

T.C.
MARMARA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**APARTHEID REGIME AND THE OTHER: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
SOUTH AFRICAN AND ISRAELI CINEMAS**

Master's Thesis

NURSEMA ÖZCOŞAR

İstanbul, 2025

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ÖZ

Bu tez çalışması, 1948 yılında Güney Afrika Cumhuriyetinde uygulanmaya başlayan apartheid rejimini incelemektedir. Bu inceleme yapılırken özellikle 21. Yüzyıla birlikte artan İsrail ve Apartheid söylemleri üzerinden her iki ülke içinde kıyaslamalar yapılmaktadır. Tez kapsamında her iki ülkede apartheid uygulamaları incelenmiştir. Tez, değerlendirmeleri sadece politika üzerinden değil disiplinlerarası bir çalışma yaparak filmler üzerinden de ortaya koymaktadır. Tezde filmlerin değerlendirilebilmesi için öteki kavramı baz alınarak eleştirel söylem analizi kullanılmıştır. Tezde sunulan kanıtlar İsrail'in bir apartheid devleti olabileceğini ispat etmektedir. Bu durum da iki ülke kıyaslamasının yapılmasının yolunu açmaktadır. Bu tez Güney Afrika Cumhuriyetindeki apartheid rejiminin İsrail için hala devam ettiğini karşılaştırmalı olarak filmler üzerinden ortaya koymaktadır. Tez çalışması, İsrail ve Güney Afrika Cumhuriyetine ait Apartheid döneminde (Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti için beyazların, İsrail için ise İsraililerin ürettiği filmler) öteki kavramının nasıl şekillendiğini ve apartheide dair izlerin nasıl verildiğini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Apartheid bağlamında Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti ve İsrail'de analiz edilen filmlerde benzerlikler ve farklılıklar bulunduğu tespit edilmiştir. Her iki ülke içinde ötekileştirme mekanizmalarının filmlerdeki izleri değerlendirilmiştir. Apartheid ve filmlerdeki uygulamalar arasında benzerlik ilişkisi kurulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Apartheid, İsrail, Güney Afrika Cumhuriyeti, öteki, eleştirel söylem analizi

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the apartheid regime that started to be implemented in the Republic of South Africa in 1948. While making this examination, comparisons are made in both countries, especially through the increasing discourses of Israel and Apartheid in the 21st century. Within the scope of the thesis, apartheid practices in both countries are analysed. The thesis reveals the evaluations not only through politics but also through films by making an interdisciplinary study. In order to evaluate the films in the thesis, critical discourse analysis is used based on the concept of the other. The evidence presented in the thesis proves that Israel can be an apartheid state. This situation paves the way for a comparison between the two countries. The thesis aims to analyse how the concept of the other is shaped and how the traces of apartheid are given during the apartheid period in Israel and the Republic of South Africa (films produced by whites for the Republic of South Africa and by Israelis for Israel). It has been determined that there are similarities and differences in the films analysed in the context of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and Israel. The traces of othering mechanisms in the films in both countries were evaluated. A similarity relationship was established between apartheid and the practices in the films.

Keywords: Apartheid, Israel, Republic of South Africa, other, critical discourse analysis

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I dedicate this thesis to the people of South Africa who struggled against apartheid between 1948 and 1994 and to the Palestinian people who are still resisting Israeli apartheid oppression.



ABBREVIATIONS

AI: Amnesty International

ANC: African National Congress

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

HSRC: South African Human Sciences Research Council

ICERD: International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PAC: Pan Africanist Congress

PLO: The Palestine Liberation Organisation

RARO: Reddingsdaadbond-Amateur-RolprentOrganisasie

SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation

TCF: Twentieth Century Fox

UN: United Nations

US: United States

USA: United States of America

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"No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love."

Nelson Mandela

1.Introduction

The term "apartheid" literally means "separation" or "segregation." However, it gained its specific connotation from events that transpired in the Republic of South Africa (Maylam, 1990). In 1948, with the rise to power of the National Party in South Africa, the apartheid regime—a system of racial segregation—was established and remained in effect until 1994 (Giliomee, 2003: 373-392). Apartheid refers to the system that enforced strict racial segregation between black and white populations, institutionalizing systemic racial discrimination across various domains such as social life, politics, and education. For nearly 40 years, the white minority maintained an oppressive regime over the black majority. The end of apartheid in 1994 was catalyzed by several factors: the growing domestic opposition to apartheid, international protests and boycotts, and economic sanctions imposed on South Africa by international organizations. Although apartheid officially ended in South Africa, its implications transcended its place of origin and became a universally recognized term symbolizing systemic racial oppression. The 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid explicitly defined apartheid as a crime (Hoog & Steinmetz, 1993). Subsequently, the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court classified apartheid as a crime against humanity, ensuring its absolute prohibition both in South Africa and globally.

Another significant aspect of this thesis concerns Israel, which has increasingly been associated with apartheid discourse especially since the 2000s. This raises the question of whether Israel can be considered an apartheid state. Notably, the similarities between Israel's oppressive policies towards Palestinians and those of apartheid regimes have amplified discussions linking Israel to apartheid in contemporary discourse. International organizations, institutions, and scholars frequently characterize Israel as an apartheid state. This thesis examines and substantiates the argument that Israel qualifies as an apartheid state. Establishing the connection between Israel and apartheid is crucial, as this relationship serves as the basis for analyzing the representation of "the other" in films produced during the period defined as Israel's apartheid era.

Significant events in social life have undoubtedly been reflected in various forms of art by artists. The traces of racism, conflict, and war experienced in South Africa and Israel can be observed in painting, music, and, most notably, in cinema—the primary focus of this thesis. Art, and more specifically cinema, is not merely a medium created for entertainment. Cinema also serves as an ideological tool, capable of influencing societies, shaping perceptions, distorting existing realities, or obscuring certain truths. It plays a pivotal role in directing public opinion and manipulating collective consciousness. The practices of racist regimes, which persisted for approximately 40 years in South Africa and continue in Israel, have been depicted in cinema, sometimes through a critical lens and at other times to shape certain perceptions. This study employs critical discourse analysis to examine how black individuals are portrayed in films directed or produced by white South Africans and, conversely, how Palestinians are subjected to othering in films created by Israelis

1.1 Research question

This thesis originates from the question of how "the other" is portrayed in cinema during the apartheid eras in the Republic of South Africa and Israel? Based on this central question, films were selected according to the criteria, and critical discourse analysis was employed to seek answers to the research question. Beyond this primary inquiry, the study also led to additional sub-questions. One of the questions is this whether Israel can be considered an apartheid state. Another question to be addressed is the manner in which othering is achieved through of film. By comparing films from Israel and South Africa, what similarities and differences can be found in the cinema of both countries during the apartheid era? The thesis was written in light of the research questions.

1.2 Methodology

In this thesis, the perception of the other in apartheid-era films in the Republic of South Africa and Israel will be analysed using qualitative research methods. In order to make a comparison between the two countries, some facts have been clarified. These facts can be evaluated under the following three headings. Firstly, it is necessary to define the Republic of South Africa and Israel around apartheid and explain their reasons. Another important point is to make necessary evaluations about the cinema sector in the Republic of South Africa and Israel. Finally, it is necessary to decide who the others are in both countries.

In qualitative research methodology, the data for a thesis study can be gathered from a variety of sources, including texts, interviews, and observations, as well as from cinema films, posters, media outlets, and newspapers. In this thesis, the data are predominantly derived from cinema

films. Given the centrality of films to this study, the selected films constitute the primary data for the research. The selection of films was guided by specific criteria: in both cases, the films had to cover the apartheid era. For South Africa, the focus was on films directed by white filmmakers between 1948 and 1994 that portray black individuals within their narratives. For Israel, the analysis concentrated on films from 1948 to the present day in which Israeli Jewish filmmakers depict Arabs and Palestinians. These representations, either directly or indirectly, align with the concept of "the Other." In this context, the films *The Gods Must Be Crazy* and *Mapantsula* for South Africa and *Ajami*, *Free Zone* and *Limon Tree* for Israel were chosen for detailed analysis. In addition to these, a comprehensive evaluation was conducted based on the broader selection of films reviewed.

I believe that the most appropriate method for this study is critical discourse analysis. Because critical discourse analysis is the most useful method to analyse what is behind a text, language, image, picture, discourse (Davies et al., 1999). This thesis employs discourse analysis, specifically critical discourse analysis, as a qualitative research method to evaluate films. Critical discourse analysis focuses on various elements within the films, including symbols, dialogues, signs, music, and even the identities of the actors. Fairclough's CDA model in critical discourse analysis allows the film analyses in the thesis to be given in a certain order. His Critical Discourse Analysis Model consists of three different dimensions. In the first dimension, discourses at the word level are analysed. In the second dimension, discourses at text level are analysed and finally discourses at norm level are analysed. This model can be applied through visuals. Through this model, it is explained what is intended to be explained with visuals (Durmaz & Yoğun, 2022: 31)

Critical discourse analysis reveals that the words in texts, discourses and visuals have a meaning and carry a message, and that the critical discourse analysis method is hidden behind the words or visuals. The image, picture, film scene, symbol, poster all have a meaning and even their reason for existence is to serve a purpose (Janks, n.d.). The messages here can sometimes be the relations between language and power, sometimes inequality and racism in society.

In the same way, Van Dijk's 6-step method on how to conduct critical discourse analysis is also a useful method in terms of revealing what is wanted to be explained in this thesis.

Primary sources for this research include the films themselves and critical discourse analyses, as well as studies conducted on films. To fully grasp the historical background of the subject, secondary sources such as academic texts, reports from international organizations, and scholarly articles have also been utilized.

1.3 Limitations

This thesis faced several limitations during its development. Firstly, since apartheid continues in Israel, the selection of films presented a broad range of options. However, in the case of the Republic of South Africa, where apartheid ended in 1994, significant constraints were encountered in the film selection process. This was due to the underdeveloped state of the film industry at the time and the negative impact of the repressive apartheid regime on its growth. As a result, there were few films available that met the criteria for selection in the context of South Africa. In addition, many films in the Republic of South Africa are not available on the Internet. Those that are available are in German or local languages and do not have English translation options. However, this limitation has been tried to be overcome through articles that provide detailed analyses of films that are not translated or not available on the internet.

1.4 Literature Review

In academic studies addressing the definition of apartheid, scholars commonly agree that it is not possible to confine apartheid to a single definition. Margaret Roberts, in her article *The Ending of Apartheid: Shifting Inequalities in South Africa*, emphasizes that apartheid carries different meanings from various perspectives and is not limited to the notion of separation or segregation alone (Cottell, 2005). Talat A. Wizarat, in *Apartheid and Racial Discrimination in South Africa: An Overview of the Control Network*, focuses on the concept of apartheid as racial discrimination, analyzing it through developments in the Republic of South Africa (Wizarat, 2024). Meanwhile, Miles Jackson, in his article *The Definition of Apartheid in Customary International Law and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, examines the significance of apartheid within the context of international law (Jackson, 2018). This thesis also approaches the definition of apartheid by considering the definitions provided in the literature under three distinct headings. Thus, apartheid is defined through its dictionary meaning, its interpretation under international law, and its manifestation in the developments experienced in the Republic of South Africa. This approach establishes a relationship between the various definitions provided in the literature by presenting them in a connected manner. Consequently, instead of relying on a single definition, the thesis provides multiple perspectives to ensure a clearer understanding of apartheid.

One of the most comprehensive studies in the literature on the nature of apartheid is presented by Saul Dubow in his book *Apartheid 1948-1994* (Dubow, 2014). This work is significant for its chronological account of the developments from the inception to the end of apartheid. The

thesis draws on this book to provide a holistic perspective on what apartheid is and what it is not.

In recent years, discussions surrounding apartheid and Israel have frequently appeared in the media. Consequently, this has prompted scholars to explore the discourse on Israel and apartheid in greater depth. In his article *Israel, Palestine, and Apartheid*, Ran Greenstein examines the various ways in which Israel can be characterized as an apartheid state. He highlights the parallels between the policies implemented by the current Zionist regime in Israel towards Palestinians and those observed during the apartheid era in South Africa (Greenstein, 2020: 73–92). Greenstein underscores the shared characteristics of the regimes in both contexts (Greenstein, 2020: 73–92). Similarly, this thesis employs a comparable methodology to analyse and elucidate the relationship between Israel and apartheid.

Ali Mazrui explains that the connection between Israel and apartheid originates from the relationship between apartheid and Zionism. Mazrui views Israel as a state that implements Zionism, highlighting the close relationship between the Zionist regime and the apartheid regime. He even declared 1948 as the shared "birth year" of Zionism and apartheid (Mazrui, 2015). Furthermore, Mazrui draws attention to the normative alignment between Zionism and apartheid. He argues that apartheid is a concept far broader than mere racism and, for this reason, asserts that the association of Israel with apartheid represents a compatible relationship. This is another topic to be addressed in this thesis.

This thesis intends to employ critical discourse analysis (CDA) as its methodological framework. Prominent figures in the field of CDA include Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun A. Van Dijk. Critical discourse analysis focuses on examining social inequalities, racial discrimination, and the oppressive influence of hegemonic power within society.

At first glance, critical discourse analysis looks at words and texts. However, Wodak stated in his studies that not only verbal texts but also media, film, symbols, even gestures and mimics are included in the field of critical discourse analysis.

John A. Bateman, who wrote the Critical discourse analysis and film chapter of *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, has been methodologically guiding in this thesis by presenting us how to conduct critical discourse analysis by considering films (Bateman & Pilkington, 2011, pp. 612–623).

In this thesis, the approach to the other is based on critical discourse analysis. In order to evaluate the othering in the films, what is meant by the other should be explained. Van Dijk used a

definition of 'the other' and 'us' and stated that culture, spoken language and the nation to which one belongs shape this situation.

One of the most important studies on cinema and apartheid is Keyan *Tomaselli's Cinema of Apartheid* (1988). This work presents us the unequal economic distribution of cinema in the apartheid period through films through political-economic (Tomaselli, 2013)

Ella Shohat's *Israeli Cinema East/West and the Politics of Representation* was used in the thesis to examine the development of cinema in Israel. In addition, this source was also used to select and analyse the films(Shohat, 2010).



2. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This thesis is interdisciplinary research as it covers both international relations and film studies. Critical Discourse Analysis was used in this study because CDA offers a space to examine the dialogues, signs, gestures and mimics, pictures, banners, or posters in films. This method was also used to define what the other is in the films. In addition, Apartheid, which is the starting point of this thesis, is presented in depth because the whole thesis is based on this concept and its connotations.

