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REWRITING EARLY REPUBLICAN HISTORY IN THE NEW CINEMA OF TURKEY: 1996-2011

Ph. D. Thesis

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We hereby recommend that the dissertation prepared under our supervision by **Deniz Gürgen** entitled "Rewriting the Early Republican History in the New Cinema of Turkey: 1996-2011" be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Business Administration .

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ABSTRACT

REWRITING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN HISTORY IN THE NEW CINEMA OF TURKEY: 1996-2011

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This dissertation investigates the impact of 1990s criticism on the filmic historiography of the Early Republican Period by studying the historiography of commercial historical films between 1996 and 2011, which represent the Independence War and the Foundation of the Republic. In the 1990s, critiques of nationalism and the modernization project of the Early Republican Period culminated in revisiting what was considered up to this point the indispensable merits of Kemalist ideology and the founding ideals of the Republic. The transformation in the validity of Kemalist ideology generated a space in which to question the foundation processes. In Turkey, the 1990s signify a time of society's confrontation with the pressures and consequences of the modernist implementations of the Early Republican period. Hence, such critical attention relocated the grand narrative of the foundation of the Turkish Republic and Kemalist ideology to a space that is convenient for inquiry. The interaction between criticism of the Early Republican Period in 1990s and the historical representations of the period in films deserves to be addressed, considering the influence of the contemporary social dynamics on the practice of historiography. The study is designated to reveal and discuss the impact of criticism which emerged in the 1990s on the historical films that were produced during the late 1990s and 2000s to represent the Early Republican Period. The analysis conducted on the films exposes the attitude to reject 1990s criticism in the majority of the commercial historical films of the Early Republican Period produced between 1996 and 2011 and hence signifies the impact of the defensive Kemalist reaction in society.

Key Words: Historiography, Commercial Historical Films, Early Republican Period

ÖZET

YENİ TÜRKİYE SİNEMASINDA ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TARİHİNİN YENİDEN YAZIMI: 1996-2011

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Bu çalışma, 1990'lı yıllarda Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde gerçekleşen reformist uygulamaları hedef alan eleştirel söylemin Yeni Türkiye Sineması gişe filmlerinde Kurtuluş Savaşı ve Cumhuriyetin Kuruluş döneminin temsiline etkisini araştırmaktadır. 1990'larda Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi reformist uygulamalarını modernleşme ve batılılaşma projesi olarak tanımlayan eleştiri, Kemalist ideoloji ve Cumhuriyet ideallerini sorgulanabilir bir alana taşımıştır. Bu eleştirel söylem 1990'lı yıllarda Türkiye'de kültürel ve politik dinamiklere yön vermiş, toplumun farklı katmanlarının kuruluş dönemi uygulamalarının yarattığı etki ile yüzleşmesine yol açmıştır. Tezde bu sürecin kuruluş döneminin tarihinin 1990'larda ve 2000'lerde popular kültür ürünlerinde yeniden üretilmesine etkisi tarihi gişe filmlerinin temsilleri üzerinden çalışılmıştır. 1996-2011 yılları arasında Türkiye'de çekilen erken Cumhuriyet dönemini anlatan tarihi gişe filmlerinin ürettikleri tarih yazımı 1990'ların eleştirel söylemleriyle kurduğu ilişki bağlamında incelenmiştir. Böylelikle 1996-2011 yılları arasında çekilen erken Cumhuriyet dönemini konu alan gişe filmlerinin üzerinde etkin olan toplumsal dinamik ortaya konmuştur. Filmlerin 1990'ların eleştirel söylemleriyle kurduğu ilişkiye bakıldığında filmlerin çoğunluğunun bu eleştiriyi reddettiği ve ona karşı Kemalist ideoloji ve Cumhuriyet ideallerini savunduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tarih Yazımı, Tarihi Gişe Filmleri, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

I developed the idea that evolved into this dissertation almost a decade ago while working on another project concerning the historiographical performance of films. I have been fascinated by historical films for as long as I can remember, and I focused my path in film studies on films that transform the past into an almost tangible experience. The thing that caught my attention for this project in particular was the increase in the number of films that narrate the Independence War and the foundation period of the Turkish Republic, produced in Turkey during 2000s. Undoubtedly, this increase is related to the broad expansion of the Turkish film market in the second half of 1990s more generally, involving the number of productions, film theatres, and audience numbers. Nevertheless, the increase in the representation of the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic in commercial films during the 2000s is significant when examined alongside the emergent critical perspectives in 1990s, which challenged the operations of the Kemalist regime during the Early Republican Period.

In the 1990s, critiques of nationalism and the modernization project of the Early Republican Period culminated in revisiting what was considered up to this point the indispensable merits of Kemalist ideology and the founding ideals of the Republic (Gürbilek 1992; Kasaba 1997; Keyman & İçduygu 2003). The transformation in the validity of Kemalist ideology generated a space in which to question the foundation processes. In Turkey, the 1990s signify a time of society's confrontation with the pressures and consequences of the modernist implementations of the Early Republican period. Hence, such critical attention relocated the grand narrative of the foundation of the Turkish Republic and Kemalist ideology to a space that is convenient for inquiry.

The interaction between criticism of the Early Republican Period in 1990s and the historical representations of the period in films deserves to be addressed, considering the influence of the contemporary social dynamics on the practice of historiography. With this study I aim to reveal and discuss the impact of criticism which emerged in the 1990s on the historical films that were produced during the late 1990s and 2000s to represent the Early Republican Period.

To this end, I will begin by surveying the concepts of history and historiography in order to discuss and interpret the historiographical performance of historical film. By retracing various theoretical perspectives on the texture of historiography, I will define the practice as an act of construction that is exposed to the current tendencies of society, rather than something that exists a solid entity apart from its contemporary time. Highlighting the versatile, dynamic nature of historiography that is formed within the conditions of narration, I will locate the notion close to the field of fiction. The aim of such a conceptual "stretching" with regards to conceptualizing historiography has its aim to reveal the distinct impact of the historiographical practice of the fiction film. Fictional narratives of history transmit to the audience the sensual experience of the historical event they represent. Thompson and Bordwell argue through their neo-formalist approach that the audience gains a filmic experience through their effort of making sense of the film (2008, p.54). In this process, they signify the formal elements of the film medium to transmit the sensual experience to the audience. The filmic experience is built upon the formal qualities that bind the audience, such as the maintenance of identification, the causality of the narration, and the calculated suspension and gratification of the expectations (ibid, 60). Even though its constructed nature relegates the practice of historiography to the realm of fiction, the historiographical performance of fiction film is diversified through the sensual experience of the past they transmit.

I accept and espouse the equality of different practices of historiography—whether diegetic or non-diegetic in terms of historical accuracy—based on their constructed nature. However, the historiographical performance of the historical fiction film deserves a distinct theoretical characterization through the generation of the sensual experience. The sensual experience of the past event that is presented by the filmic representation of history establishes the historical perception of the audience. Through this function, the historiographical performance of the fiction film becomes a powerful element in the broad context of history. The ideas and theoretical framework I utilize to explain the historiographical performance of diegetic films were elaborated in detail in my MA thesis and recently published book *Historiography of World War II Films in Contemporary American Cinema* (2018).

Chapter 2 of this dissertation, “Historiography and Cinema”, is dedicated to examining and interpreting the theoretical discussions in historiography and film studies in order to support my position on film’s capacity to act as a tool of historiography. For this purpose, I will start by relating the notions of fact, truth, and historical fact within the dynamic social tendencies. The main influences for this chapter are derived from the ideas of Carr (1990), Hobsbawm (2009) and White (1975) on the constructed nature of historiography and how it is reflexive to the current social tendencies. Carr defines narration as an essential tool for historiographical practice. In order to understand the involvement and function of narrative I will supplement Carr’s work with that of Berktay (2010) and Breisach (1994).

The historian practices historiography through his/her current social, economic, and political social positioning. The perception, and hence the expression of the historian positions itself through the assenting or dissenting standpoint they establish with the current tendencies in a society. In order to understand and diagnose the significance of the historian’s subjectivity as a part of society, I am guided by Berktay (2010) and Spivak (2000).

Next, I will gather the practices of historiography under the titles of official historiography, independent historiography, and popular historiography to elaborate the influence of contemporary dynamics of society on historiography. By placing the historiographical performance of diegetic film in the popular practices of historiography, I intend to discuss the contact between the social tendencies and the historical representation of films.

I argue that through the comparison of diegetic practices of historiography with the non-diegetic practices, the level of credibility stays more or less the same. Therefore, I acknowledge the diegetic practices of historical representation inherent to the field of historiographical performances. The point where the diegetic historical representations differ from the non-diegetic is the sense of historical experience that the diegetic practices generate.

In order to further illuminate my argument on the notion of filmic experience, I will continue by exposing the significance of diegesis and diegetic space through the

definitive work of Bunia (2010). For the survey that touches upon theories to explain the engagement of the audience to the diegesis, I will discuss Metz (1974) and Oudart (1969) on the concepts of identification, transcendence, and suture, and follow that with interpreting Thompson and Bordwell's (1989; 2008) neoformalist approach.

Alongside Thompson and Bordwell's neoformalism, I will elaborate on the notion of filmic experience through the wider context of the phenomenological approach to film studies. For this purpose, I ground my argument on Vivian Sobchack's approach, which establishes phenomenology in film studies, specifically where she highlights the carnal opening of the audience to the film (1997). Laine's work is also significant, notably her conception of entanglement which refers to the audience's "performance" in meeting a film half way (2013). Laine exposes filmic experience's effects on the body, such as the presence of goose bumps or simply laughter. Laine's emphasis on the bodily experience of film relates to the phenomenological perspective of Merleau-Ponty that addresses the integrity of body and mind in the experience of the world (2007). Additionally, I cite Peritore's (1977) work on the utilization of Husserl's phenomenological philosophy as a self-reflexive approach to film studies, and Yates' (2006) exploration on the possibility of the filmic medium to transmit the experience of the filmic event to the audience. By referring to the theoretical perspectives on the filmic experience I intend to signify the binding characteristic of the fiction films. If fiction film constitutes a sense of experience through its narration, then historical fiction films present the sensual experience of the past period they represent.

Among scholars who work on the historiographical performance of fiction film, Rosenstone defines historical film as just another medium to represent the past (1988). While Tomasulo (1996) considers the audiovisual shift in the representation of the historical event as a characteristic condition of the postmodern period, Raack's (1983) appraisal of the filmic practice of historiography goes beyond approval. He designates the historical representation practiced by the film medium as the ultimate historiographical performance.

Rosenstone and his peers' approaches are valuable for acknowledging the performance of historical films in the field of historiography. However, I argue that their negligence of the distinctive notion of the sensual experience that emerges through the

historiographical practice of the fiction film creates a flaw in their approach. In order to elaborate on the significance of the filmic experience in the historical representation I will employ Sobchack's theory that exposes the consequences of a diegetic representation of history through the film medium. She signifies that the historiographical performance of fiction film abolishes the temporal space between the present and past by the sensual experience they transmit (Sobchack 1996, p.4). The sensual experience of an historical event transforms history into a phenomenon happening in the present. As a result, this occasion creates a blur in historical cognition by dragging the meaning to the field of simultaneity (ibid).

Another significance of the historiographical performance of film resides in its potential to reveal the contemporary dynamics of society through its association with popular culture. If by contemporary culture we understand a field of constant struggle involving discursive constitutions of various ideologies, this too emerges in the narratives of films. By reflecting on theories of culture that contextualize the interaction of dominant ideologies and culture, I will interpret the association between the representation of history performed by commercial films and the textures of contemporary culture for and from which they are produced and presented.

For the survey section that aims to comprehend and interpret the influence of contemporary dynamics on historical films, I ground my discussion on Douglass Kellner's approach, where he presents a substantial analysis on the interaction between ideology in society and artifacts of media culture (2003). For Kellner, the formation of the products of media culture cannot be reduced to a simple process of the reproduction of the discourses of existing ideologies in the form of commodities. Neither are such cultural products tailored to fulfill audience demands by solely expressing dominant ideologies, nor would they be consumed in a uniform way. Since societies are not homogenic constitutions with identical characteristics, the thoughts, fears and demands of individuals in a given society exhibit stark differences. Hence societies would react to cultural products in various forms of acceptance and rejection (2003, p.25). A popular text in terms of a blockbuster film or hit pop song might simultaneously be praised or rejected by different groups in society. The popularity of a product in any given society hence points to its intense circulation in the media rather than a society's

admiration of it. For Kellner, the discipline of Cultural Studies seeks to conceive of the alternating forces of dominance and resistance in society through the interpretation of the products of culture (ibid, 25). The theoretical perspectives of cultural studies would enable the comprehension of the social dynamics at play through interpreting the cultural products that actively and visibly circulate in society. In order to comprehend the evolution of critical theory to address the sphere of culture and cultural products, I'll retrace the approaches of the Frankfurt School and British Cultural Studies.

For Kellner, cultural artifacts that exhibit a wide reach and recognition in societies and are thus consumed by a massive audience are those that keep up with the pulse of the society by resonating social experience. Such products practice social criticism in their narratives and bear the possibility of embodying discourses of social movements while articulating current ideas into attractive forms. Therefore, even though cultural products that are produced to be consumed on a massive scale exhibit the media giants' commercial interests, they also reflect the competing ideologies in society and articulate conflicting positions. The commercial products" of any given culture acquire the potential to advance forces of resistance and progress (ibid, 17).

The field of popular culture is a valuable ground to understand the cultural productions that keep up with the pulse of the society by resonating with social experiences. To elaborate on the texture of popular culture I turn to the illustrative studies of Raymond Williams (1984) and John Fiske (1989). The space of culture as both the source and outcome of all intellectual and creative activity forms the ways of engagement with the discourses of social, economic and political conditions in society. Culture as a contested terrain that harbour dominant and resistive tendencies, ideological inclinations of the past and present, towards a carving out of the future. Popular culture in its dynamic nature could be perceived as the culture of the contemporary, the pulse of the society. It consists of the prominent ideas and ideological tendencies that are in struggle in society. It forms the contemporary impulses of engaging with the cultural environment and influences the cultural practices in a given time and space. By identifying commercial film as a formation intrinsic to the field of popular culture, I intend to signify the ability of such films to reflect contemporary social tendencies. The commercial films relate to popular culture through their effort to catch the pulse of the society in order to reach a

large audience. Through such effort, the films keep up with the dynamics of popular culture. By detecting the prominent dynamics in popular culture, the commercial film creatively engraves the fears and fantasies of the audience in the narration (Kellner 2003, p. 207). The stylish lacework aims to attract the attention of the audience by portraying and healing socially conflicting fields; in other words, they inhabit the space where the shoe pinches in society.

Once the commercial film narrates a historical event, the representation of the past bears the characteristics of the contemporary culture in its historiographical practice. Hence the filmic representation of history in commercial films reflects the contemporary perspectives in its expression. By the same token, the historiographical performance of commercial films influences the historical perceptions of society both through the effect of filmic experience and their wide circulation. The representation of the past in commercial historical films is bound to shift in accordance with emergent discourses in order to trigger social change.

In order to identify the characteristics inherent in commercial films, I turn to the work of Thompson & Bordwell (2008), Bordwell (1989), Stringer (2003), Elsaesser (2001) and Schatz (2003). Through these discussions I will comment on the texture of commercial film and designate the opening numbers of a film in the film theatres as the most tangible value to ground my argument on commercial properties. The aim to reach a large audience coincides with large-scale distribution in movie theatres. The commercial films blanket the movie theatres with the claim that they will be sold in great numbers.

In order to progress on the path to expose the impact of the 1990s criticism on the historical films that represent the Early Republican Period between 1996 and 2011, I will continue with the interpretation of the 1990s criticism.

The third chapter is dedicated to understanding the 1990s criticism that challenges the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period. For this purpose, I will initially examine work on the Early Republican Period and the founding principles by attributing significance to Republicanism, Nationalism, Secularism, and the Modernization project. To reveal the foundations of Kemalist

ideology, I will follow Ezel and Stanford Shaw's (2002) narration of the Early Republican Period in their distinct Kemalist approach and challenge their interpretation through the critical perspectives of Kadıoğlu (2011), Keyman (2012) and Uzer (2011).

1990s criticism of the foundation process gains significance through the frequency and the contextual variety of the perspectives to criticize the reformist implementations of the Early Republican period. Understanding the critical dynamics of the society around the 1990s that question the Kemalist ideals of the foundation process is important for the scope of this study, which is designed to reveal the impact of such criticism on the filmic historiography of the period.

To elaborate on the framework of 1990s criticism, I will start by discussing the impact of Turkey's economic exposure to globalization through the 1980s following the ideas of Bora (1995) and Keyman & İçduygu (2003). Next, I will interpret the discursive roof of "Modernization from Above" that signifies the oppressive implementations of the Kemalist reforms during the Early Republican period. The critical discourse defines the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. The penetration of the critical discourse of "Modernization from Above" in culture is reflected in the artistic productions of the period as well as the academic discussions to theorize the socio-political sphere of 1990s Turkey. In order to understand the cultural and ideological dynamics of the society during this time, I will rely on the theoretical discussions and cultural analyses' that came forward during the 1990s on the socio-politic and economic climate of the period.

In Kasaba's portrayal, the Republican promises of the 'enlightened and prosperous tomorrows' began to be questioned by the 1980s, as the younger generation that rose after the Early Republican Period grew suspicious of the implementations of the foundation process (1997, p.18). For Gürbilek, in line with Kasaba, the social tendencies of Turkey in 1980s and 1990s was marked by the emergence of doubt for Kemalist ideology, and hence paved the way for the statements that challenge the reformist implementations of the Early Republican Period (1992, p.106). The

experience of modernization in Turkey is designated by the reformist implementations of the Early Republican Period. For Keyder, A major pitfall of the project resides on the cognition of modernization as a synonym for Westernization (1997, p. 34). Accordingly, the modernizing elite's determination to reach the modern practice of life by embracing Western values leads to the alienation of the society. The lack of a reciprocal relationship between the Republican Elite and the rest of the population for the will, the design and the execution of the modernization project sets forth the null-participation of a large portion of society. This social detachment evolves into a relationship that conditions obedience to state policies and regulations (ibid).

