ne artisti be, tiyatora mı? Ben de ağırbaşlı birşey bellemişim onu.

That everything, which is feminised, becomes degraded signifies that being just a woman is sufficient to be subordinated. This hierarchical social division, in depicting the character of Gül Tarhan as an artist, can be observed especially in relation between Mektepli and Gül Tarhan.

Gül Tarhan is described as unaware of the reality of society in which she lives even though she is a theatre artist. It seems that she has been living a fairy tale. Mektepli is the one who enlightens her with his knowledge. Mektepli is the only man among prisoners who communicates with Gül Tarhan. He in fact has seen her acting on stage several times, adores the characters she played, and even memorised some of her dialogs. She is very surprised when she finds this out. To her surprise there seems some ignorance in an artist who does not recognise her 'audience'. This is the first time that she comes across someone 'ordinary' who goes to the theatre. Gül Targan is not an 'intellectual' who is a theatre actress; she belongs to the 'elite'.

This differentiation is so sharp that for the first time in her life, thanks to Mektepli, seems to start thinking about social problems. She will ask 'naive' questions and it was Mehmet's turn to answer:

Mektepli: Everyone has something to do somehow in this world; there must be murderers also. This is what we get. They will interrogate us for kidnapping you one by one but nobody interrogated the ones who brought us here.

Gül Targan: Who should be interrogated?

Mektepli: Why Babaç killed Ramazan? Was heroine first discovered by Dede? Did Mahmut start stealing? Didn't Kemal's mother love her son? Why did she put a gun into her son's hands?⁴¹

⁴¹ Mektepli: Herkes bir iş tutmuş bu dünyada; katil de lazım. Bu, bizim kısmetimize düşen. Seni buraya getirdik diye bizden teker teker hesap soracaklar ama bizi getirenlerden kimse hesap sormadı.

Gül Targan: Kim sizin için hesap versin?

Mektepli: Babaç neden Ramazan'ı öldürdü? Eroi ni Dede mi icat etti, çalmayı Mahmut mu? Kemal'in annesi sevmiyor muydu oğlunu, neden 14 yaşında eline silahı verdi?

Mektepli makes this elite woman understand the ‘savage, tough and cruel’ world of common men. After finding out that Halıcı has betrayed them, the prisoners decide to form a court to judge him. They even appoint one of them as a defendant lawyer for Halıcı. At the end of the trial he was found to be fully guilty. They sentence him to death by throwing him into the sea through the window of the warehouse. What they did was a simulation of the existing law system. Gül Targan starts shouting hysterically: “I hate you all! You are all blood thirsty monsters!” Mektepli, after slapping her to calm down, tells her what kind of a man Halıcı was.

Kemal kills Ayı Mahmut accidentally after a quarrel. In the same quarrel Gül Targan is injured her leg. The gang members, who were planning to save Dede, got caught so they lost their last hope to be saved. After all this, Kemal wanted to surrender. He questions his for conscience for killing his friend, and besides he thinks that there is no way out. But while he surrendering he got shot. Before he dies we witness that his days are over by the nightmare he had had for years,. In his dreams Kemal sees mother encouraging him to kill their blood feud. Every time his mother pronounce, “I let my milk not to be useful for you Kemal! They killed your father, it’s your turn my brave Kemal”⁴² and Kemal wakes up feeling excited. But for the first time, Kemal’s nightmare turns into a nice dream: His mother still encourages him with the same words, on this occasion Kemal gives flowers instead of shooting other men. Only three characters – Babaç, Dede and Mektepli still remain who let Gül Targan free.

The common characteristics which the prisoners shared was not that they belongt o the lower class but they also committed a crime to protect their family and honour. There is no woman character or a story except one. Similarly no family is shown concretely in the film. However, if we look at the film in terms of men who commit crimes, there is always the concept a ‘family’ underneath the plot.

⁴² Haram olsun ak sütüm sana Kemal! Babanı bunlar vurmuştur, şimdi sıra sende aslanım Kemal.

5.3.2. *Acı Hayat*: Marriage as a Survival Struggle of Nermin

*“Seeking a rich husband is not something shameful,
otherwise, you will suffer all your lifetime.
Certainly, you marry with rich guy, don’t be like
me, and don’t have my destiny.”*

The family ideology underpins independent men who appropriate women’s labour and sexuality as breadwinners and dependent women who survive on men’s wage in their marriage. In this context, what means “women’s often disadvantaged position in terms of economical and power that they use all the sources open- waged job and marriage- themselves so that they would survive” (Davidoff, 2002: 108). As is the case of middle class women at the core of so-called household ideal, a lot of labour class women stand on their own feet in this way.

Nermin (Türkan Şoray) and Mehmet (Ayhan Işık) are engaged and they want to get marry. Their marriage depends on their finding a house to live in. Despite the fact that the money Mehmet earns is not enough for the household. Mehmet does not want her work. In one of the houses, Nermin goes to work; Ender (son of the house) sees Nermin who he admires a lot. As a result of Ender’s insistence for a date, they started to date and Ender makes a marriage proposal to Nermin. Nermin gets drunk in Ender’s house and they sleep together that night. Nermin tells Mehmet that she can’t get married with Mehmet since she is not the person she used to be anymore, and they separate. Nermin learns that she is pregnant. Ender cannot resist his father and mother who totally reject to their marriage. Ender, Nermin and Ender’s sister Filiz (Nebahat Çehre) go to Mehmet’s nightclub. Mehmet and Filiz get to know each other and sleep together. Mehmet goes to Ender’s father and tells him that he slept with his daughter. Ender gets furious and wants to kill him. Ender’s father prevents him from doing this in case it would create a scandal. He invites Mehmet to his office and offers money to cover this up. Mehmet does not accept the money and instead proposes marriage to Filiz.

Nermin has been working in a hairdresser as a manicurist. She has been living with her mother and father in a gecekondü as a subclass citizen. Since she works outside and earns money, she has a say in her household. In fact she does not do housework as her mother does that. The money she earns is very crucial for her living expenditures. Being in such a position threatens her father's authority. The following day, on the night she didn't come home, her father tells Nermin "don't defy your mother, you stayed outside overnight like a gadabout woman, and tell me where you were"⁴³. Nermin, thanks to the money she earns answers: "I have a right as much as you in this house; you do not earn my bread."

Nermin appears to have a desire to lead a life like the other rich women in her workplace. To have a good relationship she is insistent that Mehmet should find a house, marry and keep her work, "I hated money during all my lifetime but now, I believe the power of money even set at odds us to each other." She is impressed by what her mother says in getting married to a rich guy. She realises that she has to make a choice between a rich man she just met and the man she falls in love.

Mehmet has been working in Kasımpaşa shipyard as a welder. He wants to get married to Nermin but he doesn't earn enough income to live on and carry any family responsibility. He believes that the only way to become rich lies in education. But, to great surprise he becomes rich winning the lottery and builds a house for himself keeping in mind the finest details. When Nermin comes home he talks of his dream: "I will fill this space with a library, I'll put real books, not show pieces, uninteresting books as rich people do, and I will read them all".

Ender is a son of a high-class bourgeoisie family and he does not work. He believes that he will own everything he wants thanks to the power of his class position. In order to have a relationship with Nermin he imitates a driver. Before he proposes to her, he tells his real identity. Nermin's love for another man does not seem to create any obstacle:

⁴³ Annene karşı gelme, bir sürtük gibi dışarıda kaldın, nerede olduğunu söyle!

Ender: It is not important for me, two men can love a girl, but one of them owns her and I'll own you... No matter whom you want. Girls never marry whom they love.

Nermin: It is nice to have self-confidence. Richness is a great force⁴⁴.

Filiz is Ender's sister. She is high class, educated and cultured young girl. She seems different from other family members with her lifestyle and ways of talking. She keeps criticising her mother, father and brother's way of treating Nermin.

The director Metin Erksan, asserts that he pointed out the housing problem as being an economical, political and social issue in his film.

Homelessness, rents... Whole drama in the film is that the rents are so high that people cannot find a house to live in ... There was an allegory in the film. Getting married and finding a house (in Turkish both has the same meaning), getting inside a house. That girl and that man separate since they couldn't find a house and get inside and this series as a point of reference in the film (Altuner, 2005:53).

In the first scenes where Mehmet and Nermin look for a house as a couple who wants to get married, we see houses in poor districts where lower-class live. The housewives are separated a floor in which a family resides and they all share the toilet and the kitchen. The poverty is related with women and this particular space. That is why; the main issue in the film is not the housing problem, but rather the relation between women and their house. The house itself has features based on class and sexuality.

While they are looking for a house, Mehmet tells Nermin: "You are the one who chooses the house; you will spend most of the time there". We understand through Nermin's mimics and face expressions that she does not like these houses located in poor districts. She horrified at this thought. It appears that the

⁴⁴ Ender: Benim için önemli değil ki, bir kızı iki erkek sevebilir ama birisi sahip olur ve ben sana sahip olacağım. Kimi istersen hiç umurumda değil. Kızlar hiçbir zaman sevdikleriyle evlenemezler.

Nermin: İnsanın kendine güvenmesi çok güzel. Zenginlik büyük kudret.

house Nermin wants to live in should have affluent features. The house cannot be considered detached from the family, which takes a central stage in the structure of the house. The family ideology while legitimates women's position in the house and private space, reinforces the man's position as household chief. "Family wage and... accepted being man as 'given', constitutes the material basis of patriarchal relations." (Ecevit, 1991: 13). The house Nermin yearns for is found but Mehmet's money is not enough to cover the rent. For this reason Nermin wants to keep on working:

Mehmet: After we get married I will not let you work. Nermin, I cannot leave you among all those men.

Nermin: If it goes like this we cannot rent a hole let alone a house. Marriage, livelihood of a household is possible with money, and you still insist, "I will not let you work.

Mehmet: The more you see rich customers the more you initiate them⁴⁵.

Because daily struggles Nermin wishes to continue working so that she can contribute towards Mehmet's income. Since waged labour is considered as a part of manhood, Nermin's contribution threatens Mehmet's manhood. When Nermin gets married, the control of her labour and sexuality is passed onto her husband. In this case, Mehmet will decide whether Nermin will work outside or not. While women render their dependence on men via the family, the chief of the household is an independent person who affords livelihood. So, men are expected to participant in the labour market whereas women are expected to work in the "marriage market". (Davidoff, 2002: 106)

The job Nermin works does not offer a future for her survival. In fact, marriage is the only choice for Nermin to improve her class position. Nermin's mother also puts pressure on her to find a rich man to marry, saying that "Seeking a rich

⁴⁵ Mehmet: Evlendikten sonra ben seni çalıştırmam Nermin, hergün o kadar erkek arasına sokamam seni.

Nermin: Biz bu gidişle ev değil kümes bile tutamayız. Evlenmek evi geçindirmek parayla olur, bir de tutmuş seni çalıştırmam diyorsun.

Mehmet: Zengin müşterileri göre göre onlara benziyorsun.

husband is not something shameful; otherwise, you will suffer all your lifetime. Certainly, you marry a rich guy, don't be like me, and don't have my destiny.”⁴⁶

It can be said that marrying a man is assumed to provide a woman with protection. In return, a woman can give only possess: her chastity, and her virginity. Here what is not being shown is the domestic labour of women over where men control. The men who look after women in marriage, in turn, profit from women's sexuality. Nermin declares “I cannot look at your face, while telling this that is why we should have separate rooms”. Nermin wants to talk in separate rooms with Mehmet because she cannot look at his face. She explains why she cannot marry him as behind the wall 'she is not old Nermin anymore'. When Ender's mother finds out that Nermin is pregnant she is delighted: “She has found the best way to stay over my son”⁴⁷. Yet again patriarchal discourse comes to the fore.

Nermin was disappointed when she could not marry Ender but starts living with him. Ender looks after Nermin and her parents so she gets rid of her poor existence. Nermin's mother reminds her that it is better to marry otherwise people would start gossiping. In saying: “Do you want a wedding ceremony or money?” expresses Nermin's own dilemma. In response, her mother does not seem to mind her daughter's stand: “All right honey, don't worry, let people say whatever they want” she indeed no longer has any effect on Nermin.

On the other hand, high class has provided the ideal economical conditions on Filiz's livelihood. For this reason, she doesn't have any marital worries. Filiz's position frees her from 'chastity issue'. After she slept with Mehmet she clarifies her position: “It does not matter for me to be a wife or not of the man I love, being loved is more important.”

⁴⁶ Nermin's mother: Zengin koca aramak ayıp birşey değil, yoksa hayatın boyunca ızdırap çekersin. Muhakkak zengin bir adamla evlen, benim gibi olma, benim kaderimi yaşama.

⁴⁷ Oğlumun üstüne kalmak için en iyi çareyi bulmuşsun!

Women are treated as the sign of men's power within their relations to men. This also explains why women do not feature on the public sphere. Women belong to the house where the private realm is within the sight of family. Women represent men; their honour is measured by women's behaviours. Ender finds out that Nermin went to Mehmet's house.

Ender: Don't you have any respect for me? You degrade my honour, you made me a laughing-stock; you will never go there again.

Nermin: I will go.

Ender: You will not go, you fall in love with me, you are my wife; you cannot be with him.⁴⁸

The idea of manhood which, patriarchal ideology has established runs parallel with women's chastity, involves several signs, such as men looking after 'his woman', defending her, possessing her body, and purifying his honour. These signs explain clearly that manhood is position needs to be proved. The way to save a man's honour is to seize a woman of the opposite side. In this context, the control of men over women's sexuality appears as revenge in men's struggle of power.

Mehmet sleeps with Filiz. Next day he calls Ender's father "cleaning out his sister's chastity is your son's duty... you see, when the day comes, strangers take their revenge in this way."⁴⁹ Ender gets crazy and tells his father he would kill Mehmet. Ender's father prevents him from doing this: "Don't cause a scandal, never; otherwise my commercial standing will be destroyed". He invites Mehmet to his office and offers money to cover it up. Mehmet does not accept the money:

Is the only business in your life to buy and sell? Isn't there written anything else in your humanity book? Don't you know anything else? We neither do sell honour nor buy. Don't you still learn that

⁴⁸ Ender: Hiç saygın yok mu bana? Şerefimi iki paralık ettin. Beni herkese rezil ettin. Bir daha oraya gitmeyeceksin!

Nermin: Gideceğim.

Ender: Gitmeyeceksin, bana aşıksın, benim karımsın onunla olamazsın.

⁴⁹ Kızkardeşinin namusunu temizlemek oğluna düşer. ... Eloğlu gün gelir intikamını böyle alır.

some honours cannot be sold or bought? Keep both, your money and daughter!⁵⁰

Contrary to the others, money does not alter his character. Indeed, Mehmet cares for his woman and proposes marriage to Filiz. Here what we see is that whether Mehmet, Ender and his father behaved honourably and ethically is theorised via Filiz and Nermin. This power struggle is based on men's class positions where ethical values have been emphasised. It has been pointed out that wealth destroys human values and makes people materialistic not forgetting the differences in ethical views are based on class positions. "Social conflicts are interpreted in the moral platform; richness and power is identified with moral depression." (Saraçgil, 2005: 344).

There have been two class positions merely being rich and poor. Class discrepancies are presented as cultural differences. The distinctive features of the upper-class run true to form the western artistic and cultural values. Filiz's lifestyle includes ballet, making paintings at home, going to library, hairdresser and beauty saloon are presented as consumption patterns which only the upper-class could indulge in. The lower-classes in society have been deprived of all this reproduction areas where high-class people are allowed to use.

Mehmet's night-club is home to the entertain tester of rich people of that period where women accompanied men and striptease shows were part of the entertainment. This period defines itself with alternative cultural consumption patterns emerge, "casino culture appears for the variety of needs of new class of rich people", a period of consumption, luxury and waste (Belge, 1983: 1302).

The class differences presented in opposition which is given as good- bad, moral- immoral in the film *Acı Hayat* has been a feature that reflects social-realist cinema. A sexist bias is pronounced with the help of women's body no

⁵⁰ Mehmet: Senin için hayatta yalnız alıp satmak mı? Senin insanlık lugatında başka şeyler yazmaz mı? Başka bir şey bilmez misin? Biz ne namus satarız ne de alırız. Bazı namusların satılıp alınmayacağını hala öğrenemedin mi? Paran da kızın da senin olsun.

matter to which class they belong. The scene with two adjacent elevators represents Mehmet's liberation despite Nermin's surrender to desperation. Nermin, whose marriage dreams are broken, takes down the elevator, whereas Mehmet, who takes the other elevator up has become rich with the money he won from the lottery.

Nermin who hears that Mehmet had proposed to Filiz commits suicide. We see Ender, Mehmet and Filiz in front of Nermin's gravestone. Mehmet leaves the graveyard and Filiz follows him, after which they walk hand in hand together.

5.3.3. *Suçlular Aramızda*: Power of Capital versus Power of Morality.

"Mid-class family girls always dream of rich men. I achieved this but now I could sleep on a rush mat for a humanely love."

The script of *Suçlular Aramızda* which is a true story was written by Metin Erksan and also shot by him. Erksan explains how the idea of this script evolved:

There were families who were influential and they were extremely rich. A new class appeared in Turkey. One of its members was Gülbekyan. I read in papers that one day Gülbekyan gave a precious necklace to his daughter-in-law as a present. Some time afterwards, this necklace was stolen but the thieves were shocked when they tried to sell it, because it turned out that the necklace was imitation. Gülbekyan has given an imitation necklace to his daughter-in-law. I liked that story. This is the most scandalous thing I have ever heard. The film is about this story. Sarcasm can be found in the plot (Erksan, 1985: 33).

Halis Bey (Atıf Kaptan) gives a party to celebrate the tenth ship which he added to his fleet. When he went back to the villa with his son Mümtaz (Ekrem Bora) and daughter-in-law Demet (Belgin Doruk) at the end of the party, they found out that their villa was broken into. The thief has stolen the precious emerald necklace which Halis Bey gave to Demet. Halis Bey knew that it was an imitation but neither Mümtaz and Demet nor the thieves knew that. This

necklace does not divert from being the focus throughout the film. Everybody wants to possess this necklace, but when they found out that it was an imitation, they give it to someone else or give it as a gift. In fact, the necklace represents the greed and passion linked with possession.

In spite of being aware that the necklace was imitation, Halis Bey gave interviews to the papers and says that the price of the necklace was not important, but he was sorry to lose it for its sentimental value. When Halil (Tamer Yiğit) and Yusuf heard that the necklace they stole was an imitation, they were very surprised. They do not understand how someone so wealthy acted in an immoral way. But Artin Usta who valued the necklace admits that, "If someone gets rich, do you think he will be blessed with holy water? Essence of the mankind does not change".

Finding out that they have nothing precious in their hand after the robbery, Yusuf and Halil calls Mümtaz to give him a moral lesson: "You deceived your wife with your father or by yourself. You gave her a piece of glass in place of emeralds. Aren't you ashamed of yourselves? You disgraceful, dirty man!"⁵¹ Then they threatened him by giving the necklace to the police and reporting what had happened to the papers. So, Mümtaz learned that the necklace was an imitation from this telephone call, he made an agreement with the thieves to pay 40 thousand Liras for it. But he asks for 50 thousand Liras from his father to receive back the necklace. Although he does not give the money to the thieves when they meet, he shoots Yusuf and wins the imitation necklace back.

The police find Yusuf's dead body and by following the clues they find Halis Bey and Mümtaz. The police tell what happened to Halis Bey, and he understands that Mümtaz did not give the money to the thieves and asks for this money back. A twist of turn takes place. The family in question does not follow traditional patterns like excellent father-son relations. Indeed, father and son are

⁵¹ Babanla birlikte karını kazıkladın ya da sen kazıkladın. Zavallı kadına zümrüt yerine cam parçaları yutturdunuz. Hiç utanmanız yok mu rezil kahpe herifler.

always trying to deceive each other. Meanwhile, Mümtaz gives the necklace as a present to his 'mistress' knowing that it is imitation.

Halil tells Mümtaz that Yusuf's family is very poor so he should help them, but Mümtaz refuses to do so, "The police believe what I say. I am a respected man. Why should I care for his widow? Go away; I have no time to waste!"⁵²

When Halil believed that he could not take anything from Halis Bey and Mümtaz, he decides to talk to Demet. Demet does not believe what Halil says, after all it was her husband he is accusing. At this point, Halil warns Demet and asks her to see the truth: "I have nothing to do about your husband. My hands are tied. I have seen so many bad people but none of them was like him, be careful". Demet does not want to believe what she just heard, but in order to free her suspicions she goes to the place where the thieves live. She finds Yusuf's widow who told her, "He was a thief but he was the head of our family".⁵³ By giving some money to the widow, Demet wanted to 'pay for the guilt of her husband' by helping the children of the man who was killed by her husband.

In Demet's mind some suspicions were aroused. Halil warns her again: "Don't tell your husband what you know, if he finds out that you know all this he will kill you too," Demet is still not aware what kind of person her husband is: "You talk nonsense; he is my husband after all". But one day when they were in a night club when she sees a woman- Mümtaz's mistress Nüket (Leyla Sayar)-wearing her necklace, she is convinced that her husband has been cheating on her.

Mümtaz goes mad, when she sees Nüket's wearing the necklace outside, and tries to steal it from her house but he gets caught by her black gigolo. Nüket does not give the necklace back, so Mümtaz offers her money which was rejected.

⁵² Polis benim sözlerime inanır, ben muteber bir adamım. Dul karının tasası bana mı düştü, defol git bi de seninle mi uğraşacağız.

⁵³ Hırsızdı ama evimizin direği idi.

Later on, when she takes the necklace to a jewellery shop she finds out that the necklace was an imitation.

After the car accident of Halil and Demet, Mümtaz finds out that his wife knew everything and he makes plans to kill Halil. He thinks that if Halil dies, his wife could do nothing. He asks Captain Dursun Temel (Erol Taş), who works for him, to kill Halil on condition that if he gets caught he promised to look after him. Dursun Temel tries to kill Halil but Halil tells him all the truth. Dursun Temel goes back to Mümtaz, “Is it appropriate to deceive me for someone like you? You sad bad words for your wife’s honour, and also, you almost made me kill someone miserable like me. You are the one who is dishonourable!”⁵⁴ After this, Mümtaz kills him too. This was his second murder.

Demet wants divorce Mümtaz but he tries to change her mind, “I am the one who should be asking for divorce. But since I am a civilised man I am ready to forget everything”. He asks her to defer her decision after the charity ball in aid for the poor is over. But he planned to kill her during the ball.

The ball was held on one of Mümtaz’s ships and the guests were wearing bathing suits, bikinis and diving suits. Nüket auctioned the necklace at the ball and tells its entire story. Later on Mümtaz finds her on the deck, “You are the most dangerous witness. Halil is a thief, no one believes him” and when he was trying to kill her, Halil stops Mümtaz. In the last scene Mümtaz hurls himself into the sea uttering the following words:

I stole, I killed. I acted like I was meant to act in my environment. You are this environment. You would have done the same thing if you were in my shoes. I am finished now. I don’t accept any power

⁵⁴ Senin gibi bir beye beni aldatmak yakışır mı? Hem günahsız karının namusuna dil uzattın hem de benim gibi bir zavallının elini kana bulaştıracaktın asıl namussuz sensin.

to judge and sentence me. No other force can punish me except myself.⁵⁵

It is possible to appraise the film *Suçlular Aramızda* as a criticism of the economic politics of a period in the same way as *Gecelerin Ötesi*. It is not radical to say that the pre-election propagandas of the DP were based on promises which included the abolishing of the state intervention and strict state control over the economy and privatisation of the state enterprises. This line of thought which was embedded when the DP was in government, helped in the process of industrialisation by encouraging foreign capital investments and liberalisation of the economy (Keyder, 1992). Metin Erksan (1985) commenting on *Gecelerin Ötesi* had this to say “While having a millionaire in each district, we have some other things in the same district”. Consequently, he wanted to study the reflections of socio-economic politics of the DP period with lower class framework. But in the film *Suçlular Aramızda* the new upper class is the main focus, namely Halis Bey and his son Mümtaz who are the ‘millionaires of their district’.