2.1 Historical Background of Critical Discourse Analysis

Although critical discourse analysis seems to be a new method, its history can be traced back to the 1930s. It is possible to see similar examples of critical discourse analysis under the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. Although it was not yet called critical discourse analysis at that time, the relations between capitalism, hegemony, ideology, power structures, as well as the relationship between language and culture with them were addressed by Critical Theorists and Frankfurt School followers (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse, etc.). Later, in the 1960s, structuralists focused on language, symbols and symbols. Beyond being just a means of speech, many different functions of language were emphasised. In the post-1980 period, discourse analysis has found its place as a preferred method of analysis in international relations (Aydın-Düzgüt & Rumelili, 2018: 279). While CDA focused on texts and linguistic elements when it first emerged. With the development of technology, CDA has started to analyse media language in depth. It can be said that critical discourse analysis is one of the frequently used analysis methods with the effect of increasing visual technologies today. The most important names contributing to the development of critical discourse analysis are Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. The works of Kress and Hodge (1979), Fowler et al. (1979), van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (ed.) (1989) have helped critical discourse analysis to take its current form (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) set out the basic principles of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a broad field, encompassing a variety of approaches and techniques. It is therefore not feasible to discuss all aspects of this complex discipline in a single analysis (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000: 447). This study will therefore focus on a specific type of discourse analysis: critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is one of the research methods that seek to understand how inequalities, impositions and hegemonic powers in society are represented in texts or daily speech dialogues (Dijk, 2015: 352). Rather than focusing on the present, critical discourse analysis centres on problems and political conflicts in society (Aydın-

Düzgit & Rumelili, 2022: 279-303). This approach, which focuses on language today, began to appear in literature after the 1980s (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). Critical discourse analysis is not an approach or theory in the traditional sense, but rather an auxiliary element. It offers a multidisciplinary study that requires interaction with other fields to facilitate critical discourse analysis (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2020: 257–358). The critical nature of this analysis is evident in its ability to address the inequalities that have emerged in society, in one way or another (Durmaz & Yoğun, 2022: 26)

Critical discourse analysis closely examines the relationship between language and power (Aydın-Düzgit & Rumelili, 2022: 279-303). It tries to make sense of situations such as discrimination in social life in a state, hegemony power relations through tools such as photography, cinema and media.

Most of the subjects studied by CDA fall into the category of social issues. The specific fields of study encompass political discourses, racism, ideology, economic discourse, advertising and promotion, media language, sexism, theoretical discourse and education (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). In the discipline of critical discourse analysis, the words employed, grammatical structures or the prevailing textual structure are subjected to scrutiny. In the context of critical discourse analysis, the employment of passive structures in news texts is often attributed to the strategic concealment of the perpetrator behind the events (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000: 448). The primary material employed for critical discourse analysis is language. The CDA's primary focus is on social problems, which are defined as groups that are marginalised and discriminated against.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (2005), critical discourse analysis is characterised by key features. Firstly, it addresses societal issues by highlighting the role of power relations in discourse. Secondly, it emphasises the construction of society and culture through discourses, acknowledging their role as ideologies. Thirdly, it draws attention to the historical nature of discourses. Fourthly, it presents social connections in texts, offering both interpretation and explanation. Finally, it is a vehicle for social mobilisation. Wodak and Fairclough utilise critical discourse analysis as a tool to ascertain the true meaning of power relations in social events (Durmaz & Yoğun, 2022: 27).

Fairclough focuses on semiosis when dealing with critical discourse analysis (Şah, 2020: 210–231). What is meant by semiosis can include visuals, language, body language (gestures and mimics), written and verbal language. Fairclough accepts the assumption that the situations mentioned above are in constant interaction with each other. In short, CDA is conducted through semiosis. According to Fairclough, there are three different ways of representing semiosis. Firstly, it takes a shape as a part of social life. Secondly, it can emerge through representations.

Thirdly, it can be shaped by certain positions in social life. For example, people's gender, race, material status, culture can form different identities in social life.

Van Dijk, one of the important theorists of critical discourse analysis, provides us with a framework consisting of 6 steps in order to make a critical analysis within critical discourse analysis (Dijk, 2015).

1- Analysing Semantic Macro Structures deals with headings.

2- Analysis of Local Meanings is the analysis of the meanings of words and what they are trying to express directly or indirectly.

3- In the Analysis of Inconspicuous Formal Structures, gestures and mimics are clues in the fine details interspersed in dialogues. For example, a white person may not directly show a hostile attitude towards a black person, but he/she may make him/her feel this in various ways.

4. In the analysis of global and local discourse forms and formats, the relationships between global and local discourses are analysed. Grammar rules, traditions, stories and narratives can be analysed in this item.

5- In the analysis of certain linguistic preferences (realisations), a choice is made between us and them. For example, blacks are marginalised by focusing more on their bad sides and less on their good sides. Or another example is trying to hide the main subject by using the passive and passive grammar rules of a crime committed by whites.

6- In the analysis of context models, a distinction is made between the local and the global.

CDA has also mentioned that these analysis steps should be used in a way that favours the excluded group.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis Objective

According to Fairclough, one of the CDA theorists, the aim of CDA is to reveal inequalities and the pressure of dominant forces on minority groups. As a result of all these, he thinks that inequalities and injustices will disappear. Other aims of critical discourse analysis can be listed as explaining mutual power and ideological relations in society, revealing inequalities or racist practices. The aims of critical discourse analysis overlap with the aims of this thesis. In this thesis, in fact, racial discrimination, inequality and discrimination are intended to be revealed through films.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis and Film

Since the 1970s, there have been serious advances in the development of mass media. With the advances in technological development, serious progress has been made in the cinema sector. Films shown in cinemas are not only a sector created to entertain societies. At the same time, ideologies, messages and frames of perception can be created through films. Through critical discourse analysis, an attempt has been made to explain what lies behind what is said through this method. The combination of film and critical discourse analysis offers us a powerful method to explain power relations, discrimination and hegemony.

Although films are fictional texts, they can be an effective communication tool in conveying what is happening to the society. Films can explicitly state their purpose (the purpose can be political, ethnic, religious, in any field), or they can give some things in an implicit way and leave small clues between the films for the audience to understand.

In critical discourse analysis in films dealing with social events or conflicts, it is an examination through the discourses describing the problem in the dialogues, as in the groans in the text (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2020: 622).

2.5 The Other

There are many different definitions of the concept of the other in the literature. In general, the dictionary meaning of the other is that a certain group or community defines itself as 'us', while those who are outside this group are characterised as the other. While those characterised as 'us' may be the dominant group, the others may constitute the minority group or the powerless group (Castano et al., 2003). When the concept of the other is examined, each image, which exists separately, comes together to form a whole (FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022).

It is not really possible to define "the other." It is possible to provide a dictionary definition of "the other," but this would be "the other," which is almost impossible to define as "us." This is because things defined as "the other" are phenomena that can vary depending on the place, society, and even from person to person. The concept of "othering" can have a more negative connotation. It refers to the distinction between one person, group, or community and others. Other people can be labeled with different names based on their race, financial status, language, religion, and many other categories. In othering, there is an inner group and an outer group. By creating two different groups, differences are transformed into otherness (FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022: 113). When a person identifies themselves as white, they are othering black people. Othering is not only individual. Just as individuals can

other themselves or others, certain groups, communities, and religions can also be othered (FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022: 113).

The greatest difficulty in defining the concept of “the other” stems from the fact that we are all, in fact, “the other.” Each of us can be considered “the other” in relation to someone else (Neumann, 1996: 143). However, sometimes there is such a clear distinction in society that a sharp line is drawn between “us” and “them.” For example, there is a perception that the West is more advanced and better in every way, while the East is more backward. Or, as in the case of the Republic of South Africa, where whites perceive themselves as representatives of the West and modern society, placing themselves in a superior position, while blacks are defined as “the other,” ultimately leading to the othering of blacks.

When evaluated in the context of international relations, the reactions of countries or nations to existing situations are shaped by the concepts of ‘other’ and ‘us’. Here, the reputation of countries, nations and even individuals can be effective in the evaluation of their actions. In other words, if a country categorises another country as an enemy, it will continue its actions accordingly. When an allied country takes the same actions, it may not perceive it as hostile. (Castano et al., 2003).

The fact that power relations do not progress linearly and equally contributes to the construction of otherness (Staszak, 2020: 26). In the context of this thesis, power reveals itself through discourses. What is important here is how and by which powers the discourses are put forward. In addition, the groups that form the discourses have an effect in proportion to their existing power. Dominant groups impose their identities on other subgroups through their power. Moreover, they marginalise other groups through their power.

According to Gytia Spivak, there is an ingroup and an outgroup (Staszak, 2020: 25). When the outgroups get rid of the perception that the in-groups try to impose on them, they will also get rid of being the other. For example, when blacks get rid of all the negative discourses imposed on them, they will be freed from otherness (Staszak, 2020: 26).

There is a close relationship between the other and identity (FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022: 114). The constructed or existing identity has a great contribution to the formation of the other. Identities can be acquired from birth or constructed over time. Identities are defined as a concept that people use to define themselves. Identities can change in the course of life and take different forms. Identities are the life prescriptions we have and other definitions are made through identities. Identities can be in many categories such as religion, country, nationality, race, gender, colour, etc. A person can have more than one identity. For example, a person can have a Muslim, black and African identity. Or a person may have identities such as Palestinian, Christian, woman and may be subjected to marginalisation through

these identities. In order to make the connection between the other and identity more comprehensible, the following examples can be drawn from Israel and the Republic of South Africa.

When the connection between identities and the other in the Republic of South Africa was analysed, the following evaluations were reached. The identity of whites in the Republic of South Africa is that of a modern, contemporary, educated, cultured, westerner who is free from crime and punishment. Blacks and other racial groups are portrayed as backward, primitive, ignorant, tribal Africans. Otherisation is based on these facts. When we reverse the mirror, whites in the Republic of South Africa can be otherised as thieves in the identity of western colonialists. On the other hand, blacks can stand in the position of 'us' as innocent and disenfranchised communities as the exploited side.

When the connection between identities and the other in Israel and Palestine is analysed, it is seen that Israelis have a more modern, developed, economically prosperous Western identity, with their Jewishness being the most dominant identity, while Palestinians are represented as Arabs, refugees, backward, prone to violence, associated with terrorist acts, uneducated and Eastern. On the other hand, Israelis can be positioned in the Palestinian discourse as an occupying, land-grabbing, aggressive 'coloniser' and the 'other'. On the other hand, Palestinians are represented as resisting, oppressed, disenfranchised and defending the land in a 'we' identity and the emphasis on innocence is brought to the forefront.

2.6 A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach to Othering

There are many different definitions of the concept of the other in the literature. In general, the dictionary meaning of the other is that a certain group or community defines itself as 'us', while those who are outside this group are characterised as the other. While those characterised as 'us' may be the dominant group, the others may constitute the minority group or the powerless group (Castano et al., 2003). In the dictionary, the concept of 'other' can be defined as a group belonging to a certain community excluding group members belonging to another community. Or, from a biased point of view, non-Westerners, those who do not have a particular country or civilisation are 'the other'.

The concept of the other is a very broad and comprehensive term. In fact, definitions may vary from nation to nation, even from event to event. Habermas places oneself in a position for the other based on the perspectives of others. Individuals can cluster under certain groups or communities in order to exist in society. According to Mouffe, identity is always built on a contrasting 'us and the other'. In order to define oneself, one needs an other different from oneself (Balibar, 2005). In short, an other is essential for people to define themselves or certain

things. An individual can only place himself/herself in a certain position with the existence of an other. The concept of the other is an auxiliary element in the construction of an identity. In addition, the other appears as a symbol of opposition (Kanca, 2019). While defining the other, Mariam Webster categorised it as ‘those who are left behind or those who are not included’(FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022).

In marginalisation or othering, there are in-groups and out-groups(FEPS - Future University in Egypt & Ahmed AbdulMegied, 2022). Internal groups represent groups that are close to their own ideas. This closeness can be categorised as religious, linguistic, ethnic, gender, race. Outgroups constitute the segment that the ingroups define as distant to themselves.

Van Dijk mentions that ‘us’ and ‘them’ are constructed in critical discourse analysis. The language people speak, the culture they have, all their attitudes and behaviours in life are constructed along dimensions (Kansu Yetkiner, 2021). Or, as Edward Said mentions in his book ‘Orientalism’, the West, which we can call Europe (the West that Edward Said mentions here is Europe), sees its own identity above everything enlightened, while the East is seen as more traditional and inferior.

When explaining the concept of the other, it is impossible not to mention identity because these two concepts can be complementary to each other. Identities can be shaped through others (Staszak, 2020). Individuals, societies or groups are looking for an answer to the question of who they are, whichever category you are going to include in the evaluation. After deciding on their own identity, they determine who the other is. Otherisation can be a deliberate process or it can be a process that develops on its own.

Othering can be done through certain situations. Sometimes a westerner marginalises those who are not like him/her by seeing them as inferior (Aydın-Düzgit & Rumelili, 2022: 286). In this way, he/she can place himself/herself in a superior and instructive position and others in an inferior and learner position. In this thesis, the groups characterised as other have been determined through certain schemes. For example, if we take the Republic of South Africa as an example, the whites who came to the Republic of South Africa from the West later on saw themselves as superior to the blacks in terms of art, language, culture, civilisation and many other issues, and therefore, while they saw themselves as ‘us’ and in a superior position, they put the blacks in the class of others who were far from civilisation, art and technology. If we take the example of the apartheid period in the Republic of South Africa, marginalisation was deliberately and intentionally done by whites and an identity was constructed for blacks and whites.

In the case of Israel, Israelis see themselves as superior to Palestinians through a religious identity and believe that everything belonging to Palestinians actually belongs to them. On this

belief, Palestinians are the other, while Israelis constitute the 'us' of this story. Here, marginalisation has both progressed as a natural process that develops spontaneously and has been consciously constructed over time by the Israelis against the Palestinians

2.7 The Definition of Apartheid

When it comes to apartheid, the question of how and where this concept was first introduced comes to mind. During the early 1900s, a number of writers employed the term in a variety of contexts. Apartheid does not only have a single specific meaning as a word. Apartheid expresses various meanings and different definitions can be made in different fields and contexts (Roberts, 1994:54). Therefore, there have been variations in the definitions of the term 'apartheid' among authors. The source of these variations primarily stems from whether the term will be defined in the context of the Republic of South Africa, which inherently embodies the essence of apartheid, or if it will be defined according to the literal meaning of the word, or even by reference to the international legal standing of apartheid.

Firstly, when examined in the context of its dictionary meaning, the word apartheid is derived from the French word "mettre à part" and means to separate or divide into pieces (Wex Definitions Team, 2022). Apartheid is a political instrument that serves the purpose of preserving the identity and position of white Afrikaners.

Secondly, Apartheid refers to the racist and oppressive regime established by a group of whites in the Republic of South Africa from 1948 to 1992, primarily targeting black people, as well as other ethnic groups. 1948, the African National Party, which came to power in 1948, legalised and systematized apartheid and restricted the rights of non-whites in all areas with various laws (Ellis, 2019). Apartheid gained its original meaning during this 40-year apartheid period and took its place in the literature.