For Gürbilek, the cultural expressions in 1990's reflected the postponed desires of various social groups in society in order to meet the ideals of the imagined modernity. Through this ground she identifies the social experience of the Turkey in the 1990s as the "return of the repressed" in society (1992, p. 102). In the broad context of the criticism in 1990s, the Islamic resurgence along with the Kurdish struggle for acknowledgement gains prominence. Keyman & İçduygu signify the Kurdish discourse of ethnic difference that uncovered the illusion of homogeneity in society and the unity of nation. In addition, the secular foundation of the Republic becomes permeable to criticism with the Islamic Resurgence that gained rapid reputation and power in cultural, economic and social fields of 1990s Turkey (2003, p. 232). In line with Keyman & İçduygu, Gülalp interprets the rise of Islamic conservative ideology in 1990's as a result of the secularist oppression through the "Top Down Modernization" process during the Early Republican Era (1997, p. 56).

As Gürbilek indicates, the oppression of modernization project is not exclusive to the religious, ethnic, and cultural minorities in Turkey during the foundation process, but also includes the urban society through the ambition to catch up to the standards of Western civilization (1992, p. 14). In her account, the modernization project classified the values and daily practices in society through their consonance with the customs of Western civilization and defined the distinction of center and periphery accordingly. The designation of the periphery reciprocally called for a modern regulation that certainly involved a series of oppressions (ibid, 104).

The lack of mediation between the Republican vision of modern Turkish nation with actual social conditions generated the gap that precludes the chance of dialogue. The dialogue between the ruling elite and the masses in Keyder's perception would have created the space to enable negotiation (1997, p. 39). However, the lack of interaction culminates in the authoritarian positioning of the modernizers, which ultimately results in the emergence of resistance. The ethnic, religious, and cultural identities that are ignored and oppressed during the course of the modernist reforms of the foundation project, eventually become the grounds to generate resistance and challenge the implementations of Early Republican Period in 1990s Turkey (ibid).

The challenge towards the implementations of Early Republican Period was reflected in the popular culture since it became one of the key dynamics to designate social tendencies in 1990s Turkey. In order to expose the reflection of the 1990s criticism on popular culture, I turn to Stoke's interpretation of Sezen Aksu's musical album "Işık Doğudan Yükselir", which highlights the significance of the piece that manifests the recognition of multi-culturality and appraisal of ethnic diversity in Turkey (201, p.131). In a similar perspective, Gürbilek's work on the penetration of identity politics in Turkish TV series during the 1990s (2001, p.91) and the literature to signify the rise of the representation of ethnic and religious identities in the New Cinema in Turkey will be included (Dönmez-Colin 2008, Karanfil 2006, Mersin 2010, Suner 2010).

By retracing the discussions of the period, I assemble the main grounds of 1990s criticism under four topics. The first is "ethnicity criticism" that asserts the negligence and oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project. The project aims for a homogeneous unity in nation and a citizen identity designed accordingly. Next, "secularism criticism" that asserts the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society through the implementation of the secularist reforms. The reforms aim to diminish the authority of religion from the public affairs and everyday life. Third, "modernization from above criticism" that asserts the state-centric management of the modernization project that leads to the disintegration of the society. 1990s criticism signifies the divergence in the society through the dichotomies of center versus periphery, modern versus

backwards, Turkish versus minority and Muslim versus non-Muslim. And finally, "inferiority criticism" that asserts the self-oppression of the society through the failures in accomplishing the duties to reach the level of Western civilizations. The demands of modernist progress in Kemalist ideology culminate in a sense of inadequacy that leads to the subjection of society against the Republican elite. I will utilize the conceptualization summarized above to analyze the engagement of the historical films that represent the Early Republican Period between 1996 and 2011 with the 1990s criticism in the 4th chapter.

In the last two parts of the Chapter 3, I discuss the rise of the political Islam in the 1990's in relation to the identification of the oppressive implementations of the Early Republican Period and the emergence of a defensive Kemalist reaction that aims to preserve the validity of Republican ideals and Kemalist ideology. In order to interpret the rise of the conservative right in politics as a consequence to criticism of the Early Republican Period in the 1990s, I support my argument with studies by Keyman & Koyuncu (2005), Keyman & Gümüşçü (2014) and Bilge Yeşil (2016). To discuss the emergence of a defensive Kemalist reaction, I follow Özyürek's study on the transformation of Kemalism after 1990s in *Nostalgia for the Modern* (2006). There she thoroughly explains the Kemalist reaction to the rise of political Islam formed through the privatization of Republican ideals and imagery as a subjective defense system in Turkish society from the 1990s to the first decade of 2000's. In her study, she focuses on the reestablishment of the secular state ideology in the public sphere that solidifies in the form of the national flag, Atatürk pins, Atatürk pictures and posters of the Early Republican period, and many more significations including the tattoo of Atatürk's signature. The stress between the criticism in the 1990s that led to the emergence of identity politics involving minorities and ethnic groups and significantly the rise of political Islam and the consequent emergence of Kemalist defense maintained its impact on the socio-politic tendencies of Turkey until the 2011 elections.

After 2011, the core of the political debates in Turkey altered towards another direction detaching from the 1990s criticism to challenge the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period. The ruling party

as the incarnation of the rise of political Islam in 2000s became a major target for the Kemalist reaction through its critical position against the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period. Although the rise of political Islam and the critical perspectives towards it from various directions including the Kemalist and ethnic groups in society continued in the years to follow, the focus of the discussions departed from the core of "Modernization from Above". In the aftermath of the 2011 elections, the critical perspectives to question the politics of the ruling party shifted ground and re-located to the impacts of its contemporary politics rather than its criticism of the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican period. For this reason, I draw the border of my study on the year 2011, in order to assess the impact of 1990s criticism to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period and the Kemalist reaction to rise against it. The end of 2011 is the 'finish line' for the selection of the historical films that represent the Early Republican Period in order to interpret the impact of the 1990' criticism on the historiographical performance of the films.

I track the impact of 1990s criticism on the commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011 that represent the Early Republican Period in Chapter 4. For this purpose, I start by making a brief survey on the Independence War Films produced in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic in the broad context of the historical films of Yeşilçam. I include Özgüç's resourceful survey on the history of the representation of the Independence War in Yeşilçam Cinema (1992). To draw the wider context of the historical films in Yeşilçam Cinema I will pay special attention to Scognamillo and Demirhan's portrayal (2005). I turn to the insightful analyses of Maktav (2006) and Mersin (2011) to expose the nationalist tendencies that infiltrate in the narratives of Yeşilçam's Independence War films.

In the following subchapter, I will identify the method accommodated in this study to expose the engagement of the commercial historical films that narrate the Early Republican Period with the critical perspectives to rise in 1990s. For the selection of the films to be analyzed through their historiographical practice of the Early Republican Period, the initial limiting factor is applied via the historical period the films represent. The historical films that narrate the stories taking place during the

Independence War and the Foundation of the Republic will be selected. For the purposes of my study, the beginning of the Early Republican Period will be designated as 1919 with the official initiation of the Independence War, while the end of the period will be marked by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938. For the temporal framing of the films produced after the 1990s, the year 1996 is utilized in accord with the periodization of the New Cinema of Turkey (Erus 2007, p. 125; Gürata 2011, p.132). The ending line for the selection of the films is drawn in 2011 as mentioned above through the shift in the context of the struggle between the rise of political Islam on the premises of 1990s criticism and the emergent Kemalist defense against it.

Among the historical films that narrate the incidents during the Early Republican Period, I specifically selected those fictional films that represent the past through a diegetic sphere. Accordingly, the documentaries and docudramas produced between 1996 and 2011 will be excluded from the framework of the study. The significance attributed to the diegetic formation in the historical films is grounded on the constitution of the sensual experience towards the historical event narrated in film, as mentioned above. The main formal qualities that constitute sensual experience are the coherent cause and effect relationship that is consistent with diegetic gravity, the calculated suspension and gratification of audience expectations, and finally the ending designed in a closural form (Thompson & Bordwell 2008, p. 60). The historiographical performance of the film's creation of a sensual experience of the past will be evaluated through the utilization of formal qualities of the narration mentioned above.

The next criteria for the selection of the historical films to represent the Early Republican Period is assigned through the commercial characteristic of the films based on their responsive structure to the pulses of the society and hence their capacity to reflect social tendencies. The designation of the commercial characteristic is drawn upon the scale of films' release that exceeds 200 screening copies for the opening weekend. According to these criteria, the films *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) (1998), *Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali* (The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali) (2007), *Veda* (Farewell) (2010),

Dedemin İnsanları (My Grandfather's People) (2011) and *Hür Adam: Bedüizzaman Said Nursi* (Free Man) (2011) will be analysed in the study.

The film analysis conducted in this study is characterized by an approach conscious to film form, acknowledging it as a significant tool in meaning production alongside the interpretation of the dialogue, voice-over and inner voices. Since meaning is produced through the formal elements, the analysis performed on them will provide a substantial interpretation of the films. For the designation of the formal elements I will adhere to Thompson and Bordwell's depiction on contrast and affinity, space, line and shape, tone, light, color, rhythm and movement (2008, p.70). The interpretation of the formal qualities will involve both the in-frame applications in terms of composition and the relation in between the shots in terms of editing.

The analysis on the impact of the 1990s criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the representations of commercial historical films will be performed through the assessment of 1990s criticism. The engagement of the historical representation of the Early Republican Period in the films with the critical concepts of 1990s will be categorized by "acceptance and accommodation", "not containing" or "rejection and defense", and will reveal the positioning of the film in the contesting field of culture and politics from 1996 to 2011. In the last part of Chapter 4, I will juxtapose the engagement of the films with 1990s criticism in order to expose its impact on the historiographical practice of the films. The representation of the Early Republican Period in the commercial films will provide insights on the impact of 1990s criticism on the dynamics of society during the late 1990s and the first decade of 2000s. Finally, in Chapter 5, and the concluding chapter, I will interpret the outcomes of the analyses.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CINEMA

The aim of this chapter is to offer a perspective for the film medium's historiographical performance by touching upon the relevant literature. I will first portray the texture of history as a constructed material, one that is far from an inborn solid entity. Historiography as a narrative expression of a historical event expressed in the present inevitably contains present conditions within its constitution. Consequently, different historiographies of the same historical event may offer different perspectives that are themselves susceptible to current social tendencies. However, a shift in social tendencies is not the only agent that can transform historiography. The positioning and point of view of the historiographer herself can alter historiographical perspectives.

By highlighting the versatile, dynamic nature of historiography that is formed within the conditions of narration, I position the discipline of historiography as one close to the field of fiction. However, I make a distinction between diegetic and non-diegetic forms of historiography. Even though its constructed nature in my view relegates the practice of historiography to the realm of fiction, diegetic historiography diversifies itself through the sensation of historical experience. Diegetic historical narrations reveal the sense of historical experience through various techniques, such as the use of closural narrative structures or the maintenance of identification with the audience.

The practice of historiography grounds itself on the selection and establishment of historical facts in narration; hence the debates on solid historical accuracy or credibility are incoherent when considering the nature of historiography. From this perspective, when focused on the issue of historical accuracy and credibility, the historical representation of diegetic narration stays on an equal level with the non- diegetic practices of historiography. The difference between diegetic and non-diegetic practices does not surface on the issue of credibility but does so in the sense of historical experience when diegetic representations are bound to memory. In the case of diegetic historical films and novels, these may set examples for historiography that are conducive to transferring a sense of historical experience. Therefore, in the scope of this chapter I will endeavor to bring the concept of historiography closer to the field of fiction as much as possible by emphasizing its constructed nature, so as to draw a

distinction between the space of historiography and diegetic historical representation that brings along with it the sensation of historical experience.

2.1 HISTORY

Is fact possible? What is truth? Is there or has there ever been a phenomenon that remained stable under every condition and in the exact same position? Has there ever been a thought or a solid object that kept its stability when approached from various angles through different views? According to contemporary tendencies to reflect on notions like truth and fact, such stability is not possible.

Here I will approach the notions of fact and truth as relevant but separate meanings. I take fact as the end product, the overt result of the incident. Let us imagine there is a collapsed empire. The collapsed position of that empire is a fact. It no longer exists. The truth goes above and beyond the fact. The truth arises from the combination of the fact and the construct built around the fact according to its acknowledgement. The truth is the conveyor of the fact so it can be understood. In this sense the fact is stable, but the truth that encloses it is changeable. Once the tendencies affecting perception shift, the formation of the items that compose the truth evolve accordingly in order to keep producing a certain meaning.

In the context of history, the approach towards fact and truth would be considerations of the past. Nelson Goodman in "Words, Works and Worlds*"* defines "fact" as a docile and obedient servant rather than a solemn master (1975, p. 58). The designation of truth by the incorporation of fact depends on the approach. Goodman conceptualizes the height of the viewing stand, the angle of approach, even the capacity of sight relative to the registration of the truth (ibid). In order to exemplify the dependent characteristics of truth to the perspective it is being approached, he applies non-normative questions such as: "Did the sun set a while ago or did the earth rise?" or "Does the sun go around the earth or the earth go around the sun?" (ibid). The answer is simple: it depends. But the challenge in handling the dependent characteristics of the truth arises in the phase of expression. Even though both expressions in the case of the sun and earth refer to same phenomenon, Goodman delves into the question of expressive manipulations asserting: "As meanings vanish in favor of certain relationship among terms, so facts vanish in

favor of certain relationship among versions" (ibid, 59). The 'bound variable' characteristic of fact reveals its dubious nature, but it would not be appropriate to reduce the notion to mere relativity. The solid existence of fact would remain as the result. A dead king is a dead king. But the relative signification differs in the narration of how he died, why, and even, by whose hand. In this way, Edward Hallett Carr's groundbreaking question in his book of the same name "*What is History?"* (1961) offers insights into understanding the nature of historical fact. Is history a holly board that all the events and happenings take place on simultaneously? Is it a creature or a creation?

Carr makes a distinction between facts about the past and historical facts (1990, p. 13). Historical fact is a piece of solid information. It is evidence, like a sealed letter with ambassador's handwriting, or the signed document of a pact. In order to make sense of that piece of information, it should be wrapped in narration. Therefore, any one piece of historical fact needs to be padded here and there with the facts of the past. The fact of the past distinguishes itself from historical facts in the concept of validity. W. H. Walsh takes a similar position in "Truth and Fact Reconsidered*"*. For Walsh, the past is inconvenient for observation because of the conductive manner historical evidence exhibits through the act of interpretation (1977). Going one step further than Carr, Walsh claims that historical evidence cannot be valued as an "unvarnished transcript of past reality" (1997, p. 55). 'The remains' as Walsh refers to the historical evidence are flexible, unfinished and controversial; they are significant only with the addition of narration.

Facts about the past belong to the certain period of time in which they have been produced. They make sense and they are valid only for that period. They have a life span that depends on the circumstances that created them. Once those circumstances disappear, the facts of the pasts are no longer viable, or even legible. Then, historical facts are redressed through the acquisition of myths that arise from current social tendencies in order to maintain the meaning that was there before.

The feeling of sustaining and developing the heritage by taking each step in front of the other on the same path has great importance for the sake of progress. Eric Hobsbawm argues in "On History*"* that even the most revolutionary societies hunger for cutting-

edge innovations, and that 'novelty' is synonymous with 'improvement' (2009, p. 27). Hobsbawm designates history as a permanent dimension of human consciousness, associating the composition of social institutions within its context. History as the permanent dimension of human consciousness, or the collective continuity of experience, encourages expansion to flourish. In order to continue the sense of the regular experience of growth, history shall be coherent or legible within the present. Societies change, evolving in various ideological, economical, and social ways. For Hobsbawm history is a pattern for the present (2009, p. 14). When social transformation occurs, history has to be reconstructed accordingly in order to keep coherence between the past and for the sake of improvement in the future. The transformation would *feel* like improvement as long as the present looks like progress over the past.

In this process, Carr determines the selection and organization of facts as the most important operational method of influencing viewpoints (1990, p. 11). Historical facts are investigated and selected according to intention and buttressed with facts from the past in order to form a comprehensible narration. Carr emphasizes different levels of importance that are applied through commentary (1990, p. 123), writing: "The facts of history cannot be purely objective, since they become facts of history only in the virtue of the significance attached to them by the historian" (1990, p. 120). "The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or content" (Carr 1990, p. 11).

Carr argues that in the process of constructing a historical narrative, the installation of historical facts and the other facts of history (facts he designates as un-historical) happens intentionally (1990, p. 103). A fact of history that is only valid for the time of the event, as Carr explains, can be advanced to the position of an historical fact by the importance devoted to it by the historian (1990, p. 103). Comparing history to "an enormous jigsaw puzzle with a lot of missing parts," Carr (1990, p. 12) counters the belief of the existence of an objective and autonomous historical fact free from the interpretation of the historian. "The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fishmonger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him" (Carr 1990, p. 9).

2.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY

The search for a methodology to maintain a readily accessible and comprehensible historical knowledge has a respectable history of its own. Fatmagül Berktay argues in "*The Gender of History"* that in the 16th century, close source analyses of document-based driven approaches in historiography were significant (2010, p. 15). Her study distinguished itself through the accurate work on historical records and aimed to find and preserve any possible historical data. In the 18th century this document-based orientation shifted towards one that put forward literary properties. As Berktay states, this tendency rose under the influence of the Enlightenment, and was consciously trying to depart from previous political emphases on historiography, with the intention of embracing multiple layers of society.

With the 19th century came the inevitable influence of modernist scientific reason, and here historiography became an independent academic discipline that acquired its own critical methodology. The leading figure of this approach was Leopold von Ranke. Ranke emphasized the impartial and objective properties of the historiographer in determining the close study of historical sources as the rule of historiography (Berktay 2010, p. 15). The difference of Ranke's approach from the understanding of historiography in the Sixteenth Century was to consider the historiographer's existence and the generation of her/his point of view through the time and place s/he belonged. The methodological direction that arose through the acceptance of the historiographer's subjective approach placed historiography near the border of modernist scientific disciplines (2010, p. 16).