Halis Bey did not inherit his family’s wealth. He achieved wealth by working hard, starting with a single boat and working day and night. Also the economic politics which were put into practice in the country assisted him in the process. Development strategies and aid programs for underdeveloped countries which were stabilised in Turkey helped him significantly in similar ways to other private enterprises. But, those around him believe that he became rich by underhand dealings. “He was even involved in human trafficking by using his boats, but who in return never made it to their final destination. There were five people on the boat which he had saved before sunk but none of them has been seen since; nobody knows where they are.” These rumours are not very relevant

⁵⁵ Çaldım öldürdüm. Ben içimde yaşadığım çevrenin şartlarına uydum. Sizsiniz o çevre, benim yerimde sizler olsaydınız aynı şeyleri yapardınız. Benim sonum geldi artık. Ama beni yargılayacak bana hüküm verecek hiçbir kuvvet tanımıyorum. Beni kendimden başka hiçbir kuvvet cezalandıramaz.

as, “These are the writings on ice; the important thing is my wealth and personality.”

Giving an imitation necklace is also a quite normal gesture for Halis Bey because he made his fortune by, “not spending money for baubles on such stupid traditions.” Besides he was not bothered too much that it was an imitation because when it was stolen he did not lose 350 thousand Liras. Disgraced is not something which worries rich men, “I am not interested in being disgraced but I do not want to be seen as a fool. They gossip about me for a few days and then they bow down to the ground in front of me.”⁵⁶

Rich Halis Bey represents the first generation who was raised in this new political ideology like Ender’s father in the film *Acı Hayat*. While this generation is seen to be obsessed with primitive capital accumulation methods, even in human trafficking by boats. In contrast, the second generation falls in the line with the capital accumulations within the roles of a free market economy. In this respect if we think that the capital accumulation has ‘wild’ connections even in marketing rules, there is no real difference between Halis Bey and his son. When Halis Bey, “I am not a member of the aristocracy but I have money. You are noble like all other children of the fathers in my position.” Here we see that the non-ethical roots of his wealth are being projected and at the same time he yearns to be a participant in nobility.

When Mümtaz took over the management in the company from his father the workers complained, “He is worse than his father”. Although he is not involved in human trafficking like his father, solutions he finds for increasing profits in the existing corporate structure are cruel enough. His first policy was to reduce the labour cost expenses: “Drop down the provision expenses by 25% and don’t mention any labour union or labour law garbage, I pay you for these.” The labour movement and organization which were quite developed at that time did not

⁵⁶ Ben rezil olmaktan değil, enayi yerine konulmaktan üzülürüm. İki üç gün dedikodu ederler ama gene de önünde yerlere kadar eğilirler.

deter him. Indeed, the company had a legal advisor which made sure to show that his measures were perfectly legal. “Within the law or out of the law, everything will be done the way I want. Agree with me or send me your resignations.”

Mümtaz owns not only capital but he also owns his wife, mistress and workers; he treats them as he owns them all. Even he has a mistress but when his wife is seeing another mans he had the right to divorce her. He is ready to forget everything because of being a ‘civilised’ man. He sees no harm in giving an imitation necklace to his mistress and then trying to steal it. But his mistress’ sexual/love affair with a gigolo is not an acceptable behaviour. “I fill her purse with money and buy a 350 thousand Lira necklace and then she cuckolds me.”⁵⁷ He has his wife’s possession thanks to the marriage bond but his mistress is a woman who he possesses with money:

Meanwhile upper classes included into men saying with totally different expression. The basics of this saying are: job, power, success, career, car, etc. Men here are articulated not by direct brutal force but by indirect symbolic violence and the logic of capitalism. Life itself is understood via these means. A respected job with a good income is everything. That is why the only predicament for any man is to be strong economically. The other values of social life are human relations, friendship, solidarity or women, being a lover, etc. and all these require of money (Cengiz and et. al, 2004: 56).

He has the capability to control both his wife and mistress body and sexuality. The relation he built with both women is an ownership relation.

Özbay (1993) claims that one of the indications of articulation of classical patriarchy and capitalism is that the social activities of women are made dependent on men through marriage. Demet, the daughter of a middle class family whose only dream is to be married to a rich man materialised when she married Mümtaz she became a member of the bourgeoisie. But ‘humanly love’ was lacking. In fact she is an unhappy and lonely woman. Even when she says,

⁵⁷ Biz hanımın çantasını paralarla dolduralım, boynuna 350 bin liralık gerdanlık takalım, o bizi boynuzlarla donatsın.

“A married man cannot live as he wants; mutual decisions of a mutual life go together”. Mümtaz spends most of his time outside because he has a mistress.

So Demet works in a social charity organisation, a typical pursuit of the bourgeoisie. In fact, it is possible in fact to find similarities between charity meetings and the women’s regular gathering days (gün) which have an important role in re-production of housewife ideology. Women’s regular gathering days provide the ideal opportunities for to women show and brag about their house works. This is an extension of the sexual division of labour. On such occasions, women also talk about their houses which can be modern, clean, tidy, and well-kept. At the end, they are admired for their success or disapproved by the others. The difference between middle class women and bourgeoisie women is that the peripheries of public and private sphere are defined yet again. Bourgeoisie women organised those meetings in luxurious hotels, like the Sheraton where they can display their richness in place of their houses. In these meetings arguments followed, “How can we help the poor? Let’s organize a ball; where should we hold the ball? How should it be done?” Moreover some slogans were displayed: “fitre and zekat (alms given at the end of Ramadan) in religion, social justice in secularism”, “a true friend helps in bad days”, “A well-fed person cannot imagine the distress of a hungry person” and “help the poor”. Therefore, it can easily be said that these situations offer the ideal opportunities to the female character to fit her tailored role. In this respect, Demet is indeed a bourgeoisie woman.

Mümtaz and Halil are also shown as opposite characters in the same way as Mümtaz’s wife Demet and his mistress Nüket.

Despite not having an ideal marriage, Demet seems to be happy with the situation. She tries to help the children of a man her husband killed, so that she pays for her husband’s guilt. To stand and overlook this immoral world, which

she does not approve of is Demet's 'invisible labour' as a bourgeoisie woman⁵⁸. The necklace was not real, her husband is a murderer, her husband gave the necklace to his mistress, are enough reasons to divorce. But she is still under his threat and she tries to avoid scandals in the divorce proceedings; "After being through all these hard years I cannot also ruin the future with a scandalous divorce".

The energy and emotional effort which she has spent becomes clear when we include the labour concept. Acar-Savran (2004: 34) described "the emotional labour as material, moral energy and attempt that women spend unilaterally either with their own consent and preference, or against the threat of violence or bare violence." The opposition between Demet and Nüket is underlined by this definition. While Demet was a woman who uses her emotional labour submissively, Nüket on the contrary, was a woman who could not stand anything and endure nothing resolutely. After finding out that the necklace was an imitation in the charity ball she is not afraid to admit this. She is the 'other woman' or mistress because of refusing to stand sacrifice emotionally. Nüket as 'independent woman' is kept excluded from this context because she has no husband or family. Nüket with her existence intensifies the feature of being a 'normal family woman' on one hand, and how immoral Mümtaz is on the other.

5.3.3.1. "He Was a Thief but He Was the Head of Our Family"

Lower-upper class comparisons in this film is not only emphasised on the characters' level but on spatial dimension too. Spatial contrast include as the women and children on the streets of the poor districts and the houses for the rich. In order to show the wealth of the bourgeoisie people, indoor space is reflected by the houses of this particular people.

⁵⁸ The concept of 'Invisible labour' accepts the "caring" as a part of the social reproduction of labour beside the production of material and concrete objects. Therefore, Mies proposes the definition of the concept of feminist labour as "the production of immediate life" (see Mies, 2001). Also see Acar-Savran (2004) for detailed review of domestic labour debate and wider revision of women's labour notion.

Halil and Yusuf are two jobless and poor men living in a squatter house in Dolapdere district of Istanbul. Their only tool to survive is to steal. Yusuf's family is shown in the film in various stages from a means of representing the family ideology. His wife's words, "Okay he was a thief, but he was also the head of my house" intensifies this ideology. There is no 'normal family' norm which belongs to the bourgeoisie class; in the norm of upper class which is in moral degeneration, it is not an expected situation anyhow. Erksan (1985: 34) explains this clearly, "There is a disgracefulness going on here. Look at the family! Daughter-in-law acts in one way, the father in the other..."

Mümtaz does not look after his family like Yusuf; he does not steal to keep them going and is not the type who can be the 'head of the family'. Mümtaz shows his masculinity in other fields. In other words, the class critique of the film is made up with the comparison of upper-lower class family structure. Consequently, it intensifies the existing position of woman in one hand, and reproduces the family ideology on the other.

In the same way that Halil is the symbol of the virtue, Mümtaz is the symbol of immorality and evil. Virtuosity is linked to an angel while immorality to the devil. All the virtuous and right words are uttered by Halil. He is always the one who is aware of everything in his analysis of the world. Indeed, by his social responsibility he takes the others into consideration. He could not enlighten the bourgeoisie, but Demet and Captain Temel Dursun 'were/made aware' of the reality after getting in touch with him. As a representative of common sense, Halil tells the evil side of bourgeoisie and how disgraceful they are, when talking to Demet in connection with Mümtaz as his 'wife', and Captain as his 'slave'. The Captain is fully devoted to Mümtaz, he goes to kill Halil at once by saying: "Your honour is my honour". But Halil opens Captain's eyes with his words: "How dare you serve such a bastard?" Captain Temel Dursun went back enlightened to bring Mümtaz to account, but he got killed. The poor captain got entangled between the immoral bourgeoisie and the poor with common sense. Similarly Demet too learned life after getting acquainted with Halil. She wants

now a life such that she deserved. Indeed, she is finally made aware that what she needs is not only a humanely love as “could even sleep on a rush mat”. Halil saved her both from being deceived while reminded her of which class she belonged. Her place does not rest with the upper class, but it is also not lower class where she believes she could sleep on a ‘a rush mat’: “You don’t know what being poor means; I know it very well, do not desire it. I know the poverty very well, it has finished me. I would almost be a thief”.

Bourgeoisie class is morally spoiled. Stealing and murder are the elements of the bourgeoisie class life style. On the other hand the lower class steals for to be nourished, shelter and health. That is to say that they indulge in this only for survival not for ownership that is why this is not seen as being immoral. This confrontation itself is intensified by caricaturising the upper class in the film. Here the emerald necklace plays an important role in the film. As spectators, we can think that “This is too much”. The father gives the imitation necklace to his daughter-in-law, husband gives it to his mistress; the son steals money from his father, tries to cheat him; the husband kills two people for the necklace. But this shows as Hayward mentions, the bourgeoisie class’s way of abusing the capital not the capital itself:

Since the representation is often caricatured, capital as a bad thing is not being targeted but rather abuse of capital power, for which an individual will be punished. Capital in itself, according to the narrative, still remains intact as a good thing (Hayward, 2000: 62).

That is why Mümtaz punishes himself at the end of the film. Metin Erksan made here a cultural criticism of the richness as in his other films. In other words, he described the class relations on moral terms. He argued that ‘life styles’ are based on moral contrasts not categories which have political, economical and social dynamics in any social class.

5.4. Reproduction of Family as an Idea

This section focuses on the experiences of women as wives and mothers. The 'personal' relations between the sexes that were coded as 'private life' has been one of the oldest and greatest fields of feminist challenge. By asserting that 'private life' is a social-ideological experience having historical roots, they uncovered how sexual division of labour located within the 'private' world of the family is the result of a political/social arrangement that is dependent on power relations. The films involved in this section provides how the holy unity of the family is constructed and maintained through men's control over women's labour and sexuality and the ways through which the notion of motherhood is idealized.

5.4.1. *Gurbet Kuşları*: Urbanization As A Degenerated Face of Women

“Be careful, otherwise we loose each other. There will be no joke in İstanbul!..”

Among the Turkish films which deal with the migration phenomenon, *Gurbet Kuşları* (see Appendix A) stands out as it projects the idea of returning back to the original roots (Kayalı, 1997). The film narrates the economical, cultural and social struggles of a family who migrate to İstanbul. The migration story in the film diverts to a totally different pattern thanks to some of its particular characteristics when compared to other Turkish migration literature which deal with the same topic. In other words, in such case, all the family consisting of peasant folk, transfer to İstanbul from another city as an entity. Before the rest of the family accompanies then the father and his son rented a repair shop and a house to live in. The father and his sons have skills on repairing cars and they were lucky enough to arrive in with some amount of capital. Another characteristic is that this family does not move to a district where similar migrants from their villages usually abide which gives them the opportunity to establish social relations, based on kinship and compatriot relations. The director of the film, Halit Refiğ, describes the film as “a story of a family who came to İstanbul but couldn’t realise their dream (cited in Türk, 2001: 152). The migration struggle process is narrated against the background of the protection

and vitality of the unity of family. In this context, the family, as an idea, is constituted and evaluated as being different from the household:

The household is a place, where individuals gather their sources, fulfil certain duties, connect with large networks and reproduce in society... As a concept the family must be understood as a definition of the question of 'who must live together within the households?' In this way, the family becomes a part of an ideology and normative thought (Rapp 1982 cited in Ecevit, 1991: 9).

For this reason, in this work, the crisis which the family lives is based on the dissociation of patriarchy, the reproduction of family idea/ideology. But on the basis of rejoining father and son in time, the patriarchal steak is not neglected.

Tahir Bakırcıođlu (Mümtaz Ener), his wife Hatice (Muadelet Tibet), their children Selim (Cüneyt Arkın), Murat (Tanju Gürsu), Kemal (Özden Çelik) and Fatma (Pervin Par) get off the train in Haydarpaşa train station.

When the repair shop business is experiencing problem, they go bankrupt and all family come to İstanbul from Maraş with the hope of a better life. The father testifies "We want to conquer here by all our hearts."⁵⁹ On the other hand, he expresses the fear of transferring to an unknown place. Indeed, İstanbul could prove to be detrimental in the separation of the family: "Be careful, otherwise we loose each other. There will be no joke in İstanbul!.." ⁶⁰ Anxious words which express deeply the father's fear.

There is another person in the same train that comes from Kayseri to İstanbul: Haybeci (Hüseyin Baradan). Haybeci, whose real name is never cited in the film, gets on the train without buying a ticket, and also boards the ship illegally. While staring at İstanbul says: "Damn İstanbul! I am coming to conquer you; I will be your king". The director Halit refiğ asserts that he intends to establish a contrast

⁵⁹ Hepimizin kalbinde bu beldeyi fethetmek var.

⁶⁰ Dikkat edin, birbirimizi yitirmeyelim. İstanbul'da böyle şeylerin şakası olmaz!

between Haybeci, who comes to İstanbul and as a sly character, and the family coming from Maraş (Türk, 2001: 153).

The decent underclass people in this settings, put forward a character like Haybeci who is sly, take advantage of other's right, plays tricks and lives on black money; whereas in other films, even burglary is not considered to be an illegal way to make a living.

Haybeci, as different from the Bakırcıoğlu family, comes to İstanbul alone only with a small bag on his shoulder. Through the film, Haybeci appears in certain times revealing his ascendant position every time in contrast to the descendent position of Bakırcıoğlu family. Haybeci is always alone; he has neither a family nor a friend. Even though men of Bakırcıoğlu family are thought to be skilled labourers and came to İstanbul with money, Haybeci an unskilled labourer comes to İstanbul without any money. Whenever we see him he does different jobs, portorage or a parking lot attendant. Halit Refiğ explains the ascendance of Haybeci in this way:

Finally Haybeci enters the assets of society. A member of the Bakırcıoğlu family, who obey the rules, has the ability to do that, studies medicine, has the chance to be accepted at the top part of society too. There is nothing like 'no chance' ...In *Gurbet Kuşları*, we see the discrepancy of the class issue, in such a way that, instead of the strictness of the class positions in the West, easy surpass of inter class positions is at issue in Turkey (cited in Türk, 2001: 152).

At the end of the film Haybeci installs himself as the overseer shanty- town. While the Bakırcıoğlu family returns to Maraş as a family who “came to İstanbul and became losers”, Haybeci goes to Kayseri to open an agency for those new comers to İstanbul. He plans to be a contractor. The Director Refiğ makes the class transition possible by either being well educated or being like Haybeci. Haybeci also approves of this position:

The horse belongs to the horseman, the sword belongs to someone who puts in on, and the wheel of fortune belongs to someone who lives happily in prosperity. There is no bread available to anyone who does not open his/her eyes at this time.⁶¹

The family moves to a house they rented in a poor district in İstanbul belonging to an old widow. She does admit that she is struggling to live and the rent of the house is necessary: “Having no man is not a trouble you can brush away easily”⁶². There is a division of labour among family members. The father will work in the repair shop with his two sons Selim and Murat; Fatma will do the housework with her mother while Kemal will study in the Faculty of Medicine.

When the family goes to repair shop that they had previously rented, they realise that they have been deceived. Instead, they choose to set up a smaller repair shop in another location with their savings. In addition to this business failure, they come across with the very first day, the power of men, who have a say in the family is also shaken. At the dinner table, when Fatma dares to talk about this failure Murat quietens her by saying angrily: “Stop it, as if she became a person and is allowed to talk”⁶³. In fact, Fatma who is dominated by the public sphere challenges the men. She goes out domestic sphere where women legitimated and are in control of men. The father exercises the hierarchical power so that he could re-establish his control and warns the mother who is firmly in control of inner house authority: “Control this girl strictly!, don’t let her interfere that often”⁶⁴. After silencing Fatma, they regain the control: “We will become the shah of İstanbul, shah!”.

Selim works in the repair shop with his father. The more their business does well, the worse the business of Panait usta (master Panait), who does the same

⁶¹ At binenin, kılıç kuşanarı, devran sürenin. Gözünü açmayana aklını kullanmaya ekmek yok bu devirde.

⁶² Erkeksizlik kapıya konulacak dert değil.

⁶³ Kes lan, adam olmuş da lafa karışıyor.

⁶⁴ Bu kızın dizginlerini sıkı tut, öyle zırt pırt lafa karışmasın.

work opposite their shop, goes bad. His wife Despina (Gülbin Eray), brings food everyday to her husband Panait usta. Selim sees Despina, likes her very much and says: “This woman is like a book, if you have one, she must be like this”.⁶⁵ Despina represents the typical İstanbul woman so, 'conquering' İstanbul means 'conquering' Despina.

A love affair starts between Selim and Despina, the wife of Panait usta. They go to Despina's house during the day. During this time the father stays alone in the repair shop and has difficulty to finish the work on time. At the end, the customers take their custom to go to Panait's shop. The father is aware of the fact that the things are going badly. He tells Selim, “You are such a horny guy; you ignore the shop for the sake of such a woman”.⁶⁶ At the same time, Despina wants to end her relationship from Selim, as she is the mother of a 7-year-old child. Originally, she started this love affair to save her family. That is to say that, by keeping Selim away from his work, she had benefited Panait's work.

Murat starts working as a taxi driver. He is known as a 'brave, open-eyed' person. He is respected as a father authority, but despite his big brother Selim, he pretends to be the second in authority in the household, especially in his relations with his brothers and sisters. Murat is very much disturbed by the fact that even though Kemal does not earn money, he holds an appreciated position in the family. He seems as if he is the one who is responsible for Fatma's chastity. By severely controlling Fatma, Murat tries to prevent her being in a descent position like 'Erengiller's Naciye'. Moreover he also he resorts to brute force to make sure this happens.

Murat goes to a night-club every night to see Seval whom he meets by coincidence. Initially, when Seval cuts him dead he took it as an offence: “Bitch, as if she saw my pocket, she does not give a damn”.⁶⁷ His money was not

⁶⁵ Kitap gibi avrat, oldu mu böyle olmalı.

⁶⁶ Ne kadar uçkuru gevşek bir adammışsın, bir kefere avrat uğruna dükkânı sattın.

⁶⁷ Kancık, cebimin içini mi gördü ne, bizi boş veriyor.

enough to make Seval fall for him. When there is a fight in the night-club, he intervenes and protects Seval, where he has the opportunity to prove that manhood is not related to money. After Seval invites him to her house she laments: You all want the same thing, come and take the price of your help and patience”⁶⁸ and presents herself to Murat. Murat goes crazy and slaps her: “Cow, Who do you think I am? Am I one of your disrespectful womanisers? Go and get properly dressed!”⁶⁹ She puts on her cotton night-dress and in this way she abandons her B-girl identity. Murat does not sleep with her in the same bed that night. Murat exercises his authority over Seval, and at the same time, proves his manhood by not only fighting with the other guys, and also, by insulting and resorting to brute force on Seval. He gets control of her sexuality as well, by making her wear the cotton night-dress. Murat has succeeded to live with Seval.

In the same way as his elder brother, Murat has succeeded to conquer a woman from İstanbul. But, Seval is not from İstanbul. In fact Seval is someone known as Erengiller’s Naciye, who is depicted as a bad example of the family members. She comes from Maraş to İstanbul and no one knows her whereabouts. Even if Murat and Seval grew up in the same town, they couldn’t recognise each other, since they have not seen each other since then. After a while Murat, like Kara Cemil in *Hızlı Yaşayalar*, says that Naciye’s working in a night-club makes him crazy and wants her to give it up. Naciye, as a prototype of an independent woman projected in all the other films, does not agree to this proposal:

Naciye: I will not marry for a piece of bread. I want to live better, get dressed well. Besides I got used to here. After I got used to live in İstanbul, I’ll never live in another place. And also why do we need to change? I love you; I need you too. So what?⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Hepiniz aynı şeyi istersiniz gel, sabrının ve yardımının karşılığını al.

⁶⁹ İnek! Ne sandın lan beni? Ben senin yılışık sulu zamparalarından mıyım? Git düzgün bir kıyafet giy.

⁷⁰ Bir lokma ekme için evlenemem. Rahat yaşamak, iyi giyinmek istiyorum. Hem ben buraya alıştım. İstanbul’a alıştıktan sonra başka bir yerde imkanı yok olmaz. Hem tüm bunlara ne gerek var ki? Ben seni seviyorum, sana ihtiyacım da var. Eee, daha ne?

Here Naciye is not presented as a 'consumer' object. At the same time it appears that Naciye is a lonely woman who migrates to İstanbul and can only afford to look after herself by selling her body.

Kemal is the only member of the family who is receiving education which could lead to a promising future. Although everybody works in the household, even at the times he does not attend to school we see him reading and studying his lessons all the time at home. Studying apart, he neither helps with the housework or the shopping, nor goes to the repair shop. Being depicted as, Kemal reminds us of Cemal in *Gecelerin Ötesi*. That is to say that, like Murat, Kemal does not carry the 'expected' manhood label since he does not need to go out to work to earn money. He stays at home surrounded by women's company. At home, Kemal's character is associated with the voice of common sense.