Finally, apartheid was born and raised in the Republic of South Africa and became a global phenomenon. It has taken its place in international law. In international law, it is dealt with in a much more comprehensive manner and is considered within the scope of crimes against humanity. In the context of international law, which holds a crucial position in framing the debates surrounding apartheid, racism was prohibited under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. However, specific mention of apartheid was not made, as it was not initially regarded as a crime during the early stages of its implementation. Gradually, from 1948 to 1994, it was progressively incorporated into international law, culminating in the Apartheid Convention. Importantly, this characterization extends universally, binding all

countries without geographical limitations, transcending the context of the Republic of South Africa.

2.8 The Apartheid Regime Between 1948 and 1992

Throughout history, the natural beauties of the Republic of South Africa have often caused it to be attacked by other states. Especially after the Geographical Discoveries, Europeans who wanted to exploit the lands in Africa came to South Africa. The Europeans who came to South Africa were not treated as guests and treated the Blacks as second-class citizens, as if they were the real owners of the region. As a result, the foundations of apartheid were laid from then on, albeit unofficially.

The settlers who came to South Africa from Europe were called 'Afrikaans'. Those of these Africans who were engaged in farming were called Boers (Clark & Worger, 2014). In addition to all these, there is a hybrid race called 'Coloured', which is a mixture of Europeans, Asians and natives (Clark & Worger, 2014). These classifications are important both in understanding the historical context and in defining discourses.

Although the apartheid regime was legally formalised in 1948, the foundations of apartheid were laid much earlier. The concept of apartheid was used in several different senses by some writers and organisations in the early 1900s. However, the magazine 'Die Burger' used the term apartheid in the historical scene in 1943 (Giliomee, 2003: 374). Later, National Party leader Daniel François Malan was the first person to use this term in the South African parliament (Giliomee, 2003: 374). Malan even stated that he did not use this term in the sense of segregation, but in the sense of opportunity for the races to rise on their own foundations (Giliomee, 2003: 374).

It all started in 1948 when the Herenigde Nasionale Party won the elections (Dubow, 2014: 1). With this victory, Daniel François Malan, the leader of the National Party, became the person who started the apartheid practice that would be talked about for years. Malan saw this victory as a victory for his Afrikaans nationalists (Dubow, 2014: 3). After World War II, apartheid was accepted as an official system under Malan's leadership.

The apartheid regime is a system that legitimised itself by implementing many laws between 1948 and 1980s. These laws legalised many discriminations from politics to social life, from economy to education, and it is these laws that concretise and conceptualise the Apartheid regime.

One of the first laws of the apartheid regime was the prohibition of mixed marriages. Even before the apartheid regime was articulated and systematised, Malan had expressed the need to ban mixed marriages in order to protect the purity and cleanliness of white Afrikaans women (Dubow, 2014). He even worked on the issue of 'mixed marriages' during his election campaigns (Dubow, 2014: 38). As a natural consequence of all this, Malan banned mixed marriages as soon as he came to power. In 1949, the 'Mixed Marriages Act', which banned mixed marriages, was the first step in the apartheid regime's plans to impose even harsher measures in the future (Harvey, 2001:53). This was followed by the Immorality Act in 1950, which aimed to cut off communication and interaction between the races, and succeeded (Harvey, 2001:53).

After the Immorality Act, several other racist laws were introduced in the Republic of South Africa in the same year. In 1950, the Population Registration Act came into force (Roberts, 1994: 53-64). According to this law, each race was classified according to its own category (Dubow, 2014: 37). According to this law, society was divided into classifications such as black, white Indian, coloured and the rights given to individuals were defined on the basis of these classifications. Even Racial Classification Boards were established to resolve some confusing situations (Dubow, 2014: 38). In addition, with this law, individuals had an identity card that legally represented their race. The apartheid regime made it compulsory for individuals to carry these identity cards with them (Cottrell, 2005:87). In this way, the regime both increased its pressure on the people and thought that it facilitated the administration. Racial treatment had already existed in the Republic of South Africa for many years. What this law did was to make it compulsory so that they could impose their will on the races. Even after the end of the apartheid regime, it was valid for years, and those born after 1991 could only be exempt from this law (Roberts, 1994: 53-64). Those born before then were again faced with a categorisation. For example, Whites could vote for members of parliament, Coloureds for members of the House of Representatives, Asians for members of the House of Delegates, and Blacks only within their own district (Roberts, 1994: 53-64). It is not for nothing that the Population Registration Act is called the cornerstone of the apartheid regime or the mother of all apartheid laws (Roberts, 1994: 53-64). It played a key role for the regime for years and somehow continued to exist even after it was abolished.

In 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act aimed to kill two birds with one stone. Both by creating a front against communism, the support of western friends will be ensured, and the opponents of the apartheid regime will be labelled communists and can increase the pressure on them. In addition, in the international arena - at a time when communism was once considered more dangerous than apartheid - it was intended to draw the image that we are against the

communists, not the blacks, to the voices against the apartheid regime. As a matter of fact, the closure of the ANC on the basis of this law and the imposition of various bans on party leaders, including Nelson Mandela, confirm what we have said above.

Another one of the laws implemented during the apartheid period was the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Group Areas Act is a continuation and even a complement to the Population Registration Act. During the implementation of the Group Areas Law, the population faced forced displacement, which led to popular resistance (Dubow,2014:17). The Group Areas Law actually aimed at ethnic cleansing within the region. It was a policy to create a separate zone for other non-white races living in towns and cities (Smith, 2001).The law was intended to prevent backlash by offering the opportunity to acquire new housing, and in fact it worked.

In 1952, the regime introduced a type of identification document known as the "pass document," which Black men were required to carry at all times. Later, in 1956, the scope of the Pass Law was expanded to include women. Following the events at Sharpeville, the law was further tightened, and a new "Passports Act" was enacted (Clark & Worger, 2014). This legislation mandated that Black individuals obtain special permits to enter areas where white people lived and worked (Cottrell, 2005). In essence, Black citizens were forced to move within their own country as though they were foreigners requiring passports.

In the realm of education, a distinct Bantu Education Act was in place. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was enacted, a law through which the government sought to take full control of education (Dubow, 2014: 55). Introduced by Hendrik Verwoerd, the law was presented in the Senate in June 1954.¹ This education law viewed black individuals as cheap labour, hence considering the pursuit of higher education and learning for black students as a waste of time. The Bantu Education Act is problematic primarily in terms of its discriminatory nature, as it inherently makes an ethnic distinction by using the term 'Bantu' (Dubow,2014). The Bantu education system was far from aiming to provide better education for indigenous Africans; instead, it was based on the notion of culturally educating Africans. The approach was to keep blacks away from education and advise them to return to their accustomed tribal and rural lifestyles. A more limited education system was preferred for local Africans. Thus, blacks would

¹ Hendrik Verwoerd Senate speech: The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. Dubow S. (2014). *Apartheid 1948-1994*. Oxford University Press.

lag behind in science and social sciences and would never be equal to whites (Büyüktavşan, 2021:34). In terms of education, whites would be superior to blacks. While there was an increase in the number of Africans attending primary education, the continuity of this education was not sustained in later periods². This underscores that the Bantu Education system was, in fact, a law designed to exclude blacks from education and ensure the dominance of whites in this field. The act prevented blacks and whites from receiving education in the same schools, and efforts were made to limit blacks to specific fields of study.

In 1953, many laws continued to be passed. These laws forbade separate buses for whites and blacks, separate seating on park benches, and even burial in the same graves.

On 21 March 1960, people gathered in the Transvaal town of Sharpeville to protest against the government's racist apartheid regime (Lodge, 2011:20). Police forces attacked the crowd and opened fire to suppress the protest. In the clashes that ensued, 69 black Africans lost their lives and hundreds were injured (Cottrell, 2005:2). After this incident, the waters did not calm down and mutual clashes continued in the following weeks. After the Sharpeville incident, very serious developments took place in the Republic of South Africa. The current government declared a state of emergency. It imposed bans on black resistance groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC). Members of the ANC and PAC and many senior political leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were arrested. Nelson Mandela and many of his friends were sentenced to life imprisonment after this massacre. In short, the government found a justifiable reason to arrest senior black leaders using these as an excuse. The arrested black leaders saw this as a source of pride and called themselves, as Kwame Nkrumah said, prison graduates (Cottrell,2005:10). Civil resistance was subtly encouraged. Although the Sharpeville massacre had negative consequences, it caused the racism in the Republic of South Africa to be heard all over the world and caused the United Nations to condemn the incident. The Sharpeville Masquerade constitutes an important turning point in the achievement of independence in the Republic of South Africa and the elimination of the apartheid regime.

Moreover, beyond these instances and laws, the apartheid regime manifested discrimination in even the smallest aspects of society. Blacks and whites would not even sit together in the same bank. Banks had warnings posted, such as "whites only" or "Europeans only." In the European settlement areas, blacks or Indians could never assert any rights. In the parliament and senate as well, blacks were represented by Europeans.

² though by 1964 only 3 per cent of Africans were in secondary school.

The 1960s marked a period in which the apartheid regime intensified its violence and became deeply institutionalized, embedding itself firmly within the governance of the country. This era can be described as a pinnacle of apartheid's entrenchment while simultaneously witnessing increasing pressure against the regime, both nationally and internationally. Following 1960, the decolonisation movement and the Non-Aligned Movement, which was particularly focused on the African and Asian continents, had a significant global impact and attracted numerous supporters, which led to a rapid questioning of the apartheid regime. Among the most significant organizations formed to oppose the racist apartheid regime were the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC). These groups had been actively fighting against apartheid policies since 1943. While the ANC and the South African Indian Congress sought their rights through peaceful non-violent means, the PAC took a harder line, advocating violence and arming. Realizing that a peaceful resolution was unattainable, they established Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), the armed wing of the ANC and PAC (Dubow, 2014). Under these organizations, figures like Nelson Mandela demonstrated formidable resistance against the apartheid regime. Mandela also conducted visits to newly independent African nations, seeking their support for the struggle. In response, the South African government classified Mandela's and his associates' actions as crimes aimed at overthrowing the regime. As a result, they were sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Robben Island.

In 1970, the Republic of South Africa faced significant economic challenges. The independence of neighboring countries from Western colonial powers further isolated South Africa, putting it in a difficult position.

In 1977, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an oil embargo against apartheid-era South Africa (Dubow, 2014: 224). The same year, the United Nations adopted a resolution instituting an "Arms Embargo" on the country.

By the 1980s, the apartheid regime struggled to sustain itself due to mounting economic difficulties and increasing domestic and international pressure. In an attempt to ease economic hardship and lift the sanctions, the regime repealed some racist laws during this period and relaxed others.

While violent internal conflicts erupted within the country, the apartheid regime also faced significant criticism on the international stage. Moreover, the wave of liberation and independence movements spreading rapidly across the African continent had a profound impact on South Africa. The people increasingly demanded to be governed democratically in their own land, with equality and justice. Remarkably, during the Cold War, the two opposing

superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—found common ground on the issue of apartheid. Both nations issued statements calling for the dismantling of the apartheid regime. Initially, the United States had been one of apartheid's staunch supporters. However, shifting global dynamics, growing anti-apartheid rhetoric worldwide, and mounting international pressure compelled the U.S. to change its stance. Despite increasing pressure both domestically and internationally, the regime stubbornly resisted any reforms. During the 1960s, South Africa's Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd continued to propagate outdated rhetoric, asserting that non-white Africans once had nothing and that many of the advancements they enjoyed had been introduced to the continent by white settlers.

In 1990, Frederik Willem de Klerk became the new President of the Republic of South Africa. De Klerk was a pivotal figure in bringing an end to the apartheid regime in South Africa. While he had long been an enforcer of apartheid policies, de Klerk distinguished himself from other members of the National Party by recognizing the systemic deadlock and acknowledging that the continuation of apartheid would not serve the best interests of the Republic of South Africa³.

On 2 February 1990, de Klerk made a historic speech in the opening parliamentary session. De Klerk made a unifying and integrative speech. He said that violence and conflict should be avoided, that efforts should be made to ensure equality between whites and other groups and that he made a very wide speech on apartheid. Also in this speech, he said that it was decided to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally and to remove the ANC, PAC, Communist Party and many other parties, institutions, organisations and individuals from the banned list.

One week after his inaugural speech in Parliament, Nelson Mandela and De Klerk held a meeting. After the meeting, Nelson Mandela's 18 years of captivity came to an end.

Mandela and De Klerk received the Nobel Peace Prize together in 1993 for their struggle for the establishment of peace in the Republic of South Africa (Harvey, 2001:240).

2.9 Apartheid in International Law

The incorporation of the apartheid regime, persisting in the Republic of South Africa from 1948 to 1990, into international law was achieved through the concerted efforts of international organizations, global public uprisings, protests, and, ultimately, the United Nations. Although apartheid is a concept that was constructed as a result of a series of developments in the Republic of South Africa, today it has an important place in international law and has been recognised all

over the world. This process of legal recognition and condemnation unfolded through distinct stages, which can be delineated as follows.

When the apartheid regime was newly introduced in 1948, it did not attract much attention from the world public opinion, and the world after the Second World War was not dynamic and energetic enough to be interested in the apartheid issue. In short, in the early years of apartheid, the issue of discrimination was not on the agenda either in international organisations or in the world public opinion.

First of all, according to the International Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article II, published in 1948, the content of the apartheid regime is prohibited, although apartheid is not explicitly mentioned (at that time neither the world nor the UN, which had only been established for 3 years, realised the seriousness of the situation).⁴ Therefore, it can be considered as the first document prohibiting apartheid. However, the first international text to explicitly mention apartheid was the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), published in 1965 (Dugard and Reynolds, 2013:876). It is a multilateral treaty that rejects all forms of racial discrimination.

It was regularly condemned in the general assembly from 1952 until the end of the apartheid regime, based on articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter. Moreover, by 1960, it was condemned by the Security Council. In 1966, the General Assembly defined apartheid as a crime against humanity, and in 1984 the Security Council confirmed this determination. The arms embargoes imposed by the United Nations did not work either (Wizarat, 2024:85). Simply condemning apartheid did not make much sense both worldwide and according to international law, so stronger steps had to be taken. This step was the acceptance of the Apartheid convention. Apartheid has been defined as a "crime against humanity" by the United Nations General Assembly, and even a special "International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid" has been opened for governments to sign.⁵ In 1973, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (Apartheid Convention) was adopted by the United Nations (Soske & Jacobs, 2015). This treaty, adopted after ICERD, is a more comprehensive and detailed treaty. With this treaty, it has become

⁴ 'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status'.