As Berktay points out, 20th century historiography as practiced in European and American universities was a substantial profession beset with constant challenges. However, the 20th century was also the era in which the hopes of the Enlightenment collapsed under the strong influence of World War II. It was the mood for disappointment – a time for reassessment – and even the most durable pillars of truth were under interrogation. Predictably, the optimistic belief in historiography's medium-specific property of exposing the truth under the correct methodology was also being

challenged in the postmodern period. The dependability of historical data and the validity of historic texts from ancestral annalists stood on one side of the question and the possibility of objectivity and impartiality of the historiographer on the other.

The postmodern perspective acknowledged the historian as an interpreter and historiography as narration. The belief that scientific knowledge produced historiography was collapsing; therefore it could not have dominance over other types of narration. Ankersmith (1989, p. 138) in "*Historiography and Postmodernism"* criticizes the flexibility of the postmodern approach towards the historiographical performance that is vastly bound to the historian's interpretation. Ankersmith points out to the dominancy of the historiographer that disables the access of historical cognition (ibid, p. 140). In his criticism of postmodern approaches to historiography he considers the methodological tendency of the Annales School as an exception. For Ankersmith, the Annales School succeeded in introducing novel paths to exhibit historical cognitions (ibid, p. 138).

The historiographical approach of the Annales School is significant for its challenge towards the totalitarian epistemology of the Rankeian model. In *Achievements of the Annales School*, Foster characterizes it as a new social science that associates historical data within the wider social and economic context (1978, p. 62). In this attempt the function attributed to the historiographer would be to identify and signify the system of networks between incidents and conditions, just like a biologist examining the process rather than the urge of the physicists to reach the ultimate law (ibid). Within this methodological approach, the Annales School aimed to reach and exhibit a certain historical cognition with the least possible distortion. The general tendency of the Annales tradition was towards a micro analytical perspective. In Foster's explanation, the Annales School's historiography highlights the tendencies and transformations of a social group in a given time and space and aims to interpret them through the wider social context (ibid, p. 64).

For Harsgor, the Annales School's departure from the fundamental function of historiography is its ability to present an orderly framework of a given period, as described in "*Total History: The Annales School"* (1978, p. 9). The fundamental deficiency of the Annales School's historiographical approach lies in its tendency to

ignore the cultural and political hierarchies that dominate and structure the perspective towards history. Hence, the historiographical approach of Annales School in Harsgor's consideration renders an illusion by claiming to expose direct historical cognitions (ibid, 10).

Lorenz in "*Comparative Historiography: Problems and Perspectives"* points out postmodernism's approach to the stereotypical character of the fragmentary perspectives (1999, pp. 30-37). He conceptualizes postmodern approaches in terms of methodologies that are designed for specific social conditions that emerge in a given society within national borders. For him, the situation and nation-specific presence of such methodologies contradicts with the pluralist claim of postmodern historiography. Hence the borderline between pluralism, relativism and skepticism diminishes along with the cognition of history. According to Berktay, the postmodernist approach to historiography was in defining it as a branch of literature that is based on historical data (2010, p. 17). Historiographers defended their position against postmodernist criticism by standing by their methodological interpretations while highlighting their responsibility for giving voice to the past.

Even though the criticism of postmodern conceptions of historiography challenges the characteristics of such methodologies, it is clear that the context of history has evolved far away from modernist conceptions. The tendencies of historians to look for absolute knowledge of past yield to a perspective that considers the historiographer's subjectivity in the act of historiography, one that is always partial.

2.2.1 Narration in Historiography

In historiographical performance, the historiographer finds and constructs a series of reasons that s/he attaches to the initiation of the event s/he is documenting. The act of forming a consistent document about the past that proves itself through the given historical data finds ground in the need to be meaningful. What constitutes meaning in this context is narration, the art of expressing the sentiment of the idea, and the information. Human beings narrate while they think, talk, and write. Information or an idea as an abstract form cannot exist as pure substance and cannot be transferred to the minds of others by telepathy as such. We communicate by expressing the sentiment of

an idea with others. The structuralist analysis of semiology focuses on the production of meaning in language (Barthes 1977, p. 9). As the context of syntagm points out, the expression of a meaning depends on the selection and placement of the words (ibid, 12). The process of selecting, ordering and accentuating the words in an order to transfer the meaning is its narration.

In *What is History* E. H. Carr asserts that historians constantly endeavor to arrange past human experiences by attaching to them a cause-and-effect relationship (1990, p. 88). In this perspective, history is acknowledged as a constitution composed through the organization of past incidents in a causal order. The historical document needs narrative in order to be comprehensible. The construction of narration involves establishing a cause-and-effect relationship between the statements. Hence the comprehension of an historical document requires a bond of cause and effect that ties the events to one another in time. The resulting event has to be explained with the reasons that caused it. Carr underlines the rejection of irrelevant data about past in the act of composing a logical and rational document (1990, p. 147).

According to Carr, the historian's point of view and intention effect the causes s/he attaches to the historical event as well as the decision(s) made about which events to document as historical fact. "The causes determine the historian's interpretation of the historical process, and his interpretation determines the selection and marshaling of the causes" (Carr 1990, p. 103). The decision on the historical fact to build upon relies on its propriety to maintain the persistence of causality.

Historiography puts forward reliability as its trademark, which is built over the transparent characteristics of its evidential texture. However, historiographical performance involves the placement of historical facts in an order according to the historian's intention. As a part of the process, the historian fills in the gaps of historical facts with the facts of the past in order to maintain a cause-and-effect relationship. Therefore, narration in historiography may have its roots in the management of historical facts while in the mission of creating its constitution of comprehensibility. As Ernst Breisach points out in *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern*, while narration in historiography justifies itself on the basis of the maintenance of comprehension, history in documented mode can no longer be accepted as the accurate

representation of life in the past (1994, 55).

In *Metahistory* (1975), Hayden White brings together literature and historiography by testing the practice of historiography through the narrative form. His analysis historians' style and textual form aims to prove that historiography is an art of construction. According to White, the only distinction between the novelist and the historiographer is that the novelist invents the event while the historiographer finds it.

The choices of the historian are made according to the target audience of the historical document. The historiographer's perspective would inevitably be shaped by current tendencies in the society in which they live. The issue of maintaining comprehension is closely associated with the representation of past events through the conception of society's current tendencies. Therefore, narration in historiography contains the current social tendencies as the determining element on the perspective that is developed. In *The Gender of History* (2010), Berktay claims that it is necessary for a historiographer to know themselves and their society in order to explain another. According to Berktay, understanding the other society is done through the understanding of the society the historiographer belongs to. The acknowledgement of the other society is done through the determination of the analogous qualities and differences the two societies have. In order to compare the societies, the historiographer or the narrator has to understand the field of shared experience of the society they belong to. The shared field of experience in a society builds the shared juncture of cognition. Therefore, the historiographer or the narrator has to form their perspective, the style of narration, and the choices they make during the act of historiography according to their own society's cognition in order to be comprehensible. The representation of the past events, or in other words the act of historiography, portray events that have taken place in a time that is different from the one that the historiographer is writing about. The perspective composed through the tendencies of a society constitutes one of the key characteristics of narration in historiography.

2.2.2 The historian as a part of Society

> *Early biologists were content to classify species of birds, beasts, and fishes in cages, aquariums and showcases, and did not seek to study the living creature in relation to its environment. Perhaps the social sciences today have not yet fully emerged from that primitive stage (Carr 1990, 47).*

In the assertion above, Carr suggests that one must analyse the historian's historical and social environment before studying the historiography the historian performs (1990, 44). Carr claims that in order to understand the work of the historian, the place they stand and the root of that standpoint within the social and environmental circumstances should be analysed (ibid, 40). Referring to the entity of the human being as a social animal, Carr emphasizes that humankind mutates from a biological entity to a social one, synchronous with birth, through the effect of becoming a member of society (ibid, 31). Stressing the transformative character of the society, Carr suggests that no matter the cultural state of history or pre-history, the human being is born into society and is shaped by its tendencies. Society's effective chemistry transports its collective memory to each and every human being through the permeable regions of human intellect. The collective memory is shaped by the present tendencies of society over and over again, and is implanted not only in the new-born, but in all human beings that form the society. Carr puts forward language as an example of the embodying activities of the society (ibid). Valuating language as a tool to transport the characteristics of the society, Carr asserts that language is not just an individualist communicative instrument but also a social inheritance. Language forms the constitution of thought as much as the methodology for the expression of the thought itself. Therefore, the dynamic nature of the language society forms, uses, and reforms according to the mutating tendencies of the society, refreshes itself constantly through each and every part of the society. Qualifying the conception of individuality in a modern national community as one of the most endemic modern myths, Carr points out that the individual and the society are integral to one another, operating harmoniously to prove each other's existence (ibid). He remarks: "no man is an island, entire of itself."

The report by the Gulbenkian Commission *Open the Social Sciences* (1996) also suggests the assessment of the social scientist as a part of society. Intending to highlight the necessity for the restructuring of social sciences, the report directs its focus on the historical construction of scientific knowledge. The report confronts the diversification of social sciences into mutually exclusive and standardized disciplines, acknowledging the social sciences as a monolithic constitution. The report argues that the separation of the social sciences into disciplines isolates the social scientist from the dynamics of society, prohibiting them from essential interactivity. In order to constitute a vivid version of the social sciences, the social scientist shall integrate the various social sciences among social disciplines.

Berktay also stresses the historian's relation to society's tendencies (2010, 8). Appraising the historian as a natural part of society (like any other part constitutive part), Berktay pays close attention to the effects of society's tendencies over the historian in the process of documenting history. Berktay claims that the perception directed to a phenomenon is not just formulated from the characteristics of that but evolves through the beholder's point of view. The historian's perceptual field is inevitably shaped by society. The frame that composes the historian's point of view, she continues, determines what the historian perceives, associates with it, and interprets. The choice made by the historian in what to document also harbours the undocumented actualities.

In the effort to understand and explain the interrelation in the narration composed to represent the past events with current social conditions, the historian's position as a part of current society is also worth attention. Arising from contemporary tendencies, the historian is inevitably a part of society. Her/his perspective would consist of, be affected or directed by her/his experience. The narration the historian forms consequently includes her/his perspective as a part of the society that defines its existence on the choices made, and the narrative form used. Carr argues that no such thing as a naked fact exists before the historian handles and processes it (1990, p. 16). The utilization and therefore, realization of a historical fact is based on the process the historian performs on it.

According to Carr the historical document is only capable of bearing how the historian handles the subject (ibid, 169). In other words, the historical document reflects the historian's point of view. The historian's perspective cannot be considered as a sublime entity free from the dynamics of the society in which s/he lives in. Carr continues: "When we attempt to answer the question 'what is history' our answer, consciously or unconsciously reflects our own position in time and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live" (ibid, p. 8).

The historian makes choices in the process of constructing historiography. These choices include such pivotal decisions as which historical events to document, which historical facts to include, and those to exclude in the process of documentation, and more even more crucially, from which perspective these choices will be expressed/narrated. The effect of the historian's social positioning on the process of historiography is widely debated in the works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Ranajit Guha, through the projects of postcolonial studies and the subaltern school, respectively.

In "*Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography"* Spivak points out the obscure actualities that go undocumented due to dominant ideologies (2000, p. 203). These studies imprint the perspective of their historiographical methodology immanent to the histories of social layers that made to remain silent. The practices of historiography that directs the focus on the areas that are intentionally omitted from mainstream historiography highlights the significance of the perspective the historian acquires. The historian is interactive with the dynamic tendencies of the society s/he belongs, which constitutes the environment for the formation of the perspectives. Accordingly, the choice of subjects the historian makes in the act of historical documentation is an output of her/his perspective.

In the relation of the perspectives of the societies of the past and present due to the historical apprehension, Carr designates the dual function of the history as understanding both the past and the state of the period from which the past is documented (1990, 55). Carr clarifies the notions of the correlation between the

historian and the current characteristics of the society they belong to as: “The reciprocal process of interaction between the historian and his facts, what I have called the dialogue between the past and present, is a dialogue not between abstract and isolated individuals, but between the society of today and the society of yesterday” (ibid, 55). According to Carr, the past is understood through present conceptions, and therefore historiography should be evaluated within the tendencies of the society in which the documentation is performed.

2.3 HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CONTEMPORARY

As discussed above, I consider the act of historiography as a constructed representation of the past. Historiography is composed of a historiographer’s choices among the data pool of historical facts. As Hayden White suggests (1975), historiography is a narration that performs the representation of the past, and it may not be appropriate to limit the historiographical performance to written practices. The act of narration is not limited to written practices, as is the ability to perform representation. In this respect, the term “historiography” comes to include other mediums on which it can be said to perform historical representations. Around this climate of comprehensiveness for other mediums to perform historical representation, I distinguish the forms of the practice as diegetic and non-diegetic historical representations.

In the framework of this study, I locate the distinctive point between the diegetic and non-diegetic representations of historiography, rather than within the medium of practice referring to written or filmic practices. All historiographical practices are composed of narration and include historical facts in their historical representations. In accordance with the purpose of this chapter, all (non-diegetic and diegetic) forms of historical representation interact with the dynamic tendencies of the society. However, the diegetic representation of history generates a sense similar to the experience of the historical event which the narration represents. Therefore, I will endeavour to explain the relationship between the dynamic tendencies of society for diegetic and non-diegetic forms separately.

This separation grounds on my intention to study the historiographical function of diegetic films. I will further separate the sources of historiography as I will differentiate between the practices of "Official (Dominant) Historiography," "Independent Historiography," and "Popular Historiography." Popular historiography will constitute the field on which I will discuss diegetic forms of historical representation, which are based on the diegetic characteristic of popular historiography.

2.3.1 Official Historiography

The feeling of sustaining and developing the heritage in a linear fashion by taking one step in front of the other on the same path has great importance in a progress-focused or teleological society. Hobsbawm argues that even the most revolutionary societies hunger for cutting-edge innovations, and that "novelty" is synonymous with "improvement" (2009, p. 27). Designating history as a permanent dimension of human consciousness, Hobsbawm associates the composition of social institutions with historiography. The collective continuity of experience, as he designates it, enables the proud sense of expansion to flourish. In order to continue the sense of the regular experience of growth, the historiography of the past should be coherent with the present. Therefore, the myth of the progressive existence of a society needs the reproduction of its history according to the present dominant discourses. Societies change, evolving in many ways: ideologically, economically, and sociologically, both in singular existences and/or multiple combinations.

The shifts that occur in the discourse of the constitution that acquires the power to lead in a community necessitates the appropriate reproduction of historiography. In other words, when the dominant discourse in a society changes the path it has been on, history needs to be reorganized in order to ensure the myth of progressive existence. Hobsbawm directly explains the relationship between history and the present by referring to history as a pattern for the present (ibid, 14). When social transformation occurs, in order to maintain coherence between the past for the sake of improvement, history has to

be reconstructed accordingly. The transformation would feel like improvement as long as the present looks like progress from the past.

Althusser's notion of "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISAs) is significant here in order to understand the function of official historiography (1977). Acknowledging the reproduction of history through historiography in accordance with the shift in dominant discourses of the ones in power to lead a society, official historiography positions itself as an ideological state apparatus.

The reconstruction of history by means of historiography to maintain consonance with the shift in the dominant discourse may be accomplished in various ways. For example, historical facts that form the landmarks of a whole historical narration would be chosen differently according to new discourses, or the plot shaped around the historical facts surrounded with the facts about the past can be placed according to fresh/dominant discourses in the society. Hobsbawm argues that there may be some shifts in the dominant discourse, which would not need any legitimization to achieve the acceptance of the society, like technological ones (2009, p. 23). But some other transformations, he argues, may need legitimization in order to gain societal recognition. If that new discourse has something similar or legible to the older discourses, the comfort of performing the tradition would do the magic. But if the characteristics of that transformation were not supported by past traditions or the current historiography of that society, history simply needs to be corrected or reproduced to be appropriate/legible/legitimate for the present situation. Designating history as one of the most useful instruments of establishing the dominant discourse in a society, Hobsbawm puts forward the contemporary generation of history: "In brief, what legitimates the present and explains it is not now the past as a set of reference points (for example the Magna Carta), or even as a duration (for example the age of parliamentary institutions) but the past as a process of becoming the present" (ibid, 24). In order to give an example of the reproduction of history according to current dominant discourses, Hobsbawm recalls the historiography produced in the Age of Enlightenment where historiography prior

to the 1800s was no longer useful for coping with the demand for change (2009, p. 228).

Arising from the characteristics of historiography as the selection and interpretation of facts, Berktay argues that any kind of historiography consists of the reproduction of the past and therefore may very well become an ideological apparatus (2010, p. 19). The formation of historical consciousness according to the demands of those in political power in a community is inherent to the nature of historiography. Moving on from Hobsbawm's and Berktay's arguments, I deduce that the historiography that is shaped accordingly is utilized in order to legitimize a transformation in society.

In "A History of Experience, Historical Experience and Experience History," Süalp asserts that the turbulent periods of a society's history are settled by the appropriation of historical consciousness according to the dominant discourses (2006, p. 41). Pointing to the reproductions of historiography according to social changes, Süalp remarks that the black holes of the past are covered by different interpretations. Ranajit Guha in *History at the Limit of World-History* (2006) explains the exploitational characteristic of global diplomacy and the use of historiography in the process of the legitimization and normalization of injustice. Arising from the intervention that occurred in Indian historiography by the English government as the colonizer of India, Guha argues that the modern Western governmental system produces the history of each land it rules according to the legitimization of its existence and leadership (2006, p. 66). About the flexible character of historiography for the legitimization of the social innovations in a society, Hobsbawm asserts that history can always be invented when the situation warrants (2009, p. 6).