Kemal's girlfriend from university Ayla (Filiz Akın), is a middle-class daughter from İstanbul. She lives with her parents in a flat in a 'residential' district. She talks about her uneasiness related to immigrant people in İstanbul: "Leave your village, find İstanbul. These people make İstanbul an alien city!"⁷¹. She asks Murat about his original home roots. Not to put an end to their relationship, Kemal hides that he came from Maraş. He even promotes his family as being suitable to Ayla's middle-class background. After Ayla finds out that he had lied, and she does not want to see Kemal for some time but later on they make up. Kemal defends his position: "You don't like somebody who comes from the provinces; I lied to you as I thought you would leave me and not to loose our friendship"

Ayla invites Kemal to her house to introduce him to her family. Ayla's father Sami works in a bank, and her brother who lives in America, is a successful doctor. We see Arabic hand-written manuscripts, Ottoman art pieces displayed in the house. They talk about migration. Kemal says that they had come to İstanbul from Maraş in search of a better life. Sami emphasises that Turkish people had

⁷¹ Kalk köyünden gel; İstanbul'u bul. İstanbul'u İstanbulluluktan çıkardı bunlar.

already lost the conscious to protect and serve the homeland. In the newspaper they read an article with the following headlines “Several migration ways: Migration to Germany, migration to İstanbul, migration to USA out of unemployment”⁷². Sami underlines his concern by mentioning his son who is living in America:

Sami Bey: The cause of foreign migration is not unemployment; it is to represent our country in foreign countries.

Kemal: It is nice to go and visit America but, while there are duties waiting for us here, it is not good to stay there.

Ayla: Living in prosperity, a better life is the right of everybody.

Kemal: But we need to work; people must live in solidarity without fighting with each other.⁷³

Both Ayla and her parents are impressed by Kemal’s words. Ayla who becomes engaged to Kemal, decides that when she finishes from the Medicine Faculty, she will work as a doctor in Maraş, not in America.

Fatma keeps helping with the housework along with her mother. When she is relieved of the housework we see her brushing her hair in front of the mirror. We end up with the impression that Fatma does not have any interest to life struggles, poverty, or the efforts needed to find a job. Yet, when she talked about these issues before, she was forced to remain silent. She begins a friendship with Mualla (Muzaffer Nebioğlu) who lives in the same district. Mualla is a lonely woman who earns a living by sewing at home. Mualla invites Fatma to her house and invites her to the cinema. But Fatma never has time on her hands to indulge in such activities: “I cannot go around because of the housework. Feeding,

⁷² Halit Refiğ says that together with what Kemal says, the words of a nationalist- Turanist father and Çetin Altan’s article in Milliyet newspaper, he wants to give different opinions related to migration phenomena. (see Türk, 2001: 151).

⁷³ Sami Bey: Dış göçün nedeni işsizlik değil, ülkemizi yabancı diyarlarda temsil etmek.

Kemal: Amerika’yı gidip ziyaret etmek iyi bir şey ama burada bizi bekleyen vazifeler varken orada kalmak kötü.

Ayla: Rahat içinde yaşamak, daha iyi bir yaşam herkesin hakkı.

cleaning, and plus washing the clothes of these number of people, what a trouble!”⁷⁴

Fatma complains that she cannot go out alone. She goes to the cinema once a year accompanied by her family. She wants to walk around and have nice time but she is afraid of her brothers, particularly Murat. Fatma is kept inside the private realm. In fact, she represents the honour of family and also the honour of men. In this manner, except for Kemal who has is possessed with 'common sense', all the men members of the family agree. The conflict is lived on the question of who will have this control.

Murat: Why did you send her to the market, while he (pointing his young brother) stands here, girls must not go to the market or anywhere like that.

Baba: While I am at home, no one is allowed to talk. Whether I let my son study or not, whether I let my daughter go to the market or not, is my decision, it is none of your business.

Selim: Father, to be honest I don't want to let her go to the market either. What happened to Erengiller's Naciye in Maraş? She escaped to İstanbul, no one knows where she is.

Murat: It is not look like Maraş here. What does a young girl mean here, no one leaves them alone?⁷⁵

Fatma, starts to go out together with Mualla without informing her family. She leaves home as Fatma, she puts on a make up and goes out of the confines of her neighbourhood and changes her name to Fatoş. When she returns home, she becomes Fatma again. As such, it is possible to think the neighbourhood as < larger extension of the house defined as a private realm.

⁷⁴ Ev işlerinden göz açamıyorum. O kadar insanın yemeği, evin silinmesi, süpürülmesi, bir de çamaşır binmiyor mu, al başına belayı.

⁷⁵ Murat- Bu kazık dururken onu bakkala niye gönderdin, kız kısmı bakkala, çakkala gitmemeli.
Baba: Benim evimde ben varken kimseye laf düşmez, oğlumu okuturum okutmam, kızımı bakkala yollarım yolamam, o benim bileceğim iş.
Selim: Valla baba Fatma'nın bakkala gitmesine ben de razı değilim, Maraş'taki Erengillerin kızı Naciye'ye ne oldu? İstanbul'a kaçtı da izi bile bulunamadı.
Murat: Burası Maraş'a benzemez, burada genç kız ne demek, yerler genç kızı burada.

The neighbourhood “as against the threats coming from the city, undertakes the ‘protectiveness’, and in this respect, it is in the position of private realm of city life in which ‘foreigners’ exist” (Savran, 2004: 119). For this very reason, when Orhan (Önder Somer) drops her by taxi in the very border of the neighbourhood after a party where Fatma went together with Mualla and met Orhan. In spite of all her efforts, Murat sees Fatma while getting out off the taxi.

When she arrives home, first Murat beats Fatma, and cuts her hair. In doing so, he takes from her the only thing she has loved. The father intervenes: “No one can beat my children in my home, but me, I am the one who is responsible for the family. You don’t supply the bread Fatma needs, I do.”⁷⁶

The tension between the father who represents the traditional authority and Murat who wants to break down this authority emerges once again. The source of this tension, as we mentioned earlier is whose responsibility it is to control Fatma, who represents the honour of the family. Also, who will punish her when she oversteps the boundaries, who will violate her. While Fatma is crying in the room, Kemal consoles her by saying “All past, don’t cry anymore, this is normal, he is your brother, not a foreigner, he doesn’t want you behaving badly”⁷⁷. Fatma promises her brother not to go out. However she keeps meeting Orhan, and explains: “Yes, I promised my brothers not to meet Orhan, but I promised Orhan before to meet him”. She seems to be a fly who runs through the lights of the city (see *Gecelerin Ötesi*).

Fatoş who goes to Orhan’s villa out of the city, after his marriage proposal, accepts his love affair and they sleep together. But Orhan tells her that his family is living abroad so they cannot marry immediately. But this situation is not an obstacle for them to be together: “You can come whenever you want to this house”. Fatoş returns home, and writes a letter to her mother before she leaves

⁷⁶ Benim evimde benim çocuklarımı benden başka hiç kimse dövemez, ailenin namusunu düşünmek bana düşer, Fatma’nın ekmeğini siz veriyorsunuz ben veriyorum.

⁷⁷ Olan oldu, ağlama artık olacak o kadar, yabancı değil, o senin ağabeyin, senin kötülüğünü istemiyor.

the house. When she arrives to Orhan's house she realises that she is deceived. In the letter she had written that "Happiness is my right too, I found it in this way"⁷⁸. The father asks his sons, "If you find the girl, bring her to me, I will punish her myself". There is no trace from Fatoş, but Murat keeps looking for her.

At this stage, the family finds itself in a state of separation. Since business is going badly, they have to close down the repair shop with no money to spare. The father regains his authority: "Selim dealt with sex all the time with detrimental effects on the shop. Murat became a vagrant, and never came to house, you don't bring any pennies home but you keep talking all the time"⁷⁹. He gathers all family members and says that he wants to buy an old car, repair it and work as a taxi driver. Seeing the trouble they are in, the mother gives the gold saved for Fatma's marriage to her husband. The father says: "Did you see the bounded woman to her house?"⁸⁰ He turns towards his wife: "I benefit from you, you benefit from me, you and I are like horses that run the same carriage, and as much as we can we run this carriage"⁸¹ This corresponds with the analysis Abisel makes on Turkish cinema:

In the period of transition, the common targets of the family have been so important that there has been a conflict between economical problems, individual happiness and sustaining the existence of the family. However, while taking these issues in our films, the traditional values, invalid as they are, have been desired to be kept alive and reinforced. In this way, it is aimed to forget and tranquillise the harmonisation problems, which appear in the change of the economical, spatial and social relations, by means of traditional family concept and ties (Abisel, 1994: 75).

⁷⁸ Saadet benim de hakkım, ben saadeti bu şekilde buldum.

⁷⁹ Selim efendi uçkuruna hakim olamadı dükkânı batırdı, Murat efendi dersin işi serseliğe vurdu, eve uğramaz oldu. Eve bir kuruş hayrınız dokunmuyor, cart curt etmeye gelince sizden alası yok.

⁸⁰ Gördünüz mü, evine bağlı avradı!

⁸¹ Bana senden, sana benden hayır var, senle ben aynı arabaya koşulmuş beygirleriz, gücümüz yettiğinde bu arabayı çekeriz.

Here, while the mother has a very small place in the debates and decision-making processes in the family, 'motherhood' itself is underlined. The woman as a wife and mother has no limits about what she can do to maintain the unity of the family, carry out the family's responsibility and to provide the means of subsistence. Despina also as a mother devotes herself to keep her family alive. As a matter of fact what makes the families survive are the notions of motherhood and housewife.

The crisis situation in the family continues, the father's car broke down. Selim applies to the Labour Office. Murat does not come home, since he lives with Naciye. The tension between Murat and Naciye keeps going on. Because Naciye does not accept abandon her work in the night –club. "My livelihood is not your problem; I am not your official wife".⁸²

Murat suspects that Naciye is cheating on him and sees her while she and Fatma meet and go into an apartment. When Selim heard about this, he meets with Kemal and Ayla and they go into the apartment altogether. Then, they catch Fatma in a flat which functions as a whorehouse. Fatma escapes and goes to the attic. Murat blames and yells at Fatma: "Immoral woman, you are in my hands now" by pressing her more with Selim. Fatma jumps from the attic as she understands she couldn't escape from her brothers.

The death of Fatma causes the segregated family to come together. Kemal leads the family's reorganisation.

Kemal: Fatma's death has to be a lesson for us. The starting point of our problem is the move to İstanbul from Maraş and our dream to conquer it. As a family we have to have live in a defence we try to attack. In spite of working shoulder to shoulder, every one of us immerses our individuality. We tried to benefit from this

⁸² Geçimim boynunda değil, nikâhlı karın değilim ben?

city without adding anything. We couldn't succeed; the only solution is to return to Maraş and restart everything again.⁸³

The family has been really unsuccessful in the city. It reproduces itself by being portrayed as a victim, provide the unity of family and decide to return to Maraş on a winning streak. The return to Maraş is supported by Ayla's father credit. Hereafter, they could not return to their old neighbourhood. Kemal contemplates: "We have to evaluate this return not as a defeat but as the beginning of a brand new life". Ayla supports this: "After graduating from university, we will come there, those places need professionals more than İstanbul, and we believe this". Halit Refiğ has always been referred to an intellectual who is alienated to lean society (Stranger in the City). This stranger transforms to an intellectual who finds solution to social problems and has a leading role.

The city is shown as an insecure place for migrants. But the insecurity and danger of the city is represented by woman's sexuality. The dissolution and coming together of the family are defined by women.

Another point to be emphasised is the emigration issue. While this point ties with 'a better life' for the middle and the upper classes, for lower classes it is 'to conquer'. Ayla's big brother went to America for seeking a better life, but Bakırcıoğlu family came to İstanbul to 'conquer' it.

The view of urbanisation and migration is an integral part of this differentiation. In this modernist, and at the same time, elitist point of view, the new comers do not to be seen as a part of urban way of life; they can, at most, be a social disaster. The ones, who come to 'conquer' the city despite of being real labourers, are shown to benefit from the advantages of the city giving anything in return. For this reason we witness a negative reaction against them. It is possible

⁸³ Kemal: Fatma'nın ölümü bize iyi bir ders olmalı, Maraş'tan İstanbul'a taşınmak burayı fethetme hayali hatanın başlangıcı, biz kendi dar imkânlarımızla savunma halinde yaşamamız gereken bir aile iken, biz taarruza kalktık. Sırt sırta verip çalışacağımıza herkes kendi havasına daldı, kendimizden hiçbir şey katmadan bu şehrin nimetlerinden istifade etmeye kalktık, işte bunun için başaramadık, tek çare Maraş'a dönüp her şeye yeniden başlamak.

to view the family's transfer back to Maraş as being both the result of re-unification of the family and the reactionist attitudes of the urban elites of that period.

5.4.2. *Kırık Çanaklar*: Self-Sacrificed Women and Unity of the Family

“Ah Sabri Efendi, you see, you will be oppressed and couldn't open your mouth to say anything.”

Kırık Çanaklar has been adapted from the play *Wooden Dish* by Edmund Morris. Memduh Ün tells in an interview given to Milliyet on 30th September 2005 that he did not like none of his films, but *Kırık Çanaklar* is one of the most important ones of his, similar to '*Toprak Ana*' and '*Ayşecik*'.

Kırık Çanaklar is about a lower class family who lives in a squatter settlement. Cemal (Turgut Özatay) and Sabahat (Lale Oraloğlu) are married and have a daughter Ayten (Rüya Gümüştata). Cemal's father Hüseyin (Salih Tozan) lives with them too.

Cemal works in a construction as a truck driver. Sabahat was working in a cardboard factory before getting married but she quits her job to satisfy Cemal's wishes. In contrast to the middle class family in *Kırık Hayatlar*, the lower class family is in conflict throughout the film. First of all, Cemal's salary is not enough for the expenses of the family. Since Sabahat's household labour has become important in this situation, it seems to be the basic point of their conflict. This conflict becomes evident in the decision making processes of the household, making use of the financial resources and consumption, and how relations will be formed in the outer space (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1998: 144). Extra responsibilities, like taking care of her child and her father-in-law increases her load.

Cemal despises what she does and he also finds them insufficient. According to Cemal, Sabahat cannot fulfil her 'wifehood' duties fully. He does not hesitate to talk about Sabahat's labour which he trivialised, to the other people in this way:

Cemal: Saying hello and the complaints start! As if there was no one working on earth except you.

Sabri: Do not undervalue the household chores.

Cemal: Other men's wives dress up to the nines for their husbands, not like her. She looks like she has escaped from a fire.

Sabahat: Your father and daughter thanks God are worth an army. Run after her, run after him and time flies by.

Cemal: What on earth is this? Am I putting my legs on the desk the whole day like a lord? Get on the wheels and see how your nose aches. But I still do not pester anyone.⁸⁴

Cemal here considers his job important because he is earning money by putting up with others caprice and with this job which sustains his family. But Sabahat does not have to struggle with other people. Besides, she is the 'her own boss' in the house. In fact, the main thing he stresses is that Sabahat's reproduction of labour power is insufficient.

The overall control of his money belongs to Cemal himself. Sabahat wants to style a wedding dress for herself. But in order to get the necessary money for the dress requires, she has to 'being nice' to Cemal. In spite of this, Cemal scolds her by saying, "Encourage the women and get yourself into debt! Do I collect money from the sand?"⁸⁵

Cemal burdens his father's care to Sabahat at the same time. Sabahat receives a similar answer when she complains that Hüseyin Dede's has broken dishes: "He breaks them if he wants! Do you pay for them? You were a poor girl after all; I

⁸⁴ Cemal: Selamün aleyküm, şikâyet! Sanki dünyada senden başka iş yapan yok mu?

Sabri: Ev işi deyip geçme.

Cemal: Elalemin kadını kocalarının karşısına iki dirhem bir çekirdek çıkıyor, böyle yangından kaçmış gibi değil.

Sabahat: Babanla kızın maşallah ikisi bir orduya bedel, ona koş buna koş derken akşam oluyor.

Cemal: Bu ne ya! Biz bütün gün lord gibi ayak mı uzatıyoruz? Geç bir direksiyonun başına da göreyim bakayım nasıl sızlıyor burnunun direği? Ama gene de biz kimsenin kafasını ütölemiyoruz.

⁸⁵ Karıya yüz verdik borçlu çıktık, parayı kumdan mı topluyoruz?

saved you from working in the factory. When you get uppish you started assaulting this and that”⁸⁶.

As we mentioned before Sabahat is not responsible only for the household chores. Because of being responsible for the care of dependant relative at the same time, she is trapped in the domestic sphere. Cemal not only trapped her in this specific domestic sphere by making quit her job, he also made her dependent to his income. Sabahat cannot go anywhere, besides the house and the garden, without his permission. Moreover she has neither money nor time for this. When her neighbour Mualla (Mualla Kaynak) sees her working all the time she remarks:

Shall I waste my life at home? I haven't seen you dressing up and going anywhere. It cannot be curry favoured to men; take the best one, pour gasoline over him and burn him”⁸⁷.

Here we perceive Sabahat as a woman who has devoted herself to her home while on the contrary Mualla is independent and has no responsibilities. Sabahat does not complain about her housewife's role. In fact she complains about the excessive work load and she could get anything neither emotionally nor financially in return.

Huseyin Dede's existence also plays an important role. The tension in the family is shown clearly by the dependent relative. In Sabahat's own words she has been slapped and kicked out by her husband because “she has both been suppressed and she had talked back’. The main difference from the other films which we analysed is the scope of the violence which she has been through. Here, the violence is not explained by man's honour and dignity.

⁸⁶ Kırarsa kırar, para cebinden mi çıkıyor? Sana ne! Alt tarafı, yarım topuklunun biriydin; seni tutup fabrika köşelerinden aldım. Bitin kanlanınca ona buna saldır.

⁸⁷ Senin gibi ömrümü evde mi çürüteyim? Bir ay oldu şu mahalleye taşınalı, bir kere giyinip bir yere gittiğini görmedim. Erkek milletine yaranılmaz, en iyisinin tepesine gaz dök yak.

The outcome of the study of Dobash & Dobash (1980 cited in Abbott & Wallace, 1997) seems to support the above statement. Accordingly:

The problem of violence against women is a deep rooted societal one arising out of the patriarchal family system, a system in which the husband's authority over the wife creates a particular marriage power relationship and a subordinate position for wives and mothers (1980 cited in Abbott and Wallace, 1997: 255).

In this situation, the man who is in a more powerful position exploits the woman's labour through marriage. What is expected from woman is to fulfil the domestic needs of her husband. In this context, the cause of the violence which she has been through is that she does not do the wife duties satisfactorily. When the house is not cleaned properly, the food is not prepared promptly and the woman is suspected of not being sexually faithful, she is exposed to the violence of the man.

Also, Sabahat always complains of her position at home and the care needed to the dependent relative. When her husband comes home from work she welcomes him not as a 'woman' but as a 'worker'. That is why she has been exposed to both psychological and physical violence. In the same way as a fired worker who complains about the working conditions and low salary, and has no social insurance, she is thrown out from her house. Moreover, her daughter Ayten did not go with her, saying that her mother exposed her to violence. Indeed she has now lost not only her house but her family.

When Sabahat left the house she went to her neighbour Mualla. As an excuse, Mualla makes it clear that Cemal would disturb them there and suggests that she should find refuge in Sabri's house. Sabahat does not want to follow her friend's advice but Mualla persuades her by saying that Sabri lives there with his mother, so there would be no rumours going on..

After Sabahat left the house, Hüseyin Dede says, “A married woman should not spend the night outside.⁸⁸” and sends Cemal to Mualla to take Sabahat back. Sabahat says, “She said she got fed up with you, had a relation with Sabri and went to him.” because she wants Cemal. Mualla has been gossiping about Sabahat with the neighbours. She was told the neighbours that Sabri had been visiting their house often and added: “She could not find one but Sabahat has got two”. The gossiping and bad mouthing shows that the honour of women is controlled not only by the husbands and the fathers, but by a larger community.

When we think about the squatter settlements, the control mechanism is very important over women by the relatives and neighbours in the settlements. The settlement as a sphere separates and protects women from a ‘foreign’ outer world. Because of this, it is at the same time a relationship network which forms a control mechanism about with whom women talk, what they wear, and so forth. In this way, the honour of the women becomes a problem which is under control and watched by the whole settlement. In this context, rumour is the most avoided phobia of women and their families (Savran, 2004: 119).

Rumours put Sabahat’s position into trouble. Mualla gossiped not only about Sabahat cheating on her husband, but also about how she is insufficient as a ‘woman’.

Mualla: Whatever happens, a woman should not let her husband see that she is tired.

Neighbour woman: When the man enters the house he expects a smiling face. The poor man gets exhausted driving that truck the whole day.⁸⁹

Mualla is a woman who lives alone and as an “independent woman” she is the greatest danger for the family as in all the other films. She reaches her ambitions

⁸⁸ Evli kadın geceyi evinden dışarıda geçirmez git al getir karını.

⁸⁹ Mualla: Bi kadın ne olursa olsun yorgunluğunu erkeğine belli etmemeli.
Komşu kadın: Erkek milleti bu eve gelince karısında güler yüz bekler. Akşama kadar kamyonda langır langır canı çıkıyor adamcağızın.

by telling lies to all the neighbours. She makes Cemal and Sabahat divorce and starts living together with Cemal.

The problems of Cemal at home come to an end after Mualla moves in. Before becoming the mistress of the house, Mualla treats Hüseyin Dede and Ayten with love and tender, but after moving in, she treats them so badly that they 'miss Sabahat'. She beats Ayten and she throws Hüseyin Dede out of the house. She moves in this direction by threatening them not to tell Cemal, who ever if they tried to do so, Cemil would not believe them.

Mualla fulfils her duty of "wifehood" so successfully that Sabahat is evaluated as insufficient and is judged on this. Before, Cemal got angry with Sabahat who demanded money for sewing a dress for herself. Then, he gives money to Mualla when she said, "A woman who loves would be altruistic. I haven't even a proper dress that is suitable for standing beside you"⁹⁰.

Since Hüseyin Dede has been experiencing health problems, his daughter-in-law does not permit him to smoke and gets angry at his clumsiness at home. Hüseyin Dede shares his grievances with İkbâl Hanım who is old like him and in need of her daughter's care. He also thinks that his daughter-in-law does not like him. She once complained, "I didn't marry your son to be a servant for you"⁹¹.

Hüseyin Dede: A daughter doesn't complain of her mother's burden

İkbâl Hanım: Hüseyin Efendi, don't talk like this. When I was healthier I was helping with the housework and thought that I hadn't much burden. If my son-in-law looks annoyed now, I can't eat my bite.

Hüseyin Dede: How much you see of your son-in-law's face? I have always been treated contemptuously. I tried to do my work

⁹⁰ Seven kadın fedakâr olur. Senin yanına yakışmam için doğru dürüst bir elbisem bile yok.

⁹¹ Oğlunuzla size hizmetçilik etmek için evlenmedim.

myself, because of my clumsiness I sometimes break something and she yells at me⁹².

It is a fact that caring for others has always been accepted to be a woman's duty. Sexual division of labour imposes the caring work on women by supporting it with traditional and cultural motifs.