⁵ The Apartheid Convention was adopted by the General Assembly on 30 November 1973, with 91 votes in favour, 4 against (Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) and 26 abstentions. It entered into force on July 18, 1976. It has been approved by 107 States as of August 2008.

possible to take measures against apartheid at national and international level. Again, this treaty considers apartheid within the scope of crimes against humanity and provides a detailed definition of this crime in Article 2. In short, this treaty aims to criminalise apartheid and to make it universally recognised in order to suppress or deter this crime.⁶

In 1977, "Additional Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions" recognized apartheid as a "serious violation" of apartheid, removing it from the context of the Republic of South Africa, without any geographical limitation (art. 85, paragraph 4 (c)).

Apartheid was recognized as a crime by the International Law Commission in 1991 in the Draft Law on Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Humanity, without mentioning the events taking place in the Republic of South Africa in the first draft (Dugard, n.d.). The second Draft Law in 1996 defines institutionalized racial discrimination as follows: "is in fact the crime of apartheid under a more general denomination" (Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its forty-eighth session (A/51/10).), p. 49) (Dugard & Reynolds, 2013). In 1998, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court included the "crime of apartheid" as a form of crime against (Botha, 2013, p. 21)humanity (art. 7)(Jackson, n.d.).⁷

Apartheid is considered a crime against humanity, as stated in the Statute of the International Criminal Court, which was adopted in July 1998 and entered into force on 1 July 2002(Jackson, 2022:832-855). Apartheid originated as a consequence of the racist regime in South Africa; however, over time, it evolved into a distinct legal framework and permeated various branches of international law.

And thus, the segregationist apartheid regime, which began in 1948, gradually gained an international character and was ultimately banned across the globe. In light of the practices of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and its subsequent implications in the context of international law, it might be constructive to consider whether racist or discriminatory policies in other countries could be viewed within the scope of apartheid. This thesis will examine the

⁶ The Apartheid Convention declares that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that "inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination" are international crimes (art. 1). Article 2 defines the crime of apartheid –"which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practiced in southern Africa" – as covering "inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them".

⁷ Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Rome, 17 July 1998, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 2187, p. 3.

relationship between Israel and apartheid, which represents a significant aspect of this discourse, through the aforementioned issues.

3. South African Cinema: Apartheid and the Representation of the Other

In 1948, after the apartheid regime officially started in the Republic of South Africa, it was possible to see its influence and oppression in many areas of life. The oppressive apartheid regime-imposed restrictions and censorship in every field. The cinema industry is one of the institutions that the apartheid regime tried to control and put pressure on. Because the mass media has the power to drag the masses behind it. Therefore, there is a perception that the presence of anti-apartheid discourses and traces in the films will pose a threat to the future of the regime. The fact that the media sector played a major role in the end of apartheid proves this situation. Contrary to popular belief, cinema started to develop in the Republic of South Africa in the early period. Despite the oppressive apartheid regime, films in which traces of the apartheid regime can be found have been produced, albeit in small numbers, especially with the contribution of white screenwriters and directors. Although it was very difficult for blacks to make films both financially and due to the oppression of the regime, white filmmakers included blacks in their films. Thus, it allows us to see how blacks are perceived by whites in Apartheid period films.

3.1 A Brief Overview of the History of South African Cinema

Before analysing the films made during the apartheid period in the Republic of South Africa and determining the perception of the other, it will be tried to reveal the development of cinema in the country and how this historical development contributes to the perception of the other. Contrary to popular belief, the history of the film industry in the Republic of South Africa is quite old. Even at the end of the 1800s, the kinetoscope, one of Thomas Edison's inventions, arrived in the Republic of South Africa shortly after the USA (Botha, 2013: 21). Since the early 1900s, bioscopes, perhaps one of the most primitive forms of cinema, have served as travelling cinemas in various parts of South Africa (Botha, 2013: 21). In 1910, the first feature-length film was shot in the Republic of South Africa (Botha, 2013: 22). This and subsequent films were generally directed and produced by non-South African directors and producers, a trend that continued throughout the apartheid period and even afterwards. In 1909, a cinema hall was opened for 'non-whites' (Botha, 2013: 23). Although it has been 30-old years since the apartheid regime became official, the foundation of segregation in the cinema sector starts from the cinema

halls. In the 1930s, cinema halls became available in almost all parts of the Republic of South Africa.

With the dissolution of the apartheid regime in the 1980s, anti-apartheid films were produced, and even before apartheid was declared, Afrikaans nationalists tried to consolidate their legitimacy through films by using the cinema sector.

Isadore William Schlesinger was a New Yorker who came to South Africa later (Botha, 2013: 23). After the 1900s, he took film distribution companies under his control. After 1948, he made propaganda legitimising the practices of the apartheid regime. *De Voortrekkers* (1916) is one of the important films produced by Schlesinger's production company African Film Productions Ltd (Shaw, n.d.). What makes the film important is the subject of the film. The film is about the struggles of the Boer immigrants and the Zulus, the natives, in the 1830s. The film is about the struggle of Zulu King Dingaan and Voortrekker leader Piet Retief and the massacre of the Boers by the Zulus. The Boers won the struggle called the Battle of the Blood River. With the contribution of the heroic story created in this film, the Voortrekker myth was created in South Africa (Botha, 2013: 25). Dingaan Day is celebrated every year in the Republic of South Africa (Botha, 2013: 24). Even today, a small number of people still celebrate this day. The film is about the defeat of black barbarians by white Christians (Botha, 2013: 25). The film was also criticised for attributing all negative qualities to black people (Botha, 2013: 25).

Between 1920 and 1930, the cinema industry in the world in general was under the control of the United States of America due to the dominance of Western states (Botha, 2013: 29). This was also the case in South Africa and continued in this way until the last years of apartheid.

In 1930, before apartheid became an official regime, the Entertainment (Censorship) Act was implemented in South Africa (Botha, 2013: 30). In addition to restricting films containing obscene, abusive and slang, the censorship law did not allow the production and screening of films made against the countries with which politically good relations were developed and against Britain, with which they were colonised (Botha, 2013: 30). As the 1940s approached, some films were only allowed to be seen by whites in some cinemas (Botha, 2013: 30).

The film *Die Bou van 'n Nasie (They Built a Nation)* was released by the government to commemorate the Voortrekker Centenary Celebrations in 1938 (Botha, 2013: 27). While the film refers to Afrikaner nationalism from a biased perspective, it portrays the nationalist feelings of the White Afrikaner people in the cinema (Albrecht & Pienaar, 1938).

In July 1940, the Afrikaner nationalists founded the Reddingsdaadbond-Amateur-RolprentOrganisasie (RARO). These and similar organisations undoubtedly contributed to the

ideologically oriented production of the films. RARO released its first film, *'Nasie hou Koers'* (Botha, 2013: 29). In this film, like many films in South Africa, it refers to Dingaan Day, which started to be celebrated on 16 December as a result of the struggle between the Zulus and the Boers (Botha, 2013: 29). These films, which were created within the framework of a certain ideology, aim to highlight the nationalism of white Africans as well as artistic purposes.

As can be seen above, in early South African cinema, the sector was dominated by whites rather than blacks. Although cinema is a means of entertainment, it is a commercial activity that requires serious financial investment. At that time, the whites who had the money and their supporters, the western countries, dominated the cinema sector. This allowed them to make films that could justify themselves as whites, or to show blacks as barbaric and ignorant or otherwise. Although there was not much change in the film industry during the apartheid period, there were films that criticised the regime despite the censorship.

3.2 Apartheid Period and Cinema (1948-1994)

The meaning of cinema for Africa has been a tool used by colonial states to maintain their existing power or to expand their sphere of influence (Tomaselli, 2013: 53). The Western perspective has shaped both the continent and the world's view of the African continent. When it comes to the cinema of the apartheid period, the following question undoubtedly comes to mind. Where exactly are black people positioned in the cinema? Black South Africans have been disadvantaged compared to whites in the cinema sector, as in many issues and in many fields. Black South Africans did not have enough money or enough support from foreign companies to produce films. Black screenwriters or producers were not allowed to create a film framework of their own. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, although cinema technology had long since arrived in the Republic of South Africa, films were not shown, especially in areas where the majority black population lived. Between 1948 and 1950, a group of whites, albeit a very small number (Blacks were deliberately kept away from this sector both financially and legally. Blacks were wanted to be seen only as labourers). There were films dealing with apartheid and racism in the Republic of South Africa. Black actors were able to practice their profession under the umbrella of white directors and producers who did not approve of the apartheid regime. From 1948 onwards, apartheid's oppression on cinema caused the film industry to be caught between race and language (Shepperson & Tomaselli, 2002: 65). In this section, important developments regarding cinema during the apartheid period will be analysed through both films and screenwriters and producers.

In the early years of the apartheid era, two British names came to the fore in portraying black South Africans as they were, Eric Rutherford and Donald Swanson (Botha, 2013: 35). The first film they produced together, *African Jim - Jim Comes to Jo'burg* (1949), is a turning point in the history of South African cinema (Swanson, 1949). Because with this film, the normal daily lives of black people were reflected on the screen (Tomaselli, 2013: 56). It also provided an opportunity for black actors, who were ignored in the cinema sector in the country, to show their talents. In the first years of apartheid, it is important in terms of reflecting black people on the screen without placing them in a certain perception framework.

Zoltan Korda and Lionel Ngakane are important filmmakers of the apartheid era in the Republic of South Africa. These two names are remembered for their socio-political films. *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951) by Zoltan Korda is the first film in which black people are portrayed differently (Roodt, 1995) Lionel Ngakane travelled to England during the troubled years of the apartheid regime (Botha, 2013: 37). In 1990, as a result of the decline of the apartheid regime, Ngakane returned and made great contributions to the development of cinema in the country (Botha, 2013: 37). He also contributed to the development of cinema in the Republic of South Africa after apartheid (Botha, 2013: 38).

There were foreign screenwriters, producers and directors who supported cinema in South Africa during the apartheid period. Lionel Rogosin is an independent film producer living in New York (Botha, 2013: 38). In 1959, he secretly shot the film '*Come Back Africa*' about a black man's struggle for unemployment under apartheid conditions (Rogosin, 1960). He refers to the laws enacted during the apartheid period that favoured the unemployment of blacks. Rogosin came to South Africa in 1957 (Botha, 2013: 39). He saw the apartheid regime in person. With the influence of what he saw, Rogosin wanted to bring to the screen the suffering, life styles and humiliation of blacks, mulattoes and coloured people under the apartheid state from the perspective of South Africans (Botha, 2013: 39). For this, he chose to cooperate with local South African film producers. Rogosin lived in South Africa for a long time for the film and worked with black film scriptwriters, producers and producers who were disadvantaged by the apartheid regime in South Africa and provided an opportunity for them (Botha, 2013: 39). The 1960s were very dangerous times for whites and blacks to make films together. In a country where whites and blacks were forbidden to even sit on the same bench, you can imagine that it was also inconvenient for them to cooperate for film. In addition, the regime, which held every institution in South Africa, was the source of the financing for the films. Therefore, film production was limited and film production based on the cooperation of whites and blacks was almost non-existent.

The 1960s was a year in which many important events took place one after the other. Twentieth Century Fox, one of the major film distribution companies, acquired almost all of the film industries in South Africa, except for a few independent film companies (Botha, 2013: 49). TCF then moved to Ster Film and a complete monopolisation of the film industry occurred (Botha, 2013: 50). Everything from the production to the distribution of films was in the hands of a single company and this company only produced films for white Afrikaners. Again, in the 1960s, important developments such as the Sharpeville massacre, the dissolution of the ANC, the life imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and his friends, and the declaration of South Africa as a republic took place. However, no film reflecting any of these developments was made. The films made in South Africa do not even come close to social events. Africans are used as an element of comedy, giving the impression of what disinterested Africans who do not touch the water in social events can do for love (Botha, 2013: 52).

Bantu film-making emerged in the Republic of South Africa in the 1970s. From 1974 to 1990, they produced a large number of films in African local languages. These films were shown in churches, schools and some organisations (Botha, 2013: 12). It was almost impossible for any film made on conflict, confusion, racism, etc. within South Africa to meet the audience. Therefore, the Bantu film initiative ended in failure (Botha, 2013: 52).

The regime made documentaries to legitimise the apartheid regime through cinema. The films or documentaries featured African people who benefited from the aid provided by the apartheid regime (Botha, 2013: 53). In short, they used cinema to explain the benefits of apartheid. White filmmakers have never been able to portray black people as they are because there are serious disconnects between the two sides due to apartheid. Therefore, white directors portrayed the blacks they did not know inaccurately, incorrectly or incompletely.

Jans Rautenbach is one of the bravest filmmakers in apartheid-era cinema. His film *Katrina* (1969) is a very brave film considering the censorship and the pressure of the apartheid regime at that time (Rautenbach, 1969). The film focuses on a 'black' person (Botha, 2013: 67). Katrina is a woman trying to become white. At the end of the film, Katrina commits suicide. Rauntenbach wanted to give the message that apartheid killed people by ending the film with this ending. After this film, Rauntenbach, the producer of the film, faced many threats. The regime wanted to cut many scenes in the film. Rauntenbach never worked for the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), one of the censors of the apartheid regime, and left cinema in time, but after the end of apartheid, he did some work in the field of cinema (Botha, 2013: 69).

In 1980 and afterwards, due to the increase in anti-apartheid discourse in the international arena, film distribution companies boycotted the Republic of South Africa, so financial support, which was the most important factor in the production of the film, could not be provided. This caused the cinema in the Republic of South Africa to lag behind the world for a long time after the 1980s.

3.3 Film Analyses: The Gods Must Be Crazy

Gods Must Be Crazy was written and directed by Jamie Uys (real name Jacobus Johannes Uys). He won many awards and became a director who brought firsts to South Africa. The film was shot in South Africa in 1980 and the movie '*Gods Must Be Crazy*', which was released in the same year, is in the action and comedy genre (Uys, 1981). The film is available in English and local languages. The director had many international successes with this film. The film was released not only in South Africa but also in many parts of the world from America to Japan and was financially lucrative.

The reasons for choosing this film for the thesis can be evaluated as follows, the fact that it has high viewership numbers worldwide gives us a clue about how black people are perceived by a white South African director. In addition, since it is a film shot during the apartheid period, we can also make evaluations about whether we can make criticisms about apartheid. The fact that the film has a very large audience worldwide makes the film important and worthy of a thesis in terms of introducing black Africans to the outside world.

While the film *Gods Must Be Crazy* is considered by white Africans as a comedy film with a comedic element, it has also been criticised by many academics. One of these critics claimed that Jamie Uys contributed to the legitimacy of white Afrikaners in the 1970s and created his films within a framework that would serve the apartheid regime (Botha, 2013: 49).