The appropriation of history by the means of historiography via the transformation of dominant social discourses generates a link between ideology and memory. Each time a political power's intentions shift, the official historiography of that community shifts accordingly in order to serve the installation of the intentions. Examples of official historiography are as evident in mandatory history courses in elementary and high school curriculums as they

are the fields of historiography that are constructed through the direction of the leading institutions of a society. History books published by governments are an example of official historiography.

Historiography is not only accomplished through writing, as I will discuss in the following chapters on the historiographical function of the film medium. A museum exhibition on the history of civilization may very well accomplish a historiographical practice. The constructed nature of historiography through the selection and marshalling of historical facts also operates on the same premise of the museum that presents historical artefacts. The museums or art galleries presenting historical artefacts that are managed by governments can operate to establish the links between historical consciousness and the dominant discourse. The dominant discourse of society may not always be the discourse of the one in the position to lead. The discourses of the constituents, who struggle to rise to the leading position, may also try to dominate through an attempt to influence social tendencies themselves.

2.3.2 Independent Historiography

The ideological statements of the dominant discourse shape common tendencies in society. The common tendencies in a society are formed through the instillation of the dominant discourse, establishing patterns for common value systems. These common value systems arise from the perspective of those in political power. The shift in the social tendencies of any given society evolves broadly around the shift in the dominant discourses. The guiding ideologies of the current political power, in other words the ones with the power to lead in a community, incorporate and highlight some values of that community according to their own perspective. These values may be constructed or adapted from earlier periods. The installation of value systems according to the political power's perspective is smoothly transmitted through a historiography constructed to serve the idea of progress. In Carr's words, "When we seek to know the facts the questions which we ask and therefore the answers which we obtain are prompted by our system of values" (1990, p. 128).

History may be defined as a document about the past, which is written by the historiographer in the present moment. In the process of the formation of a historical document, the event in question belongs to the period of time in which it occurred (regardless of it being a month or a century ago), but the action of documenting is done in the present. Therefore, the cognition and interpretation of that previous event is inevitably done through the eyes of the present. Carr underlines the fact that the historian belongs to the present (ibid, 25). The consequences of the historiographers' natural (present-day) condition(s) form the core of Carr's argument, as the permeable texture of history is exposed to and formed by the time in which it is written. Carr explains the notion of the contemporary formation of history, asserting that the past can only be viewed and comprehended through the eyes of the present (1990, p. 24). The existential bond of humankind to the period of time of their existence, with its every tendency and value judgement, naturally accompanies the historiographer much like a cloak. In his explanation of the historiographer's mental bond to the present, Carr stresses the wording of the historiographer that transports the present cognition of words like democracy, love, or revolution into the events of the past. The understanding of the words themselves evolves according to the tendencies of the present and the wording used when the past is written (the cognition of the present), and the meaning slides along to the present simultaneously. The mental bond of the historiographer to the present effects not only the wording of the historical document but also spreads its effect to every stage of historiography from cognition to the selection and placement of historical data. A historian is a part of society and a part of the common psyche the society builds, which conceives and interprets the past through the current tendencies that form the value system of the present. The historian inevitably appraises the past with the understanding of the present. According to Carr, the understanding of the present, or in other words, the current value system of a society, determines the attribution of factuality (ibid, 24).

In line with Carr's interpretation of the historiographer's role and the value system of the society to which they belong, I assert that history written in the present about past is in close relation with the present tendencies. Historiography

that is performed free from the control or guidance of a political or economic power is still relevant within the dominant discourses of society. Independent historiography may be performed with or against official historiography depending on the social positioning of the historiographer. Even if historiography is performed and positions itself as radically against official historiography and/or dominant discourses, the practice still involves current social tendencies if only to put forth arguments in opposition. The present tendencies of the day that formed within the common value system determine if a historical event was glorious or not, and moreover if a historical event is worth documenting or not.

2.3.3 Popular Historiography

I use the term "popular historiography" for practices that express historical representation through a diegetic narration intended for a large audience by its widespread circulation in media culture. With this designation, I refer to products such as bestselling novels, mainstream feature films, and TV series that perform historical representation. Diegetic narrations may perform historical representations of a historical event or just establish its plot in a historical period utilizing the sense of the past as an atmospheric element. Historical representation in these popular mediums may not gain much serious consideration in the name of historiography. Nevertheless, it would be careless to underestimate the function of diegetic historical narrations for the practice of historiography for their popularity. Diegetic narrations are composed of narrative patterns that include structured sections and the formation of narrative structures is grounded in its comprehensibility. These structures often present a hero and a villain in the story's introduction phase, which installs the bonds of identification with the protagonist. The establishment of the bond with the protagonist explicitly determines the point of view from which the historical event is going to be narrated. Once the identification occurs, the experience of the character towards that historical experience transmits to the one tracing it on the other side of the identification. In the following narrative acts, the protagonist struggles to overcome conflict in order to achieve their mission. The consolidation of the

bond with the protagonist is maintained through the bumpy roads of the plot of adventurous achievements. The representation of the historical event or the event that the narration presents as a part of a historical period is performed through the perspective of the protagonist in the continuity of the events they experience. The dramatic structure for the representation of the historical event reaches an end through catharsis. In diegetic narrations, the conflicts of the story—in other words the barriers between the protagonist and their destination—are solved within a form of closure. The historical event narrated through a diegetic form always reaches closure in the final act. The narration responds to the hooks it attaches in the earlier phases: the mysteries are solved, the protagonist reaches their destination, and the catharsis rises through the feeling of completion. The diegetic representative narration of a historical event focuses the comprehension on the field of sensation. The sensational perception that is composed through identification generates the sense of experience of the historical event for the viewer/consumer. The representative diegetic practices of historiography that the bestseller historical novels or mainstream feature films perform establish historical narrations in the field of viewer *experience*.

Narrative diegesis is the sphere in which all of the events occur, the genuine world design generated for that narration. The diegesis possesses its own rational consistency by means of building a sphere of actuality in which events occur according to the causality within the rules of diegetic gravity. The rational consistency of the events in the narration is bonded to diegetic gravity, and thus the plot is legitimized in its own space of actuality independent of the restrictions of reality. When a historical event is represented through a diegetic structure, that event is transported to an area that is free from the laws of historical accuracy. In spite of the fictitious diegesis that projects the historical event, the plot establishes historical consciousness via the comprehension of the historical event through the sense of experience.

Historiography practices done in the fields of official and independent historiography may as well be shaped in diegetic forms like historical films and novels. But distinctive circumstance is popular for the formation of historical

consciousness through the common tendencies of the society through the sense of experience that the diegetic practices produce regarding the historical event itself. Popular mainstream practices of historiography, like bestseller historical novels or blockbuster historical films, are profit oriented. These practices of historiography are produced to be consumed. The current tendencies of a society gain significance in the practice of historical representation due to the profit-oriented characteristics of popular historiography. In the rules of supply-and-demand management, the popular mainstream practices of historiography need to reflect the current tendencies in a society. The narratives of these products need to be formed through the current conflicts of the society and shelter the *zeitgeist* of this period. Like any other popular culture product, the products of popular mainstream historiography need to touch the blistered areas of society in order to address the broad sensations to be consumed. This correlative condition between mainstream popular historiography and the current tendencies of the society results with the involvement of the current tendencies in the representation of the historical event.

2.4 FILM AS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TOOL

In an effort to characterize the nature of historiography, the grounds of the selection and marshalling of historical facts are geared towards the intended narration. From this perspective, the solidity of historiography in terms of historical accuracy and credibility dissolve in the field of relativity.

Through the comparison of fictional practices of historiography with the non-fictional practices, the level of credibility stays more or less the same. Considering both practices, whether fiction or not, as historical narrations that include historical facts, it would not be appropriate to place one as superior to the other in the issue of credibility. I perceive historiography in a broad sense as a constructive practice of historical representation. Therefore, I acknowledge the fictional practices of historical representation inherent to the field of historiographical performances. The point where the fictional historical representations differ from the non-fictional is the sense of historical experience that the diegetic practices generate. The effect of the fictional representative

practices of popular historiography separates the non-fictional, non-representative practices of independent or official historiography in the sense of the experience that the diegetic ones transmit towards the historical event.

Regarding the interaction of historiography with contemporary social tendencies in which it is practiced, popular historical fictions also exhibit close relations. The profit-oriented mode of production acquires corresponding approaches to the current tendencies of the society. Through the transmission of the sense of experience towards the historical event, popular historical fictions establish its existence in the field of *memory*. In popular historical fictions, the current tendencies to shape the historical perception towards that historical event by the experiential effect of the fictional representation. Therefore, the dominant discourses that shape society at large infiltrate historical perceptions once historical representation is performed through popular historical fictions.

Next, I will elaborate the characteristics of popular fiction films that perform historical representation to support my treatment of the historical films about the Independence War and the Early Republican Period (1919 – 1938).

2.4.1 Filmic Experience

The historical event is narrated through a fictional form frequently reaches closure in the final act. The narration responds to hooks it attached in earlier phases, the mysteries are solved, the protagonist reaches to his/her destination and eventually the catharsis rises through this closural feeling of completion. The fictional representation of an historical event positions the comprehension to the field of sensation. Therefore, the fictional practices of historiography that the bestselling historical novels or mainstream feature films perform establishes historical narration into the field of experience.

The diegesis in Bunia's (2010, pp. 695-702) descriptive approach is the sphere where all the events occur; it is the genuine world design generated for that narration. The diegesis possesses its own rational consistency within itself by building a sphere of actuality in which the events that occur do so according to

the causality within the rules of diegetic gravity. The rational consistency of the events in the narration is bound to diegetic gravity, hence the plot is legitimized in its own space of actuality independent from the restrictions of reality. When a historical event is represented through a diegetic structure, that event is transported to an area free from the laws of historical accuracy. In spite of the fictitious diegesis that propels the historical event, the plot establishes itself on the historical perception via the comprehension of the historical event through experience.

The mental experience of the fiction films within the structure of a diegetic space is explained in Metz's "Imaginary Signifier" (1974) through the formation of the suture and the state of the transcendent. He describes the spectator's unconscious as that which works toward constituting meaning. The concept of suture was developed in Jean-Pierre Oudart's 'Cinema and Suture' published with the name 'La Suture' in the Cahiers du Cinéma in 1969. The notion of suture explains the attachment of the spectator into the diegesis in the moment the base of plausibility locates on diegetic ground.

In his study, Metz investigates specific features of the film medium that generate filmic experience. He defines the filmic signifier that produces meaning as an imaginary signifier. The multi-perspective nature of film involves both hearing and sight, not because it is a means of rich perception, but because of its significance as an imaginary perception (1974, p. 246). Real voices and real sight are absent in film. What is heard is the recorded sound of the actual voice and what is seen is the recorded image of the actual object. Metz interprets this lack as an element in the process of constituting the attachment to the imaginary filmic field, or, in other words, the diegesis. For Metz, the film covers both the fictional and nonfictional as it covers a certain absence of the one who was once present: "The activity of perception which it involves is real (cinema is not a fantasy), but the perceived is not really the object, it is its shade, its phantom, its double, its replica in a new kind of mirror" (ibid, 250). For Metz, this lack is based on the perception of recorded material instead of the actual, and this condition creates a fictional space that has great familiarity with the real, which

gives film the freedom to create its own laws of reality. According to Metz, another layer of "lacking" which supports the generation of suture is the segregation of space. This term refers to the absence of an audience in the act of shooting a film and the physical absence of actors and where they are located on the screen in the projection phase. The act of the shooting the filmic reality (for example, the process of filming, set decoration, lighting, shooting, the presence of the actors, etc.) never occurs in the presence of the spectator, and thus the spaces of these two acts are split. For Stam, "the missed rendezvous," which is how he refers to Metz's notion of the segregation of space, generates a belief in the filmic image in a paradoxical way (2000, p. 122).

For the sense of experience that is generated through the perception of the fiction film, another significant condition for Metz is identification (1974, p. 250). Metz states that the identification with film occurs in two phases synchronously. One of the phases of identification is the one attached to the character in the film, experiencing the whole process through the eyes and sensations of the filmic character. The other one is composed of the bond with the camera or the projection, or in other words is the act of receiving the film's perspective or point of view. To further his ideas on the identification process, Metz borrows from Lacan's psychoanalytic theories, especially the "mirror stage."

According to Metz's reading of Lacan, self-awareness is not a default application that a human being has from birth (ibid, 250). Self-awareness (the separation of the self and the other and the formation of the ego) develops in childhood with the realization of the self. Once a child in her/his mother's arms recognizes the reflection of the objects that surrounds them in a mirror and recognizes their mother, the child for the first time meets with their image as a divergent organism from the mother. In the mirror stage, the child identifies with their reflection, and the reflection in the mirror is the image of the child. This moment of the mirror stage for Metz, interpreting Lacan, is the reason for the identification with the image of the character on film. The film screen can be considered a mirror during projection. The filmic mirror may project everything, but the one thing that could never be projected is the spectator's self in the act of

perceiving. The self of the spectator remains in the cinema house, but the reflection of his or her own body disappears. The spectator, who has long since passed the mirror stage, proceeds in comprehending the filmic narration, despite the absence of self-reflection in this rather uncanny mirror. The natural tendency to perceive the reflection triggers the creation of identification with the filmic character. This identification enables a process of comprehending the sensations of the filmic character and operates as a significant element in generating the sense of experience in the spectator.

The identification with the camera and with the film in broad terms enables the acceptance of the diegesis as an alternative dimension of reality (1974, p. 251). The perceptual performance of the spectator is physical and therefore actual, but the object of perception stays on the level of the imaginary. Through the acceptance of filmic diegesis as a constructed design of reality for the filmic world, the action would not disturb the spectator, even if it were extreme in nature. In this phase, the spectators identify with themselves in the act of perceiving. This identification enables the establishment of filmic continuity (the progress of the storyline) inside the spectator's own tracking. Through the identification with the film and the presentation of filmic events, the hooks of cause and effect simulate reasoning in the spectator. The camera angles become the vision and the soundtrack becomes the hearing of the spectator. Handling natural reflexes like the turning of the head to the source of a sound or the squinting of the eyes to see more details through the control of the filmic presentation generates the state of transcendence. In Metz's words, "the spectator *identifies with himself*, with himself as a pure act of perception (as wakefulness, alertness): as the condition of possibility of the perceived and hence as a kind of transcendental subject, which comes before every there is" (ibid, 253).

In terms of apparatus theory, the state of transcendence is the condition that the discourses of film transmit to the spectator during the act of perceiving the film through the sense of experience. Toby Miller interprets the state of transcendence as the substitution of the spectator's ability to comprehend with filmic orientation (2000, p. 405).

> *The subject was presented with what looked like unveiled, transparent truth, whereby the camera substitutes for the eyes. Spectatorship was like "being there," but with intriguingly radical transformations of time and perspective: the distant grew near, the past became present, and points of view shifted. The spectator's loss of mobility was compensated by this promiscuous look, which travelled everywhere, to the most dangerous or painful as well as exhilarating places, and with impunity, as classical narrative ensured the ultimate restoration of equilibrium through perfect knowledge. The eye transcended the limitations of the body to roam across the multiple viewpoints of the scenes of fiction feature film* (ibid).

Miller explains the function of the transcendental state as serving the consolidation of the spectator's perspectives on the side of the film (ibid, 406). Miller defines the cinematic apparatus as the device that conducts the actual sensation of events to the constructed representational formation of film. He claims that this cinematic apparatus allows or directs the spectator to gain the perspective of the film through the development of sensual experience despite the filmic artificiality. In opposition to the sensually possessive nature of the diegetic film, Miller places the non-diegetic practices of filmmaking that endeavour to prevent the spectator from becoming attached (ibid). He presents the conventions of Hollywood feature films to exemplify the diegetic practices of filmmaking. The continuous progress of film, both in editing and mise-en-scène, as well as the narrative style of closure and the ultimate omniscient positioning of the spectator are significant characteristics of diegetic films. Non-diegetic practices of filmmaking strive to exhibit the artificial formation of the filmic narrative. The non-closure narrative styles, methods of non-continuity editing, highlighting the existence and moreover the intervention of the filmmaker, are the nudging techniques of non-diegetic films that disturb the constitution of attachment.

In "*Historical Poetics of Cinema"* Thompson and Bordwell present their neoformalist approach to explain the characteristics and functions of cinematic phenomena (1989, p. 374). Thompson and Bordwell in "*Film Art: An Introduction"* (2008) explain the concept of involvement in fiction film through the formal elements of the medium. They emphasize the engaging characteristic of fiction films that attach their subjects through sensual involvement they perform through filmic narrative. They explain this bonding characteristic of fiction film with a neo-formalist approach that uses the narrative patterns the filmmaker creates (or reuses) to present a structured experience to the spectator (ibid, 54).

They explain the function of elements that constitute the form in film with their metaphoric interpretation of the nature of experience:

> *As you walk into a building, your experience develops over time. In many cathedrals, for example, the entryway is fairly narrow. But as you emerge into the open area inside (the nave), space expands outward and upward, your sense of your body seems to shrink, and your attention is directed toward the altar, centrally located in the distance. The somewhat cramped entryway makes you feel a contrast to the broad and soaring space. Your experience has been as carefully planned as any theme park ride. Only by thinking back on it can you realize that the planned progression of the building's different parts shaped your experience. If you could study the builder's blueprints, you'd see the whole layout at a glance. It would be very from your moment-by-moment experience of it, but it would shed light on how your experience was shaped. (ibid, 70).*

Thompson and Bordwell work on the causal and balanced establishment of formal elements of a film in order to understand the generation of diegesis. For them, the balanced establishment of formal elements refers to the resolution of the hooks as well as balanced frame compositions (ibid, 56). These organizational rules are peculiar to diegesis, hence free from the rules of actual life, and therefore, adjust the spectator's mode of comprehension and reaction. In accepting diegesis as a coherent and independent whole, free from the limitations of real life, spectator reactions toward events depicted are shaped according to the diegesis. The coherence between the elements of film and the reaction of the audience are both appropriate to the gravitational rules of the diegesis, which constitutes the formation of the sensual experience.