As we mentioned earlier, Sabri is a friend of Cemal and both work in the same place. Sabri is not married and lives with his mother. When Cemal quarrels with his boss, Sabri challenges and prevents him from being fired. Moreover, their friendship is not limited within the workplace. Sabri visits Cemal's house frequently, and feels bad about Cemal's behaviours towards his wife:

Sabri: There has been difficulty to your wife. She was doing the housework during the day and she tries to prepare appetizers to us.

Cemal: What do you suppose? She eats and have fun, we produced a cheerful child; she has a husband like a lion. What else would a woman want?⁹³

When Cemal finds out that his wife is staying with Sabri, they become involved in a fight. When the boss hears about this incident he admonishes that: "There is no place for rapists in our establishment"⁹⁴, and fires him. Not only does he get fired, he also becomes alienated by his friends in the factory. This is an important in itself as it shows the role of relations in reproduction of the patriarchy between

⁹² Hüseyin Dede: Kız anasından yüksünmez.

İkbal Hanım: Öyle deme Hüseyin Efendi, elim ayağım tutarken az çok evin işine yardım ediyordum, o zaman yük olmuyorum gibi geliyordu. Şimdi damat biraz surat asarsa lokmalar boğazımda diziliyor.

Hüseyin Dede: Damadının yüzünü ne kadar görüyorsun ki? Ben sabahtan akşama kadar horluk içindeyim, kendi işimi kendim göreyim diyorum ne de olsa sakarlık var ara sıra bişeyler kırıyorum, vay efendim vay sen misin kıran?

⁹³ Sabri: Yenge hanıma zahmet oluyor, gündüz ev işi akşam da bize meze hazırlamak için çırpınıyor.

Cemal: Ne zannettin ya yiyip içip keyif ediyor, eğlenceli bi de çocuk yaptık, aslan gibi de kocası var daha ne ister karı kısmı.

⁹⁴ Müessesemizde ırz düşmanlarına yer yok.

men. This situation is the starting point of pressure from the society which will be applied to Sabri and Sabahat who in fact are not having a relation.

Sabahat lives with Sabri and his mother, and started to work in a laundry. All the employees are women in the laundry and since the work does not require any special skills, they get very low wages. As such, Sabahat has no choice but to stay with Sabri and his mother. Cemal threatens Sabahat to go to court for adultery proceeding if she does not accept to divorce him. She worries that the rumours would increase and accepts the divorce. She is more convinced to divorce when the lawyer pinpoints that: “Cemal’s friend is a man after all. This case of adultery would affect you and your daughter’s life for good.⁹⁵”.

When Ayten and Hüseyin Dede come to visit her and affirm that: “We two understand your value late”⁹⁶, Sabri and a friend of his, set up a trap to expose Mualla’s ‘true face’. They ask a ‘Casanova’ friend to seduce Mualla. When Cemal sees the ‘true face’ of Mualla he goes to the laundry; grabs Sabahat’s hand and takes her to their home. Sabahat does not give a second thought to forgive him. She quits her job at once. According to gendered division of labour, women’s place is their house whereas the livelihood should be supplied by men. So Sabahat starts working full-time at home. When Hüseyin Dede, once Sabahat complained about, leaves the house in order not to be excessive but it was Sabahat to stop him. After all this the only change is that Sabahat accepts the conditions which she is living in.

At the end of the film we see a happy family at the dining table. Mother, father, daughter, grandfather and Sabri are having dinner. Sabahat takes her place on the table as a ‘well cared’ and smiling woman. After dinner wife and husband go to the cinema and the child and grandfather clean the table. Although the grandfather breaks a dish yet again, this time they all smile. Sabahat from now on will carry on with the household work keeping her femininity. In return she

⁹⁵ Cemal’in arkadaşı neticede bir erkek, bir zina davası sizi de kızınızı da ömür boyu etkiler.

⁹⁶ Biz senin kıymetini geç anladık.

will get favour from her husband. The self-sacrificed position of Sabahat is strengthened by describing the women who considers and think about themselves as selfish, opportunist and unchaste and the unity of the holy family comes to the fore again.

5.4.3. *Kırık Hayatlar*: Loose Women and Holy Family

“Men drinks, doesn’t bring money, beats. Is bringing a second wife the same with beating? I wish he only drunk but not brought a second wife”

Kırık Hayatlar has been adapted and filmed from the novel *Kırık Hayatlar* (1924) of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil by Halit Refiğ. He states that he had carried the characters to 1965 and did no change anything except the costumes in this adaptation, because of economic reasons. He also stated that the film’s box office success has been limited. This could be because of the adaptation itself:

I gave it a thought from time to time. What if *Kırık Hayatlar* would be filmed in its own period? Probably it would be more influential if the original was filmed... It has been a limited success. It has been successful in the big cities but in the small towns it was not so successful (Türk, 2001: 204)

Halit Refiğ focused on cultural criticism of westernization. While mentioning the alienation of the ‘intellectual’ to his society in *Şehirdeki Yabancı* and partly in *Gurbet Kuşları*, he emphasised on the effects of westernization on the bourgeoisie class and moral degeneration on *Kırık Hayatlar*.

Feriha (Belgin Doruk) and Ömer (Cüneyt Arkın) were happily married for eight years and they are shown as a sample couple for their happiness by the people in their surroundings. They have two daughters. Ömer is a medical doctor and Feriha is a house wife. This family is a perfect example of ‘normal family’ definition within the classical family sociology: “A middle class family with father and mother with two children, the man is ‘breadwinner’ and the mother is a ‘house wife’”(Ecevit, 1991). Ömer has his own consulting office and when his

income was high enough they moved to a new house. They were living in an ordinary district and in an ordinary house. When they moved, it meant moving to an elite social environment at the same time. This social environment has more different characteristics than they originally had thought. *Kırık Hayatlar* is about this family's crisis, breaking apart and coming together in this new elite district and social environment.

Our 'normal family' goes to the Club in their new district. Ömer meets his friend Bekir in the Club. Bekir tells them about this new environment; an environment full of people who are having extramarital affairs but they do this freely, not worrying to conceal it. This odd, unfamiliar situation is very unfamiliar territory for Ömer and Feriha, but quite normal for the people there. Ömer informs them about the people individually: "if you know them closely you will see that nothing is immoral in this. Husband and wife hear the last such things"⁹⁷ both Ömer and Feriha could not hide their surprise.

Two young girls Gülşen (Nebahat Çehre) and Nermin with their mother come to the Club. The girls are 'flighty girls' who are engaged with rich men, making them spend quite an amount of money and leave them. Feriha makes a distinction between her and the girls by saying, "All men like loose women".

When Ferruh was dancing with his lover, his wife comes to the Club and faints when she notices this. Feriha gets nervous from what she heard and saw and they go back to their house. The new house brings happiness to Feriha, but it is still unknown what this new social environment will bring to Ömer.

Feriha: We are surrounded with broken lives and worn out happiness.
Is this an unaltered destiny of people? Will there be such shadows in our happiness one day? The cruel claws of unhappiness will reach us too one day?

⁹⁷ Buradakileri yakından tanırsanız hiçbirşeyin ayıp olmadığını anlarsınız. Böyle işlerde karı da koca da en son duyar.

Ömer: You women always need a worry in your hearts to make it a worm to gnaw. Even if you don't have anything to worry, you find something anyway.⁹⁸

Later in the film we see how Feriha becomes a united whole with her new house and Ömer with his new social environment. As Davidoff (2002) argues, "in essence to make Family and House invisible has been constructed by sex and age. Women, strictly speaking, have *became a united whole* with House and Family; woman *is both the house* and the one who lives in" (Davidoff, 2002: 52 emphasis in original.). Ömer's becoming a whole with his new social environment meant he spent more time outside the home and he adapted to the new life outside. "Especially the family stays in a totally different place from the other dimensions of life. If a man leaves home 'for exploring the world', we have to assume that he has crossed an important border" (Casey 1989 cited in Davidoff, 2002: 51). Ömer's crossing this border is the biggest crisis the family faced. Here, 'spoiled high society family' and 'normal family' comes up against each other.

Ömer: I deprived myself from everything; I always thought I should assure a safe and sound life; you were having good times and I was struggling. My young days spend have deprived me from everything like a handicapped old man. We got married before having a relation. I still cannot understand how I fell for Gülşen. If you didn't relieve your young days, you become a victim of your weaknesses one day unexpectedly.⁹⁹

Successful and decent family father characteristics of Ömer do not overlap with the 'manhood' definition of his new neighbourhood. His friend Bekir emphasis

⁹⁸ Feriha: Etrafımız kırık hayatlar, yıkık dökük saadetlerle çevrili. İnsanların değişmez kaderi bu mu? Bizim saadetimize de günün birinde böyle bir gölge düşecek mi? Mutsuzluğun amansız pençesi birgün bize kadar ulaşacak mı?

Ömer: Siz kadınlar bir endişeye kalbinizde sizi kemirecek bir kurda her zaman muhtaçsınız. Bir derdiniz yoksa bile gene de vehimlenecek bir bahane bulursunuz.

⁹⁹ Ömer: Her şeyden mahrum ettim kendimi hep sağlam güvenli bir yaşam temin edeyim diye düşündüm, siz eğlenirdiniz ben uğraşırdım. Gençliğim sakat yaşlılar gibi her şeyden mahrum geçti. Feriha ile sevişmeyi beklemeden evlendik, Gülşen'e nasıl tutulduğumu hala anlamıyorum. İnsan gençliğinin hakkını vermedi mi hiç ummadığı bir anda zaaflarının kurbanı oluyor.

on the necessity of his change by saying: “You have to work to death in order to become a high society doctor”¹⁰⁰. But what he meant is not professional knowledge and skill tactics but ‘manhood’ wised one. According to Bekir, to belong to the high society, one should leave the traditional way of living and have free relations. But such relations can only be lived with free women. Therefore, Ömer listens to the advices from his surroundings and starts an affair with Gülşen whom he met when they went to the Club. Nermin, sister of Gülşen has a relation with Bekir.

5.4.3.1. "The Worst of the Husbands is better Than None"

As a middle class woman, Feriha has achieved all her dreams. She has a happy marriage, a successful husband and two children. The two-storey house with garden which they had just moved in intensifies her dreams: “This house is just for us. I have been dreaming for such a house from the first day of my marriage. I’m very happy Ömer, all my dreams have come true”¹⁰¹.

As we learn in the film Feriha has had no professional background and no work experience before getting married. As a housewife, Feriha is responsible for her children’s care and upbringing.

Since the children, ideologically associated with the house, namely private, domestic sphere of women, they are supposed to be under women’s daily responsibility... Motherhood means to look after, feed, care and raise her children for a long time (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 105).

Feriha has two maids; one of them stays during the night too. Fatma Abla and Hatice help Feriha to care for the children and in the housework. Their class position is suitable for employing such cheap labour force, therefore, ‘as a

¹⁰⁰ Senin sosyete doktoru olmana kırk fırın ekmek ister.

¹⁰¹ Her şeyiyle tam bize göre bir ev. Evlendiğimiz ilk günden beri böyle bir evin hayali ile yaşıyorum. Çok mesudum Ömer bütün hayallerim gerçek oldu.

modern nuclear family' they get the support from the 'maids' instead of the extended family (Özbay, 1982: 221-222).

Davidoff looks this at this from a different point of view and claims that the maids are the basic indications of rationalisation of housework. This situation makes housewives become estranged from the housework and put her in a supervisory position (Davidoff, 2002: 168).

There is a complex relation between Feriha as employer women, and Fatma and Hatice as paid labourers. This situation results as they are different class wise, and that Feriha can afford to pay for someone to do the household chores. It is possible to say, not forgetting that they all are dependent on men, that in this complex situation, Feriha is directly inspecting the work of Fatma and Hatice's labour:

The women who are using maids have independent power as employer even they trust their husbands' or fathers' sources to pay for the cost of these duties. Maids couldn't control their own life and this signs different relations between maids and employers within the organisation of social reproduction (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 152).

Therefore, the maid institution projects the continuous sexual division of labour (Ramazanoğlu, 1998:152). Feriha's father's words: "Maids cleanliness or dirtiness is determined according to their employer",¹⁰² fully explain this situation. While Feriha's inspection over Fatma and Hatice are mostly about house and house works, Ömer plays the supervisory role for their relations with their families and outside. Because her husband always drinks, beats her and does not get on well with his mother-in-law, Hatice leaves home with her child and start living with Ömer and Hatice's. When her husband comes to apologise Ömer says, "I don't want any fight from now on, especially no practical

¹⁰² Hizmetçi kısmının pisliği temizliği kapısına göredir.

jokes”¹⁰³. Here domestic violence is normalised and transformed to a natural situation which can happen in all families by reducing it to a ‘practical joke’.

Feriha and Hatice are mothers, but Fatma lives with the tragedy as she cannot be a mother. As Ramazanoğlu argues;

Motherhood practice made serving to men’s benefits by inspecting the prolificacy by men. In the places where women see motherhood as the greatest goal and they were kept under stress by society, being infertile may cause a big personal tragedy (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 109).

When Fatma’s husband takes a second wife because Fatma cannot conceive, she left home and never went back. Fatma is not the woman of her house in the sense we mentioned above, and she expresses this as a very ‘deficiency’ situation with those words:

What on earth is subsisting? Woman should bear her husband’s torment, it is written so in the book. If she does not bear, she will be like me. God forbid! In her old days she would be needing strangers. Here it is youthfulness! One should know it when she is young¹⁰⁴.

Özbay (1982) stresses that on statue differentiation, among women; the worst thing that could happen is to be childless.

Maid should be realised according to her own housewife statue. Maids who have no home other than the one they work in, are not housewives. There is no statue lower than this. In this context not to be a housewife is worse than being a low statue housewife (Özbay, 1982: 222).

On the other hand, Hatice left her home because her husband did not fulfil his ‘manhood’ duties, did not bring money home, beats her and drinks. The

¹⁰³ Bundan sonra kavga gürültü istemem, hele el şakası hiç istemem.

¹⁰⁴ Geçinmek de neymiş kadın kısmı katlanacak kocasının çilesine kitap böyle yazıyor. Katlanmazsa bana döner Allah göstermesin yaşlılığında el kapılarında sürünür ah gençlik insan bunu vaktiyle bilse.

conversation between them shows us the problem they live in their marriage institution as a women. Fatma Abla intensifies the woman's existence connected to the family by saying, "Worst of the husbands is better than none"¹⁰⁵.

Fatma abla: When you saw the young boy, you couldn't help it, you took your bundle and ran to him. You shouldn't complain in you husband's house. You should solve your problems between you.

Hatice: He drinks, doesn't give money, and beats me.

Fatma abla: Men drink, do not give money and beat. Is beating the same with bringing another woman? I wish he only drunk and didn't bring another woman.

Hatice: What else could he do if he wanted to have a child?¹⁰⁶

Feriha, Hatice and Fatma are different from each other class wise, but it is possible to say giving birth and marriage, so being exist in the house, determines their position. What offers this corporation is family ideology itself.

The ideology of the family, defines" the household and kinship structures as not only existing now, but at the same time present them as natural and desirable things" (Beechey, 1985 cited in Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 198) that defines women as ones whose life has always been spent at home. To mention that "Woman' place is her home" encourages "women's dependency on their families and groups of relatives in place of public organizations and make it difficult to reach a consciousness of common interests with other women" (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 200). This context plays a role which divides the women into two categories 'normal' and 'not normal'. Besides the class distinction of Feriha, Fatma and Hatice, everything which is defined as distinction goes according to this

¹⁰⁵ Kocanın en kötüsü hiç olmayanından daha iyidir.

¹⁰⁶ Fatma abla: Yakışıklı oğlanı görünce dayanamadın aldın bohçanı kaçtın. Koca elinde yaban yerde yakınmak yoktur. Ne demişler kol kırılır yen içinde kalır.

Hatice: İçiyor eve on para getirmiyor, dövüyor.

Fatma abla: Erkektir içer, getirmez, döver. Üstüne evlenmek dayağa benzer mi ayol, tek içkici olsaydı da üstüme evlenmeseydi.

Hatice: Çocuk istiyorsa adam ne yapsın?

definition. The distinction between Hatice and Fatma which were showed over having a child has been based on this ideology.

The family ideology creates the distinction not only between these three women; it also makes the other types of relation ‘not normal’ over Feriha and Ömer’s marriage, and makes us view the other women as not ‘normal’.

Bekir (Önder Somer) knows Ömer from medical school. He did not finish the school and starts doing business. Bekir is a man living these kinds of not normal relations but he is not assessed as ‘immoral’ or ‘dishonest’. He takes the relation he is living with Nermin out of ‘holiness’ which defines not only by family ideology, but runs in relation with both sides which fulfil their needs.

Bekir: All women want to get married to assure their life. If they get married with a rich man this assurance is doubled. Since I didn’t want to marry, Nermin would find someone else and she found Talat Bey. If I get angry and moreover pretend like I get jealous it will not be fair and it will be stupid. We, in fact, have decided of this marriage. Since we did not get bored from each other, our relation will carry on. Besides it is more excited like this.¹⁰⁷

In fact, Bekir’s definition shows his radical attitude towards the family institution and quite the contrary based is on the distinction between ‘to be married’ woman and ‘to have a love affair’ woman. Just as he gets married with ‘to be married’ women Müjgan; this situation changes Bekir totally.

Bekir: No my friend, you are wrong on this. When I decided to get married with Müjgan, I said goodbye to whole of my past life. I

¹⁰⁷ Bekir: Bütün kadınlar evlenip hayatlarını garanti etmek isterler. Bu garantinin katmerlisi zengin adam bulmaktır. Ben evlenmeye yanaşmadığıma göre Nermin birini bulacaktı, Talat bey’i buldu. Kızarsam hele kıskançlık numarasına dökersem hem haksızlık etmiş olurum hem de aptallık. Bu evlenmeye aslında ikimiz beraber karar verdik. Birbirimizden daha bıkmadığımız için münasebetimiz devam edecek hem böylesi daha heyecanlı olacak.

won't cheat on my wife. What does it mean to cheat on your wife? Isn't to allow her you to cheat too?¹⁰⁸

Bekir and Müjgan are not aware that Ömer has become a 'high society doctor: "You two have been a model for our marriage, and act accordingly".

Family life which family ideology offers is not much related with the family lives of daily actors. Even if this is the case, individuals assume that there is a unique and only 'family' and interpret the distinctions which they see in their family as being out of this model. In such a case, when people do not get married, they blame themselves, or at least they feel uncomfortable. In this situation family ideology fulfils its function and the social control over the individuals. The power of this family ideology is supported by other institutions like the state or religion too (Ecevit, 1991: 10).

The reinforcement itself which was mentioned before is underlined by Ömer's elder sister and Feriha's father.

Ömer's elder sister stays with Ömer and Feriha's for a while when her husband died. But she does not stay there long enough to integrate as a member of nuclear family: "You are not strangers but I have to rely on my own existence"¹⁰⁹. She comprehends Ömer's cheating on his wife, as being similar to other situations which most man does. The only thing to stop this 'natural' condition is the woman herself. She is the one who will keep him at home and stop him to go out. Feriha is the one to be blamed for Ömer's cheating on Feriha. Consequently, Feriha is responsible of this:

Ömer's elder sister: men do not understand women's condition my girl. Women can stand hunger and nakedness but not lack of insecurity. I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy! Suspicion is a shirt of fire, if you do not to wear it, it does not leave your husband uncontrolled. The deceased used to call me gendarme corporal! Thanks God we lived in harmony for 40 years. You are a nice

¹⁰⁸ Bekir: Yo arkadaş işte bunda yanıyorsun. Ben müjgan'la evlenmeye karar verirken bütün geçmiş hayatıma veda ettim. Karıma ihanet etmeyeceğim. Ne demektir bir erkeğin karısını aldatması sen de beni aldat demek değil mi?

¹⁰⁹ Siz yabancı değilsiniz ama insan kendi varlığına güvenmeli.

woman but you are a little too loose, you let him be too free. You have to keep an eye on your man. The deceased wouldn't even go to a cafe without my permission.¹¹⁰

Ömer's company with other women is accepted as quite normal by Feriha's father and according to him it is again women who are to blame.

Feriha's father: If there is no peace at home is it to blame the man who goes out and have fun? It is woman's stupidity. She turns a man's life into hell. The world is full of stupid women.¹¹¹

Feriha realises the changes of Ömer but she could not give a meaning. She starts staying in the children's room on the excuse that Ayla is ill. This is also shown as one of the reasons why Ömer spends more time outside. Contrary to his wife, who drifts away from him, his lover Gülşen, shows her passion freely on him.

Gülşen: There is such a power which pushes us to each other so that we are like toys in its hands. .. We are like victims of a poisonous drink; that's why knowing that it is killing us, we cannot help to reach for the bottle. I suppose we need it, I cannot think of anyone else who can supply this need.¹¹²

Gülşen starts preparing for marriage but she does not want to leave Ömer: "I won't be someone else's woman. The husband is not someone else. If men have lovers it does not seem to be a problem but this is not the case for women"¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Ömer'in ablası: Anlamazlar erkekler kadın halinden kızım. Kadın kısmı açlığa çıplaklığa katlanır güvensizliğe katlanamaz. Kıskançlık kadın güvenini kaybetmesi Allah düşmanıma vermesin, şüphe ateşten gömlek demişler bu ateşten gömleği giymek istemeyen kadın kocasını başıboş bırakmamalı. Rahmetli bana jandarma onbaşısı derdi, çok şükür 40 yıl yaşadık ağzımızın tadı bozulmadı. Sen iyisin hoşsun ama biraz gevşeksin, adamı çok boş bırakıyorsun. Biraz göz kulak olacaksın erkek kısmına. Rahmetli benden izinsiz kahvede bile oturmazdı.

¹¹¹ Feriha'nın babası: Tadı tuzu kaçan evlerde suç erkeğin hovardalığında mı kadının avanaklığında, hayatı kocası cehenneme çevirmesinde. Akılsız karıdan çok ne var bu dünyada.

¹¹² Bizi birbirimize iten öyle bir kuvvet var ki ikimizde onun elinde oyuncığa benziyoruz....Zararlı bir içkinin kurbanlarına benziyoruz; onun yüzünden öldüğümüzü bildiğimiz halde ellerimiz gene onun şişesine uzanıyor. Herhalde buna muhtacız, ben bu ihtiyacımı karşılayacak senden başkasını düşünemiyorum.

¹¹³ Ben başkasının olacak değilim ki kocalar başkası sayılmaz. Erkekler kocaya dayanır ama bir başka aşığa dayanamaz.

When Ömer mentions she threatens him by saying she would sleep with Bekir. This threat makes him lose his mind, “I will break the bottle you mentioned”. After which she abandons him

We mentioned before that the family ideology has a function which distinguishes women by defining them as ‘normal’ and ‘not normal’. Gülşen here represents the ‘not normal’ woman according to other women in the film. She does this in two ways. First, she shows her sexual desires more freely than the other women. Second, she finds it quite normal to be with other men after getting married. Gülşen symbolises something which does not run parallel with family structure. This behaviour threatens the family. Indeed, for this particular reason it has a function which strengthens the ‘family ideology’.