Figure 1: Safari images often associated with Africa

The film connects three separate plots through various coincidences. The opening sequence of the film begins with desert scenes associated with classical Africa (Uys, 1980). The setting of the film is mostly desert, and scenes of safari, elephants, lions and wildlife often associated with Africa are included. The black Africans living in this desert are shown as primitive tribes. These tribal people are portrayed as naive and ignorant people who are ignorant of the real world because they have no contact with the outside world. The black Africans living here are described in the film as the luckiest people in the world because they are not subject to crime, punishment, police and rules. People in the desert are naked and live in tribes. They respect nature. They have no sense of ownership. They know nothing but wood and bone, and there are even those in Kalahari who have not yet seen civilised people. They think that thunder comes from the stomachs of their gods. In many other parts of the film, exaggerated expressions are used in this way. These exaggerated expressions may be a requirement of the element of laughter, but on the other hand, they may lead to further reinforcement of marginalisation.



Figure 2: Half Naked Human Images

In the film, they talk about a civilisation 600 km from the Kalahari. It states that civilised people refuse to obey nature and adapt nature to themselves. In the places where civilised people are shown, the abundance of white people draws attention. In the film, city and primitive life are compared. There is a two-way criticism in the film.



Figure 3: Modern city in the Republic of South Africa

The plot of the film is as follows. One day a coke bottle falls from the sky in the Kalahari desert in the region where the San (Bosiman) Tribe is located, and the tribesmen believe that it was sent to them by their gods. They thought that the gods had sent them something useful. They got into a fight over the Coke bottle. The tribe leader was angry with the gods and threw the Coke bottle away, they tried to get rid of it but they were not successful. That's why they called the Coke bottle 'cursed'. Xi said that this thing did not belong to the world and that he would find the end of the world and throw it down from there, and Xi left his tribe and set off on a new adventure.



Figure 4: Coke bottle metaphor

It was the first time Xi had travelled far away from his tribe. On this journey, Xi was sleeping one day when he thought a herd of animals was passing by, but it was a car. Thinking that the tracks left by the car were the tracks of a herd of snakes, he followed the road. As mentioned above, belittling is provided within the framework of exaggerated plots.

Another plot of the film is the romantic relationship between two white South Africans. Kate Thompson is a white-collar worker who goes to the Kalahari Desert to volunteer as a teacher, but her family tries to dissuade her from this decision. Andrew Steyn is shown in the film as a scientist who conducts scientific studies on elephants in the desert. A romantic comedy is portrayed through this duo. Would it have been possible to watch the love of a black and white in a film shown during the apartheid period? Probably not in a system where there were laws forbidding blacks and whites to marry.

The woman who goes from the city to the desert for volunteer teaching gives a very stylish, modern impression, while the people in the region she goes to wear local clothes, women carry heavy loads on their heads, and the classic portrait of the African woman has also taken its place in this film.



Figure 5: Image of African Women Carrying Tray on Head

Local clothes, tribal life, old-style markets again serve the African point of view served to the world. In the film, black Africans are often shown half-naked and wandering around with spears in their hands. Kate Thompson, a white teacher, teaches black children in the village. The English lesson on the blackboard draws attention.



Figure 6: White South African Woman and Black Students, English Lesson at the Blackboard

As Xi walks towards the end of the world, the paths of Kate, a white teacher, and Andrew Steyn, a white scientist who comes to pick up the teacher, cross. It was the first time Xi had ever seen a white man. He described the white man as the ugliest person he had ever seen. He described the white woman as fat, old and ugly. Xi wondered why the woman was covering her body because it was so hot. She thought the woman's behaviour was strange. He thought of giving the cursed thing to the woman. When Xi tried to give the cursed Coke bottle to the woman, she ran away and Xi found this behaviour very rude. The white female teacher and the driver also found Xi rude. He thought that they were the ones who had sent the Coke bottle and mentioned that it had upset their families. But they did not speak each other's languages and could not

communicate. A little later Xi saw a vehicle approaching, it was a car. He thought the car was an animal again and the wheels were the legs of the animal. The speech of these people sounded strange and he thought that white people sounded like monkeys. As can be understood from this scene, there is a serious disconnect between blacks and whites during the apartheid period. White filmmakers projected blacks on the screen from their western and their own point of view, which was wrong.

Xi was walking when he came across a herd of goats. He was very hungry. The goat herd was owned. For Xi, ownership meant nothing. So he slaughtered one of the goats and wanted to eat it. The boy who owned the goats went to inform the police. The police came when Xi was about to eat the animal. He said in his own language that he wanted to share it with them. But the policeman took the goat away. Xi thought he was greedy and decided to kill another one, but the policemen caught him and took him to court. They sentenced Xi to death. They dressed Xi in clothes. Andrew, a white scientist who studied elephants, and the mechanic let Xi out of prison on condition that he would work for them. They taught Xi many things about modern life. Whites were again in a position to teach blacks something.

In the film, members of the black organisation (Sambago) stormed the government building, attacked the black administrators there and staged a coup d'état. The issue of civil war in Africa is also touched upon in this way. As the members of the Sambago terrorist organisation escape, they take various hostages from the village. Kate and her students are among these hostages. Xi helped to rescue the hostages by knocking out Smabago's soldiers. Xi rescues the hostages together with Andrew. At the end of the film, Xi throws a coke bottle from a high place that he thinks is the end of the world and returns to his family.

3.3.1 Perception of the Other in the Movie

The film *Gods Must Be Crazy* is a comedy film shaped by the West, East, backwardness, indigenous people and others. Although it is a criticism of modernity, it is also made through discourses, clothes and various imagery that the West is more advanced.

The film starts from the attitude of the San Bosiman tribe towards the coke bottle. In the film, the people in the tribe are depicted as pure, clean people who do not know the capitalist system. In fact, the message intended to be given here is that Africans are ignorant and that they live in a framed fan in their own state, unaware of the outside world. On the other hand, although the film develops a two-way criticism and criticises what capitalism can do to human beings and nature, the message given in the general progression of the film is that black people do not know anything and they can progress thanks to whites.

In the film, the character Xi, who portrays the local people and is the leading character, is portrayed as ignorant, naive but happy. It is fit into a very limited space from a classical western point of view. In addition, the narration is expressed in the 3rd person from a Western perspective. Tribal life is expressed in a shallow way from the mouth of the third person.

This film is one of the cult and classic films with a lot of comedy elements and it is concluded that it forms the basis of today's perception of Africa. The images that are effective in reaching this conclusion are as follows: Half-naked people, safari-style images, wild animals, lions, elephants, giraffes, tribal life, Africans who are unaware of the world, African women carrying heavy loads on their heads, virgin forests. They have given the whole perception of Africa together in a single film.

In the film, whites are in a teaching position while blacks are in a learning position. In the village where Kate Thompson goes as a volunteer, she and the other whites are on a high place while the blacks greet them below. In the film, good and beautiful qualities are generally attributed to whites, while crimes, chaos and ignorance are attributed to blacks. In the film, blacks are in a passive subject position

It was concluded that the characters in the film, who neither resemble whites nor are black, belong to the group called mulattoes or Indians, who constitute the minority in the Republic of South Africa. Again, these characters are inferior to whites. The Sambago terrorist organisation and Andrew's assistant meet this definition. In addition, in the film, Sambago is a Communist guerrilla leader and pro-Soviet Russia. In the film, all bad affirmations are attributed to this organisation. Thus, it is possible to see traces of the Cold War period in the film.

3.4 Mapantsula

Directed by Oliver Schmitz and co-written by Thomas Mogotlane and Oliver Schmitz, the film Mapantsula was released in 1988 in the Republic of South Africa(Schmitz, 1988). The film combines English, Zulu, Afrikaans and Sotho languages. Director Oliver Schmitz has directed documentaries about the struggles against apartheid. One of these documentaries is Fruits of Defiance. This documentary coincides with the last times of the apartheid period (Botha, 2013: 131).

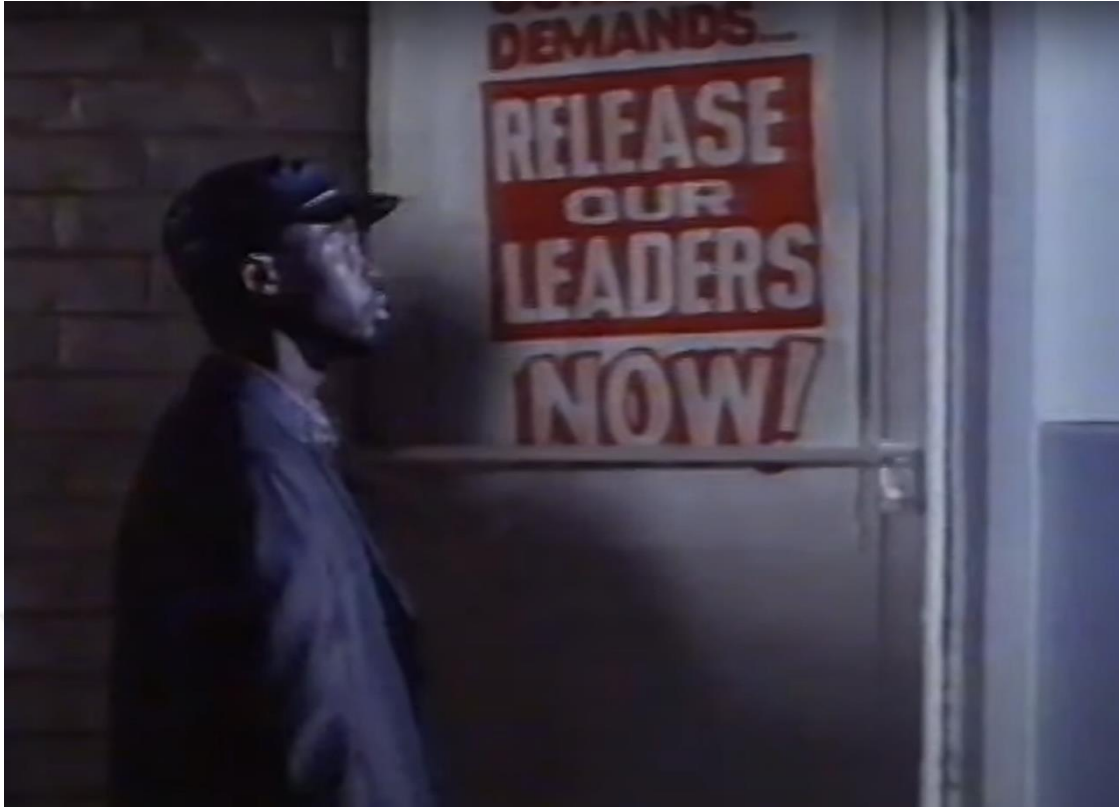


Figure 7: Poster on the Release of Mandela, His Friends and Many Other Black Leaders

Although the film *Mapantsula* was banned in the Republic of South Africa due to its content, it attracted international attention and was screened at the Cannes Film Festival. The reason why the film was banned was because of its criticism of apartheid. Although some things are not explicitly said in the film, they are expressed through slogans, colours and symbols.

Mapantsula is a dance style as well as a way of life among black people (street gangs) in the Republic of South Africa. It can also be considered as an oppositional formation that opposes what the apartheid system offers. The subject of the film is the riots, elections, police raids, unlawful arrests and inequalities between blacks and whites as a result of the apartheid system (Botha, 2013: 132).

The film is not narrated in a linear and one-way manner. The film begins with a group of black people being put on a prison vehicle. Panic is among these prisoners, and the plot is provided with flashbacks, thus observing the change of Panic's character over time, which is thought to be a result of the apartheid system.

In the film, the fact that English is a widely spoken language in the Republic of South Africa, posters and signboards are mostly in English as well as local languages. This gives clues to both colonialism and the dominance of apartheid rule on the streets.



Figure 8: Protection Agencies to Ensure Safe Movement in Areas with Dense Black Population

The spatial distinction between blacks and whites is sharply drawn. In the area where the blacks live, there is ghetto life, makeshift houses, the people living in this area are dressed in local clothes as well as sloppy shabby clothes, the streets give the impression that a neighbourhood was built in the middle of a desert. On the other hand, in the area where the whites live, there are very modern houses, asphalt roads, trees lined up, and the whites living in this area have a beautiful modern appearance.



Figure 9: Black Ghettos in the Republic of South Africa

Panic, the main character of the film, is a black South African who lives in Johannesburg during the apartheid period and makes a living by robbing and stealing from whites. Panic plays a gangster black man who is selfish, thinks of no one but himself and does not care much about the apartheid issue. The building block of Panic's story is actually built on the fact that the character, who stays away from politics, political events and all kinds of problems caused by apartheid in the country, cannot and should not stay away from these issues even if he wants to.

Panic and his friends are chasing after those people, looking through a glass window to see if there is a rich white man. A white businessman in white stylish clothes attracts attention as he passes through the area where blacks are very dense, and black thieves are chasing this white man to steal something from him. Panic is one of these people in Panic, although he steals the man's wallet very clearly, the white man does nothing. The impression is given that the white man is afraid of Panic.

Panic has a girlfriend named Pat. He mostly exploits his girlfriend. The selfishness of Panic's character is intended to be further reinforced with this story. In order for Panic to marry the girl he loves, he needs to have a job, a regular life and a future guarantee. Economic problems and increasing rents are constantly mentioned. In addition to being a result of the apartheid system, Panic is not a character willing to work.



Figure 10: Black Servant Woman Working for Whites

Panic's girlfriend Pat was working for a white woman, but because Panic kept coming to this house and bothering his girlfriend, the white woman fired him without paying him. Panic's girlfriend also contacted some people to claim her rights, but to no avail. Pat tries to reach anti-apartheid activists to seek his rights, and in the meantime, his way falls into a church-like place where anti-apartheid activists are gathered. They chant slogans against apartheid and refer to the taxes and the cost of living caused by the mismanagement of the government. The black executives who attended the meeting were faced with the reaction of the public. Black executives are dressed in elegant clothes and give the impression that they are quite wealthy individuals.



Figure 11: The Black Leader Who Served the Apartheid System for His Own Interests

At the anti-apartheid meeting, one of the participants made the following speech against the black president present there. 'We talk about democracy, but we don't even know who we are, we don't have money, we don't have the financial power to support our family, many of us don't even have a job, but you have a well-paid job, cars, houses, apartheid is comfort for you,' and concluded his speech by saying that either account to us or resign.



Figure 12: Africa and Witches

Another issue is the issue of witchcraft, which is undoubtedly one of the situations associated with Africa. Panic went to a black wizard because of many troubles. The sorcerer advised him to strengthen his ties with his past and advised him to get rid of his individuality.