According to their perspective, the audience gains the filmic experience as a consequence of the effort of making sense of the film. In this process they signify the formal elements of the film medium to transmit the sensual experience to the audience. Through their approach they assert that the form is the element that shapes filmic experience (ibid, 70). The form that arises from the utilization of patterns establishes the balanced and coherent design of diegesis. The diegesis keeps the spectator attached through the placement of patterns that constitute dynamic interplays.

In "*Genre Film: A Classical Experience"* Vivian Sobchack also highlights the function of the balance in diegesis for sustaining the smooth audience comprehension (1975, p. 198). Although the design of the diegesis is free from the restriction of audience's own outer reality, it still needs to be consistent in its own gravitational rules to be plausible.

In "*Narration in the Fiction Film"* (1985) Bordwell includes the audience's perspective to the signification process of the film. For him the meaning of the film emerges in the audience's perception, therefore the meaning is created together by the filmmaker, film, and audience. In his model, the process of film viewing is cognitive, and is based on audiences' own life experiences. In other words, the audience's process of making sense of the film depends on the audience's conceptions of the existing world, schemata and categories that the audience learns or has learned through the social experience of everyday life. Francesco Casetti's acknowledgement of the filmic experience as a performance that both the film and the audience engage in is aligned with the process in "*Filmic Experience"* and Thompson's perspective of comprehension of the film (2009, p. 63).

In the effort to sustain the attachment to the diegesis, the production of expectation becomes a significant notion in Thompson and Bordwell's approach (2008, p. 60). The production of expectation is similar to the terminology of apparatus theory and is designated as filmic continuity. According to Thompson and Bordwell, the existence of expectation also sharpens the appetite for tracing filmic narrative in the foreground, and therefore the conception gains another function when assessed from the neo-formalist perspective. In Thompson and Bordwell's interpretation, the gratification of the expectations through the means of forming closure produces sensual satisfaction and relief. The coherent cause-and-effect relationship that is consistent with the gravity of the diegesis retains the involvement of the spectator, and hence strengthens the sensual experience.

Alongside the Neo-formalist perspective of Bordwell and Thompson, the concept of the filmic experience relates to the wider context of phenomenological approaches to film studies. Peritore in *Descriptive Phenomenology and Film* (1977) uses Husserl's phenomenological philosophy as a self-reflexive approach to film studies. In "*A Phenomenological Aesthetic of Cinematic Worlds*" (2006, pp. 2-5) Yates departs from Heidegger's hermeneutical perspective in "*On the Origin of the Work of Art*" (1935) and explores the possibility of the film medium to conduct the experience of the filmic event to the audience.

In "*Feeling Cinema: Emotional Dynamics in Film Studies"* (2013) Tarja Laine locates

the filmic experience to the field of emotion. She puts forward that the emotions that emerge through the comprehension of the film coincide with the emotions which constitute real life experiences. In "*Cinema as Second Skin"* (2006) she exposes filmic experience's effects on the body such as goose bumps or simply laughter. Laine's emphasis on bodily experience in film relates to Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological perspective wherein he addresses body/mind integrity in the experience of the world.

Merleau-Ponty's perspective is significant in order to highlight the integral nature of being in terms of body and mind. In "*The Intertwining – Chiasm"* Merleau-Ponty rejects the dualist legacy that creates a hierarchy between the body and mind which claims the superiority of the mind (2007, pp. 396-400). For him, the experience of the world emerges through the combination of the world, the body, and the mind. The perception of things is only possible by being involved with/in the world. Having the experience of things necessarily requires interactions. Hence, to touch something is at the same time to be touched. In other words, when you touch something, you are unconditionally touched simultaneously. "Chiasm" in Merleau-Ponty's terminology refers to the crisscross of touch. Hence the phenomenological approach to film conceptualizes filmic experience through the intertwining of the audience and film: the audience and the film interact in a mutual relationship. In "*The Diving Bell and the Butterfly as an Emotional Event"* Laine introduces the conception of entanglement, which refers to the audience's performance to meet the film halfway (2010, p. 298). This conceptualization in my perspective aligns with Merleau-Ponty's Chiasm.

In Vivian Sobchack's phenomenological approach to film, the filmic experience emerges through the constitution of a shared temporal space, involving both the audience and the film. In "*Surge and Splendor: A Phenomenology of the Hollywood Historical Epic*" (1990, p. 33) she highlights the carnal opening of the audience to the film. In her theoretical perspective, Sobchack also draws from Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology. In Sobchack's interpretation the audience enters into a shared temporal space with the film through exposing themselves to the filmic experience.

In "*Lounge Time: Post War Crises and the Chronotope of Film Noir*" (1998) Vivian Sobchack interprets Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the "chronotope" in order to explain the "texture" of the shared temporal space to generate the filmic experience of the

audience. For Bakhtin, the chronotope functions to transmit the sensation of the certain time and space that is represented in the artwork. In the chronotropic moment, the actual space and time that is represented in diegesis, the diegetic space and time and the spatiotemporal condition of the audience collapses (1998, p. 133). This spatiotemporal transmittance is essential for the creation of meaning (ibid, p.149). In other words, diegetic time and space along with real historical time and space diffuse into the time/space of the audience's filmic experience. In her reading of Bakhtin's chronotope, Sobchack insists that the inclusion of the audience in a shared temporal space with the film is a characteristic condition of the filmic experience.

In "*Nostalgia for A Digital Object*" Sobchack (2003, pp. 29-31) emphasizes the destructive function of the quick time video technology on the filmic experience. She argues that practicing the filmic experience through a quick time clip disables the constitution of a shared temporal space by presenting the convenience of "pause" and "play". This medium specific disengagement of quick time destructs if not abolishes the filmic experience.

2.4.2 Historical Film: The Present Sense of Past

By engaging with theorists that work on the experience of film I intend to signify the binding characteristic of the fiction films. If fiction film constitutes a sense of experience through its narration, then historical fiction films would constitute a sense of historical experience via their perspective for an historical event.

Robert A. Rosenstone in "*The Historical Film as Real History"* confronts the perspectives which challenge the adequacy of the film medium to serve as a tool of historiography (1995, pp. 5-23). Rosenstone matches the filmic and written methods of performing historical representation in order to highlight the broadly constructed characteristics of historiography. He suggests that both filmic and written practices house the fictional contributions to actual events that function to align pieces of data into the narration. Hence, he signifies the relativity of the account for historical accuracy in both the filmic and written practices of historiography. He asserts that the written historiographical practice shall not be considered more reliable than the historical film in the representation of history.

On the ability of the filmic medium to fulfil historiographical performance, Rosenstone in *History on Film - Film on History* (2006) draws upon an enlightening conversation he had with a Buddhist colleague. He signifies the analogy between Rosenstone's idea that a two-hour film could do as much to represent history as a four-volume book work containing the Sanskrit texts of Buddhism and Buddhist paintings. In sixth and seventh-century Japan, Buddhist priests created visual works of Sanskrit texts as paintings in order to make them more comprehensible to the illiterate population in an effort to spread the ideas of Buddhism. Buddhist priests knew that the paintings would not carry all the meaning and information about Buddhism, but wisely thought that the paintings would express the sense of it in a more accessible way. The idea of this story strongly influenced Rosenstone's way of thinking about the representation of history through historical films (ibid).

Rosenstone defines historical film as just another medium to represent the past, and thus distinguishes it as historiography on screen (2006, 155). He suggests that if there is more than one way to express the ideas of Buddhist doctrine, then there are alternative ways to express historical knowledge. In order to express the similarity of the constitutions of historiography and historiophoty, Rosenstone highlights the methodology of historiography by means of narration and selectivity (ibid, 155). He asserts that the use of narration is an inevitable way to express and understand traces of data about the past. History is understood through stories, and historical narrations house historical fact along with other elements that are not data or evidence (facts about the past) and those are fundamental for the constitution of the narration. In line with Carr's perspective, Rosenstone emphasizes the selective characteristic of historiography. Historiography, the fabrication of a seamless historical narration requires the selection of the appropriate facts from a pool of historical data by intention. In this practice, the unselected historical data is left without interpretation (ibid).

Through the application of narrative characteristics, historical data forms into historical knowledge, or in other words the expression reflects historical meaning. Comparing this narrative and selective methodology with the historical film's structure, he argues that the historical film may not be history in the traditional understanding but is indisputably a tool for expressing historical knowledge.

The historical film exhibits a strong expression of the past event since the historiographical performance of the film medium enables the representation of the past in an audio-visual way (ibid, 2). Challenging the commonly held idea that the written representation of history, in other words historiography, is the one factual and solid way of shedding light on the past, Rosenstone follows the path that Hayden White opened through the post-structuralist critique of historical practice (ibid, 3). In "*History in images, history in words: reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film*", Rosenstone designates the film medium as a convenient tool to express the meaning of past through its medium-specific audiovisual and spatiotemporal representational capacity (1998, p. 1178). Raack strongly supports film as a historiographical medium in "*Historiography as Cinematography*", and designates the historical representation practiced by the film medium as the ultimate historiographical performance. He asserts that only film would be able to recover and express the vitality of past (1983, p. 416). Tomasulo in "*I'll see it when I believe it*" considers the audiovisual shift in the representation of the historical event as a characteristic condition of the postmodern period (1996, p. 70). Drawing also on the constructive nature of historiography, he flags Hayden White's conceptualization of historiophoty as one that charges the filmic representation of history as a convenient tool to construct a polysemic interpretation of past.

In his article "*JFK: Historical Fact / Historical Film*" Rosenstone focuses on the historiographical performance of mainstream historical films (1992, pp. 507-509). In his consideration mainstream films exhibit distinct characteristics in terms of historical representation from the non-diegetic, avant-garde film forms. The distinction of the mainstream film for Rosenstone lies in its closural form that poses a monolithic storyline advances from the beginning to end. Consequently, the progressive structure of the mainstream film is not conducive to showing different sides of the story. He signifies that they narrate the story of heroic historical characters and hence appeal to audiences' feelings affecting their historical consciousness. However, for Rosenstone these medium-specific characteristics of mainstream films do not limit the historiographical ingenuity of filmic representations of history. Even though these practices of historiography would position it far away the traditional written forms, they would still worth equal validity in terms historical accuracy.

In "*The Historical Film: Looking at the Past in a Postliterate Age*" Rosenstone argues that a significant portion of society's historical consciousness develops through historical films' representations of past events (2000, p. 52). Opposing the traditional monopoly of historical representation by the written practices of historiography, he puts forward the availability, moreover the success of film as a tool for the expression of past meaning. By doing so, Rosenstone does not suggest ruling out the written representation of history, but rather proposes historiophoty as a more accessible tool for that purpose. He states that the filmic representation of history deserves more attention and respect as a significant tool to perform historiography. Rosenstone's approach is valuable in order to acknowledge the performance of historical films in the field of historiography. However, Rosenstone neglects the distinctive notion of the sensual experience that emerges through the diegetic practices of filmic historiography.

In "*Moving images and historical consciousness*" Sobchack asserts that the historical consciousness of a spectator would be influenced by the representation of the past event practiced in the film (1997, p. 5). The consequence of this influence would be the disappearance of temporal space between the past and present. In "*History Happens*" Sobchack signifies that the sensual experience of an historical event, which emerges through the fictional representation of past transforms history to a phenomenon happening in the present. She offers the taglines of The History Channel as an example: "If you couldn't be there the first time, here is your second chance" and "All of History, All in One Place" (1996, p. 4). For Sobchack the historiographical performance of fictional practices abolishes the temporal space between the present and past through the sensual experience they transmit. This blurs historical cognition by dragging the meaning into the field of simultaneity. She portrays this condition as: "Today history seems to happen right now – is transmitted, reflected upon, shown play-by-play, taken up as the stuff of multiple stories and significance, given all sorts of 'coverage' in the temporal dimension of the present as we live it" (ibid, 5). In her interpretation, the sense of experience generated for a historical event through the historiographical performance of the fiction film transforms the perception of history to a sensation of the present. The conception of history mutates into a phenomenon that is produced and described from the present, therefore the whole temporal sensation dims in a broad sense.

As contemporary postmodern accounts frequently have it, the practice of historiography is grounded on the selection and establishment of historical facts in narration. In this context possible discussions of solid historical accuracy and thus credibility would lack validity. Such a perspective presents an inclusive tendency for various practices to perform historiography. With this chapter treating history, historiography, and film as a historiographical tool, I intended to exhibit diegetic film's possible distinction as a tool of historiography. For this purpose, I attempted to push the broad context of historiography as much as possible to the field of fiction by emphasizing its constructed nature. By doing so I intended to expose the generation of sensual experience by the historiographical performance of the fiction film as a distinctive characteristic.

I accept and espouse the equality of historical accuracy of the different practices of historiography, whether fiction or non-fiction, based on their constructed nature. However, the historiographical performance of historical fiction film deserves a distinct theoretical characterization through the generation of the sensual experience. The sensual experience of the past event that is presented by the filmic representation of history is established in the historical perception of the audience. Through this function the historiographical performance of fiction film becomes a powerful element in the broader context of history.

2.4.3 Society, Culture and Commercial Historical Films

Another layer of significance for the filmic practice of historiography emerges on the conductive nature of the film medium to the dominant tendencies of society. Commercial cinema in particular reflects the contemporary cultural tendencies through their supply-demand conscious discipline of production. The contemporary culture as a field of constant struggle involving discursive constitutions of various ideologies emerges in the narratives of commercial films. By the same token, the discourses embodied in filmic narratives shape individuals and groups in a given society through their influence on contemporary culture.

Once a commercial film narrates a historical event, the representation of the past bears the characteristics of the contemporary culture in its historiographical practice. Hence the filmic representation of history in commercial films reflects contemporary

perspectives in its expression. In addition, commercial film's historiographical performance influences the historical perception of a society to a great extent both through the effect of filmic experience itself and its wide circulation.

In this subchapter, I'll reflect on the theories of culture that contextualize the interaction of dominant ideologies and the products of contemporary culture. By doing so, I intend to interpret the association between filmic historiographies performed by commercial films and the textures of contemporary culture they are produced from and by it.

Douglass Kellner in *Media Culture* (1995) presents a detailed analysis of the interaction between ideology in a society and artifacts of media culture. As he points out, the formation of the products of media culture cannot be reduced simply to a reproduction of existing ideological discourses in the form of cultural commodities. Nor are such cultural products tailored to fulfill audience demands in a singular way. Since societies are not homogenous constitutions with identical characteristics, the thoughts, fears, and demands of individuals in a society would exhibit fierce differences. Hence the societies would react to cultural products in various forms of acceptance and rejection. A popular text such as a blockbuster film or pop song might simultaneously be praised and critiqued by different groups. The popularity of a product in a given society thus can refer to its intense circulation in media rather that society's admiration for it. For Kellner, cultural studies seek to conceive the altering forces of dominance and resistance in society through the interpretation of the products of culture (ibid, 25). The theoretical perspectives of cultural studies enable the comprehension of the social dynamics at play through interpreting the cultural products that vividly circulate in society.

Despite the complexity of a non-linear and dynamic relationship between the dominant ideologies in society and discourses of cultural products, the production processes of commercial culture persist to establish successful paths to reach massive audience groups. Kellner explains the commercial form of culture that is produced for profit in the wider context of capitalism (ibid, 16). In such contextualization the phases of industrial production in terms of standardization, massification, and commodification operate in the course of cultural production. For Kellner, the executives of culture industries seek to achieve sales success in massive scales, and thus target a mass

audience. The solution for this purpose might seem like the production of cultural products that would not offend the mass audience, while attracting many at first glance. However, the consumer success in culture industries is a much more complicated process that requires a deeper comprehension of societal dynamics. Kellner argues that those cultural artifacts exhibiting a wide reach and recognition in societies (and consumed by massive audience) are the ones that keep up with the pulse of the society by *resonating social experience*. Such products practice social criticism in their narratives and embody the possibility of discourses of social movements while articulating current ideas into attractive forms and/or packaging. Thus, even though the cultural products produced are to be consumed on a massive scale and exhibit media giants' commercial interests, they also reflect competing ideologies in society and articulate conflicting positions. The commercial products of a given culture acquire a potential to advance forces of resistance and progress (ibid, 17). "Consequently, media culture cannot be simply dismissed as a banal instrument of the dominant ideology but must be differentially interpreted and contextualized within the matrix of the competing social discourses and forces which constitute it" (ibid). From this perspective, the study of media culture gains a more substantial position to explore social dynamics since its texture cannot be reduced to the mere reflection of dominant ideologies in society.

2.4.3.1 The Frankfurt school & British cultural studies

An early yet substantial model to explain the texture of cultural production addressing a mass audience for economic interest can be found in the Frankfurt School. According to Kellner, the perspective developed by the Frankfurt School in the 1930s initiated a critique of mass communication. The Frankfurt School's interdisciplinary approach to mass communication includes a critique of the political economy of media, the social and ideological effects of mass culture, and reception studies. In order to emphasize the industrialization procedure of mass-produced culture, Frankfurt School theorists Adorno and Horkheimer developed the term "culture industries." In their analyses they highlighted the commercial restrictions that shape systems of mass production. As Kellner explains, mass-mediated cultural pieces were analysed through the context of industrial production (2004, p. 202), thus as commodities, cultural pieces were assessed as any other material of mass production. The assessment was done through the notions

of the commodification, standardization, and massification of cultural production. In Kellner's explanation, along with the transformation rendered on the formation of a cultural artefact, the productions of the culture industries spread value systems along the lines of dominant discourses in a society. The mass-produced artefact therefore creates a standardized cultural product that acts as a broom which gathers and structures mindset of a society into the borders of the dominant ideology. In Kellner's words: "The culture industries had the specific function of providing the ideological legitimation of the existing capitalist societies and of integrating individuals into the frameworks of its social formation" (2004, p. 203). For Kellner, the Frankfurt School's perspective was the first to approach culture industries as the re/producers of the contemporary societies.