Feriha catches her father pinching the maid. Even her father is trying to cheat on her mother. This is the bottom line for her, but then we see that she accepts this as normal and she is the one who is responsible for this. When their daughter Ayla dies from cancer she leaves home and goes to her parent’s house. Her father tells her that she was right, and Ömer was very sorry that all this had happened because Ömer was a bit ‘inexperienced’ in love relations. If Ömer were more experienced and more careful like her, nothing would have happened. He asks his daughter to forgive her husband and keep this inside the family. In the embodiment of the family is full of similar problems but in the end it is the woman who keeps this within the family. Besides he had cheated on his wife many times himself, and there is also a child whom Feriha should think about.

Feriha: My honour is hurt.

Father: If you spread it would it be repaired?

Feriha: I lost my trust.

Father: Would you trust a man who has been through this or the one not been through? You never think about Selma.

Feriha: We lost Ayla because of him.

Father: If men's daughters die because of men's cheating on their wives, you wouldn't have lived also.¹¹⁴

After this conversation, Feriha goes back to her house and finds her husband is trying to commit a suicide by drinking pills. But she stops him. Feriha's departure makes Ömer feel like "as an orphan and a poor child who lost his mother in the woods". Similar to *Gurbet Kuşları*, in this film, the family has produced one victim. But negative state of affairs has managed to bring the family together again.

5.4.4. *Ana*: Mother of Her Son, Not Her Daughters

Döndü Ana: "Don't you believe? You will see, who do you think I am?"¹¹⁵

Lütfi Akad has been affected from the news he read in a newspaper and wrote the script of 'Ana' and produced the film. The news is about a family, which has to migrate from the Black Sea region because of a vendetta. After reading the news, he began to construct the story: "I couldn't leave the story at the point as I know; I think the remaining family members included a single woman who has to worry about protecting her son and their murderous" (Akad, 2004: 468). In his biography, he stated that the subject of *Ana* is a universal issue and every nation has its own *Ana* (Onaran, A.Ş., 1990). For Akad, the common characteristic of mothers is to devote themselves to their children. This is differentiated in every culture and "behaviours differ". In this film, he tells about a Turkish mother.

As specified above, 'Ana' reconstructs the story of a family that lives as a "stranger" everywhere, by escaping from the vendetta in the Black Sea region.

¹¹⁴ Feriha: Onurum kırıldı.

Baba: Yayılırsa tamir mi olur, yoksa daha mı kırılır?

Feriha: Güvenim yıkıldı.

Baba: Başından böyle bir badire geçen erkeğe mi güvenilir yoksa geçmeyene mi? Selma'yı hiç aklına getirmiyorsun.

Feriha: Ayla'yı onun yüzünden kaybettik.

Baba: Karısının üzerine her gül koklayanın kızı ölse, en başta sen yaşamazdın.

¹¹⁵ Don't you believe your me? You will see, who do you think I am?

Indeed, travel they have to from one village to another. In the film, it is frequently mentioned the impossibility of settling down and always living the life of 'stranger'. In the last three years during their 10 years escaping, the family has been living in a village in Aegean region.

Döndü and her daughter Halime work by hoeing in the fields as workers. Her husband Şevket (Erol Taş) works in irrigation with their elder son Mehmet Ali. The structure of the nuclear family in rural areas that migrates from one village to another is only explained by the vendetta. There is no data about whether they own land in their home village or not. Even if they own land, it seems impossible to transfer to the capital. There is a determined sexual division of labour in the family that could be mostly observed in the fields, the works in the household and child caring. Döndü brings her baby to the field and works along her elder daughter. She either works the fields or breast feed her baby during the breaks. When they return from the field, all family prepares the fish nets. They send the fishnets to their relative who lives in Körfez and sells them on the family's behalf. Fishnetting is the only work in the household that sexual division of labour does seem to have adifference and could be evaluated as home based work.

In the village, Üzeyir (Yılmaz Duru) who is the son of Yusuf Agha, wants to marry Halime. This marriage would give a big chance to the family to own a piece of land. As a result, they could live there and to escape from the tag of being "a stranger". Döndü objects to this marriage, "my daughter is still a child". Although, Şevket does not agree with Döndü, he thinks that he has nothing to do. But, his masculinity is challenged by Selman Agha: "Aren't you a man?" to which he replied "Yes, I am a man but I am repressed in this foreign land".

Although it seems contradictory that Döndü owns the decision-making mechanism on an issue that patriarchal structure is very determined, the situation has to be explained in its own structure. The authority of Şevket is shaken because of the vendetta. Both he and other members of the family know that the

order to be killed by somebody will come one day. In this situation, the duty of protecting family is transferred to Döndü. For this reason, the decision of leaving Karadeniz and the forthcoming marriage Halime and where to migrate, belongs only to Döndü plus parent child relations. Döndü is also in conflict with Halime, for as a mother she discriminates between son and daughter by giving more importance to her son.

The main reason to immigrate is not they lack the possession of any property but their present situation is that of landless peasants in this village. For this reason, the bride price of 8000 TL that Yusuf Agha would give has the possibility of providing them to enter a higher social class. This money would be enough to buy a piece of land and to escape from working for other landlords.

When Döndü refuses to permit her daughter to marry, Yusuf Agha presses on Muhktar to exile them from the village. Muhktar refuses his request: “Is this a village or a land of a feudal Lord?” Yusuf Agha’s reply shows the social position of the family in the village: “This family is a stranger. Isn’t it?”

The only person they have warm relations with is Selman Agha (Osman Alyanak) tries to pursue Şevket: “Own a land here, nobody could ever look on you as a ‘stranger’. However, Şevket goes on to listen to his wife: “we don’t want to leave our daughter in a strange place”. In the village nobody except Selman Agha (Osman Alyanak) knows that the reason of their escape was due to vendetta.

IN effect, Döndü opposes the marriage for she is against the segregating of the family. She thinks that they will inevitably migrate to another place, where there will be far away from those after them.

In the end, their murderesses Musa (Kadir Savun) and Temel (Sırrı Elitaş) trace them and come to town. Şevket goes to town he and Temel kill each other. After this murder, Döndü leaves the village with her daughters and two sons on foot.

They have no idea where to go. Halime doesn't want to go and yells: "Where will we go? We escaped but what happened?"

Üzeyir who wants to marry Halime leaves the village with them and follows them with a horse carriage. Döndü feels uncomfortable with Üzeyir and refuses his offers. As a result, when the children are tired of walking, she had to ride with them.

Üzeyir settles them in a house with one of his relatives and sorts them out with a job working in the fields. Different from other villages, the women and men work together in the wheat field. Although he is the son of wealthy Agha, Üzeyir works with them as a worker in the field. However, he should not stay at home and sleep in his horse carriage at night. In fact, he keeps an eye on the possibility of Musa's coming back.

Musa (Kadir Savun) chases them. He visits the other village to find out from the villagers where they had gone. Hereupon, Selman comes to inform them about Musa. When Döndü hears that they are being followed, she decides to go to another place:

It seems a journey we will do. We will go to a city that offers job opportunities in a factory. We will work there, build a "gecekondü" and we won't be short of anything. We send Mehmet Ali to school and my son will be a big man. Then, I will allow you to marry and I will have grandchildren. You don't believe what I said. Look! You will see your mother. The conditions of city life are different. There is no meaning to work on the land that we don't own¹¹⁶.

Döndü was aware of the fact that Musa will follow them, even if they had migrated to the city center. However, she has no other solution to protect and unite the family.

¹¹⁶ It seems a journey we will go. We go to city that has a factory to work. We work there, build a "gecekondü" and we won't have any absent thing. We send Mehmet Ali to school and my son will be a big man. Then, I permit you to marry and I will have grandchildren. You don't believe what I said. Look! You will see your mother. The conditions of city are different. There is no meaning to work on land that we don't own.

Halime does not want to go with her mother and escapes with Üzeyir. She blames her mother for her fathers' death and doesn't want Üzeyir to experience the same event. Like her mother, Halime tries to protect her family. Döndü runs after the horse carriage to stop them but she was not successful in her attempt, they return when Halime starts crying. After this event, Döndü permit them to marry: "I want a child, I want grandchildren be it four or five. Don't be afraid to reproduce, trust me, I will take care of them. There is no danger in conceiving, it is a plenty". The biological reproduction of a woman is not only mentioned here but in the whole film. On the one hand, the reason seems to be the vendetta, as it highlights the continuity of the family.

Musa finds them and kills Üzeyir who was still on guard. Afterwards, Döndü wants to leave and Halime yells: "You don't leave what you catch, take your son, go away and hide where you want". She refused to go with her mother. This is the last point of tension between Döndü and Halime. The altruistic mother leaves her daughter in a strange place to provide her son Mehmet Ali to stay alive. During the escape, she also breastfeed her son while looking after her baby girl. She lives a dichotomy between feeding the child and looking after the baby girl which will give a chance to Mehmet Ali to become the master of the family. (Akad, 2004: 470).

They go to the place where their relatives had originally sold the fishnets. Döndü leaves the children there to search for Musa. However, Musa comes at the time when she leaves. He sees Döndü's children and does not touch them. Musa mentions the bad delinquency of the vendetta: "This is a dirty job, dying is preferable. However, one has to find his own murderer". Döndü returns to Körfez, finds Musa and kills him. Akad mentions that Döndü is looking Musa, not to revenge on her husband, but to protect her son from danger. As a mother, the aim of Döndü is: "To extinct the danger that threatens her son, whether it include killing somebody" (Akad, 2004: 475).

The fundamental theme of the film is 'motherhood'. There is no difference between a man and woman as head of this particular household. Therefore, motherhood and patriarchy are parallel with each other. The determined sign of this situation is the psychological violence that Döndü applies to both her husband and children.

Although motherhood is a universal fact, its form of expression and the limitations of altruism for children could be differentiated. Regardless of anything, a mother could either die or kill for protecting the life of her child. What is critical in this film is that the approach of mother to her son and daughter is different. Döndü leaves her daughter because she also will leave her when she marries. However, her son is the guarantee of her future. In addition, Mehmet Ali could not pay his debt to her mother until the day he will pass away. Döndü had fed him with her milk not only when he was a baby, she also supports him to escape from the village.

The myth of 'altruistic mother' brings not only the glorification of motherhood but also the family. In the traditional patriarchal structure, the figure of the father as being 'authoritarian and protector' transforms to the figure of the 'altruistic mother'. The powerful traits of an 'altruistic mother' do not mention the full womanly power. On the contrary, this sign only underlines the power she holds as the head of the family. Consequently, in this film, the ideology of the family and the patriarchal structure has been reproduced by the means of the vendetta.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the main motivation of my inquiry was to understand how and why the approaches of social realist and national films in class inequalities are loaded with the elements of patriarchal ideology and how gender hierarchy is constructed and maintained by the characters in the texts. This construction also points both at the gendered structure of society and plays a primary role in

describing meanings to the relations of power. In this context, the intersection of class and gender are important.

The destructive effects of patriarchy differentiate according to the class position of women in society. In films all independent and free women are loose woman. On the contrary, being a married woman is a privileged advantage in the eyes of society. There is a difference between being a single and wealthy woman and being a poor and single woman. In addition, a poor and married woman has the possibility of receiving loyalty much more then a wealthy and married woman.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to provide an exploration of patriarchal structures and practices in Turkey between 1960-70 via the analysis of selected film texts – the Turkish social realist and nationalist films in the same period, in relation to the social and economic context in which they were produced. This aim has involved a double focus. On the one hand, the interconnections between filmic text and social context have been taken into account in the period of 1960-1970. On the other hand, patriarchal imagination of society at the symbolic level has been investigated for providing historical insights about that particular period in terms of women's positions.

Both focal points have stemmed from a particular theoretical and methodological stance in the feminist literature and in cinema studies. In the late 1980s, searching the material ground for women's oppression has become an ambiguous agenda because it was assumed that it imposed a false universalisation. To take the argument a step further, later, feminist literature formulated its theoretical effort to develop the 'non-essentialist women identity' by investigating the construction of subjectivity. Until recently, one of the oldest attempts of feminist movement and studies understanding patriarchy as material conditions of gendered hierarchy, has become outdated. In Chapter 2, I followed the traces of this old theoretical line of feminist studies to rethink the concept of patriarchy and of gender in relation with a particular social, economical and political existence. It should be noted that I do not intend here to discuss how the

'material' existence must be conceived in order to emphasize the peculiarity of patriarchy without resorting to reductionist or derivative attitude. Conversely, I aimed to recall the question how the gendered formations interact with the other material inequalities.

In Chapter 3, I tried to pursue the similar concern mentioned above within the context of cinema studies. In fact, although feminist film studies were affected by the women's movement in the early 1970s, it flourished under the semiological and structural psychoanalysis rather than the second wave feminist theories of that period. This had begun with the critique of the notion of ideological apparatus and revealed its sex-blind content. Then, in order to overcome insufficiency of image-centred comprehension, it shifted its attention to the question how the meaning is constructed via sexual differences and introduced a new concept such as subjectivity, desire and visual pleasure. However, this tendency resulted in the marginalization of sociology as a theoretical framework and a method in cinema studies. Conversely, I sought a sociological approach pursuing the concern of interconnection between visual images and their material context.

In terms of feminist point of view, the main basis of sociological approach to cinema can be summarised as follows. First, the films provide us with the ideas of that period of men's views about women, middle class views about peasants, but not directly the thoughts of social life. As historical materials, surely, they do not directly inform us about the material experiences of women, but they give insights into how these views project an image of how women should live. In addition to this, the theme of films provides minute details presenting as with clues about the invisibles as well as visible in those films consciously or unconsciously. Moreover, these films have to be placed in a cultural, political and economic context to achieve the analysis above. Finally, in order to understand a specific period, or to make comparison between different periods, it

is more reliable to analyse the films as a whole, which are developed within a perspective.

Stemming from this methodological position, I first presented the historical background of social realist and nationalist cinema movements in Turkey between the years 1960-1970 thereby including its socio-economical conditions to present out its main features with respect to the cinematic understanding and narrative in Chapter 4. I also tried to pose the question how the environment of social thought of that period was reflected to the social realist and national films. In this framework, I watched 23 films from this particular period and analyzed 10 films that are chosen with the following concerns in mind: (1) the patterns of masculinity and crises of patriarchal structures; (2) the gendered content of class critique (3) the reproduction of family as an idea. In choosing the films, although it is given importance to narrative structure, the representation of directors has been important in the periodic discrimination.

Before mentioned the concluded remarks which derived from these ten films, I want to summarise the list of the characteristics of social realist films according to Daldal (2005)¹. Daldal (2005) points out that the directors, who are in the centre of the movement, have been “engaged” politically. All of them have powerful social and political beliefs. Although they have directed films within Yeşilçam production system, they evaluate themselves as progressive missionaries of art and society. On one hand, the “real” problems of ordinary people were mentioned in these films; on the other hand, they tried to depict the “truths” related with these problems. For Daldal (2005), all directors are against capitalism and bourgeoisie. This anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeoisie attitude shows itself either as a direct social critic or as a story of an individual who is

¹ Lukacs (see Yaylagül, 2004; Daldal, 2005) divides the realism as social realism and critical realism. Critical realist artist reflects the conflicts and problems of society in which he/she lives in a critical form. Social realist artist not only reflects the conflicts and problems but also propose a solution and try to reach what it should be. Yaylagül (2004) and Daldal (2005) state that the Social Realist current in Turkish cinema abides more critical realist patterns within the definition of Lukacs.

alienated and losing his/her values. In the films, directors attempt to aesthetic and formal reforms that have not been touched on before fully. What is conspicuous in the films are the depth of field, the using of different angles of the camera, outside shots, correct dialogues, accurate stage directions and amateur artists (Daldal, 2005).

According to Daldal (2005), the background of films is formed by a social event (strikes, a new law, rural-urban migration etc...). The general characteristics of films are: the attempt to create social types that is mentioned by the Lukacs' school of Marxist aesthetic theory and the attempt to argue "in depth" the human and perspective within the framework of historical traditions.

Daldal (2005) also indicates that all directors, critics and scriptwriters who take place in the centre of social realist movement are male so it is not radical to say that all films reflect the patriarchal patterns, excluding one or two films of Halit Refiğ which try to focus on women's issue.

I agree with Daldal's remarks and use them for making some conclusions because these films reflect the social reality and thoughts of that period.

The common characteristics which can be seen in all these films are 'independent' and 'tamed' women; men as 'a speaker of common sense' and the 'idea of family'. When we look at the women characters in these ten films it can be said that women characters are considered in three groups: 'Independent' women, 'Tamed' women and the women who take place between them.

'Independent' women are Sevim in *Gecelerin Ötesi*, lover of Kara Cemil in *Hızlı Yaşayanlar*, Nüket in *Suçlular Aramızda*, Mualla in *Kırık Çanaklar*, Gülşen in *Kırık Hayatlar*, Mualla and Seval in *Gurbet Kuşları*. They are 'mats around the lights of Istanbul' (see *Gecelerin Ötesi*). Independent women are not married, they have no children; they have no family and relatives; and they live alone and

have no friends. They do not have any ties which refer to their families. In this sense I refer to them as 'independent' women. Sevim, lover of Kara Cemil and Seval work in night clubs, but Mualla does the housework; and Nüket and Gülşen depend on their lover's financial support. Indeed, they are different from the 'tamed' women because they belong to the private life of men which is constructed out of the home. Therefore they are the part of the men's world in the public sphere.

These women are considered as a potential 'threat' to the family because of the fact that they do not belong to a family, are not married and they do not have any ties which indicate their roots. As mentioned earlier, one of the characteristics of social realist films is to form and represent the characters in their social context and the network of social relations. These 'independent' women are not placed in any social context. It can be said that these women are instrumentally used in these films in order to keep the idea of the family vigorous **so the patriarchy**.

Nermin in *Acı Hayat*, Fatma in *Gurbet Kuşları*, Fatma in *Kuyu* are the women who are not 'independent' and 'tamed' but somewhat, fall in between these two terms. Nermin who belongs to the lower class wants to marry with a rich man but his family does not approve. But she proceeds to start living together with a man. Fatma in *Gurbet Kuşları* is deceived by a women chaser and lost her virginity. She cannot go back home and starts to work in a brothel. The other Fatma in *Kuyu* has been abducted by a man three times, but refuses to marry him. As a result, she is refused by her family and starts to work in 'oturak alemi'. All three women commit suicide because they are on the 'threshold of the home'. They cannot be 'tamed' women anymore and their families do not allow them to live in men's world. Abisel, also referred to this point in her analysis of the family in Turkish cinema. Indeed, young girls could go outside but have to know their limitations. It is a condition both to be virgin and have "honourable" relations. If any conscious or unconscious mistakes do occur all will receive their

punishment. Any woman who makes a mistake either commits suicide, or murdered intentionally or falls victim to an accident (Abisel, 1994: 88).

The 'tamed' women in these films are Aysel and Sema in *Gecelerin Ötesi*, Sabahat in *Kırık Çanaklar*, Ayla in *Gurbet Kuşları*, Gül Targan in *Duvarların Ötesi*, Fatma in *Hızlı Yaşayanlar*, Demet in *Suçlular Aramızda*, Feriha in *Kırık Hayatlar*, Döndü in *Ana*. They learn how to behave in patriarchal order which go beyond their class positions whether they are waged workers or housewives. They do not attempt to pass the 'threshold' of their home as they are fully aware of the consequences. Beyond the 'threshold' there are two options: to die or to become a prostitute. Sabahat the housewife tries to change her living conditions but she is promptly punished by the threat of losing of her family.

The differentiation between 'independent' women, 'tamed' women and the women in between is constructed by the 'idea of family'. As Davidoff (2002) argues, the family is projected everywhere. As spectators we could not miss the contentious reference to the family, even when it is not projected directly on the screen. Indeed, the family is at the root of our environment.

This imposition is done by the men who are the bearers of commonsense or patriarchy. Kemal who is a medical science student in *Gurbet Kuşları*, Cevat who is a theatre actor, and Tahsin who is a taxi driver in *Gecelerin Ötesi*, Halil who is a thief in *Suçlular Aramızda*, Mehmet who was a worker and then become a lottery millionaire in *Acı Hayat*, Mektepli who is a fugitive prisoner in *Duvarların Ötesi*, Sabri who is a worker in *Kırık Çanaklar*, Bekir who is a businessman in *Kırık Hayatlar*, all fit these particular roles. As virtuous men, they teach other men and women human values and morality. It has to be remembered that these values are the product of the patriarchal social structure. They direct other men how to be men, how to treat women, how to be a family man, how to be a breadwinner, how to be a head of household and so forth.

They act as spokesmen of the patriarchal structure. They also show the patriarchal social relations in society.

As mentioned earlier, the relationships between men and the social context of them are very important in order to analyse the material basis of patriarchy. The 'men films' are explored on the basis of these aims. *Gecelerin Ötesi*, *Duvarların Ötesi*, *Hızlı Yaşayanlar*, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, *Hudutların Kanunu*. *Şafak Bekçileri* (The last three of the films are not included in the analysis) are samples of these kinds of films. The evident characteristic of these films is to focus on the friendship between men. Manhood is not a given and fixed situation; on the contrary, men always have to prove their manhood. They have to protect their authority and the breadwinner status in the household in order to control women's labour and sexuality. As indicated before, violence on women is based on the threat of manhood.

The control of women's labour and sexuality are only possible in a patriarchal family structure. The status of men as breadwinner, family wage earners, motherhood, and violence are the key concepts in the analysis of the family. The protection of these structures is only possible with the ideology of the family. Because of this, in every film I have to refer to the family even if at times its concept is subtle.

As Abisel (1994: 73) stated, the family is an institution that has to be protected and glorified in Turkish films. Young people are encouraged to marry and fulfil the social functions by having children. The signals lie in the unity and togetherness of the family projected in films. Indeed, this state of affairs should not be destroyed. Moreover, every kind of self-sacrifice is required to maintain all this. Both Fatma's and Nermin's suicides can be seen as an example of this self-sacrifice.

The ideology of the family is reproduced in two ways: the existence of 'independent women; and the criticism of the upper class family (Acı Hayat, Suçlular Aramızda, Kırık Hayatlar). Abisel points out to a similar argument:

Even nouveau riche families have not been badly constructed like bourgeoisie families. Because in comparison with bourgeoisie families there is continuity of traditional relations and there is no rupture in the structure of authority (Abisel, 1994: 74).

Violence against women by men although at times concealed, is still considered as legitimate punishment. (Walby, 1990) Women are subject to both physical and psychological violence by their husbands, fathers or brothers. This legitimate punishment is also supported at a governmental level in Turkey. Violence in the family has been accepted as a 'private' relationship between husband and wife until 1990s. Therefore, it can easily be said that this stance is still accepted as legitimate both culturally and morally. Some sayings like "spare neither the rod from back of the women nor the foal from her belly"² maintains this legitimisation. Women generally are exposed to violence when they do not obey the patriarchal rules. In addition to that, their class position is not a matter of fact about this subject.

In other words, violence is very common and legitimate way of preventing women's access to public sphere and controls of their sexuality. Non-marital sexuality of women is also punished by violence and sometimes by the death penalty. Women should protect their chastity and honour of their families and husbands.

The films which focus on rural social structure depict two types of women's labour; unpaid household labour and field workers (Ana and Kuyu). A manicurist (Acı Hayat), an actress (Duvarların Ötesi and Gecelerin Ötesi) and a home based worker (Gurbet Kuşları) are the limited examples of women's labour in other films. Except these prototypes, all other women are housewives. This

² "Kadının sırtından sopayı, karnından sıpayı eksik etme!"

composition of labour power of women can be interpreted in the following ways: although women have legal rights about entering paid labour, the main role for women which is that of being a housewife. But the reason of this condition cannot be explained just control of women's labour by private patriarchs. It may be the result of both private patriarchy and exclusionary strategy of public patriarchy during the 60s in Turkey. (Walby, 1990).