Figure 13: Mutual Conflicts Against Apartheid Rule

In one scene, black people and police forces clash. The clashes between the two groups bring to mind the massacre in Sharpsville in 1960. The director may have wanted to show the violent face of apartheid with this scene (1.19)



Figure 14: Anti-Apartheid Protests

In prison, Panic was placed in the same cell with the opponents of apartheid. Because, contrary to popular belief, Panic was not arrested for theft, but his neighbour and tenant woman's son, Sam, was arrested and imprisoned in another apartheid action. Afterwards, they did not hear from him in any way. Finally, the news of Sam's death came. Panic participated in these protests with him and was arrested at that time. The police mistook him for one of the rioters. Another point to be drawn attention to here is that no news is received from the arrested people in any way, which was a very common situation at that time (Dinçer, 2020, p. 372)



Figure 15: Anti-Apartheid Prisoners Refuse to Eat in Prison in Protest

In a dialogue between anti-apartheid activists in prison, another prisoner distributing food to the inmates counts the number of people in the cell to give them food, each time mentioning that the number of people joining them will increase. (minute 30) The inmates refuse the food offered to them. Except Panic, who at first ate the food given to him as a result of his selfish character, as he had no particular ideology. But in time he joined the others and refused to eat.

Those in prison referred to themselves as ‘comrades’. The slogans of the prisoners consist of words such as power, mandala, forward the workers. In prison, black people sing anti-apartheid songs in unison. They use the word Amandla in their slogan. This word means strength and power in Xhosa and Zulu languages.



Figure 16: Panic Character and the Police Officer Trying to Convince Him to Betray Him

In prison, Panic was offered food, money and release from prison to act as a snitch. In return for all this, they asked him to reveal the secrets of black people and their neighbours. At first, Panic was called to the interrogation with his clothes, but every day Panic was stripped of his clothes and faced police violence as he did not reveal anything. This situation continued until the end of the film. In the end, Panic was left naked and forced to sign a contract, but Panic did not betray his friends, neighbours and even the people in prison whom he had just met. He did not sign the agreement by agreeing to pay a very heavy price. In short, in this film, the change in Panic's character in prison is observed. The journey from individuality to unity.

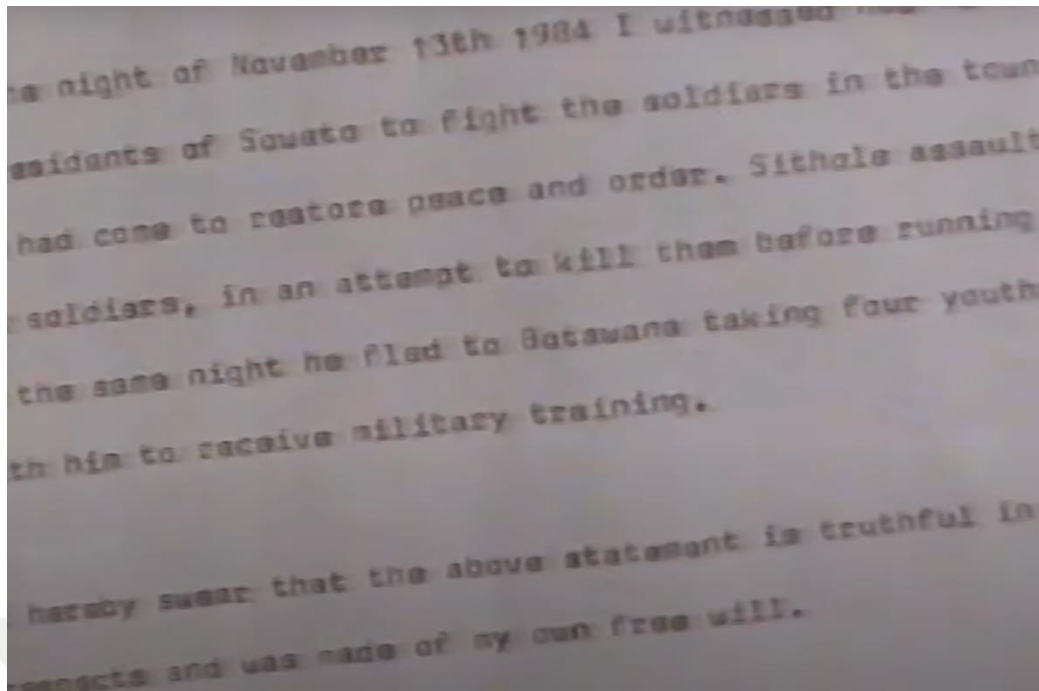


Figure 17: Apartheid Supporting Document Given to Character Panic to Sign

3.4.1 Perception of the Other in the Film

In the film, blacks have a lower status than whites. The apartheid system divided the working conditions in the country into classes just like a caste system. In this division of labour, blacks are assigned to work as servants or to do heavy labour. Inequality in this division of labour was reflected in economic inequality and economic inequality was reflected in all areas of society. In short, while high-status jobs and rich whites are 'us', blacks who work in heavy or service jobs are 'the other'.

Although blacks who are against the apartheid regime are in the majority in the film, there are also blacks who are not against the apartheid regime and work for the regime. In the film, black policemen are seen in the protests against black anti-apartheid rebels. Again, while black municipal administrators have a good life in the film, the people suffer from serious poverty. Although black policemen cooperate with white policemen at the police station, it seems that whites are the dominant rulers. Blacks are placed in a framework that undermines the struggle for freedom of their own citizens for the sake of their interests. The apartheid system has maintained its existence and power for years by fragmenting the blacks within itself.

When the films produced during the apartheid period in the Republic of South Africa are evaluated in general, it is seen that crimes and punishments are attributed to blacks. It is thought that blacks are innately prone to crime and should be put in order by whites. Thus, the regime thinks that it can legitimise its violent repression in this way. In the film, black people are shown

as individuals who are prone to crime and cannot keep up with the social order through the character of Panic, the protagonist.

In the film, opponents of apartheid are imagined as terrorists. The defenders of the apartheid regime think that the system is the most appropriate and beneficial system of governance for both societies, so they have further strengthened the legitimacy of the regime by declaring those who reject this benefit and cause unrest in society as terrorists.

Racist jokes can be made in the film and black people are compared to monkeys. The white police character in the film made an assessment about black people that they are not like us. The difference between the two groups can be explained in the context of 'us' and 'others' in the context of the concept of the other. In another scene, the white administrator in the prison stated that he did not understand blacks in any way. This gives clues about the disconnection between the two groups.

4. Israeli Cinema: Apartheid and the Representation of the Other

In the past and today, cinema is not only a means of entertainment but also a branch of art in which ideologies are represented. Important developments in the society are reflected in the cinema like a mirror. Therefore, while analysing films, political, religious, social and many other important data of that period can be accessed through films. This section aims to provide a basic political perspective on Israeli cinema and to inform about the position of Palestine in Israeli cinema before moving on to film analyses. In this way, an overview of the Israeli cinema industry will be presented and the background of the mechanisms of marginalisation will be given. In addition, the relationship between Israel and Apartheid, which is one of the key questions of the thesis, will be put forward with evidence in this chapter.

4.1 Israel and Apartheid Discourse

As mentioned in other chapters, the apartheid regime came to an end for the Republic of South Africa in 1992. However, the Rome Statute of 2002 adopted by the International Criminal Court has removed apartheid from being a concept that belongs only to the Republic of South Africa. Thus, apartheid was included in the scope of crimes against humanity (Soske and Jacobs 2015:30). As a result, this situation allows states that engage in apartheid-like racist practices to be evaluated within the framework of apartheid. Especially after 2000, Israel and apartheid discourses have started to be used together frequently. Academics, writers, international organisations, etc. have worked on Apartheid and Israeli discourses. In addition, the source of the problem in both countries is the problems between the indigenous people, settlers and immigrants. Since October 7, 2023, escalating attacks have triggered widespread protests against Israel across the globe. Notably, the protests have highlighted slogans linking the concepts of Israel and apartheid. Consequently, in the wake of recent developments, the terms "apartheid" and "Israel" have frequently appeared together in media, academic studies, and news reports.

Amnesty International is one of the leading organisations conducting serious studies on Israel and Apartheid. In a report published in 2022, AI mentioned that Israel's policies towards Palestinians are within the scope of apartheid (Amnesty International 2022).

In 2021, Human Rights Watch published a report on Israel and apartheid discourses. In the same year, Al Mezan published an analysis in the form of the Gaza Bantustan, creating an analogy between apartheid and what is happening in Israel (Mezan, 2021).

Reports and declarations published internationally have defined 2021 as the 'Year of Israeli Apartheid'. Academics and writers believe that the combination of Israel and apartheid

discourse contributes to the Palestinian struggle for freedom(Reynolds 2023:109). Amnesty International, which has carried out important international work, has made significant contributions to the combination of Israel and apartheid discourses. In 2021, Amnesty International prepared reports on Israel's apartheid regime. This contributes to the discourse on Israel and apartheid in the international arena.

In 2008, as a result of the initiatives of the Republic of South Africa, the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was established. The Council published a book as a result of its work and concluded that Israel's oppressive and discriminatory regime is apartheid (Dugard and Reynolds 2013:870).

In his speech in 2019, Israeli President Benjamin Netanyahu stated that Israel is not the state of all citizens, but only the nation-state of the Jewish people (Reynolds 2023:114). This sentence alone proves how Palestinians are subjected to marginalisation. Israeli law states that the state of Israel is the state of the Jewish people.⁸

To begin, the classification of Israel as an apartheid state under international law will be examined. From the perspective of international law, the discourse surrounding Israel and apartheid can be evaluated through the lens of Zionism. In 1975, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 3379, drawing an analogy between Zionism and racism. In its resolution, the UN General Assembly characterized Zionism, as adopted by the State of Israel, as "a form of racism and racial discrimination." This characterization was primarily based on Israel's discriminatory policies against Arabs in Palestine. And The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) has conducted studies in which they argue that Israel runs the country as an apartheid regime.

Another approach that underpins the association of Israel with apartheid lies in the comparison between the racially discriminatory practices imposed by the white minority on the Black population during the apartheid regime in South Africa and the policies enforced by Israel on Palestinians. This method involves identifying parallels and similarities between these two systems of oppression.

Higher education in Israel is primarily provided through private universities (Quigley:247). However, citing security concerns, Arab students are often excluded from these institutions or admitted under specific conditions. Additionally, many of the educational benefits accessible to

⁸ Israel, Basic Law: Israel – The Nation-State of the Jewish People (19 July 2018). See also Israel, Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation (9 March 1994); Israel, Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty (17 March 1992); Israel, Basic Law: Knesset (12 February 1958)

Israelis are unavailable to Palestinians, as numerous laws are structured in ways that exclude Arabs. A comparable situation can be observed in South Africa during the apartheid era. Under the Bantu Education Act, Black South Africans were subjected to discriminatory educational policies designed to limit their opportunities. Similarly, Palestinians in Israel face restrictions reminiscent of those imposed under South Africa's apartheid regime. In both contexts, equality of opportunity in education has not been equitably distributed among the populations.

The challenges faced by Palestinian Arabs in Israel have persisted since the establishment of the state in 1948 and continue to this day. Following the creation of Israel, armed and stone-throwing clashes erupted between the two sides. Fearing Israeli interventions, many Palestinian Arabs fled to other countries, becoming refugees. To this day, the issue of Palestinian refugees remains unresolved. With regard to the refugee issue, there are no restrictions for Jews wishing to immigrate to Israel, whereas Palestinians are denied the right to return to their homeland. The 1950 Law of Return grants every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel and immediately acquire Israeli citizenship. However, this right is not extended to Palestinians whose lands have been occupied. Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, explicitly stated that every effort would be made to prevent Palestinians from returning to their country (Reynolds 2023:114). Consequently, a small minority of Israeli Jews governs the Palestinian majority, mirroring the historical situation in South Africa, where a small white minority ruled over the Black majority for nearly forty years. Both the Law of Return and the Citizenship Law place Palestinian Arabs in an inferior position compared to Israelis, contradicting principles of international human rights law. These laws reflect characteristics of apartheid. Similarly, while differing in content, South Africa's Population Registration Act served a comparable purpose in perpetuating systemic inequality.

There is also discrimination in the sharing of land, and even for Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, there are serious restrictions (Reynolds 2023:118). Palestinian and Israeli territories are sharply separated. Even in the Palestinian areas, Israel has an intense pressure and control over the Palestinians. In the Republic of South Africa, too, blacks were confined to certain areas and had to have special authorisations to cross into other areas. In the case of Palestinian Arabs, their movement within the country is constantly controlled through checkpoints.

Although Israel's plan to build a wall was proposed in the 1990s, construction only began in 2002. The wall encompasses not only the Green Line but also Palestinian territories. The purpose of the wall's construction was to control Palestinian citizens, whom Israel classifies as terrorists, and to prevent smuggling and criminal activities from entering Israeli territories.

The United Nations has criticized and condemned the construction of the wall from a human rights perspective. The Green Line, established with the 1949 armistice agreement, was largely disregarded, and the construction of the wall facilitated Israel's dominance over Palestinian territories. (Cottrell, 2005: 67-75)

In July 2004, the International Court of Justice issued a ruling declaring the wall to be in violation of international law. At the time, Israel claimed that the wall was a temporary solution. However, plans and investments related to the wall indicate that it was far from a small, temporary measure. The separation barrier has significantly impacted the daily lives of Palestinians.

In reality, the wall quietly established a de facto border between Israel and Palestine. It encompassed more than 85% of the West Bank, effectively allowing Israel to occupy Palestinian territories without the need for any agreement with Palestine or international consensus (Harms, G., & Ferry, T. M., 2005: 178). Productive Palestinian lands, water resources, and other vital assets were largely transferred under Israeli control without significant effort, thanks to the wall.

In the Republic of South Africa there were no specific fences or walls of segregation, but there were invisible walls between whites and blacks that were difficult to overcome. That is why the wall in the West Bank has been sloganized as the apartheid wall.

In general, when Israel's practices are taken into consideration, Israel and apartheid discourses are frequently expressed under these headings and prove their justification. The problem of Palestinian refugees left over from the Arab-Israeli wars, Palestinians displaced and forced to constantly change their homes because of the Israelis, checkpoints, unreasonable searches, curfews, closure of schools, unjust arrests and, most importantly, attempts to prevent the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

4.2 Apartheid and Zionism

As previously stated, the basis of apartheid and Israeli discourses has been explained with evidence. In this section, the relationship between Zionism and apartheid will be discussed, as this is the other side of apartheid practices.

Zionism was born in Europe based on Theoder Herzl's idea of a homeland for the Jews. Theoder Herzl is known in history as the founder and father of Zionism. His 1896 work 'The Jewish State' argues that Jews should have their own state (Kayyali, 2024, p. 103). The first Zionist Congress in history was organised in Basel, Switzerland (Batish, 1917: 372). As a result of this congress, the World Zionist Organisation was established. In 1917, the idea of a Jewish State in

Palestine, supported by the Balfour Declaration, became a reality in 1948 with the support of Britain (Davidson, 2010: 28–42).