Cultural industry products established notions of the dominant discourse in a society through the media, as it was the most significant element of socialization during leisure time. The value systems formed by the dominant discourse of a period in a community are reproduced and established by culture industries almost like blood vessels within a body. Through socialization, the products of culture industries suggest that the ideology of the dominant discourse spreads disguised as leisure-time activity. The repetitive and reproducible nature of the products of culture industries is based on the standardized form, as it was a convenient entity to market widely. The products of the culture industry render themselves on the already-existing mindset, stay in the realm of already-compromised thoughts and beliefs, and therefore reproduce the existing conditions of society. By doing so, these products achieve excessive levels of consumption through the comfort of perceptibility in the safety of coherence.

Kellner asserts that the outputs of culture industries are efficient tools of social control and domination through the habituation of the individual to the amenity of partaking in the dominant patterns (ibid). In Kellner's words, "mass culture and communications stand in the centre of leisure activity, are important agents of socialization and mediators of political reality and should thus be seen as major institutions of contemporary societies with a variety of economic, political, cultural and social effects." According to Kellner, the theorists of the Frankfurt School (through their exile in the United States) detected the product of the culture industry in US "popular

culture" as serving to improve the profits of capitalism. Huge corporations controlled the culture industry in the United States; therefore, the formation of cultural artefacts was managed by the principles of mass production. The mode of production was standardized to be able to fulfil the needs of a commercialized cultural consumption. The function of the culture industry in the United States was the legitimization of American capitalism through the reproduction of the values espoused by the institutions of the system.

The Frankfurt School's theoretical perspective had serious flaws that caused limitations alongside its ground-breaking capacity to reveal the dominant ideology's impact on society. One major problem in the theoretical perspective of the Frankfurt School for Kellner lies in the dichotomy it makes between high and low culture that distributes oppressive and emancipatory discourses in cultural products (1995, p. 29). The theory attributes the critical and subversive powers to a category of cultural artefacts they call "authentic art". What they call "mass culture" is placed on the opposite side of authentic art; this split is monolithic without any possible flexibility. It is ideological and debased with the sole function of reproducing and transmitting the ideals of the existing capitalist system to the society.

A significant component of their theoretical perspective to distinguish between the functions of high and low culture grounds is via their designation of society as a passive mass. According to Kellner, by acknowledging the society as a solid unified constitution, they ignore the possible variations of interpretation of the cultural products. As famously presented by Hall in the article "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse" in 1973, audiences often produce their own meaning for cultural artefacts. Therefore, the meaning is polysemic and its emergence relies on the ideological positioning of the audience to direct the phases of interpretation. Societies are not sole components of homogenic ideologies; the social experiences of individuals are different and such differences mould into perspectives to comprehend the outer world. Hence the same cultural product would be interpreted in as many ways as different ideological standpoints in society. I'll turn back to the cognition of the society as an active and dynamic constitution, one that interacts with the discourses of the dominant ideology while inquiring on the theoretical perspective of British Cultural

Studies.

Despite the limitations of monolithic contextualization of the products of mass culture and its insularity on the cognition of the society as a passive audience to directly embrace the discourses of such banal artefacts, the perspective of Frankfurt School is valuable to reveal the ideological function of cultural products. Particularly for Kellner, through their contextualization, they brought the legitimization of the oppressive forces of the media's existing capitalist ideology into the spotlight: "Their studies dissected the interconnection of culture and communication in artefacts that reproduced the existing society, positively presenting social norms and practices, and legitimating the state capitalist organization of society" (ibid, 30). By doing so, their critical perspective aligned the study of communication and cultural studies within the social disciplines to work on capitalist society. Another significant contribution of the Frankfurt School for Kellner emerges on the methodological novelties they brought to analyse the cultural products (ibid). With their work, they put forward the insufficient nature of quantitative methods to measure the impact of cultural products and reach conclusions to identify their function in society. Instead, they developed qualitative methods and proposed efficient ways to designate the relations between texts and audiences alongside their interactions with the media industries, the state, and capitalist economies (ibid, 31).

British Cultural Studies developed an influential criticism on culture and media, emerging in 1960's at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in England. In Kellner's expression, the significance of their perspective emerges with their recognition of social reaction in various paths of dominance and resistance through the phases of cultural production and reproduction (ibid). Cultural Studies acknowledges the possibility of resistance in society as an inherent characteristic that would emerge as a reaction to domination. Their theorization of resistance builds upon Gramsci's model of hegemony and counter hegemony, which signifies the emergent forces in society against the dominations of the institutions of ruling class to maintain the social boundaries (Gramsci 1971).

In British Cultural Studies' account, the relation between societies and discourses of the ruling class is transmitted often by cultural products and cannot be reduced to a linear path of reception. They contextualize society as an active constitution composed of

different ideological, social, and economic groups and individuals, rather than conceiving it as mass with a tendency to acknowledge the messages through a unified perception. Different layers of ideological positions generate the variations in the phases of meaning production in society: hence the same text could be interpreted in various ways. As one of the founders of British Cultural Studies, Raymond Williams signified the non-homogenic nature of culture, which unconditionally refers to a plural constitution. In his work *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* he defines the terminology of social sciences by contextualizing them in the context of British cultural studies. Culture for Williams is a specific and variable constitution that is bound to periods and nations where culture transforms in accordance with time and space. But the significance of the inherent plurality lies in his terminology of culture that ground on the existence of different social and economic groups in society (1985, p. 89).

Stuart Hall is another significant figure in the development of the theoretical approach of British Cultural Studies, and famously introduced the account of the audience on the process of meaning production in his ground-breaking essay *Encoding-Decoding* (2005, p. 118). Through his theorization, the meaning of the texts (no matter how ideologically charged they are by the involvement of the discourses of dominant ideology) would evoke different cognitions by the different groups in society. The variations in the production of meaning are bound to the sociological positions of the subjects in terms of economic and social conditions (ibid, 121). His model of communication creates a counter-position against broad mass communication theories that acknowledged the system as a linear flow from the source to the receiver. According to Hall's perspective, while the texts shelter various meanings through interpretation, it by the same token offers the possibility to evoke rejection and resistance as well as acceptance.

Bourdieu reflects on the diversity in the interpretations of different social groups in society in his influential work that contextualizes class formation and injustice in society by introducing the terminology of cultural capital and habitus. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* he asserts that different groups in a society will perceive, classify and memorize in various ways in accordance with their ideological alignment. Thus, the interpretation of cultural products such as a film or a newscast would exhibit differences that arise according to the characteristics of the social

segment of the population which operates on the phases of meaning production. By signifying the different levels of making sense of an impressionist Rembrandt painting, (as to some it is a painting of a thing, for other' it's a Rembrandt while for some it's an Impressionist) he exemplifies the habitus in action (1984, p. 26).

Although it is common to place Bourdieu's work on the segmentation of society outside the theoretical framework of British Cultural Studies, I designate a common ground for their acknowledgement of the impacts of social difference. Hence the messages that are transmitted by the media culture that are possibly charged with the discourses of the ruling class would receive various reactions in ways of acceptance and resistance in society. For Kellner, cultural studies' critical perspective examines the system and structure of domination with the recognition of the forces of resistance (1995, p. 32). In his explanation, cultural studies comprehend society as a field that is systematically dominated by institutions of state power like the school, church, workplace and media, as well as the structure to resist that very same oppression (ibid). In cultural Studies' perspective, the sphere that involves the society and cultural production is a battleground of continuous struggle. The different comprehensions of the cultural products emerge on the different ideological perspectives that motivate the interpretation. This creates the variations on the cognition of the messages.

The theoretical approaches of Cultural Studies and Frankfurt School align through their focus on the emergence and impact of cultural products in relation to the state, economy, politics and everyday life. However, Kellner points out the main difference between two approaches as one that emerges from their methods of classification regarding the cultural products and social groups they address (ibid). The Frankfurt School makes a clear distinction between artefacts of low culture and high culture where the products of low culture only function to reproduce the discourses of the dominant ideology and transmit them to the masses. In their approach, only those artistic products of "high culture" bear the potential to provoke social change through the ideas they create and transmit. By the same token, the social change in their consideration could only emerge from and a social elite whose intellectual taste matches the products of high culture. Cultural studies, on the other hand, abolishes such a segregation between high and low culture. It highlights the significance of popular

cultural forms like film, television, and popular music, grounding on their revealing nature for the dynamics of society (ibid). As an outstanding example of such theoretical approach, Kellner and Michael Ryan explore popular Hollywood films of 60's to 80's through their representation of contesting political positions of the era in *Camera Politica: The politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film* (1988).

2.4.3.2 Popular culture

The field of popular culture constitutes a fertile ground for cultural studies. The terminology of popular culture is difficult to explain since it is used in various contexts with no common ground to define the meaning – whether in academics or in the sphere of everyday life. For Kellner, the major problem with popular culture terminology emerges from the complications in the meaning, since the term both refers to the "culture of people" and "cultural products produced for the mass consumption" (ibid, 33). While the culture of people refers to the artefacts produced by people for the use of people, the description of popular culture as the sum of products produced for mass consumption points to a particular group leading the phases of production, whereas others consume it. In my perspective, the dichotomy in the interpretation of the meaning of popular culture belongs to the broad theoretical separation between the Frankfurt School and the critical perspectives that challenges its elitism.

Another common tendency to define popular culture is to casually use the term to refer to the wide appreciation of certain cultural products, however this approach is both limited and invalid since it conceals the interplay of social dynamics. For a more comprehensive definition that acknowledges its impact on both the production of cultural products and their interpretation, I'll resort to Raymond William's definitive work on the terminology of Cultural Studies.

In *Keywords: The Vocabulary of Culture and Society* after exploring the historical development of the context of culture and its applications, Williams identifies culture as referring to the practices that compromise the production of texts and the ways of making sense of them (1983, p. 91). In this contextualization, the field of culture embraces all intellectual and creative activity from both sides of production and interpretation in a dynamic sense. The motivations to charge the phases of interpretation

are produced within the culture itself, since it transmits certain values and systems of social judgements to subjects according to their ideological positioning in society. In its cyclic nature the sphere of culture leads both to creative productions and their interpretations simultaneously.

The term popular in Williams' explanation derives from "people", which explains the word "popular" as something that belongs to the people (ibid, 237). Terms like "popular estate" or "popular state" refer to the system or operations organized or led by the people. In William's explanation the ascendant meaning of popular is transformed into a positive recognition as something widely favoured, or well-liked in the modern period (ibid). On the other hand, the negative employment of the terminology is frequently used for conditions that are unwelcome for many, like "popular sickness" referring to epidemic diseases. Stepping out from the both negative and positive utilization of the term, it appears that the significance of the terminology relies on wide-recognition rather than wide-favour. In Williams' explanation, the word popular enables a connotation of inferiority when it is paired with artistic practices like music, literature and film. The term in this context both refers to the creative practices that are classified as inferior (like popular literature) and also the works that are crafted to reach a wide-range of audience (like popular journalism and practices of popular entertainment) (ibid). The simplification intrinsic in the meaning emerges in artistic practices and is grounded on the inclusiveness of the word for the people. Hence the simplicity resides in the word popular refers to texts and messages that are for general access and consumption of the people. The core terminology of popular culture for Williams emerges through such a context of accessibility. The field of popular culture is a sphere that presents knowledge for the general access. In identifying popular culture, Williams brings forward its widespread nature, general access, and recognition as a significant characteristic, rather than being well liked or favoured. Examples of popular song and popular art in general are shortened into "pop" which for Williams pulls the concept into a more accessible sphere. The distinction between being popular in such practices would not necessitate the admiration it receives from the people, but it refers to a wide-range of circulation in which the artistic practice would become familiar to the people. Therefore, the significance of the field of popular culture resides in being wide-spread and the familiarity it evokes in the people rather than being appreciated and liked by the

many.

In his explanation of popular culture, John Fiske proposes wide-circulation and accessibility as the significant characteristics of the concept in *Understanding Popular Culture*. In order to disassociate admiration from recognition, Fiske highlights the failure of products in the market despite heavy advertising, or blockbuster films with huge PR campaigns that do not perform at the box office (1989, 31). Therefore, the field of popular culture does not consist of the products, discourses, or artistic practices that are appreciated by the most in a given society but refers to such items that are known and accessible to many. Hence the large recognition of an item of popular culture enables both acceptance and rejection in society. The various ideological positions in society with different judgemental systems would interpret items of popular culture in various ways of acceptance and rejection. This condition structures the field of popular culture as a contested terrain. The same popular artistic product or political discourse that is in wide circulation in a society could be rejected and trigger resistance in some groups while being accepted and supported by the others.

The discourse of dominant ideology in society is highly influential on popular culture since it bears an inherent accessibility through wide-circulation in society. However, strong influence on popular culture does not mean that they necessarily transmit such messages to society directly. The field of popular culture through its various items and their interpretations would be a battleground with the emergent acceptance and rejections. Texts that are charged with the discourse of state power can receive a negative reaction from certain parts of society and hence evoke a resistance against the dominant ideology.

Williams' distinctive approach to the dominant, emergent and residual forms are helpful to understand the variations in meaning production and expressions in society (2002, p. 137). The residual forms in his explanation refers to the experiences, meanings and values in society that stay out of the realm of dominant culture's sphere of meaning and expressions. The texture of the residual culture would be formed in relation to religion or certain geographical characteristics of the periphery. Even though the residual culture appears to stay on the far corners of the dominant contemporary culture, it continues to operate in it. The emergent forms in culture stand for new ways of signification and

expressions that are being created. They continually add new meanings and thus fresh ways of expression and hence alter cultural experiences (ibid). The dominant, residual and emergent forms of interpretation and expression that are simultaneously at play constitute the contested terrain of culture in society. The different layers of signification reside in a text enabling the space for various interpretations. The dynamics of the sphere of popular culture are bound to the alterations triggered by social and historical change. In this process, signification belongs to the residual or emergent culture and might gain prominence and relocate into the sphere of dominant forms of cognition.

The space of culture as both the source and outcome of all intellectual and creative activity forms the ways of engagement with the discourses of social, economic and political conditions in society. As a contested terrain, culture harbours dominant and resistant tendencies, ideological inclinations of the past and present, carving out the future. Popular culture in its dynamic nature could be perceived as the culture of the contemporary, the pulse of society. It consists of prominent ideas and ideological tendencies that are in struggle in a society. It forms the contemporary impulses of engaging with the cultural environment and influences the cultural practices in a given time and space.

Products of popular culture as an inherent component are the ones to come forward in a wide circulation and reach a large recognition in society. As mentioned earlier, they do not need to be favoured by large groups in society. The field of popular culture refers to the products, discourses or artistic practices that are known and accessible to many in a given time and space rather than such items that are appreciated by the most people. The key point of popularity then would reside in the recognition they receive. The popularity of a cultural product depends on its accordance with the dynamics of the culture, in other words its ability to catch the pulse of society either in a favourable or a non-favourable manner.

The occurrence of such situations is bound to various conditions. There are cases where niche artistic practices could unintentionally reach the recognition of masses in society thus be involved in the sphere of popular culture. On the other hand, the branch of cultural production to privilege economic interests, the so-called entertainment industry, accounts for the dynamics of popular culture to address a wide audience. In the scope of

this study, I find it useful to make the distinction between cultural productions that are intentionally produced to become a part of popular culture, and hence reach a wide circulation in society.

The commercial films that relate to the wider scope of products of popular culture gains distinction with their effort to catch the pulse of the society through to aim of reaching a large audience. In my analysis on filmic historiography of the Early Republican Period performed by popular films produced between 1996 and 2011 in Turkey I direct my focus towards commercial productions for their revealing nature on the contemporary dynamics of society.

2.4.3.3 The representation of history in commercial films

The aim of reaching a wide audience grounds on the profit-oriented mode of manufacturing in film production. In order to market a film to an audience on a huge scale, the films need to be in accordance with the current tendencies in a society. Thompson and Bordwell explain the industrial mode of production and the role of broad social tendencies in their metaphoric designation of the contract between the filmmaker and audience (2008, p. 326). They write: "Because of the contract between the filmmaker and audience, the promise of something new based on something familiar may also respond quickly to broad social trends" (ibid). In Kellner's expression: "Since films must attract large audiences, they need to resonate the audiences' dreams, fears, and social concerns and thus inevitably reflect social mores, conflicts and ideologies" (Kellner 2004, p. 207). The films that target a large audience need to catch the pulse of the society and thus be in accord with the dynamics of popular culture.

The commercial film determines its menu according to the demands of the audience in order to be consumed by a large population. The dominant social tendencies of a society constitute the demands of the society and designate the experience the audience desires through the film medium. The filmic experience that fulfils the demand of the audience is the filmic experience that houses the tense social conflicts in its narration and suggests smooth solutions to the problem. Through the filmic experience, the audience confronts current conflicts and relieves itself through the catharsis of the film. Therefore, the commercial film positions itself as a tool for relaxation, and arguably

stands at the core of the entertainment industry. The commercial film not only exhibits itself as a fun place to escape daily worries, but as a sphere that cures daily worries.

Commercial films are produced to be consumed on a mass scale. In order to be sold to a mass audience, the commercial film needs to catch the pulse of the society and fulfil the audience's demands. By detecting the prominent dynamics in popular culture, the commercial film creatively engraves the fears and fantasies of the audience in the narration. The stylish lacework aims to attract the attention of the audience by portraying and healing socially conflicting fields, in other words where the shoe pinches in society.