According to the analysed films it does not seem possible to talk about unemployment of both men and women. In all the films, except "Suçlular Aramızda", although there is a fear of losing ones' job or have low income, all the unemployed could easily find jobs when they search in the labour market. This condition is consistent with the statistical data:

In Third World cities of the 1960's and 70's, as population in cities and the labour force increase, there was not an unemployment problem. The unemployment rate was changing to a lower rate of between 4% and 7%. The urban poor could be employed in the informal sector. The main problem of 1970's was to improve the living conditions of the 'working poor' (KSSGM, 1999: 7)

Although the gender dimension of the labour force in this quotation is not mentioned, it may support the idea that women's employment was not an issue in that period. In other words, it is possible to say that, the patriarchal structures and patterns support the exclusion of women from the public sphere, both in formal and informal sectors in urban areas.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

LIST OF FILMS¹

(in historical order)

1. GECELERİN ÖTESİ (Beyond the Nights) - 1960

Director : Metin Erksan

Screenplay : Metin Erksan

Cinematography : Rafet Şiriner

Cast : Hayati Hamzaoğlu,
Kadir Savun, Erol Taş,
Metin Ersoy, Suna
Selen, Oktar Durukan,
Suphi Kaner, Ziya
Metin, Yılmaz Gruda,
Maria Dolçe, Senih
Okran, Osman Türkoğlu,
Zeki Can, Nemci Oy,
Hakkı Kıvanç, Mahmure
Handan, Tolga Yiğın.

Production : Ergenekon F. (Nejat Duru)

Theme : The story of a truck driver, a textile laborer, two guitar player who wants to escape to America and work there, a jobless actor and a jobless painter.



¹ Biographical information of the films is extracted from Özgüç (1998).

- Awards : The Second Turkish Film Festival (1961) - Metin Erksan "Best Screenplay" (Members of the Juri: Burhan Arpad, Baha Gelenbeli, Zeki Faik İzer, Orhan Hançerliođlu, Semih Tuđrul, Asude Zeybekođlu, Sabahattin Eyübođlu, Haldun Taner, Lütfi Ö. Akad, Vedat Ar).
- Participated to Edinburg Film Festival (1961).
- Questionarie made by Sinema Magazine among film critics - "Best Film"; Metin Erksan "Best Director"; [Semli Andak (Cumhuriyet), Hayri Caner (Akşam), Agah Özgüç (Sinema), Semih Tuđrul (Kim), Metin Öner (Havadis), Cüneyt Şeref (Tercüman), Çetin A. Özkırım (Yeni Sabah).
- Notes : After 27 Mayıs 1960 military coupe there aroused a new trend and a new way of thinking in Turkish cinema. The name of this new cinematographic trend was "Social Realism". Its structure was based on the daily problems of the people and the relations of people with the social environment. Metin Erksan's "Gecelerin Ötesi" was the first example in this regard.

2. KIRIK ÇANAKLAR (Broken Dishes) - 1960

Director : Memduh Ün
Screenplay : Halit Refiğ, Lale Oralođlu, Bülent Oran (Adapted from the play “Tahta Çanaklar” by Edmund Morris)
Cinematography : Turgut Ören
Cast : Lale Oralođlu, Rüya Gümüřata, Turgut Özatay, Mualla Kaynak, Salih Tozan, Reha Yurdakul, Engin Deniz, Mahmura Handan, Asım Nipton, Niyazi Er, Adnan Uygur.



Production : Be – Ya Film (Nusret İkbal)
Theme : The story of a laborer family which breaks apart by a gossip and coming together when they know the truth.
Awards : The Second Turkish Film Festival (1961) - “Best Film”; Memduh Ün “Best Director”; Lale Oralođlu “Best Actress”. (Members of the Juri: Burhan Arpad, Baha Gelenbevi, Orhan Hançerođlu, Semih Tuđrul, Asude Zeybekođlu, Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Haldun Taner, Lütfi Ö. Akad, Vedat Ar).
Notes : It was shown in “Berlin Film Festival”. The music was from the film “Kings, Go Forth / Krallar Önde by Demler Daves.

3. OTOBÜS YOLCULARI (The Bus Riders) - 1961

Director : Ertem Göreç
Screenplay : Vedat Türkali
Cinematography : Turgut Ören
Cast : Ayhan Işık,
Türkan Şoray,
Senih Orhan,
Salih Tozan,
Suna
Pekuysal,
Ahmet Tarık
Tekçe, Reha
Yurdakul, Atıf
Kaptan, Suphi
Kaner, Avni
Dilligil,
Diclehan
Baban.

Yapımevi : Be – Ya Film
(Nusret İkbal)

Theme : The people of a poor district deceived by a contractor who promised them to give better houses. The story is between an intellectual bus driver who opposes this deceivment and university student Nevin.



4. YILANLARIN ÖCÜ (The Revenge of the Snakes) - 1961

Director : Metin Erksan
Screenplay : Metin Erksan
(Adapted from Fakir Bayburt's novel, Yılanların Öcü)

Cinematography : Mengü Yeğin

Cast : Fikret Hakan,
Nurhan Nur,
Kadir Savun,
Erol Taş, Ali Şen, Aliye Rona, Fikret Uçak, Sadiye Arcıman, Hakkı Haktan

Production : Be – Ya Film
(Nusret İkbâl)

Theme : The story of Kara Bayram who ploughs his land with his wife. One day peasant Haceli starts to build a house just in front of his. Then their fight begins.

Awards : Kartaca Film Days, Tunisia (1966) - “Şeref Madalyası”; Cinema Critics 1961-1962 Season “Best Film”; Metin Erksan “Best Director”; Aliye Rona “Best Actress”; Erol Taş “Best Actor”

[Giovanni Sognamillio (Akşam), Semih Tuğrul (Hür Vatan), Çetin A. Özkırım (Yeni Sabah), Tarık Kakıncı (Vatan), Cüneyt Şeref (Tercüman), Hayri Caner (Son Havadis), Agah Özgüç (Sinema), Eroğan Tokatlı (Sine – Film), Rekin Teksoy (Ataç).



5. ACI HAYAT (Bitter Life) - 1962

Director : Metin Erksan
Screenplay : Metin Erksan
Cinematography : Ali Uğur
Cast : Ayhan Işık,
Türkan Şoray,
Ekrem Bora,
Nebahat Çehre,
Hüseyin Baradan,
Handan Adalı,
Memduh Alpar.

Production : Sine Film
(Musaffer Aslan)

Theme : The story of Mehmet who was working as a welder in a shipyard and becoming an important business man by chance and his manicurist girl friend who had been raped by a wealthy and spoiled man.

Awards : The First Antalya Film Festival (1964) - Türkan Şoray “Best Actress” and Ali Uğur “Best Cameraman”.

Sinema Ekspres questionnaire among film critics (1964) - “Best Film”; [Doğan Pürsün (Akşam), Tuncay Aksoy (Artist), Vural Sözer (Pazar), Atilla Oğuz (Perde), Ağah Özgüç (Ses), Hayri Caner (Sinema Ekspres), Coşkun Şensoy (Ses), Gündüz Seden (Son Saat), Remzi Türemen (Sinema Ekspres)].



6. ŞEHİRDEKİ YABANCI (Stranger in Town) - 1962

Director : Halit Refiğ

Screenplay : Vedat Türkali

Cinematography : Çetin Gürtop,
Mengü Yeğın

Cast : Göksel Arsoy,
Nilüfer
Aydan, Talat
Gözbak, Reha
Yurdakul, Ali
Şen, Erol Taş,
Hasan Ceylan,
Orhan
Çubukçu

Production : Be – Ya Film
(Nusret İkbal)

Theme : The story of the mine engineer Aydın who rebels the exploiting system by himself alone in a mine.

Award : Chosen to be shown in Moskova Film Festival; Moskova Film Festival. Nilüfer Aydan “Şeref Diploması” Questionnaire made by “Sinema Ekspres” (1964) “Best Film in The Top Five Films of The Year”.



7. ÜÇ TEKERLEKLİ BİSİKLET (The Bicycle with Three Wheels) - 1962

Director : Lütfi Ö.
Akad,
Memduh Ün

Screenplay : Hüsamettin
Gönenli
(Vedat
Türkali)
(Narrated
from the
novel
“Sokakların
Çocuğu” by
Orhan Kemal)

Cinematography : Çetin Gürtop,
Mustafa
Yılmaz

Cast : Ayhan Işık,
Sezer Sezin,
Küçük Kenan,
Senih Okran,
Sadettin Erbil,
Osman Alyanak, Reha Yurdakul, Ayla Kaya

Production : Be – Ya Film (Nusret İkbal)

Theme : The story of a young fugitive who has been searched for murder and washerwoman Hacer who could not hear a word from her husband for three years.

Awards : İzmir Film Festival (1965) - “Best Film”; Sezer Sezin
“Best Actress” (Members of the Juri: Osman Kibar,
Ahmet Dönmez, Fahri Erol, Ed Barber, Claudio Richet,
Vasly Pakmomo, Münir Arısan, Ragıp Haykır, Enver
Selay, Demirhan Altuğ, Ali Cemali, Nazif Duru, Nurhan
Nur, Suavi Sualp, Agah Özgüç).

Notes : The shooting of the film could not been completed and
some part has been shot by Memduh Ün.



8. SUSUZ YAZ (Dry Summer) - 1963

Director : Metin Erksan

Screenplay : Metin Erksan
(Narrated from the same story by Necati Cumalı).

Cinematography : Ali Uğur

Cast : Hülya Koçyiğit, Ulvi Doğan, Erol Taş, Hakkı Haktan, Yavuz Yalınkılıç, Zeki Tüney

Production : Hitit Film
(Metin Erksan, Ulvi Doğan)

Theme : The story of Kocabaş Osman who lust after his brother's wife Bahar. Meanwhile he does not let the water which emerges from his land to be used by the other farmers so that their land faces the danger of drying out.

Notes : Pointing at water and woman passion in possession extend.

Awards : Berlin Film Festival (1964) - "Best Film" (Reasoning: making a film about the oldest story in the world in a contemporary and very striking way); Berlin Film Festival (1964) "The Golden Bear".

Questionnaire made by "Sinema Ekspres", "Best Film in The Top Five Films"; Hülya Koçyiğit "The Best Actress of The Year"; Erol Taş "The Best Actor of The Year".



9. ŞAFAK BEKÇİLERİ (Dawn Guards) - 1963

- Director : Halit Refiğ
- Screenplay : Halit Refiğ,
Sadık Şendil
- Cinematography : Kenan Kurt
- Cast : Göksel Arsoy,
Leyla Sayar,
Ekrem Bora,
Nilüfer
Aydan,
Ahmet Tarık
Tekçe,
Hüseyin
Baradan,
Mümtaz Ener,
Sami
Hazinses,
Necdet Tosun, Doğan Arsoy, M Başaran, Oktay Menteş.
- Production : Göksel Film (Göksel Arsoy)
- Theme : The love story of an air force first lieutenant and a daughter of a landlord.
- Notes : Dedicated to Turkish Air Force.



10. DUVARLARIN ÖTESİ (Beyond the Walls) - 1964

- Director : Orhan Elmas
- Screenplay : Turgut Özakman, Vedat Türkali (Adapted from a play by Turgut Özakman).
- Cinematography : Turgut Ören
- Cast : Belgin Doruk, Tanju Gürsu, Özden Çelik, Erol Taş, Hayati Hamzaoğlu, Hasan Ceylan, Atıf Kaptan, Danyal Topatan, Feridun Çölgeçen, Ali Şen, Reha Yurdakul, Ersun Kazançel, Ahmet Turgutlu, Ali Ulubay, Fikret Uçak.
- Production : Anıt Film (Tanju Gürsu)
- Theme : Story of seven death sentenced prisoner who escapes from prison and kidnaps the daughter of a wealthy business man.
- Awards : The Second Antalya Film Festival (1965) - Erol Taş "Supporting Actor".



11. GURBET KUŞLARI (Birds in Exile) - 1964

Director : Halit Refiğ

Screenplay : Orhan Kemal,
Halit Refiğ
(Adapted
from the play
“Ocak” by
Turgut
Özakman).

Cinematography : Çetin Gürtop

Cast : Tanju Gürsu,
Filiz Akın,
Özden Çelik,
Pervin Par,
Cüneyt Arkın,
Önder Somer,
Sevdağ
Ferdağ,
Mümtaz Ener,
Hüseyin

Baradan, Gülbin Eray, Danyal Topatan, Madalet Tibet.

Production : Artist Film (Recep Ekicigil)

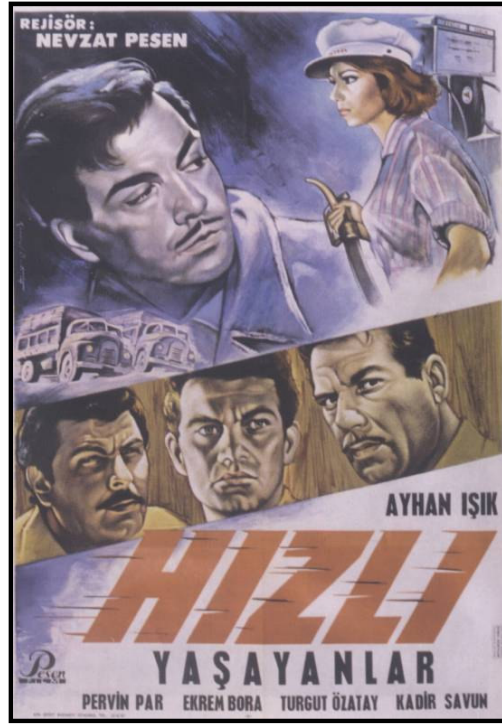
Theme : The family migrates from their small town to so called
“Golden City” Istanbul. Eventually the family breaks
apart.

Awards : The First Antalya Film Festival (1964) - “Best Film”;
Halit Refiğ “Best Director” (Members of the Juri: Dr.
Avni Tolunay, Bn. Tolunay, Burhanettin Onat, Prof.
İsmail Hakkı Onay, Hadi Yaman, Faruk Kenç, Selahattin
Burçkin, Mustafa Yücel).



12. HIZLI YAŞAYANLAR (The Men Who Live Fast) - 1964

Director : Nevzat Pesen
Screenplay : İlhan Engin
Cinematography : Manasi Filmeridis
Cast : Ayhan Işık,
Pervin Par,
Ekrem Bora,
Turgut Özatay,
Kadir Savun,
Diclehan Baban.
Production : Pesen Film
(Nevzat Pesen)
Theme : The film is
about the lives
of four long
distance truck
driver driving
between



Istanbul and Ankara. They load the evening press of the papers to their trucks and carry them to Ankara and also distribute them to the other provinces on their way. The only thing they are asked for is to get Ankara within in 5 hours with no accident and this requires an extreme fast driving.

13. KIZGIN DELİKANLI (The Angry Young Man) - 1964

Director : Ertem Göreç
Screenplay : Vedat Türkali
Cinematography : Çetin Gürtop
Cast : Göksel Arsoy,
Türkan Şoray,
(Efgan
Efekan?),
Hüseyin
Baradan, İlhan
Hemşeri,
Mümtaz Ener,
Suna Pekuysal,
Sami Hazinses,
Hüseyin Peyda.

Production : Göksel Film
(Göksel Arsoy)

Theme : The family
usurps the peasants' land with the help of perjurers and the
peasants resist and try to take their land back.



14. KARANLIKTA UYANANLAR (Those Who Get up at Dawn) - 1964

Director : Ertem Göreç
Screenplay : Vedat Türkali
Cinematography : Turgut Ören,
Mahmut Demir
Cast : Fikret Hakan,
Ayla Algan,
Beklan Algan,
Tülin Elgin,
Kenan Pars,
Mümtaz Ener,
Tolga Tigin,
Ersun,
Kazançel.

Production : Filmo Ltd.
(Beklan
Algan)

Theme : After the death
of his father the young man takes control of the paint
factory. The struggle story between this young man who is
in the side of the workers and the workers of the factory.

Notes 1 : With the contribution of Türk – İş Labour Union and
Marshall Paint Factory.

Notes 2 : It is the first labor strike and labor movement film. Banned
by the censorship committee then later on freed and
distributed.

Awards : The Second Antalya Film Festival (1965) - “Third Best
Film”; Vedat Türkali “Best Screenplay”; Nedim Otyam
“Best Music”.

Questionnaire made by Ses Magazine among film critics
(1965) “The Best of Top Five Films” (Semih Tuğrul,
Çetin A. Özkırım, Tarık Kakinç, Rekin Teksoy, Coşkun
Şensoy, Selmi Andak, Giovanni Scagnamillo).

“Top Ten Film of 1965-1969” As Magazine; “10th Best
Film” with “Namusun İçin” by Memduh Ün.



15. KEŞANLI ALİ DESTANI (The Legend of Ali of Keşan) - 1964

Director : Atif Yılmaz
Screenplay : Atif Yılmaz
(Adapted from a Musical Comedy by Haldun Taner)

Cinematography : Çetin Gürtop

Cast : Fikret Hakan,
Fatma Girik,
Hayati Hamzaoğlu,
Mualla Sürer,
Feridun Çölgeçen,
Hüseyin Baradan, Danyal Topatan,
Aydemir Akbaş,
Orhan Elmas,

Osman Alyanak, M. Ali Akpınar, Sami Hazinses, Süha Doğan, Eşref Vural, Mürüvvet Sim, Hayri Caner, Aziz Basmacı, Faik Coşkun, Osman Türkoğlu.

Production : Gün Film

Theme : The tough guy Keşanlı Ali won the election for he head of the village by force. The story is about him and his lover Zehra.

Awards : The Second İzmir Film Festival (1965) - “Second Best Film”; Yalçın Tura “En Başarılı Müzik”, Fikret Hakan “Best Actor”.

The Second Antalya Film Festival (1965) “Second Best Film”; Atif Yılmaz “Best Director”; Fatma Girik “Best Actress”.



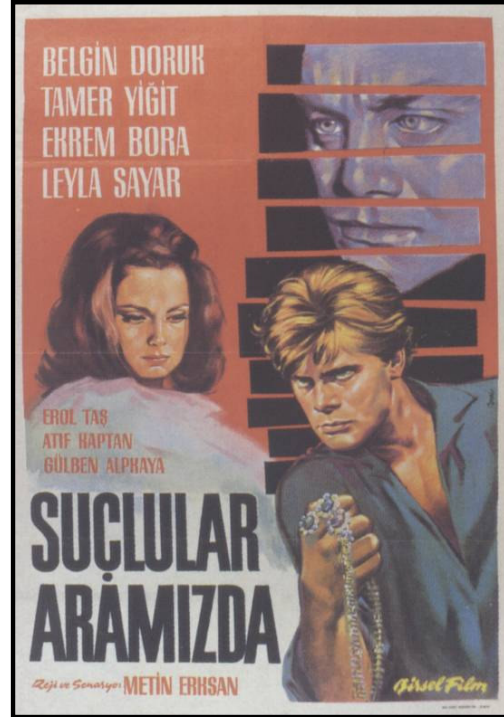
16. SUÇLULAR ARAMIZDA (The Guilty Ones are Among Us) - 1964

Director : Metin Erksan
Screenplay : Metin Erksan
Cinematography : Mengü Yeğın
Cast : Belgin Doruk,
Tamer Yiğit,
Ekrem Bora,
Leyla Sayar,
Erol Taş, Atıf
Kaptan, Gülben
Alpkaya, Hakkı
Haktan.

Production : Bırsel Film

Theme : The story of a
stolen fake
necklace and
the people who live in a totally different neighborhood and
complicated incidents happen.

Awards : The Second İzmir Film Festival (1965) Metin Erksan
“Best Director”; Milano Film Festival (1965) “Best Social
Realist Film”.



17. HAREMDE DÖRT KADIN (Four Women in A Harem) - 1965

Director : Halit Refiğ
Screenplay : Kemal Tahir
Cinematography : Memduh
Yükman, Mike
Rafaelyan
Cast : Cüneyt Arkin,
Pervin Par,
Tanju Gürsu,
Nilüfer Aydan,
Sami Ayanoglu,
Birsen
Meneşeli,
Önder Somer,
Hüseyin
Baradan, Ayfer
Feray, Devlet
Devrim,
Dursune Şirin,
Gülbin Eray,
Hüseyin Peyda,
Rukiye Göreç.



Production : Birsel Film (Özdemir Birsel)
Theme : The story between an Otoman Pahsa who lives in his mansion with his three wives and the nephew who is a doctor and against the sultanate.
Notes : It was an experimental film about history. It has been protested in “Antalya Film Festival” by some young people for its being a leftist film. Antalya police forces took control and the showing of the film could have been compited.
Awards : “Top Ten Film of 1965-1969” As Magazine The Fifth Best Film.

18. KIRIK HAYATLAR (Broken Lives) - 1965

Director : Halit Refiğ

Screenplay : Halit Refiğ
(Adapted
from Halit
Ziya
Uşaklıgil's
novel Kırık
Hayatlar)

Cinematography : Şevket
Kıymaz

Cast : Belgin
Doruk,
Cüneyt
Arkin,
Nebahat
Çehre,
Önder
Somer,
Birsen
Menekşeli,

Hulusi Kentmen, Devlet Devrim, Meral Sayın, Nurlan
San, Memduh Ün, Handan Adalı.

Production : Uğur Film (Memduh Ün)

Theme : Story of a young doctor who enters a new environment
with his wife and two children after becoming rich.
Meanwhile he starts an affair with a woman from the high
society.

Awards : Gaziantep Film Festival (1965) - “Best Film”



19. SEVMEK ZAMANI (A Time to Love) - 1965

Director : Metin Erksan

Screenplay : Metin Erksan

Cinematography : Mengü Yeğin

Cast : Müşfik
Kenter, Sema
Özcan,
Süleyman
Pekcan, Fadıl
Garan, Adnan
Uygur, Kemal
Ergüvenç.

Production : Troya Film
(Metin
Erksan)

Theme : Man Works as
a wall painter
in a villa and
falls in love in a picture of a girl on the wall and later the
girl herself. This is the story of the passionate love of the
painter.

Awards : “Top Ten Film of 1965-1969” As Magazine “Second Best
Film”.



20. HUDUTLARIN KANUNU (The Law of The Frontier) - 1966

Director : Lütfi Ö. Akad

Screenplay : Yılmaz
Güney, Lütfi
Ö. Akad

Cinematography : Ali Uğur

Cast : Yılmaz
Güney, Pervin
Par, Erol Taş,
Tuncel Kurtiz,
Osman
Alyanak,
Atilla Ergün,
Kadir Savun,
Hikmet
Olgun,
Aydemir
Akbaş, Tuncer
Necmioğlu,
Enver



Dönmez, Danyal Topatan, Muharrem Gürses, Necati Er, İhsan Bayraktar, Nusret Özkaya.

Production : Dadaş Film (Kadir Keemen)

Theme : The story of smuggler Hıdır (Yılmaz Güney). He in fact does not want to be one but could not resist the conditions and dies by hitting a mine leaving his six years old son alone.