The establishment of the State of Israel and the official implementation of apartheid in South Africa date back to 1948. This strange coincidence has brought the two countries together in some fateful ways (Mazrui, 1983). Zionism and Israel should not be considered as two separate elements. The structure, vision, mission, and practices of the State of Israel are rooted in the ideology of Zionism.

According to Mazrui, Apartheid, as a word, corresponds to a philosophy beyond the meaning of pure racism. In 1976, the South African prime minister paid a visit to Israel. Ali Mazrui calls this visit a meeting between Israel, the child of Zionism, and South Africa, the father of apartheid (Mazrui, 1983).

The apartheid regime in Israel can be characterized as the implementation of Zionism in Palestine. The inherent logic of apartheid—manifesting in occupation, colonization, racialization, and assimilation—is evident in Israel, where the state functions as a settler-colonial and racial entity. The racial nature of the Israeli state is reflected in its delineation between Jewish and non-Jewish populations, establishing a clear division based on ethnicity and religion.

4.3 Israel and Cinema

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, as many institutions were established and structured in the country, the Israeli film industry gradually began to take its place in the country. The Israeli cinema industry has been shaped within a diverse cinema culture, not unidirectional due to the geography in which it was established. On the one hand, the bilateral conflicts with other Arab countries and the Palestinians, on the other hand, the division of Jews into right, left, dinar, secular, undoubtedly influenced the diversification of cinema. Apart from these, films about Christians and various stories from the Bible are accompanied by historical films from the Holocaust period (Yosef, 2012). Of course, it would not be correct to claim that every film produced in the cinema sector carries a political message. However, it is possible to say that for Israeli cinema, especially until the 1990s, films mostly contain political messages (Peleg & Kaplan, 2018).

Important source that Israeli cinema feeds on is the reality of Holocaust, with which it has historical ties. In Holocaust-themed films, Israelis are portrayed as victims and helpless people. The first of the films in this field is the struggle for survival and the second is to build a good morality in order not to be like the Nazis. However, especially when analysed in the context of

apartheid, it is seen that these ideals are far from being realised. Until Israel's victory in 1967, Holocaust suffering continued to be the dominant theme in cinema.

After 1948, conflict and war have been at the centre of life for Israel and Palestine. Therefore, the theme of war has an important place in Israeli cinema. *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* was the first Israeli film to deal extensively with the theme of war. The film refers to the war in 1948 and the film structure is based on justifying Israel's settlement in Palestinian territories(Shohat, 2010).

In the first period, Israeli cinema mostly portrays heroic struggles and otherisation through a victim representation of how bad the Arabs actually are. For example, the film *Pillar of Fire*, which was shot in Israel in 1959, reveals the mechanisms of othering by showing the Arabs as barbarians as well as the heroism of the Israelis(Shohat, 2010: 55).

Between 1980 and 1990, important developments took place in politics. Developments such as the assassination of Ytzak Rabin, tensions between Israel and Lebanon, and the First Intifada also affected cinema. In fact, the events between Israel and Lebanon and the massacres in the war zones have been the subject of many films after 2000. There has always been a state of conflict between Lebanon and Israel, whether it is refugee and immigration problems or border issues. Undoubtedly, these issues have occupied a large place in Israeli cinema. *Beaufort (2007)*, *Waltz with Bashir (2008)*, *Lebanon (2009)* are examples of films dealing with the problems between the two countries(Peleg & Kaplan, 2018, p. 136). While the film *Waltz with Bashir (2008)* tells the story of the genocide of Palestinian immigrants in Lebanon, it not only criticises Israel but also presents the audience with an example of a political film by placing the blame on Christian extremist groups(Folman, 2009). It has been observed that even in films that do not deal with the Lebanese issue, this issue is touched upon. As can be seen in the film analyses, even if the film does not deal with Lebanon, it refers to the events in Lebanon.

While Palestinian cinema was under the British Mandate in the early periods, it remained in the shadow of Zionism and could not show sufficient development. From 1948 to 1967, both Palestine and Israel have been in conflict and a struggle for existence. Currently, it has been observed that Palestinians living in Palestine, Palestinians living in the diaspora and some Israeli citizens can produce films according to their own perceptions.

Cinema gives societies the right to represent themselves. From the point of view of Palestinian cinema, it is concluded that their right to representation has been denied or taken away from them. Instead, Zionism has taken the right to represent the Palestinians upon itself. Eastern Jews share the same fate as the Palestinians. The Jewish 'Mizrahim' are also among the group whose right to represent themselves in the cinema in Israel is being denied.(Peleg & Kaplan, 2018:

264). Therefore, how Palestinian Arabs are portrayed in films can be accessed through films produced by Israelis.

4.4 Film Analyses: Ajami

The 2009 film *Ajami* was written and directed by Scandar Copti, Yaron Shani (Copti & Shani, 2009). The film is in the Crime and Drama genre (Copti & Shani, 2009). The film is also shown in Arabic and Hebrew (Copti & Shani, 2009). In the film, a narration from the mouth of the 3rd person is presented to the audience from the point of view of Omar's brother Nasri. The film is set in the Ajami neighbourhood, an Arab ghetto. It starts with a classic blood feud story. Because of a crime committed by Omar's uncle, they want to kill Omar, but their neighbour Yahya, a child, is accidentally killed. Omar and his family then seek help from a prominent and wealthy Christian. A local court is set up and in the presence of an imam the blood feud is settled for money. But this is not an amount that Omar and his family can pay. The film continues with the struggle to collect this money.

The factors that influenced the selection of this film can be evaluated as follows. In the evaluation of the context of Israel and apartheid, it covers the period from 1948 to the present day. The film was shot in 2009 within these dates. In addition, in this film, a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship and Israeli directors worked together. This may actually lead to a more neutral staging for both sides. And finally, the film is centred on Arabs in terms of content and this will be useful in the conclusion desired to be reached in the thesis.

The film begins with the opening scene showing Ajami, an Arab neighbourhood in Yafha consisting of makeshift houses. Omar's uncle caused the death of a member of the Abu Zen tribe who came to his cafe to demand tribute. The Abu Zen family wants to kill Omar to take their revenge. But they accidentally kill their neighbour, innocent 15-year-old Yahya. Omar said the following words for Yahya: 'If you don't have money and power, you are like Yahya, you are nothing, even your death is not valuable, so we have to be strong, if we are strong, no one can harm us.'

Realising the seriousness of the situation, Omar and his family send their brothers to Jerusalem to their relatives to protect them. Omar and his family ask for help from Abu Ilyas, a rich Christian family, and Abu Ilyas tries to find a middle way between the two families.

As a result of Abu Ilyas' initiatives, a local court was set up in the presence of an imam. In this court, it was decided that Omar would pay a large sum of money for the blood feud. This court of their own is not a fair court. This scene is thought to be a reference to the primitiveness of the Arabs in governance.

Omar has started working in Abu Ilyas's café to pay the money, and a romance begins between him and Hadir, Abu Ilyas's daughter, but their different religions cause problems. To pay for Omar's blood money, Omar's younger brother and his friends work more than two jobs a day, but they realise how difficult it is to get the money together in this way. Which leads them to drugs. This points to the system's dragging society into crime. Without Israel's oppressive regime and if the Palestinians had a legal system, things would probably be different.

Malek is a Palestinian youth living in Nablus, Palestine. Malek's mother is very sick and Malek's mother needs a bone marrow transplant, but this operation is not performed in Nablus, but only in Israel, and they need money for the treatment, so Malek comes to the West Bank to work illegally for Abu Ilyas. While Israelis do not have the status of illegal immigrants in the Palestinian territories, Palestinians do not have free movement in the areas under Israeli control.

We discussed co-operation with Arabs in Israel for the treatment of Abu Ilyas Malek's mother, but they were not receptive. It is a criticism of the small minority of Arabs who are Israeli citizens and their distance from their own identity



Figure 18: Youth Smoking Hookah on the Street in Yafha

Arab male youths sit in the middle of the street in Yafha smoking hookah and disturbing their neighbours. Arabs are shown as ill-mannered and disturbing the peace of the society. In mutual dialogues, Arab youth told the Jew that according to your laws, even we should not be here. In another dialogue, there is no municipality for us in Yafha, only in your Telaviv. While the Jewish man is very polite and understanding, the Palestinian Arab youth are portrayed as rude and disrespectful. As a result, they kill the Jewish man and the police arrive.

He is a Muslim cook named Binj who works for Abu Ilyas and is in a relationship with a Jewish woman. Her brother killed the Jew in the neighbourhood. Binj and his friends, at home, commented on the situation, saying. It was not an Arab who was killed, it was a Jew, so they will turn the world upside down. They mention that there are thousands of innocent Arabs in prison. They want to get rid of us. Binj is so depressed that he decides to move to Tel Aviv with his girlfriend. However, his Arab friends reacted quite strongly to this situation. They expressed their reaction with the following words. If you go to Tel Aviv, you will slowly move away from us, make Jewish friends and break away from us. Some people say that you are not proud of being an Arab like you used to be. Binj reacts to these discourses and mentions that he wants a comfortable life. His Jewish girlfriend also mentions that their doors are open to everyone.

Dando is a Jewish police officer. Dando's brother is a Jewish soldier in the Israeli army, but for a long time he is unreachable and finally his lifeless body is found on a mountain in Nablus. Dando reproaches the authorities, 'Don't hide the Arabs who killed my brother, give them to me'. Conflicts between Palestine and Israel from the past find a place in the film with this scene.

The police go to Yafha on a drug tip-off, but thanks to the people of the neighbourhood, the Arab drug dealer escapes. Later, when the police officers evaluate the events among themselves, they say that the criminal in Yafha is a drug dealer, we want to help those people, but they protect the criminals among themselves. The same logic as in the apartheid system continues here, where offences and punishments are attributed to Arabs. There is a marginalisation that they are bad and immoral people and we are trying to help them.



Figure 19: An Arab Quarter in Yafha



Figure 20: Modern Cityscape from Tel Aviv, Israel

There is a clear spatial distinction in the film. There are clear distinctions between the Palestinian territories and the Israeli territories. Checkpoints, steel wires, and of course the separation wall are the boundaries separating Israel and Palestine. In addition, while Jews can easily pass through the checkpoints in the film, Palestinians are searched very thoroughly. Yafha is depicted in the film as a place full of criminals (00:35:06). When Jewish policemen enter Yafha, they express their disgust for Yafha and compare it to Gaza (01:03:29). Malek and other Arabs travelling from Nablus in Palestine to Tel Aviv are surprised by the tall buildings and modern city life. The difference between the two places is also shown to the audience in this scene.



Figure 21: Checkpoint Palestinian Arabs and Israelis

Binj commits suicide with drugs to get rid of the depression he is in. Omar and Malek make a deal with someone to sell the drugs they find in Binj's house, but the police are also there. The policeman Dando sees his brother's watch in Malek and kills him. Nasir, who follows Malek and Omar, shoots Dando and the film ends with an unhappy ending.

4.4.1 Perception of the Other in the Film

When the perception of the other in the film *Ajami* is considered in general, there is a distinction between Arabs and Israelis in many respects, and this is sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly shown to the audience in the film.

Just like the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa, the distribution of labour between Arabs and Israelis is not equal and fair. Israelis outnumber Palestinian Arabs both in terms of job opportunities and the quality of jobs. Palestinian Arabs are depicted in the film as working either in criminal activities (drugs, smuggling), in low-skilled jobs such as servants, or under the command of Israelis.

It is thought that Arabs who are Israeli citizens have an identity and belonging problem. The fact that Arabs who are Israeli citizens try to break their ties with their own citizens or the idea that Binj will abandon his Arab identity after moving to Israel has been effective in reaching this conclusion.

In the film, ethnic discrimination is not only made on the basis of Arabs and Israelis. The film also discriminates on the basis of religions. Israeli Jews are in the highest position in terms of

equal opportunities in society, followed by Christians and then Muslims. Regardless of religion and nationality, immigrants are in the most disadvantaged position. This is inferred from the difficult struggle of Malek, who came to Israel illegally in the film.

The film also touches upon the marriage of people of different religions. Although there is currently no law in Israeli law prohibiting the marriage of people of different religions, the marriage of Muslims with Christians or Jews is not welcome. Abu Ilyas advises his daughter that everyone should marry someone of their own religion. The prohibition of marriage in the Republic of South Africa is still a socially accepted reality here.

In the film, the Palestinian Arabs' approach to justice is completely different from the modern society's understanding of justice. In the film, Omar and even all the young men in his family had to pay a price for the crime committed by his uncle. In the modern criminal law system, offences are individual, but here it is observed that the offence is not individual and is shaped within the framework of tribalism.

As mentioned above, the sentence 'according to your laws, we (Palestinian Arabs) should not live in this land' formed by the Arab youth reveals the systematic discrimination and marginalisation of the Palestinians by the Israelis.

In Islam, things like alcohol, adultery and drugs are forbidden. But the Muslims in the film commit these sins very easily. This has brought the perception that Palestinian Arabs are not religious to the stage by the Israeli screenwriter.

In the film, Jews are given very moderate and positive meanings. For example, the Jewish policeman Dando is a loving, happy father character who does his job properly and cares for his children. For example, the Jew who was killed by the neighbourhood youth is portrayed as a very polite and respectful man, and the policemen at the border are portrayed as individuals who always say thank you and follow the rules of courtesy. On the other hand, Arabs are portrayed as rude, uncouth and crime-prone people.

In the film, Arabs are portrayed as brave characters in addition to their negative characterisations. Although Omar is in danger of death, he does not leave Yafha. Other Arabs in the film likewise describe running away and not fighting as cowardice. In addition, Palestinian Arabs generally supported each other in the film at all costs, even if they were guilty.

The film gives the impression that crime and punishment is a phenomenon that belongs only to Arabs. Jews and Christians are the innocent characters in the film. Arabs are portrayed as thieves, disturbing the peace of the society and prone to drugs. The 'us' of the story is the well-

intentioned Jewish characters who obey the rules of society, while the 'other' is the Arabs who commit crimes and have a high criminal potential. On the other hand, Israel's current exclusionary system can be considered as another factor that encourages Palestinian Arabs to commit crime.

4.5 Film Analyses: Free Zone

Free Zone is a drama film released in 2007(Gitai, 2007). The film was directed by Israeli Amos Gitai, and the screenplay was written by Amos Gitai and Marie-Jose Sanselme (Gitai, 2007). The film tells the story of a Christian Israeli woman who is a taxi driver, an American Jewish woman, and finally Palestinian Muslim women in Jordan. The reason for choosing this film is that it was shot by Amos Gitai, one of the famous directors of Israel. Therefore, it shows us how Palestinian Arabs are perceived and the perception of the other by an Israeli screenwriter and director.

The opening scene of the film begins with the Hebrew song 'Had Gadya'. This song is an epic song that describes the difficulties experienced by the Jewish people, as well as giving the message that God will surely provide justice.