The institutionalization of the commercial mode of film production forms the blockbuster cinema culture in the United States, and spreads to film industries globally, generating similar practices in other local markets. The profit-oriented mode of manufacturing has been instilled in the practices of film production in the US since the 1950's. Schatz in his study on the formation of the blockbuster modality in Hollywood Cinema highlights the growth of independent motion picture production, the increasing prominence of studios, the emergence of commercial television, and the reconfiguration of the American lifestyle through the patterns of media consumption as the key circumstances (2003, p. 17). As Julian Stringer depicts in the book *Movie Blockbusters,* the generic identity of blockbuster films is their size (2003, p. 5), and is exhibited in all steps of production in blockbuster films. Big budget, big production, big stars, and big marketing are all combined and targeted for big consumption. Thomas Elsaesser, in his article "The Blockbuster: Everything Connects, But Not Everything Goes," defines the blockbuster film as a sensational event. In his portrayal of the characteristics of the blockbuster film, Elsaesser looks at how the film's subjects are shaped around traditional stories and the mystical background of historical events, usually in the form of fantasy or science fiction (2001, p. 16). Defining the blockbuster film as the technological extension of fairy tales, Elsaesser underlines the industrial organization that manufactures the spectacular experience (ibid, 17).

Marketing strategies are introduced to the realm of the cinema through blockbuster films. The practices used to start a buzz around the film and to promote it as an upcoming spectacular event are the definitive components of blockbusters. Elsaesser

indicates that blockbuster film announces that it is going to be a “spectacular” weeks before the first screening through the excitement it creates in the media (ibid, 16). The blockbuster film establishes and presents itself as an event. For Elsaesser, a film doesn’t turn out to be a blockbuster as a result of sales success at the box office. A blockbuster film is a creation that is produced, promoted, and presented as a blockbuster. According to Stringer, one of the most charming characteristics of the blockbuster film is the parade it presents to show off wealth during the process of promotion for the film (2003, p. 5). He defines the concept of the blockbuster as the most public kind of popular cinema by its huge coverage in media. Thomas Schatz also marks the marketing phase of the blockbuster film as an inevitable component of its constitution, defining the blockbuster film as a pre-sold spectacle (2003, p. 18).

The modalities of blockbuster cinema exhibit variations due to the characteristics of the local film market. However, the presentation of the film to the audience as a significant event would be the definitive characteristic for the commercial film production in general. The aim to reach a large audience corresponds to its large-scale distribution in movie theatres. Commercial films court movie theatres with the claim that they will be sold in great numbers. The opening numbers of a film would provide tangible values to designate on the commercial characteristics of films.

Commercial films in the wider context of popular cinema would not gain their popularity as a consequence of their success in box office, but they announce themselves as popular events. As I have mentioned before, a film can become a part of popular culture by the wide recognition it receives from the audience. But the significance of the commercial film lies in the way it is crafted to be a product of popular culture. To fulfil such a requirement, the structuring of commercial films involves the main tendencies of society in their narratives.

Consequently, the historical representations practiced by films that are produced for commercial interests would involve contemporary tendencies in the portrayal of the past. Since commercial films involve prominent social discourses by following the dynamics of popular culture, the contemporary tendencies of society involve the representation of a past event in historical commercial films. Vivian Sobchack in *The Persistence of History* acknowledges the historiography performed by popular practices

like commercial films as a commodity, something that is adjusted for the highest consumer satisfaction (1996, p. 6).

The historiographical performance of commercial films gains significance through their ability to reveal the contemporary dynamics of society through their association with the popular culture. Once the commercial film narrates a historical event, the representation of the past bears the characteristics of the contemporary culture in its historiographical practice. Hence the filmic representation of history in commercial films reflects the contemporary perspectives in its expression. By the same token, the historiographical performance of commercial films influences the historical consciousness of society through the impact of filmic experience and their wide circulation. The representation of the past in commercial historical films is bound to shift in accordance with the emergent discourses to trigger social change.

In the following chapter I will examine the emergent critical perspectives in 1990s, which challenge the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period of Turkey (1919-1938) to designate their impact on the filmic historiography of the period in commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011.

3. THE CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN THE 1990s AND THE EMERGENT KEMALIST DEFENSE

Critical perspectives questioning the oppressive implementations of the Kemalist regime during the Early Republican Period have had a great impact on the recent history of Turkey. The criticism of nationalism and the modernization project of the Early Republican Period revisited in the 1990s culminated in the alteration of perspectives on the indispensable merits of Kemalist ideology and the founding ideals of the Republic. The transformation from considering the validity of Kemalist ideology to later on questioning it generated a space to examine foundational myths of the Turkish Republic. The 1990s in Turkey signify a period in which society confronted the pressures and consequences of the Early Republican modernist project. A democratic opening relocated the grand narratives of the foundation of the Turkish Republic and Kemalist ideology to a new space open for inquiry. The criticism of the Early Republican Period reflected in the artistic productions of the 1990s as well as academic discussions theorizing the socio-political sphere of 1990s is revealed through its impact on the cultural dynamics of Turkey.

This chapter is dedicated to understanding how the 1990s criticism and filmic historiography challenged the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican period through the commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011. For this purpose, I will initially treat the Early Republican Period and the founding principles by attributing significance to Republicanism, Nationalism, Secularism and the Modernization project. In the framework of 1990s criticism, I will discuss the impact of Turkey's economic exposure to globalization through the 1980s and the discursive roof of "Modernization from Above" that signifies the oppressive implementations of the Kemalist reforms during the Early Republican period. The critical discourse defines the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms.

In the following part of the chapter, I'll assemble the main grounds of the 1990s criticism. These consist of first: the negligence and oppression of ethnic and religious minorities through the Nationalization Project that aimed for a homogenous national unity and a Turkish citizen identity to go along with it. Secondly: the oppression of conservative Islamic members of society through the implementation of secularist reforms in order to diminish the authority of religion on the public affairs and everyday life. Third: the state centric management of the modernization project that led to the disintegration of society through the dichotomies of center versus periphery, modernity versus backwardness, Turkish versus Minority, and Muslim versus non-Muslim. And finally, the fourth element is the self-oppression of society through the failures in accomplishing the necessary duties needed to reach to the level of "Western" civilizations. The demands of modernist progress in Kemalist ideology culminated in a sense of inadequacy that led to the subjection of society against the Republican elite. The conceptualization of the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period will be utilized to expose the engagement of the commercial historical films that narrate the period with the critical perspectives.

In the last two parts of the chapter, I'll discuss the rise of political Islam in the 1990s in relation to the democratic shift towards the re-assessment of the Early Republican Period and the emergence of a defensive Kemalist reaction that aimed to preserve the validity of the Republican ideals and Kemalist ideology.

3.1 THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND KEMALISM

The historical framework of the Early Republican Period in this study begins with the Independence War that marks the initiation of the foundation process in 1919 and the ending line involves the implementations of Kemalist reforms up to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938. The Turkish Republic was founded under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. Mustafa Kemal emerged as a public figure through his military accomplishments during WWI fighting on Ottoman fronts. The initiation of the Foundation Process begins with the Independence War (1919-1922) that triggers the tumble of the Ottoman Empire and defines the initial

borders of the country. The Turkish Nation is an essential component of the Turkish Republic project, and is molded through the virtues of modernization, nationalization and westernization.

The 600 years of dynamic conquest politics of Ottoman Empire brought about the multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure to the society through intersecting and co-habiting various communities. The foundation of the Turkish Republic over the monarchic ruling practice of Ottoman Empire required the constitution of a unified national identity that is thus appropriated for democratic governance. The construction of the Turkish nation in a unified, modern and westernized form was held through the cultural regulations that are denominated as Kemalist Reforms. The modernist reforms are comprised of a huge area of life including almost every social habitat. The implementation of the reforms was directed towards the construction of a nation, one totally separated from and defining itself against Ottoman virtues in order to form a "modern" in the sense of Western civilizations.

Fuat Keyman in *Symbiotic Antagonisms* (2011) and Serif Mardin in *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey* (2006) both argue that the constitution of the Turkish Republic is built on four fundamental shifts. One of them is impersonal rules and regulations brought about to replace the indisputable authority of one person rule. The shift to positivist scientific reason instead of divine law is the second shift. The third shift is the constitution of a political system that considers the community rather than only the elite class. And finally, the shift to constitute a nation-state by transforming the religious society into a republic. These are the four pillars for the foundation of the republic. The dominance of religion both in the ruling mechanisms and the society was considered the main reason for Ottomans falling behind Western civilizations in terms of modernity, and hence the distillation of religion from the social sphere was crucial for the progressive Kemalist ideology (2011, p. 17).

Despite assembling a national construction processes on the imaginary favorable sphere of unification, the reflections of those implementations cross the paths of oppression, intimidation and suppression. Keyman explains the pressure on the

society by the implementations of the foundation process through the lack of the demand for change coming from the people of Turkey (ibid, 13). With this argument he points to the inorganic structuring of the modernization project. Quoting Mardin, he states that the transformation in Turkey on the Early Republican period cannot be acknowledged in terms of a class-based revolution or a postcolonial political transformation (ibid).

Although Turkey was not been colonialized in the literal sense, as Keyman points out, the will to Westernization and modernization in Western sense could be considered as the strongest influence on the Early Republican project. In Keyman's expression the contemporary level of Western civilization was the level to be achieved in terms of industrialization, democratization, and secularization. And thus: "The Kemalist elite accepted the universal validity of Western modernity as the way of building modern Turkey" (ibid). Taking the War of Independence into account as the initial step of the foundation process, the period sheltered a paradox via the simultaneous struggle to manifest independence from Western Nations through its borders, while at the same time achieving the level of Western civilizations (ibid).

The Turkish nation is constructed through the persona of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the founder of the republic and the first Türk of Turkish national identity. The seeds of modern and secular Turkish identity in line with Western civilization are planted among the fluxes of the modernization and westernization process. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had a significant vision for the Turkish Republic that he expressed in his many speeches, and programs that reflected on the design of constitutions and laws, as Stanford and Ezel Shaw remarks (2002). These visions developed into the six ideologies to establish the foundations of Kemalism: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Revolutionism, Secularism and Statism (Etatism). They are listed in the second article of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic (ibid, 375).

Keyman acknowledges the Kemalist reforms as the organization of social practices to maintain the penetration of Kemalist ideologies in the society. They functioned to create a nation that responds to the political modernity established in the new state: "These reforms were designed to equate the national will with the general will and

included the principles of republicanism, nationalism, etatism, secularism, populism and revolutionalism (or reformism from above)" (Keyder 2011, p. 20). For the modernization project of Turkish national identity, Keyman emphasizes the social engineering practices that took place during the foundation of the Turkish republic (ibid):

> *Kemalism understood modernization not just as a question of acquiring technology, but as something that could not be absorbed without a dense network of cultural practices, which made instrumental thought possible. This means that the commitment to political modernity has to be supplemented with a set of cultural practices in order to ground the articulation of reason and capital via the nation-state. The Kemalist commitment to political modernity in this sense aimed to achieve a top-down and state-based transformation of a traditional society into a modern nation by introducing and disseminating Western reason and rationality.*

In his interpretation, Nationalism gains significance in this process in its utilization as the glue to maintain society's consent for state authority by bonding them to the Kemalist ideology and hence securing the sustainability of the Republic (ibid).

In the following sub-chapters I will discuss the founding Kemalist ideologies along with the Republican reforms during the Early Republican period to establish the ground for my study on the filmic historiography of the period in contemporary cinema in Turkey. I will focus on the ideologies of Republicanism, Nationalism and Secularism mainly to draw on the impact of the reformist implementations on the society. For this discussion I will fallow Ezel & Stanford Shaw's narration in their distinct Kemalist approach and challenge their interpretation through the critical perspectives directed on the implementations of the period.

3.1.1 Republicanism

Republicanism refers to the replacement of the monarchic administration of the Ottoman sultanate with the Republic system in the context of the early Republican era of Turkey. It involves the constitution of the Parliament and the election system. While defining Republican ideology Ezel & Stanford Shaw point out the entire transformation in the organization of society that emerged along with the Republic (ibid). By the transformation of society, they refer to the changing mindset of the public through the given right to rule themselves: "Now the sultanate, caliphate, and the Ruling Class gave way to a Republic, manifesting and organizing the sovereignty of the people and their

right to rule themselves for their own benefit" (ibid). In their interpretation the relation between the people and society is immediate in a sense that it disregards the existence of the republican elite by emphasizing the consistence of the republic by and for the people. By suggesting, "the people learned that their interests were identical with those of the Republic and that its continued existence and prosperity were essential for theirs" (ibid) they define the state as an authority on the people that educates them on their democratic rights and their utilization.

Thinking these statements through the single party period that lasted for decades to prevent the possible damage on the progress of the society exhibits the ground for further inquiry on the legitimacy of the republican system during the foundation process. Ayşe Kadıoğlu in "*Symbiotic Antagonisms*" draws attention to the direction of the motivation to change the ruling system and the organization of society accordingly (2011). In her interpretation, the problematic of democracy is grounded in the lack of the public resistance against the sultanate that calls for change in the ruling system (ibid, 41). It was the authoritarian decision of the newly established state to install the Republican system after tearing down the Empire. And as designated by Ezel & Stanford Shaw the state took the bulk of the responsibility to introduce the society to the republican system with the need to teach them what to do with the choice (2002, p. 375).

Umut Uzer in "*The Genealogy of Turkish Nationalism*" interprets the single party period that lasted until 1945 as motivated by the Kemalist elite's desire to secure the system in the way it was designed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, that is until the public is educated properly (ibid, 121). For his argument he exhibits Munis Tekinalp's position, suggesting that even though the parliament and elections were introduced to Turkish society, the people of Turkey were not intellectually ready to handle the responsibility of the choice. Thus the single party era provided the time that was necessary for the public to participate in the democratic political system (ibid).

3.1.2 Nationalism

In Ezel & Stanford Shaw's account, the constitution of the Turkish national identity was inherent to the emergence of the country after the Independence War (2002, p. 375). They portray the population as a homogeneous whole consisting of 97.3 Turkish Muslims after the "flight" of the non-Muslim populations in the aftermath of wars (ibid). They claim that it became possible for Turkish national identity to spread due to this very same homogenic unity in ethnic and cultural terms. In Ezel & Stanford Shaw's interpretation, it is the "departure" of foreigners, which they refer to the non-Muslim and non-Turkish speaking, as a "natural" consequence of the identifications of the borders of the new-born country, which created the space to fulfill the targets of Turkey.

The only challenge to achieving Turkey's nationalistic goals at the time was the sense of deprivation that emerged through the political and military defeats of the late Ottoman period. Sun-Language theory and the Turkish History thesis were both developed by state-led institutions and developed to deal with such sore national feelings by arguing that the Turks were the pioneers of all civilizations and cultures. I will return to these theses in greater detail later on when I discuss the question of ethnicity in the constitution of Turkish identity. However, Ezel & Stanford Shaw's interpretation of Turkish nationalism as a smooth natural process demands a broad inquiry, which takes into account the critical perspectives that articulate the contemporary turmoil in the society through the progress of nationalism in Turkey.

In order to understand the practice of nationalism as a fundamental component during the foundation of Turkish Republic, I will begin to elaborate on the conceptualization of nation and nation states in general during the modern period. Kadıoğlu emphasizes the contrast between the concepts of "us" and "them" as a significant characteristic of the modern practice of nationalism (2011, p. 33). The practice of nationalism emerging with the French Revolution connects the nation and people, creating the concept of the citizen. The idea of the "citizen" in Kadıoğlu's explanation depends on the determination of the land a person belongs to, and hence has a right to that land. Such a determination would require the separation of the citizen from the foreigner. Keyman utilizes Michael Foucault's terminology of "exclusion / inclusion" to interpret the

citizen. Keyman explains this as the act of creating an identity for the citizen by relating it in opposition to the differences of the other (ibid, 18).

The cognition of the nationalism as a bond with the land and citizen that emerge with French nationalism and appears in the citizenship practices of the United States is common but requires further investigation on the question of ethnicity. The practice of diversification is initiated with the presence of borders however it continues to progress through the social groups that appear to stay out of the national identity within the borders.

For an elaborate understanding of the complex characteristics of nationalism, I will resort to the signification of the territorial-civic and ethnic characteristics of nationalism in Uzer's contextualization. Quoting Anthony Smith, Uzer describes the civic-territorial model of nationalism as a social practice that brings together a legal political community around a shared culture and ideology on the land they settle on (2011, p. 104). The engagement of the land and culture is significant in this type of nationalism and by obtaining the culture and the sense of belonging the individual becomes a part of the nation. In the civic nationalism model, the shared ideology that wraps around and conveys the national identity, the national culture and value systems is established and sustained through education and media (ibid).

The practice of the ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, is a national identity that develops through a shared sense of ethnicity, a common descent rather than the shared territory. In order to be a part of the nation in the ethnic model the individual needs to be a member of that ethnic group, which implies a physical bond as well as a mental one. The physical bond materializes through qualities like religion, language, and ethnicity. The territorial civic model appears to rely more on the choice of the individual to become a member of the nation, requiring a voluntary expression of nationhood. In the ethnic model, however, it is not enough to choose to be a part of the nation: certain ethnic requirements need to be fulfilled.

However, as Uzer remarks, quoting Smith, all nationalistic practices involve characteristics from both the civic-territorial and ethnic models (ibid, 105), wherein a dominant ethnic core resides. Moreover, it is difficult to build and sustain a national

identity disassociated from ethnic characteristics. Even nationalization practices in the United States exhibit an implementation in the field of ethnicity by building the cultural codes of the nation on ethnical assimilation (ibid).

In the case of the nationalism project of the Turkish Republic and its foundation process, the determination of the Turkish citizen constitutes not an exception, but rather forms through the paths of exclusion and inclusion. In this sense it is important to conceive of nationalism and national identity in the Turkish Republic as an ongoing project, rather than a solidified inclination. Uzer divides Turkish Republican nationalism practices into phases. The effort to understand these phases in a linear and chronological manner would be misleading and ignores the complex social tendencies of the period. Hence, I acknowledge the entwined formation of the territorial and ethnic characteristics of nationalization practices during the foundation process. That being said, I will present them in an order in accordance with the prominent ideologies of the period to define the bond between the country and citizen.