Notes : “Hudutların Kanunu” has been banned three times by the censorship committee then later on freed and showed in public. It was the years when “National Cinema” arguments were a hot topic and “Hudutların Kanunu” took a considerable attention in this regard. “National Cinema” was looking at the reality of the Turkish nation and its problems. Thus it was about the Turkish literature, Turkish stories, regional characteristics like folklore and human behaviour. It was looking at and interpret all these as a Turk in essence and manner. The film was an important “National Cinema” example in Turkish cinema history.

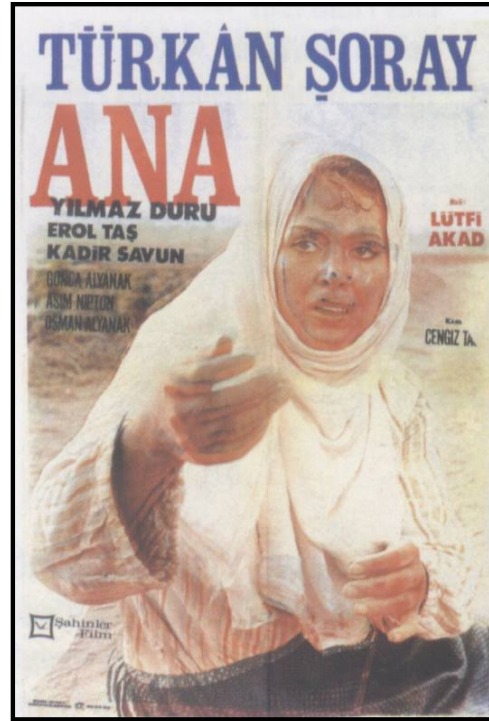
Awards : The Fourth Antalya Film Festival” (1967) - “Second Best Drama”; Yılmaz Güney “Best Actor”.

Questionnaire made by As Magazine among cinema critics for 1965-1969 “Top 10 Films of 1965-69” – Best Film (Cüneyt Şeref, Hayri Caner, Neziĥ Coş, Turhan Gürkan, Agah Özgüç, Halit Refiğ, A. Kami Suveren, Erman Şener).

Questionnaire made by “Yedinci Sanat Magazine” among 127 participants about “Top 10 Films of All Times 1914-1972” “Possessing The National Characteristics for Its Theme and Narrative Structure” Fourth Best Film.

21. ANA (The Mother) - 1967

- Director : Lütfi Ö. Akad
Screenplay : Lütfi Ö. Akad
Cinematography : Cengiz Tacer
Cast : Türkan Şoray,
Yılmaz Duru,
Erol Taş, Kadir Savun,
Osman Alyanak,
Selahattin İçsel,
Hakkı Haktan,
Asım Nipton.
Production : Şahin Film
(Nami Dilbaz)
Theme : The story of
Döndü from
Black sea region
who escapes
with her son and
daughter from blood feud.



22. KUYU (The Well) - 1968

Director : Metin Erksan

Screenplay : Metin Erksan
(Narrated from
a true story
taken from a
newspaper)

Cinematography : Mengü Yeğin,
Ali Uğur

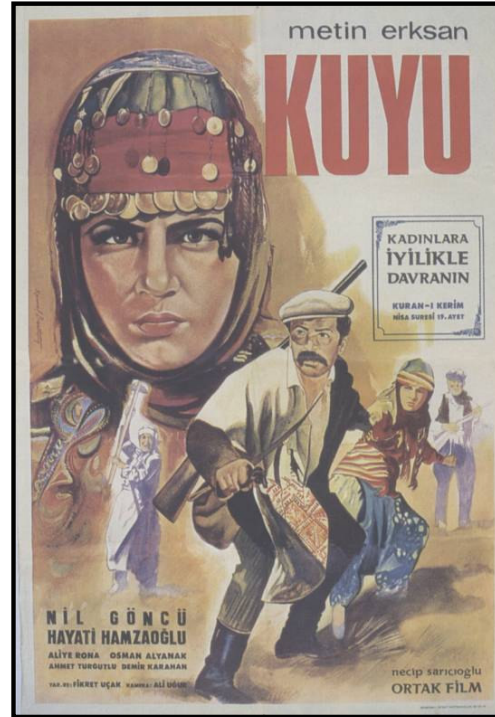
Cast : Hayati
Hamzaoğlu, Nil
Göncü, Demir
Karahan, Aliye
Rona, Osman
Alyanak,
Ahmet
Kostariga, T.
Fikret Uçak.

Production : Ortak Film
(Necip
sarıcaoğlu)

Theme : The desperate love story of Osman. He kidnaps Fatma
several times but Fatma refuses his love.

Awards : The First Adana Film Festival (1969) - “Best Film”; Metin
Erksan “Best Director”; Hayati Hamzaoğlu and Aliye
Rona “Supporting Actor and Actress” (Members of the
juri: Kemal Tahir, Nusret İkbâl, Turhan Gürkan, Orhan M.
Arıburnu, Alim Şerif Onaran, Neşet Günel, Sema Özcan,
Bülent Erkmén, Yalçın Remzi Yüreğín, Zeki Yüzüak,
Kasım Ener).

“Top Ten Film of 1965-1969” As Magazine “7th Best
Film”



23. BİR TÜRK'E GÖNÜL VERDİM (I Loved A Türk) - 1969

- Director : Halit Refiğ
- Screenplay : Halit Refiğ
(Narrated form a true story)
- Cinematography : Cengiz Tacer
- Cast : Eva Bender,
Ahmet Mekin,
Bilal İnci,
Seden
Kızıltunç,
Aynur Akarsu,
Kazım Kartal.
- Production : Şeref Film
(Şeref Gür)
- Theme : The story of a
German
woman who
comes to Turkey to look for her son's father and Mustafa
who Works as a driver.
- Awards : The Second Adana Film Festival - "Second Best Film"
and Seden Kızıltunç "Supporting Actress".



APPENDIX B:

INTERVIEW WITH HALİT REFİĞ

Anemon Otel, Eskişehir

28.07.2005

HALİT REFİĞ: Klişeler var. Her klişenin altında o klişeyi ortaya çıkaran bazı şeyler vardır. Ben hayatın sürekli tezatlarla dolu olduğu inancını taşıdığımdan, bir doğrunun mutlaka tezadının da olduğuna inanırım. Buna diyalektik düşünce tarzı diyebilirsiniz. İşte *Gurbet Kuşları*'nda da ailenin dönüşü fikri, bunu kaçınılmaz bir kader olarak filme koymak istemedim. Nitekim o aileye alternatif başka bir örnek vardı; haybeci tipler. Ailenin kendi içinde, kardeşler arasında, giriştiği işlerde hüsrana uğrayan kardeşlerin yanında, kendi giriştiği işlerde başarıya ulaşmış gözükken başka bir kardeş daha vardı. Aile gidiyor ama başka bir aile geliyor. Aynı düşüncelerle, ailenin gitmesi değişmiyor. Ailenin gitmesi de sadece ailenin gitme kararına bağlı değil, o da belli şarta bağlı. Yani aileye gelen gelin nispeten varlıklı bir ailenin kızı ve belli bir sermaye yardımı – gidilecek yerde iş kurmak, yeniden iş kurmak için belli bir yatırım imkanı da sağlandığı için gidiyorlar. Onun için *Gurbet Kuşları*'nda ve diğer gerçekçi olma gayretindeki filmlerimde de aynı şeyi yapmaya çalışıyorum. Meseleye tek yönden, tek açıdan bakmak meseleyi kendi tezatları kendi çelişkileri kendi değişik alternatifleri içinde görebilmek.

HATİCE YEŞİLDAL ŞEN: Ama özellikle o dönem filmlerini izleme imkanı yok.

H. REFİĞ: Şimdi ben seyirciyle beraber dün *Gurbet Kuşları*'nı izlerken tabii dia ile getirilen bir özelliği gördüm.¹ O özellik tabii çevrildiği dönem için bir özellik değildi, çevrildikten 40 yıl sonra bir özellik haline geliyor. Nedir o? 40 yıl önceki İstanbul. Bunun o zaman için hiç bir özelliği yok. Bazı dostlarımızın orada belirttiği gibi bu özellik belgesel bir boyut getiriyor. Yani işte Haliç civarı, o gün herkesin gördüğü haliç; Taksim civarı, boğaz sahilleri... Ama bugün çevrildiğinde bugünkü İstanbul'u bilenler için o farklı bir İstanbul. O zaman o gün hiç hesapta olmayan bir belgesel boyut ortaya çıkıyor.

H. Y. ŞEN: Bu dönemin filmlerinden edindiğim izlenim, bu filmlerin amacının sadece o dönemin sorunlarını yansıtmak değil, aslında Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu duruma bir çözüm üretmeye çalışmak olduğu yönünde. En azından yönetmenlerin, o dönemin hemen hemen bütün yönetmenlerinin kafasında böyle ciddi bir problem varmış gibi geldi bana. Yani sadece öykü anlatmak değil gerçekten sorunları anlatmak... Sorunları anlatırken de şöyle ciddi bir problem taşıyorlar galiba: "Türkiye'yi biz nasıl daha farklılaştırabiliriz, nasıl daha ileriye götürebiliriz?"

H. REFİĞ: Şimdi şöyle ifade edeyim. Türkiye'de tabii sinemanın ortaya çıkışı – bu durumu her vesile ile, her fırsatta ifade etmeye çalışıyorum, Türkiye'de sinemanın oluşumu dünyada bir tektir. Yani dünyada sinema iki farklı şekilde oluşmuştur: Birinci model, büyük sanayi ülkelerinde – Amerika, İngiltere, Fransa ve Almanya gibi, özellikle bu dört sanayi ülkesinde sanayi sermayesinin sinemaya yeni bir sanayi alanı olarak bakıp sermayenin temin ettiği ileri teknoloji ile yapılmış filmler var. Yani büyük sermayenin, Amerika en tipik örnek olmak üzere, yarattığı sinema Hollywood'tur. Buna alternatif model oluşmuştur, Sovyet devriminden sonra Sovyetler Birliği'nde. Devlet eliyle sinema, devlet desteğiyle sinema ve Sovyet modeli özellikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra birçok ülkeye model olmuştur. Şimdi bu durumda Türkiye'de sinema ne Amerika ve diğer sanayi ülkelerinde olduğu gibi büyük sermayenin yarattığı yüksek teknoloji ile meydana gelmiştir, ne de Türkiye'de sinemanın oluşumunda devletin bir öncülüğü olmuştur. Devlet kültür alanında başka

¹ Halit Refiğ was invited to Eskişehir by Tepebaşı Municipality for the auguration of the "Eski Türk Sineması Geceleri Programı, 27-30 July 2005.

konulara ilgi göstermiştir – bale, opera, tiyatro gibi.. Sinemayı ilgi alanının dışında tutmuştur. Türkiye’de sinemanın oluşumu Türk filmi seyretme talebinde olan seyircinin varlığına dayanarak olmuştur. Düşünebiliyor musunuz? Dünyada bir tek sinema modeli var ki, film seyredildikten sonra çalışanlar ücretlerini alabilsinler – seyirci sinemaya gidecek, bilet parasını ödeyecek, o paradan rejisörüne, oyuncusuna parası verilecek. Sadece günlük yeme-içme gibi masrafları karşılamak için gereken küçük bir sermaye ile film çekilecek, çekilmeye başlanacak. O zaman ne oluyor? Birinci örnekte, büyük sermayenin yaptığı filmlerde, büyük sermayenin seyircisine kabul ettirmeyi düşündüğü bir ideoloji meselesi var. Büyük sermaye kitleye hitap ediyor ama kitleye hitap ederken o kitleyi kendisine isyan edecek değil, kendisine uyumlu olacak bir kitle haline getirmeyi hedefliyor. Devlet eliyle yapılan filmlerde ne oluyor? Aynı şekilde devlet kitleye hitap ederken, gene kitleyi kendi ideolojisine, kendine uyumlu hale getirebilecek filmler tasarlıyor. Türkiye’de ne büyük sermaye ne de devlet öncülüğü olduğu için, yani sinema doğrudan doğruya halka dayandığı için, Türk filmi yapanlar “halk neden hoşlanır, halkın bir filmde etkilendiği kültür değerleri, manevi değerler, ortak toplumsal meseleler nelerdir?” onları ne kadar yakalayabilirse, o ölçüde seyircisiyle sağlam bağ kurabiliyor. Dolayısıyla burada sinemanın seyircisine empoze ettiği bir şey yok; sinema, seyircisine kavuşabilmek için seyircisinin dünyası, ruh dünyası, manevi dünyası, kültür dünyası, onu yakalamaya çalışıyor ki ona ulaşabilsin, filmini seyrettirebilsin, seyredilen filmde o da geçimini temin edebilsin. Bırakalım yabancı araştırmacıları, Türkiye’deki araştırmacılar tarafından bile yeterince incelenmemiş bir sistemdir bu. Çünkü Türkiye’deki araştırmacıların da büyük bir çoğunluğu Türkiye’nin şartlarını Batı ülkelerinin şartlarından farklı görmek eğiliminde değildirler. Batı’da ne oluyorsa –efendim işte, Batı’da sınıflar mı var? Batı’da feodal toprak sahipleri, topraksız köylüler, fabrika kuran sermaye sahipleri, o fabrikada çalışan emekçiler... şimdi dışarıdan bakıldığında bunları andıran bazı şeyler var Türkiye’de ama tam olarak bunlar değil. İşte Türk sinemasının oluşumu da o farktan meydana gelen birşey. Ama dediğim gibi, ne yazık ki bugüne kadar Türkiye’de sinema üzerine araştırma yapanlar arasında, Türkiye’nin Batı’dan bu farklı özelliğini dikkate almak isteyen, gözönünde tutmak isteyen araştırmacı çok fazla çıkmadı.

H.Y. ŞEN: Biraz aldığımız eğitim de bizi yönlendiriyor...

H. REFİĞ: Tabii çok doğru. Aldığınız eğitim yönlendiriyor, ayrıca öyle ki... çok çok önemli bir noktaya parmak bastınız. Bugün kıdemli olmayan araştırmacı, bir bilim insanı eğer bir master tezi yapıyorsa, bir doktora tezi yapıyorsa kıdemlilerinin kriterlerini gözönünde tutmak zorunda, yoksa sınıfta kalır.

H. Y. ŞEN: O dönemde sinema ve edebiyat ilişkisi çok güçlü, sonrasında bu ilişki biraz bozuluyor hatta şimdilerde...

H. REFİĞ: Şimdi o dönemde Türk sinemacıları ile edebiyatçıları arasındaki ilişki de aynı esaslara dayandığı zaman sağlam ve verimli. Aynı esaslara dayanmıyorsa, ya hiç kurulamayan ilişkiler ya da sonuçsuz kalan ilişkiler... O ne? Aynı esas nedir? Bundan kastımız, bizim toplumumuzun gerçeği nedir? sorusu. Şimdi bu açıdan bakıldığında, popüler romancılar var. Popüler romancılar “Bizim toplumumuzun gerçeği nedir” üzerine teorik olarak düşünmemişler. Diyelim ki, kadınlara roman yazan Kerime Nadir’ler, Fazıl Tahsin’ler... erkeklere yazan Esat Mahmut’lar –bunlar bu konuya teorik olarak fazla yaklaşmamışlar. Diyelim, benim kadın okuyucum nelerden hoşlanır, benim erkek okuyucum nelerden etkilenir? – buradan yola çıkarak popüler roman tarzı üretmişler. Evet, sinemacılar bu romanlarla gayet kolay yakınlaştılar. Bilinçli edebiyatçılardan ise, diyelim ki, Orhan Kemal sinemayla gayet içli dışlı olmuştur. Çünkü neden? O da toplumla ilgili bir yazar. Gözlemlediği toplumsal çevreyi dile getiriyor. O toplumsal çevreyi mümkün olduğu kadar gerçekçi bir şekilde dile getirmeye çalışıyor. Veyahut Kemal Tahir. O da “toplumun gerçeği nedir?” sorusuna kendini adanmış bir yazar. Dolayısıyla burada, diyelim ki Orhan Kemal gibi, Kemal Tahir gibi yazarlarla, hatta Türk folklorundan hareket eden Karacaoğlan, Alageyik benzeri konularda Yaşar Kemal gibi yazarlarla da belli dönemlerde çok yakınlaşmalar oldu. Ama bugüne gelince sinemada da, edebiyatta da Batı’dan gelen bireycilik meselesi çok ağırlıklı. Bugün edebiyatçılarımızın çoğunluğu bireyi ele alma ve bireysel olma çabasında; kendi duydukları, kendi düşünceleri, kendi iç dünyası ile ilgili kitaplar yazmaktalar. Filmciler, bağımsız film yaptığı ifade edilen sinemacılar da, kendi bireysel dünyalarını, kendilerinin duygusu nedir, düşüncesi nedir? bunlara yönelmişler; arada böyle bir buluşma noktası olduğunda, diyelim ki “Anayurt Oteli”nde

olduđu gibi, öyle bir noktada buluşup ondan sonra bir daha görüşme ihtiyacı kalmayabiliyor veya hiçbir araya gelinmeyip herkes kendi dünyasında, herkes kendi duyguları neyse onu yazmak, onu film yapmak yolunu seçebiliyor.

H. Y. ŞEN: Sizin filmlerinizin o dönemdeki diđer yönetmenlerin filmlerinden bazı farklılıkları olduđu düşünülüyor. Örneğin kadın sorunlarına siz diđerlerinden daha fazla eğiliyorsunuz ya da bu sorun sizin filmlerinizde daha belirgin bir şekilde ortaya çıkıyor. Dün de zaten seyirciler ona güldüler, en çok güldükleri sahne Naciye ...

H. REFİĞ: Çok doğru bir tespit. Şimdi ben psikiyatri ile çok ilgilendim. Freud ile daha sonra Jung ile çok ilgilendim. Ama temel olarak Freud ile. Ama kendi üstümde bir psikanaliz yapma gayretim olmadı. Ben kadın kişiliklerine çok daha fazla ilgi duydum. Benim de fark etmediğim bir oidipus kompleksi mi vardır, onu bilemem. Ama bunu daha teorik bir yaklaşıma aldığım zaman, ben doğa ile çok yakınım. Kadınlar erkeklerden çok doğal.

H. Y. ŞEN: Daha doğal derken?

H. REFİĞ: Çok daha doğal! Erkeklerde kadınlara göre doğadan uzaklaşma, doğa ile çatışma, doğa ile kavga temayülü daha fazla. Kadınlar doğurma özelliklerinden ötürü erkeklere göre çok daha doğal. Dolayısıyla kadın davranışları, kadın zihniyeti bana çok daha doğa ile yakın gelmekte. Şimdi bakın mesela, şeytan kavramı erkekte temsil olmuştur; erkek şeytanlığa kadından daha yakın. Faust'a bakarsak mesela, şeytanla işbirliği yapan Margaret değil fukara Faust. Dolayısıyla ben bunu, yakın çevremde daha çok gözlemlemekteyim, kendi hemcinslerim arasında "kötülük" kavramı çok daha yaygın. Kadınlar arasında da kuşkusuz aklını kötülüğe kullananlar var ama baktığımız zaman onların çođu kadınlığını kaybetmiş kadınlar. Yani erkekleşmiş kadınlarda kötülük temayülleri, birisine nasıl kötülük edebilirim, daha yaygın. Doğal kadın, kavgadan yana değil. Çünkü doğal kadın, doğa ile barışık olduđu için genelde temayülleri onu çevresi ile barışık hale getiriyor. Hayvan sevgisine bakın örneğin; kadınların hayvan sevgisinde bir şefkat vardır. Erkeklerin hayvan sevgisinde ise "benim kölem olacak, ısır diyeceğim ısıracak, şunu yap diyeceğim yapacak, atın üstüne bin diyeceğim binecek" vardır. Doğaya ilgidenden ötürü kadınların erkeklerden daha

çok doğaya yakın, insiyaklarının, davranışlarının erkeklerden çok daha doğal olduğunu düşünmüşümdür. Bu yüzden, kadın karakterler beni dramatik açıdan hep daha fazla ilgilendirmiştir.

H. Y. ŞEN: Fakat psikolojik boyutundan öte, sanki kadınların içinde yaşadığı sorunları Türkiye'nin içinde yaşadığı sorunlarla ilişkilendirme ...

H. REFİĞ: Tabii tabii (gülümseyerek) çok doğru, çok doğru. Tabii tabii tabii... Tabii çok doğru... Mesela Cumhuriyet meselesi de çok büyük ölçüde bir kadın meselesidir. Şimdi Osmanlı toplumu sanayi devrimini gerçekleştiremedi. Bir tarım toplumu olarak kurulmuştu, çok başarılı bir tarım toplumu idi, bir tarım toplumu modeli idi. O yüzden bir dünya devleti haline geldi. Ama Batı'da sanayi devrimi olduktan sonra batı güç kazanırken, Osmanlı toplumu, tarım toplumundan sanayi toplumuna geçemedi. Bu da Osmanlı toplumunun saf dışı kalmasını kaçınılmaz hale getirdi. Cumhuriyet toplumu başlangıcından itibaren Osmanlı toplumunun neden varlığını devam ettiremediğinin bilincinde olduğundan sanayileşme hareketine girmeye çalıştı. Fakat Türkiye'de Batı'da olduğu gibi sanayileşme hareketini gerçekleştirecek bir sermaye birikimi olmadığı için bu sanayi hareketinin gerçekleşmesi gecikti. Ama bütün bu gecikmeye rağmen kadınların erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip olması sanayi devrimi ile olmuştur. Türkiye'de sanayi devrimi olmadan kadınların erkeklerle sosyal eşitlik hareketi başladı. Adeta kadına o hakları vererek sanayileşmeyi kadının sağlamasına bir umut bağlanmış oldu. Artık bugün, Türkiye bir sanayi toplumu haline gelmiştir. Bunu şu konuştuğumuz Eskişehir'de görmek mümkün. Bundan 40 yıl önce Eskişehir tipik bir tarım toplumu iken, bugün Türkiye'nin önde gelen bir sanayi bölgesi. Ve bugün Eskişehir, dün sinemadaki seyirce topluluğu olsun, otelde çalışan kızların halleri tavırları olsun, sokaklara baktığımız zaman... Eskişehir'de, merkezde, kadının durumu herhangi bir sanayi ülkesindeki kadının durumundan farklı değil; kılık-kıyafetler, davranışlar... Batı'da önce sanayi devrimi gerçekleştirildi, sonra kadınlar erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip oldular. Türkiye'de ise bu tersine oldu, bizim Batı ile her işimizde olduğu gibi. Aşırı bir kadın fanatiği olarak Türkiye'nin sanayileşmesinde de kadınların katkısının büyük olduğuna inanıyorum. Bugün sanayi kuruluşlarının bir çoğunun başında

kadınlar var. Tipik örneklerden biri, Sakıp Sabancı'nın yerini Güler Sabancı'nın almış olması.

H. Y. ŞEN: Din meselesi sizin filmlerinizde daha çok yer alıyor, ama sanki Türkiyeli olmanın, bu topraklara ait olmanın ya da kültürün bir parçası olarak kullanılmış. Bu özelliği şimdi daha farklı okumaya kalkanlar, muhafazakarlık olarak yorumlayabilirler ama ben ...