Hanna's husband Moshe has been wounded in a rocket attack, but he owes a large sum of money to a man in Jordan, an American. Since he is unable to go himself, his wife Hanna sets out to get the money. However, Rebecca, an American, gets into his taxi. Rebecca is originally an American Jew. She came to Israel because her fiancé was Israeli. However, things did not go as she hoped. Her fiancé confesses to Rebecca that he had been in refugee camps in the past and that he had caused troubles to the people there and raped a woman in the camp. In addition, her mother-in-law does not accept her as a Jew because Rebecca's mother is not Jewish and opposes her marriage to her son. Rebecca then leaves her fiancé and goes to the Free Zone with Hanna.

Hanna's family also migrated from Germany to Palestine. However, she states that they had to constantly migrate somewhere because of the problems in the country. Together with Moshe, they established a farm, but the I. Intifada broke out and Palestinian labourers did not come to work and the business went bankrupt. Then they started a tourist guide business. This time, the Second Intifada broke out and tourists stopped coming to the region. Thereupon, they came to the conclusion that the only real thing in Israel was war, and they entered the business of buying and selling armoured vehicles.

Hanna and Rebecca cross the Israeli border on their way to Jordan. While crossing the Israeli border, they pass through 3 stages of control and each time they are subjected to police bullying. The officers at the border searched the vehicles very strictly, questioned whether there were any

explosives, and said that they were doing all this for the security of their country. Although Hanna is an Israeli citizen, she says that she is fed up with this pressure from the police.



Figure 22:Exit Checkpoint from Israel

On the other hand, at the Jordanian border, they had to deal with Arab police officers who were very polite and did not cause any difficulties.



Figure 23:Checkpoint for Entry into Jordan

Hanna and Rebecca meet a salesman at the petrol office in Jordan. This salesman originally lived in Jaffa and was one of the refugees who had to emigrate in 1948. Hanna warns Rebecca not to reveal that she is Jewish in the densely Arabised area. This scene depicts the distance and hostility between the two sides.

Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, the point where these three countries meet is the free zone where car sales are made. Hanna and Rebecca finally arrived in the Free Zone. But there was no American in the free zone, instead there was Leila, a Palestinian business partner. They take Leyla with them and go to the American's village.

Leyla says that it is a bad situation that Palestinians can speak Hebrew while Israelis cannot speak Arabic, and that things would be different if they could. She also mentions that the language of the enemy is important. The line between friend and enemy is clearly drawn here.

In the film, the explosions in Gaza and the explosions in Jerusalem are mentioned. In the news channel on the radio, an explosion occurred in the Israeli city of Jerusalem, indicating that Jerusalem belongs to Israelis, not Palestinians.

In the film, the problems of the Jews in the past are frequently mentioned. Hitler's persecution and their constant migration are mentioned.

Leyla, Hanna and Rebecca find the American. Rebecca somehow gets the money and they all go to the border. While Hanna and Leyla are fighting with each other, Rebecca takes the money and runs away and the film ends.

4.5.1 Perception of the other in the film

Although the spatial distinction is not very sharply drawn in the film, the images of Tel Aviv have a more modern urban appearance, while in the region where the Arabs live and in Jordan there is a more primitive or rural life.



Figure 24:Arabs in Lebanon Living in Makeshift

Leyla and Hanna characters never trust each other. Both of them constitute the other of each other. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is symbolised through the characters of Leyla and Hanna. According to Leyla, the oppressive Israeli regime, which causes them to migrate to Jordan and

imprisons them in camps, is insecure. On the other hand, according to Hanna, Palestinians are characterised as insecure people who throw rockets at terrorist homes and are prone to aggressive crime.

When examined sociologically throughout history, the intermarriage of individuals belonging to other religions has always been met with a reaction. Here, Rebecca describes herself as a Jew in America, but after coming to Israel, she mentions that she is not accepted as a Jew here because her mother is not Jewish.

In the film, it is mentioned that Israelis deceive Arabs with good job opportunities in America and buy their lands. In the Arab perception here, they present the viewer with the perception that Palestinian Arabs can sell their lands for some material gains.

Rebecca said that she expected something more romantic for Jordan, such as sand dunes and camels, which answers the question of how classical Arabs are perceived in the world. In the film, there are images of Arabs wearing arbitraries, camels and arid lands.



Figure 25: Camel Images Associated with Arabs



Figure 26: An Arab wearing a keffiyeh on his head, a symbol of Arabs, especially Palestinians

In the film, the Arabs who had to emigrate from Israel, the difficulties experienced in the refugee camps are discussed and Arabs are shown in a victimised position.

4.6 Film Analyses: Limon Tree

The film *Lemon Tree* was directed by Israeli Eran Riklis (Riklis, 2009). The screenplay was written by Eran Riklis and Suha Arraf. The film is a drama and the original title of the film is 'Etz Limon' (Riklis, 2009). The film begins with the Israeli Defence Minister moving in next door to a woman who has lemon trees at least 50 years old. The woman makes a living from these lemon trees. But these lemon trees are wanted to be cut down because they are thought to pose a threat. A wire fence is erected between the woman's house and the minister's house, a watchtower is erected and the woman is prevented from entering her own garden by court order, and the whole story is built around these lemon trees. The film *The Lemon Tree* was shot on the two borders of the Green Line.

The Israeli Defence Minister and his wife moved next to a garden full of lemon trees. This garden belongs to a Palestinian widow named Selma. Selma earns her living from these lemon trees. After the defence minister moved in, Selma faced many problems. The defence minister and the secret service want to get rid of the lemon trees because terrorists might attack them.

The Central Regional Command sent Selma a letter written in Hebrew to evacuate the house. Selma could not read the letter because she did not speak Hebrew. She went to an all-male coffee house in the West Bank to read the letter. The people in the coffeehouse looked at Selma strangely. In the letter, they wanted to cut down the lemon trees and mentioned that they would

pay a compensation in return. This Arab man implicitly told Selma how she should respond to this letter: we do not sell anything to the Israelis and we do not take their money.

Selma's son Nasser lives in America. When Selma shares the situation with her son, he tries to convince her mother to come to America. He says that the living conditions will be better if she moves to America, but Selma does not want to leave her garden or her lemon trees. Because of that Selma finds a lawyer named Zidan Duad and starts to fight against Israel. Zidan and Selma become emotionally close and the age difference between them causes Selma to be condemned by the Arabs.

The Israeli defence minister organises a party for his new home. At this party, the Minister of Defence prefers Arab food, thinking that this will help him to show that there is no problem between him and the Arabs. At the end of this party, there was an attack on the minister's house from lemon trees. This situation was effective in the court's decision against Selma.

At the end of the film, with the court decision, the lemon trees are cut down and a separation wall passes between the Palestinian woman's house and the Israeli minister's house. As a result, the film ends with the emphasis that both sides are unhappy.

4.6.1 Perception of the Other in Film

In the film, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is presented to the audience through the metaphor of lemon. Lemon and olive trees stand out as symbols symbolically associated with Palestine. The wire fence between the minister's house and Selma's house is the metaphor of the Separation Wall. The Israeli Defence Minister even used a phrase such as the First Lemon Wars. It is expressed in the court scene in the film that neither lemons nor olive trees will matter when Israel's existence is under threat. When the fictional text in the film and real life are compared, the apartheid-like policies implemented by Israel in the past and now are rooted in the perception that I can do anything to keep the state of Israel alive. In the most general sense, the perception of danger in the film is described through lemons.



Figure 27: Warning Sign on the Door of the Lemon Garden

In the film, the issue of marginalisation is also addressed through women. Selma's lawyer Ziad mentions that Jewish women take very good care of themselves and are attractive.



Figure 28: Wife of the Minister of Defence

On the other hand, Palestinian women are portrayed as shabby in appearance in the film. However, Jewish women, without exception, are seen as well-groomed, glamorous and beautiful women.



Figure 29: Palestinian Selma, Owner of Lemon Gardens

The main reason for wanting to cut down the lemon trees is that the terrorists (here the terrorists are Palestinian Arabs) think that they will come through the lemon trees and harm the defence minister. The ‘others’ are the Arabs, who are characterised as terrorists, while the ‘we’ of the film are the Israelis, who are in a victimised situation and fear harm from them, or Arabs. Arabs are portrayed as terrorists and untrustworthy people, and even when the house is protected by cameras, private guards and fences, there is still the idea that there might be a danger. The wife of the Minister of Defence is also asked if she is afraid of living so close to the border. The sense of insecurity was a subject that was frequently addressed in the film on both sides.



Figure 30:Defence Minister's House Guard



Figure 31: Tower Between Israeli Minister and Lemon Trees

The posters behind Selma in the film contain images of Palestinian soldiers holding guns. This is presented as a visual incitement to associate Palestinian Arabs with crime and terrorism.



Figure 32:Palestinians in the poster

The spatial distinction in the film is not much different from other films. While Israel has an architecture suitable for today's modern world, the densely populated areas of the Palestinians are shown in an older and more authentic way.



Figure 33:Israel Court



Figure 34: A Palestinian Neighbourhood in the West Bank

Selma wants to meet with senior Palestinian officials during the trial, but they ignore her and do not help her. It is emphasised that Palestinians do not want to take Israel against them. This gives the impression that Palestinians do not support each other and that they are cowardly people.

The fact that Selma's son Nasser travelled to America is not welcomed by the Palestinian Arabs. It gives the impression that Arabs marginalise those who do not support the Palestinian cause among themselves and those who prefer to leave.

Finally, the film includes problems such as refugee camps, Palestinians passing through passport checkpoints, problems in Gaza, and Israelis displacing Palestinians from their homes. In addition to marginalisation, they tried to create a perception that these problems exist but that Israelis treat Palestinians very kindly and fairly.

5. Conclusion

From 1948 to 1994, a racist apartheid regime was implemented in the Republic of South Africa. This regime was based on a sharp division between whites and blacks and even between other racial groups. When the apartheid regime ended in 1994, it became a concept that transcended its geographical borders. The United Nations has expanded the scope of apartheid and included it within the scope of crimes against humanity in order to prevent this and similar situations from happening again. This situation has paved the way for questioning in the literature whether the practices of other states are apartheid or not. The most important of these questionings has been through the state of Israel. Israel's pressure on Palestine and the conflicts between the two countries have caused the discourse on Israel and apartheid to become widespread in the international arena. Many academics, writers, international institutions and organisations, non-state organisations and some states have accepted this discourse and reflected it in their policies.

Critical discourse analysis, which is the method used in this thesis, is explained and how it will be adapted to this thesis through the concept of the other is mentioned. Then the concept of apartheid, which is the purpose of writing this thesis, is explained in detail. After the relationship between Israel and apartheid was established on a solid basis, all these theoretical frameworks were explained practically through films. This thesis reveals that cinema has very deep functions beyond being just a means of entertainment. Important events in societies have found their place in cinema in one way or another. As Van Dijk and other authors working on critical discourse analysis point out, filmmakers have transferred social issues to the white stage with gestures and mimics, a text on the back stage, dialogues, posters, etc.

In this thesis, the situation of marginalisation is examined through the films of the apartheid period in the Republic of South Africa and Israel. Thus, through this thesis, the problems arising from apartheid in society have been concretised through films and conveyed to the reader.

Similarities and differences can be found in the films for the Republic of South Africa and Israel. In terms of crimes and punishments, for the Republic of South Africa, the criminals are presented as blacks and the punishments are presented as mechanisms created for crimes committed by blacks. The situation is similar in Israel. Palestinian Arabs are portrayed as the ones who disturb the peace of the society and are prone to crime, while Israelis are portrayed as the victims and the ones who prevent crimes. For example, when the film *Mapantsula* is analysed, black people represent the criminals. Likewise, in the film *Ajami*, the criminals and crime-prone individuals are Palestinian Arabs.

In the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, the classical perception of Africa is handled through wild life, deserts, sorceress African women. This film has a great influence on the classical perception of Africa that has spread all over the world. Marginalisation was achieved by showing Africans

as people living in local tribes, unaware of the world. In the film *Free Zone* for Israel, the Arab perception is shown with camels, the dominance of men in social life, and classical Arab clothes. Otherisation was achieved by showing Arabs as more ignorant, unaware of the society and the age they live in, and far from the perception of modern society. Another example of this situation can be the local court established by the Arabs in the film *Ajami*.

Marriages between different races and religions stand out. In both the Republic of South Africa and Israel, marriage between different races and religions is frowned upon and even prohibited by law. In the films *Ajami* and *Free Zone*, it is emphasised that everyone should marry someone from their own religion. In the film *Gods Must Be Crazy*, romantic relationships are based on people of the same race. The prohibition of marriage between different races in the Republic of South Africa is concretised in this way in the film. For the filmmakers, constructing the love of a white and a black person was perhaps a criminal act to even think about.

In both the South African and Israeli films, blacks are in the position of servants who serve whites. It is clearly seen in both films for the Republic of South Africa. Even if they are not in the position of servants, they work in a lower (unskilled) job than whites. For Israel, on the other hand, Palestinian Arabs work in lower-level jobs. There is a serious gap between Jews and Palestinians in terms of access to job opportunities. Marginalisation has pushed blacks and Palestinian Arabs to the bottom of the pyramid in the division of labour in society and they are excluded like a caste system.

In almost all the films discussed, spatial distinctions are clearly given to the audience. In the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, blacks live in deserts far away from city life and modern life, while whites live in modern cities and centres. In the film *Mapantsula*, blacks live in the ghetto, while whites live in neighbourhoods in well-ordered modern and orderly houses. In the Republic of South Africa, the Group Areas Act and the Population Act are the biggest reasons for this sharp segregation. With these laws, blacks were marginalised by being confined to a certain region. As a result, the scenes in the film and the realities overlap. On the other hand, when the Israeli film *Ajami* is examined, it is observed that Palestinian Arabs live in ghettos and makeshift houses. Similarly, in the film *Free Zone*, Arabs live in authentic old houses and neighbourhoods, while Israelis live in modern houses in city centres. The Palestinian neighbourhoods shown in the film *The Lemon Tree* are always in the form of irregular, ramshackle ghettos, while Israelis live in more modern city centres. The 'separation wall' built by Israel not only did not marginalise the Palestinians, but also took measures that would cause one side to remain developed while the other side remained undeveloped. As can be seen, the mechanisms of marginalisation have been applied by dividing the land and confining people of a certain race or group to certain areas. In this case, it was observed in the films and revealed the theory in practice.

As a result, all kinds of racist and discriminatory policies during the apartheid process in the Republic of South Africa came to an end in 1994. However, apartheid has remained as an embodied concept inherited by the whole world. Israel has taken its share from this legacy and has been at the centre of apartheid discourses today. When the films and what actually happened are considered, they overlap with each other. In one way or another, data on apartheid and marginalisation practices were found in the films.



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