H. REFİĞ: Çok doğru, çok doğru, çok doğru... Benim filmlerimde, keskin Batıcılar beni işte dini gericilikle falan suçlarlar, ama tespitiniz çok doğru, çok memnun oldum. Ben şimdi din meselesini Türkiye'nin bir sosyal, kültürel gerçeği olarak kabul ediyorum. Din meselesi sadece ibadet meselesi değil; bu bir toplumsal kültür meselesi. Şimdi gene Batı'ya bakalım; Batı'da bir ateist bile kilise olmadan hiçbir sosyal hizmetini gördüremez. Batı'da kiliseler sosyal düzenin merkezleridir. Yani doğduğu zaman kaydı kilisede olacak; kilisede kaydı olmayan bir Batılı vatandaş olamaz. Evleneceği zaman kilisede olur, tabii ki cenazesi de. Velhasıl kilisede kaydı olmayan Batılı, o toplumun üyesi olamaz. Ateist olsa bile, ateist bir batılı bile, ibadet etmeyen bir batılı bile şuur dışı olarak birçok düşüncesinde, birçok davranışında o hıristiyan ülkenin tezahürlerini gösterir. Bunu en belirgin, en keskin şekilde ifade eden Jung'dur, kolektif bilinçaltı diye. İşte bu kolektif bilinçaltı Batı'nın genel kültürünü oluşturan şeydir. İster imanlı bir Hıristiyan olsun, ister ateist olsun, onlar ortak bir bilinçaltına sahiptir. Onun için biz Batı ile ilişkilerimizde, efendim Hıristiyan demokratlar farklı, demokratlar farklı, yok öyle birşey. Ortak bilinçaltına sahipler. Bunu ilmen onlar tespit etmişler. Bu bizde de aynı. İster imanlı bir Müslüman, ister ateist ...

(Kasetin B yüzü - devam) O zaman Türkiye'nin sorunlarını düşünürken, o meselelerin değerlendirilmesinde, toplumsal meselelerin değerlendirilmesinde din unsurunu, İslam unsurunu hesaba katmamak bizi çok yanlışlara götürür. Bu gerçeği gerçeği bilmek o insanı ibadetin bütün gereklerini yerine getirmesini gerektirmeyeceği gibi, dinsiz olmak iddiası da gerekli değildir. Yani bu bir gerçekçilik meselesidir. Din Batı'da kendi özellikleri içinde olduğu gibi, bizim toplumumuzda da bizim toplumumuzun kültürünün, toplumsal yaşam tarzımızın kaynaklarından biridir. Bu gerçeği bilmeden, bu gerçeği doğru değerlendirmeden

ben şahsen Türkiye’de toplumsal sorunlara doğru karşılıklar bulunabileceği görüşünde değilim – bu bir. İkincisi, din düşmanı, İslam düşmanı hiçbir siyasi partinin Türkiye’de iktidar olmasına ihtimal vermiyorum.

H. Y. ŞEN: O dönemin sinemacıları sadece sinemacı değil, aydınlar. Sonra ne oldu?

H. REFİĞ: Türkiye’de, Cumhuriyet döneminden bahsediyorum, çeşitli iç ve dış etkenlerin, bunlardaki değişikliklerin meydana getirdiği çeşitli dönemler vardır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti esas olarak Batı’ya karşı bağımsız olma mücadelesidir. Fakat Batı ile mücadele sonunda Osmanlı’yı yıkmış, ardından Türkiye kendi iç gerçekleri ile dış gerçekler arasında hep belli bir denge kurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu dengeler arasında kendi iç gerçeklerinin daha ağır bastığı dönemler olmuştur, bu dönemlerde tabii daha ulusal siyasetler, işte en tipik örneği İstiklal Harbi... Ama daha sonra, bilhassa 2. Dünya Savaşı’ndan sonra, Sovyetler büyük bir güç olarak ortaya çıkmış (Stalin dönemi, Boğazlar, Kars-Ardahan sorunları...) ve Türkiye 1952 de NATO’ya girmiş; bu dönemden itibaren Türkiye’de sol düşünce keskin bir şekilde tehlikeli hale geldi, Amerikan düşüncesi makbul bir düşünce haline geldi. Fakat 1960’lardan itibaren Kıbrıs meselesi dolayısı ile Türkiye ile Batı arasında sürtüşme meydana geldiğinde yeniden ulusalcı düşünceler güçlendi. Bilhassa Kıbrıs hadiseleri ulusalcı düşünceleri güçlendirdi. Şimdi Sovyet sistemi devam ettiği sürece Türkiye kendi çıkarları ile Batı arasında bir dengeyi koruyabildi. Fakat Ruslar Sovyet sistemini tasfiye edince, Mezopotamya ve Kıbrıs konularında Batı çok keskin şekilde siyaset değiştirdi. Bu keskin siyasette Batı, Türkiye’de devleti ulusal fikirleri, ulusal kültürü, ulusal sanatı desteklememesi konusunda sıkıştırdı. Bugün Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet tarihinde en anti-ulusalcı dönemi yaşamaktayız. Bunun en tipik örneğini TRT’de görmekteyiz. Özel kanallardan bahsediyor. TRT kamu hizmeti esası üzerine kurulmuştur. Bugün devlet televizyonu özel televizyonlarının kötü bir taklidi haline getirilmiştir. Bugün TRT’ye baktığımız zaman gösterdiği Amerikan filmleri sayısı özel televizyonların gösterdiklerinden fazladır. Bugün devlet televizyonu Amerikan bağımlılığını özel televizyonlardan daha ileriye götürmüş durumda. Özel televizyonlar reyting kaygısı ile halkla belli bir bağ kurmak zorunda olduklarından, bir ölçüde belli milli değerleri göz

önünde tutuyorlar. Ama TRT’de, Cumhuriyet tarihinin en anti-kültürel, en anti-ulusal dönemini yaşıyoruz. Bugün Batı, Türkiye’yi kesin bir şekilde parçalamak niyetinde. Kıbrıs kesin bir şekilde alınmak isteniyor. Mezopotamya, Pontus vardı, Kıbrıs’ta ne arıyorsun? Bu durumda halkın çoğunluğunda bir uyanma meydana gelecek, bu uyanma ilk silahlı kuvvetlerde meydana gelecek ve bugünkü kumanda zihniyetini tasfiye edecekler.

H. Y. ŞEN: Film çevirmeyi düşünmüyor musunuz?

H. REFİĞ: Şimdi ben fikirlerimden tavizde bulunmak istemiyorum. Ben bugün geleceği düşünmüyorum, anı düşünüyorum. Anı düşününce de benim inandığım tarz sinemanın piyasası yok. Ben keskin ve sivri bir ulusalcıyım. “Ulusal sinema kavgası”nı yazdığım günden bugüne düşüncelerimde hiçbir değişiklik olmadı.

APPENDIX C:

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de 1960-1970 döneminde üretilen toplumsal gerçekçi ve ulusal sinema akımına dahil filmlerden seçilen örnekler kullanılarak dönemin ataerkil düşüncesi, yapısı ve kalıpları analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Kadın ezilmişliği ataerkillik gibi kapsamlı bir kavram çerçevesinde farklı feminist yaklaşımlar tarafından değişik biçimlerde açıklanmıştır. Toplumsal düzenin eleştirisi olarak kendini kuran radikal feminizme göre kadınlar ve erkekler ayrı birer sınıf oluşturmaktadır. Evrensel bir kadın olma durumunu tanımlayan radikal feminizme göre tarihteki en temel sömürü ilişkisi erkeklerin kadınları sömürmesine dayanmaktadır. Kadın bedeninin ve cinselliğinin kontrol edilmesine dayanan bu sömürü ilişkisi bütün toplumlarda görülmektedir. ‘Kişisel olan politiktir’ iddiasıyla ortaya çıkan, bu anlamda da daha önce sorunsallaştırılmayan özel alanın bir analiz birimi olarak feminist tartışmaların içine dahil edilmesini sağlayan radikal feminizm tarihselci olmayan ve evrensel kadınlık durumuna dayalı bakış açısı nedeniyle eleştirilmiştir.

Marksizmin kadın sorununa bakışı kadının ezilmişliğini içinde bulunduğu sınıfsal konuma göre değerlendirmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım kapitalist üretim biçiminin kadını özel alana hapsedtiğini, kadının kurtuluşunun ise bu alandan çıkıp üretim alanına dahil olarak emeğini gerçekleştirebildiği, işgücüne dahil olabildiği zaman kendiliğinden ortadan kalkacağını ve temel sömürünün cinsiyete dayalı değil, emeğe dayalı olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu anlamda kadın sorunu ağırlıklı olarak üretim alanında kadın emeği ve bu emeğin sömürüsü kavramsallaştırılması ile açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Sosyalist feminizm ise Marksist ve radikal feminizmin eleştirilen yola çıkarak kadın ezilmişliğini üretim ve yeniden üretim alanlarının içinde toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf eleştirisini içerecek biçimde çözümlenmeye çalışmıştır. Bu yaklaşım içinde kapitalizm ve ataerkilliğin tek bir sistem oluşturduğu bu nedenle ikisinin birlikte tek bir sistem gibi çözümlenmesi gerektiğini iddia eden görüş ‘tekli sistem yaklaşımı’ olarak adlandırılmaktadır. ‘İkili sistem teorisi’ olarak adlandırılan diğer yaklaşım ise kapitalizmin ve ataerkilliğin iki farklı sistem olduğunu ve birarada bulunma durumlarının her zaman uyum içermediğini, zaman zaman birbirlerini desteklerken zaman zaman da çatışma içinde eklemlenerek bir arada bulduklarını iddia etmektedir. Kadın sorunu anlamında tarihsel olarak bakıldığında bu iki sistem arasındaki çatışmanın kaynağını kadın emeğine el konulması ve sömürülmesinin hangi sistem tarafından gerçekleştirileceği oluşturmaktadır.

İkili sistem yaklaşımı içinde yer alan Hartmann (1986) Marksizmin cinsiyet köri olmasını ve radikal feminizmin tarihselci olmayan bakış açısını eleştirerek ataerkillik analizi yapmaya çalışmıştır. Ataerkilliğin maddi temellini kadın emeğinin kontrol edilmesi olarak açıklayan Hartmann, erkeklerin kadınların kendi emeklerini ücretli emek biçiminde gerçekleştirmelerini engelleyerek kontrol ettiklerini ifade etmektedir.

İkili sistem yaklaşımı içinde yer alan Walby (1990) ise ataerkilliği erkeklerin kadınların üzerinde hakimiyet kurduğu, baskı altında tuttuğu ve sömürdüğü birbirleriyle ilişkili toplumsal yapılardan oluşan bir sistem olarak tanımlamaktadır. Ataerkil üretim biçimi, ücretli emek, devlet, şiddet, cinsellik ve din, medya eğitim gibi kültürel kurumlar ataerkilliği oluşturan toplumsal yapılar olarak tanımlanmıştır. Walby’e göre indirgemecilik ve özcülükten kaçınmak için göreceli olarak özerk olan bu yapıların hepsi ataerkilliğin analizine dahil edilmelidir. Bu yapılara dayanarak kamusal ve özel alanda ataerkillik ayrımı yapan Walby, özel alandaki ataerkilliğin hane içinde gerçekleştiğini baba ya da kocanın bireysel olarak kadını sömürdüğünü belirtmektedir. Kamusal ataerkillik ise kadın emeğinin kamusal alanda kollektif olarak sömürüsüne dayanmaktadır.

Kamusal ve özel alandaki ataerkillik sabit deęişmez biçimler deęildir tersine yukarıda bahsedilen ataerkil yapıların bu alanlardaki ataerkillięi biçimlendirmektedir. Ataerkillik konusunda Walby'nin yaptıęı bu kapsamlı ele alış, filmler aracılıęı ile 1960-70 döneminde Türkiye'deki ataerkillięi anlama çabasında oldukça yararlı olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada 1960-70 döneminin seçilmesinin temel olarak iki nedeni vardır. Birincisi bu dönem Türkiye'de kadın tarihi çalışmaları tarafından 'ihmal edilen' bir dönem olarak önemlidir. 1990'lardan sonra gelişen kadın tarihi çalışmaları daha çok Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemleri ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk dönemleri üzerine odaklanmıştır. Siyaset alanının belirleyicilięinde gelişen bu çalışmalar kadının vatandaş olarak kabul edilebilmek üzere verdięi kimlik temelli mücadeleleri konu edinmiştir.

Türk sinemasının bu dönemde geçirdięi deęişim ve dönüşümlere bakıldığında bu dönem sinema tarihi açısından da belirgin özelliklere sahiptir. Öncelikle bu dönemi Türk sinemasının üretim ve gösterim anlamında kendi tarihi içinde en çok kitleselliştii dönem olarak deęerlendirmek mümkündür. Bunun yanı sıra sinema endüstrisi içinde yer alan aktörlerin siyasal ve toplumsal hayatla ilişkilerinin çok güçlü olduęu ve bunun sinema yapma anlayışlarına yansıdığı bir dönem olarak da önemlidir. 1960'larda gelişen Toplumsal Gerçekçi Sinema, Ulusal Sinema, Halk Sineması anlayışları ve tartışmaları, 1970'lerde Devrimci-Yeni Sinema ve Milli sinema akımları şeklinde devam etmiştir. Bu akımların herbirini yalnızca sanatsal anlamda bir duruş, ifade etme ve üretim şeklinde ele almak eksik bir deęerlendirme olabilir. Bunlar 'Türk sineması nasıl olmalıdır' sorunsalını, Türkiye'nin o dönemde içinde bulunduęu ekonomik, politik, toplumsal koşullar çerçevesinde ele almışlardır.

Filmler, pozitivizmle bağları çok güçlü olan, ondan beslenen resmi tarih anlayışı tarafından ikincil kaynak olarak deęerlendirilen, bu anlamda güvenilirlięi ve geçerlilięi sorgulanan tarihsel malzemelerdir. Feminist tarih yazıcılıęının temelde odaklandığı pozitivizm eleştirisinden yola çıkarak- ki bu eleştiri

pozitivizme dayalı resmi tarih anlayışının erkek bakış açısıyla üretildiğini iddia etmektedir- filmlerin eleştirel bir tarihsel malzeme olarak kullanılabilmesi düşünölmüştür.

Kadın bakış açısı sinema çalışmaları içinde oldukça yaygın olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu yaygın kullanılış biçiminde göstergebilim ve psikanalizin hakimiyetini görmek mümkündür. Feminist film çalışmaları tek tek film örneklerinden yola çıkarak evrensel bir kadın özneye ulaşmak için kimlik ve farklılaşma üzerine odaklaşmakta bu anlamda kadınların filmde özne olarak nasıl kurulduğı sorusunu sormaktadır. Psikanalize dayalı feminist film analizi genel olarak filmlerde kadının arzu ve fetişin nesnesi olarak yansıtıldığını bu yansıtımda da erkek bakışı hedeflendiğı iddia etmektedir. Bu yaklaşım tarihselci olmadığı ve evrensel bir kadın kimliğı kurma iddiasına dayandığı için eleştirilmektedir. Ayrıca kadın izleyicinin filmdeki kadın karakterlerle özdeşlik kurma dışında başka alternatif izleme biçimleri geliştiremeyeceğı gibi bir varsayımı barındırdığı için de eleştiriler almıştır. Göstergebilime dayalı feminist film analizi ise daha çok kadının temsil edilmesini film biçimini etkileyen mekan, ışıklandırma, kamera hareketleri ve bunun gibi öğelerle açıklamaya odaklanmıştır.

Genel olarak her iki yaklaşım filmleri kendi içinde değerlendirdikleri, üretildikleri dönemin toplumsal, politik ve kültürel ortamı ile ilişkilendirmedikleri için eleştirilmişlerdir. Bu çalışmada bu bakış açıları kullanılmamış, onların yerine ataerkilliğı yukarıda bahsedilen kapsamlı ele alma hedefi çerçevesinde filmlerin herbiri bir sosyolojik araştırma malzemesi olarak ele alınmıştır. Filmler üretildikleri döneme ait toplumsal düşünceyi, zihniyet örüntülerini yansıtan birer kültür ürünü olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu anlamda da evrensel kadın kimliklerine ulaşma iddiasının ötesinde belirli bir dönemin ataerkil düşüncesini ve işleyişini anlamada oldukça önemlidirler.

Bu çalışma kapsamında ele alınan dönem içinde toplumsal gerçekçi ve ulusal sinema akımlarından elde edilen yirmiüç film arasından on tanesi seçilerek üç başlık altında analizi yapılmıştır.

Ataerkil yapıların krizi ve 'erkeklik kalıplar'ı başlığı altında Metin Erksan'ın "Gecelerin Ötesi" ve "Kuyu" filmleri ile, Nevzat Pesen'in "Hızlı Yaşayanlar" filmi ele alınmıştır. Bu filmler aynı zamanda erkek olma durumuna ve erkekler arası ilişkilere odaklanan "erkek filmleri" olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

İkinci grupta Orhan Elmas'ın "Duvarların Ötesi", Metin Erksan'ın "Acı Hayat" ve "Suçlular Aramızda" filmleri sınıf eleştirisinin toplumsal cinsiyet boyutu kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Söz konusu filmler üst sınıf- burjuva sınıfı eleştirisini konu edinen, bu eleştiriyi gerçekleştirirken kadının araçsal olarak kullanıldığı filmlerdir.

Son olarak 'aile tasavvuru'nun yeniden üretimine odaklanan filmler incelenmiştir. Halit Refiğ'in "Kırık Hayatlar", ve "Gurbet Kuşları" filmleri, Memduh Ün'ün "Kırık Çanaklar" ile Lütfi Akad'ın "Ana" filmleri bu gruba dahil olan filmlerdir. Bu filmler ailenin yaşadığı kriz, çözülüşü ve yeniden biraraya gelişini anlatması ele alınmıştır.

Bu filmlerde yer alan kadın karakterler temsil etikleri kadınlık durumuna göre üç ayrı grupta değerlendirilmiştir. İlk grupta yer alan 'bağımsız kadın'lar aile kurumu içinde yer almayan bekar kadınlardır. 'Aile tasavvuru'nu ifade edecek olan hiçbir toplumsal ilişkileri ve rolleri yoktur. Bu anlamda da varlıkları tam tersine her zaman bu tasavvurun kendisini tehdit edecek biçimde gösterilmektedir. 'Ehlileştirilmiş kadınlar' evli, anne, bekar ise hanenin namusu korunması gereken kızı, kızkardeşi olarak verilmiştir. Ataerkil yapı içinde nasıl davranması gerektiğinin, bu yapının dışına çıkmaya kalkıştığında nasıl cezalandırılacağına farkına vardırılmış kadınlardır. Bu iki grubun ortasında yer alan kadınlar ise 'aile tasavvuru'nun dışında davranmaya kalkıştıkları için cezalandırılan ve hayatları intihar ya da bir kaza sonucu son bulan kadınlardır.

Buradan elde edilebilecek olan genel bir sonuç kadınlar için toplumsal yaşamın içinde 'aile'nin dışında tanımlanan bir konum ve ilişki biçimi olmadığıdır. Bu dönemde üretilen filmlerden elde ettiğimiz bilgilere göre ataerkil düşünce ve bu çerçevede biçimlenen ataerkil yapı kadınlara ancak özel alan içinde bir yer tanımlamıştır.

'Erdemli erkekler' ise sağduyunun sesi gibi görünmekle birlikte aslında filmlerde ataerkil düşünceyi dile getiren erkeklerdir. Diğer erkeklerle nasıl erkek olmaları ve kadınlara nasıl davranmaları gerektiğini dile getirirken, insanlık değerleri ve ahlak sahibi bir birey olmanın ne anlama geldiğini gerek yaşam pratiği ve gerekte düşünceleri yoluyla anlatır erdemli erkekler. Gerçekte bu değerler aslında ataerkil toplumsal yapının ürünleridir.

Bu anlamda bu çalışma kapsamında erkekler arası ilişkiler ataerkil toplumsal yapıyı, özellikle de bu yapının nasıl üretildiğini anlamada çok önemlidir (Kandiyoti, 1997). Bu ilişkiler uyumlu bir ilişki çerçevesinde ele alınmamış aksine kendi içinde hiyerarşik bir yapıyı, sınıf farklılıklarını barındıran ama bütün bu farklılıkların ötesinde erkek olmak noktasında bir dayanışma içeren ilişkiler olarak ele alınmıştır (Hartmann, 1986). Bu nedenle erkeklerin birbirleri ile kurdukları ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilerde 'erdemli erkekler'in rolü incelenmiştir.

Erkekler arası bu dayanışmanın bir sonucu olarak kadının gerek eviçi gerekse ücretli emeği, bedeni ve cinselliğinin denetlenmesinde namus kavramının oynadığı rol; bu denetlemenin ve müdahalenin bir aracı ve sonucu olarak kadının maruz kaldığı şiddet, tecavüz olguları incelenmiştir.

Erkeklerin kadına uyguladığı şiddet meşru bir cezalandırma olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Walby, 1990). Türkiye gibi erkek soyuna dayalı, geniş aile içinde yaşlı erkeğin otoriteyi elinde bulundurduğu klasik ataerkilliğin hakim olduğu toplumlarda (Kandiyoti, 1997) bu cezalandırma namus kavramı ile meşrulaştırılmaktadır. Kadının hem emeğinin denetimi ve sömürüsü hem de bedeninin ve cinselliğinin denetimi kollektif olarak gerçekleştirilmektedir. Bu

anlamda kadının namusu ve iffeti yalnızca kocası tarafından değil, daha geniş akrabalık ilişkileri yanı sıra mahalle ve komşuluk ilişkileri çerçevesinde denetlenmektedir. Burada denetlemenin sınırlarını ve sınırlar çerçevesinde yapılacak olan tanımlamaları belirleyen şeyin kendisi yukarıda bahsedilen 'aile tasavvuru'dur. Bu tasavvurun belirlediği ilişkiler içinde yer alan kadın namuslu ve iffetli kadındır. Bu anlamda 1960-70 döneminde Türkiye'de ataerkilliğin daha çok özel alanda hakimiyetini koruduğunu ve kadınları bu alanda denetlemeye çalıştığını söylemek mümkün görünmektedir.

VITA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Year of Graduation</u>
Ph.D	METU, Sociology	2005
MS	METU, Sociology	1996
BS	METU, Sociolog	1991

WORK EXPERIENCE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
1994-	Anatolian University, Sociology, Eskişehir	Lecturer
1993-1994	Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği, Ankara	Assistant Expert

GRANTED SCHOLARSHIPS

2000-2001	Bristol University, University of West of England, Media and Cultural Studies (The Grant from TUBA)	Visiting Fellowship
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PUBLICATIONS/CONFERENCE PAPERS

1998 : "İstanbul'un İki Yüzü", *Mürekkap*, Vol. 10-11, (with Yasemin Özgün)

PARTICIPATION AND ASSIGNMENT IN INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
2003 (7-13 July)	V. International Eskişehir Films Days	Member of the Festival Board
2003 (2-6 May)	IV. International Eskişehir Films Days, Seminar: "Sinemada Gözetlemecilik – Nachiketas Wignesan, Paris University	Participant
2003 (18-20 April)	CEDAW (Birleşmiş Milletler Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Önlenmesi Sözleşmesi) Sivil Toplum Forumu	Participant
2002 (October)	Uluslararası Seçim Gözetmeni, Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı, Kosova Yerel Seçimleri	Gözetmen
2002 (May)	IV. International Eskişehir Films Days	Member of the Festival Board

INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

The Membership of Türk Sosyoloji Derneği (Turkish Sociology Association)