For the birth of the Republic the practice of territorial-civic nationalism gains significance by focusing on the determination of territorial borders and defining the people within those borders. In its initial stage, founding period's nationalism could be characterized as identifying the bond with the borders of the new country drawn after the independence war and the people living on it. As mentioned earlier, the official ideology of Turkish nationalization is Kemalism or Atatürkism, grounded on the principles of republicanism, nationalism, secularism, etatism, populism and reforms constituting the "six arrows" (ibid, 117). Uzer highlights Article 88 of the 1924 Constitution in order to draw attention to ethnic and religious pluralism as the dominant nationalistic tendency of the period (ibid, 119). The people of Turkey are called "Turks" regardless of religion and race.

The challenge of the initial implementation of nationalism in the foundation process was the separation with the Ottoman Empire. The main strategy of this process was to create a strict separation with the Ottoman heritage to a great cultural extent. As Uzer notes (citing Çolak): the disposal of the Arabic alphabet and Arabic-Persian words illustrate the intention to gradually phase out contact with the Ottoman past (ibid, 117).

Nevertheless, the necessity emerges to attach the nation to an origin, which required establishing a bond with the pre-Ottoman Turkish past. This move aims to demonstrate that the origin, which grounds the Turkish Republic, is far greater than the Ottoman heritage. Such a perspective identifies Ottoman culture as a generation or even a stage of Turkish identity. The "Turkish History Thesis" (1932) and the "Sun Language Thesis" (1936) were both commissioned by the state with the aim to exhibit the divine antiquity of Turkish origin. Even though they lacked adequate evidence to be proven, they still argued that almost all known civilizations like the Hititians, Egyptians and Sumerians were Turks and their language was rooted in Turkish. In Uzer's cognition, these theories' efforts to forge an ancient Turkish origin for Anatolia, would increase the sense of pride and belonging among Turkish citizens while enabling a single identity for all (ibid, 118).

Even though the question of origin aligns in the broader context of ethnicity, the founding ideology of Turkish Republic seems to have utilized the Turkish History Thesis and Sun Language Theory to fundamentally surpass the Ottoman legacy. The ancient identity of the Turkish citizen appears to belong to a comprehensive stance towards the ethnic and religious diversities in the initial stage of nationalism. That being said, the next phase of nationalism progresses by making clear definitions and boundaries of the Turkish citizen in terms of ethnicity and religion.

The constitution of religion as a determinative notion in the nationalization process arguably emerges along with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The contract is significant for the definition of the borders of Turkish Republic in the aftermath of the War of Independence. The "population exchanges" between the Greek Orthodox Christians in Anatolia and the Muslims from Rumeli was initiated with Lausanne. Through this process, the ratio of the non-Muslim population decreased from 25 % to 2,5 % from 1913 to 1923, as Kadıoğlu quotes Keyder (ibid, 40). This operation inaugurates religion as a feature at the core of the Turkish Citizen's foundation during the nationalization process in order to create religious homogeneity in the society.

One of the most prominent strategies that reveals the exclusion implemented on the non-Muslim population would appear in the case of Capital Levy (varlık vergisi) from 1942-1944. The Capital Levy stays out of the framework of the Early Republican

Period, nevertheless I'll briefly mention it to illustrate its significance for the state's conscious implementation of ethnic considerations.

The Republican Assembly led by İsmet İnönü who became the President after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk designed the Capital Levy. In Ezel & Stanford Shaw's interpretation the project sought to collect the tax on the commercial wealth in Turkey to deal with the economic losses incurred during World War II (2002, p. 398). In their account the tax policy was directed to all property owners, businessmen, farmers, and cooperations in the population. The tax rates would be defined according to the amount of wealth. Commissions with a group of specialists gathered to calculate the estimated wealth of the owners to constitute the fair distribution of the tax responsibilities. Owners who did not follow the committee's decisions would be punished with arrest and deportation. In Ezel & Stanford Shaw's expression, most of the Muslim population was honest and obedient and paid the designated tax, considering it a patriotic obligation, while the non-Muslim population failed to do so. In their words: "Many non-Muslim citizens and foreigners resident in Turkey, however never considered the country their home and did all they could to conceal their wealth and avoid the tax" (ibid, 389). Consequently, the commission was obliged to increase the tax rates directed at non-Muslims in order to provide a solution for the suspicion of concealment. Many non-Muslims had to sell the whole or parts of their businesses or properties to fulfill their obligation. The way Ezel & Stanford Shaw explain the reason of the overwhelming tax rates on the non-Muslim population boldly exhibits their motivation to justify the incident on the side of the Republican regime.

From a contrasting perspective, Uzer points out to the motivation of creating a Turkish-Muslim bourgeois class for the overwhelming tax policy towards the non-Muslims (2011, p. 112). The non-Muslim population ended up with paying 53 percent of the whole tax income while the Muslims paying 36,5 percent. This comparison of the percentage is significant considering the vast difference in the demographical ratio of the non-Muslim and Muslim population in Turkey during the period. In Uzer's account, the tax policies implemented on the non-Muslim population signify the existence of ethnicity as a distinctive element in the national identity. He solidifies his argument by exhibiting the September 6-7 1955 incident, in which the shops and businesses owned

by the non-Muslim population were destroyed by crowds in İstanbul and İzmir (ibid). In his consideration, religion was a dominant actor in the designation of the national identity during the period despite the official ideology established on secularism.

In the historical survey of the modernization process of the Republican era in Turkey Keyder acknowledges the Capital Levy as a strategic political move destined to homogenize economic growth in favor of the Muslim population (1998, 32). Acknowledging Statism as a founding ideology of the Republic that refers to the control of the state in the industrial and capital growth of Turkey is significant to understanding the privileges given to the Muslim-Turkish population. Religion as a benchmark for ethnic determination on national identity emerges in state policies implemented on the Capital Levy laws oppressing the non-Muslim citizens of Turkish Republic.

Discussing the implementation of "Turkification" processes during the foundation period brings another layer to understanding the instrumentalization of ethnicity. Turkification broadly involves the designation of the official language as Turkish while bringing harsh restrictions for the use of any other language, such as Arabic, Persian or Kurdish. Campaigns like *Citizen, Speak Turkish!*" (Vatandaş, Türkçe Konuş!), helped define the citizen of Turkey as a Turkish speaking subject, while banning the use of any other language from the public spaces.

For Ezel & Stanford Shaw, the Turkification of the language was an essential element of Turkish nationalism through the leadership of the Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) established in 1926 (2002, p. 376). Among its many projects include the introduction of the Latin alphabet and the elimination of Arabic and Persian from the school curriculums. Other than that, words of foreign origin were replaced with Turkish ones either by searching for the Turkish equivalent or simply inventing new words. According to Ezel & Stanford Shaw the main aim of introducing the Latin alphabet was to create a break from the Ottoman heritage for younger generations and hence replace the conservative mentality with a liberal and modern one (ibid). For them Mustafa Kemal's intention was to create a young generation of Turks who would move forward to the Westernized ideals rather than longing for the memories of past where the Ottoman Empire was greater.

At first glance the Turkification of the language as a part of the nationalization process appears like a part of the strategy that aims to create a distinct separation from the Ottoman heritage. Certainly, the choice to use the Latin alphabet referred to a step towards Western culture. It also functioned to create a field for the Republic to show their strength on the conservative Muslim population by abolishing the language of Koran from daily life. As Ezel & Stanford Shaw state, the use of Turkish became compulsory for the call to prayer along with the sermons in mosques. By the year 1929, the Turkish translations of Koran registered along with the prohibition of Arabic and Persian publications (ibid, 386). I will elaborate on the Republic's challenge with the conservative Muslim society on the discussion of secularism later on. At this point it is essential to emphasize the impacts of the Turkification process on minorities whose mother tongues were banned.

Uzer argues that the designation of Turkish as the sole official language for spoken and written communication in Turkey forces the citizens with mother tongues other than Turkish to assimilate (2012, p. 119). Consequently, ethnic minorities like Greeks and Kurds were left with no choice but to integrate or be excluded from the national identity. The separation from the mother tongue with prohibition gains importance when considering its implementation along with the school system. Primary school education became mandatory during the period and learning to read and write in Turkish was obligatory. Consequently, the designation of Turkish as the official language of both formal and everyday life led to the extinction of mother tongues through the cultural evolution of the upcoming generations.

Uzer acknowledges nationalism in Turkey during the foundation process as a duality between ethnic and territorial perspectives. Nevertheless, he argues that the implementations of the early republican era for the designation and establishment of citizen identity in Turkey incline towards an ethnic determination. As a striking example for the nationalist tendency that follows the ethnic path, he points out how the discursive constructions emerges in the speeches of Atatürk about the noble blood that the Turks shall confide in for the strength to overcome the enemy (ibid, 120).

3.1.3 Secularism and the Modernization Project

Another significant notion to develop national identity of Turkey during the foundation process emerged along with the secularist perspective. Secularism as one of the six founding ideologies of the republic becomes a significant agent to designate citizen identity once articulated through the modernization project in terms of reaching the level of Western civilizations. The organization of the ruling practice as well as the course of daily life designated according to the secularist ideology by the same token identified the characteristics of the citizen idealized by the republic.

While the non-Muslim population is excluded from the core of the national identity through ethnic determination, the secularist perspective practiced restrictive implementations on the conservative population. The identity of the Turkish Republic as a modern and westernized constitution shall be Muslim and Turkish speaking, but yet modern (in the sense of Western) in the practice of everyday life. This perspective positions religious practice in the personal space of daily life while annihilating its significance in the civil law and politics.

Ezel & Stanford Shaw identify secularism as an ideology towards the liberalization of the individuals from the restrictions of the Islamic practices in daily life alongside the separation of state from the institutions of Islam (2002, p. 384). The project of westernization necessitated the project of modernization. This aim could be considered as the source of ideals which led the state to practice the most intense implementations on the Turkish society during the foundation process.

As previously mentioned, following Keyman (2012, p. 20) the foundation process of the Turkish Republic is strongly bound to the aim of reaching the level of Western civilization. The Emergence of Modern Turkey could be recognized as a challenge for the objective to align with the West. The adoption of “modern” life practices depends upon the implementation of the key characteristics of modernity in ways of thought and practice. Among many others, the ideals of Enlightenment gained prominence, as they direct criticism towards the influence of religion in the administrative practice, economy and ultimate in the sphere of the everyday life. The ideals of the Age of Enlightenment challenge religion’s adequacy to ultimately

account for the matters of life, death, nature, and culture. Hence the regulatory provision of religion in the ruling practice and maintaining the order in the society is neglected. Enlightenment ideology emphasizes modern positivist reason as a means for enhancing the ability of the humankind to overcome the boundaries of nature with technology. Hence modernist reason replaces religion as the ultimate source for understanding surviving the exterior reality.

In the context of modernity, technology represents the triumph of the rational mind. The appreciation of individual perception and interpretation enlightens the path of modern philosophy. Cartesian reason manifested individuality through disassociation of cognition from divine knowledge, where knowledge became a mundane conception advanced through reason. The presentation of the individual mind as the competent form to comprehend the exterior world is signified by the mind/body duality. The "modern" mind embraces the conception of technology as the outcome of scientific reason, one that is solid, causal and progressive, which proposes methods in order to deal with the circumstances of nature. Technology serves as a tool to overcome the restrictions of nature, and the rational mind decodes nature's spontaneity and relegates it to the realm of measurability. Technology as the materialized extension of the rational mind solves the problem of nature's ambiguities with reason. Therefore, technology positions itself against nature in the dichotomy of nature and culture along with other miscellaneous binary oppositions that emerged in the age of reason. The function and practice of religion leaves its place the scientific reason and the technology to deal with exterior reality in the age of Enlightenment. Hence the significance of the process (regardless of the time and space it is experienced) points to the annihilation of the priority and importance of religion in the space of everyday life.

The modernization project of the foundation process of Turkish Republic intrinsically follows the perspective and principles of the Enlightenment. The implementations of the state to establish and regulate secularism could be acknowledged as the most intense alterations directed on the space of everyday life during the early republican era. Among the detailed "innovations" practiced by the state to extinguish the Islamic order, of significance is the abolishing of the office

and position of the *seyhulislam* and the Ministry of Religious Foundations. These institutions are broken into smaller offices directly under the prime minister's office (2002, p. 384).

Secularism also transformed the entire education system. A unified National Education system under the direction of Ministry of Education is established while the religious schools (*mektep* and *medresse*'s) are closed (ibid, pp. 184-185). Classes to teach religion were prohibited and religious education is left to the families' discretion and responsibility in the private space, thus separated from the public sphere of school as an institution of state (ibid, 386).

In the domain of law, the National Law Court Organization Regulation (Mahkeme Teşkilatı Kanunu) terminated the Şeriat (Sharia or Islamic law) courts in 1924. The Şeriat judges were no longer charged with any legal affiliations. This followed the complete changes in state institutions to organize social life. In Ezel & Stanford Shaw's account: "The Mecelle and Şeriat were replaced by new secular codes of civil law, criminal law and commercial law, based respectively on the corresponding Swiss, Italian and German codes" (ibid, 385). With the changes in the Constitution in 1928, the statement to signify Islam as the official religion of the state is abolished along with the obligation of the government to support and sustain Şeriat (ibid). The new civil law gave women citizens equal rights with men and this perspective reflected on the regulations of social life on a legal basis. Among the transformations established with civil law included the registration of women's right to public education, the right for women to vote in elections, the right to join civil service, along with some other business lines in equal conditions are significant (ibid).

Marriage went from being a religious affair to an institution established and organized by the state and laws. The civil marriage become mandatory, and religious weddings were still possible, however a religious marriage was no longer sufficient for legal purposes. In this respect, the prohibition of polygamy is significant for the liberalization from Islamic values in daily life practice along with the right to divorce given to women, both secured with the new civil law established during the period (ibid).

The adoption of western clothing styles in social and public environments was encouraged for men and women. Codes for proper manners of dress were subjected to alterations as the use of turbans and fezzes in public were prohibited and the use of veil discoursed significantly in the cities even though there wasn't any kind of banning or punishment as Ezel & Stanford Shaw points out (ibid).

In another leap to terminate the Islamic religion's hegemony on the course of everyday life practice, in 1925 the traditional Islamic measurements replaced with the international time and calendar system setting the sense of time and space in tune with the West. The measurement systems in general are completely adapted to international applications with the adoption of metric system in 1931 (ibid). In 1926 the consumption of alcohol and spirits become legal for the citizens. The production, merchandize, import and export of alcoholic beverages are conducted under state administration (ibid).

From 1926 on, the portraits and statues of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk began to be displayed in public places and institutions. Ezel & Stanford Shaw interpret this tendency to install the visual depictions of Atatürk's image in the social sphere as another move to challenge the values of traditional Islamism. As they point out, realistic visual depictions of living creatures are prohibited in Islamic tradition. While the statues and portraits of Atatürk being installed, the *tuğras* and religious phrases that have placed in the official and private buildings are removed (ibid).

The secularist reforms practiced during the early republican era clearly intended to alter the domination of Islamic traditional values on the organization of both the public and private spheres of social life. The perspectives to criticize the implementations of the secularist reforms of the period rise inherently from the Islamic conservative population. These social groups react to the annihilation of religion as a fundamental ground to determine the governing system as well as the customs of everyday life. The social reaction of the period from the conservative public is understandable considering the great extent and intensity of the republican reforms. Those reforms were designed to transform the course of life style through the designation of the new civil law and the dressing codes instructed by the republic. The protests and strikes of the period like the *Şeyh Said* incident in 1925

are oppressed by various operations led by the state institutions. Hence acknowledging the secularist reforms of the early republican period as a challenge that leads to oppressive applications against conservative resistances rather than a cheerful transformation provides a more realistic ground for discussion.

By sustaining their Kemalist discourse, Ezel & Stanford Shaw emphasize the irrationality of the conservative resistance to secularist reforms by emphasizing the acknowledgement of the religion by the state (2002, p. 38):

> *Though the secularism of the Republic was aimed at lessening the influence of the clergy and creating an environment in which the individual could fallow his religious beliefs without having to embrace predetermined dogma and conform the strict rules, it did not intend to abandon Islam as some of its opponents have claimed. The secularist program never opposed religion as such. ... Worship at mosques was not forbidden. Religious leaders never were prevented from performing their religious functions.*

On the other hand, the secularist reforms' pressure on the Islamic conservative population calls for a critical perspective, considering the boundaries of the national identity it established for citizens living in Turkey.

The Republican state in Keyman's account molds the citizen according to characteristics that involve freezing the other ethnic or religious identities in the past and designating the territorial integrity of secularity of the society as the main account of modernist and progressive nation (2012, p. 18). In Keyman's interpretation, the designation of national identity during the early republican era is held by setting binary oppositions to reach clear separations to detect the "others" of the Kemalist regime. The binary oppositions are utilized in order to define the characteristics of the Turkish citizen through the principles of Kemalism in Keyman's designation were "progressive versus conservative, modern versus traditional, national identity versus ethnic difference and the present versus the past" (ibid).

Keyman signifies the modernization project of the early Republican era as a process implemented from above by pointing the constructed nature of Turkish national identity and its conscious utilization as an agent to oppress Islamic and ethnic identities in the society. Nationalism in Keyman's account was the major incubator to set the common sphere of pseudo-coexistence by establishing a consensus between the state and society.

The constitution of the secular and homogenous national Kemalist identity in his regard enabled the exclusion of Islamic and Kurdish others and hence prevented them from being involved to the political sphere (ibid).

In a contrary perspective Ezel & Stanford Shaw exhibit the Kemalist doctrine of Populism that acknowledges all the citizens of the Republic equal regardless of their class, rank, religion or occupation (2002, p. 378). However, in Uzer's reading, the comprehensiveness of Turkish identity during the early republican era was conditioned through ethnic, religious and cultural terms. In his view, the concealed assimilation practiced during the period surfaces through Republican ideals that demand full devotion to the Kemalist ideology: "The key here was that anyone who accepted the principles of Kemalism and did not insist on keeping the ethnic or religious identities that might be considered anathema to the Kemalist regime could be a Turk" (Uzer 2011, p. 119).

The criticism towards the foundation process that gains prominence was on the direction of the will to form such a revolution. As Kadıoğlu emphasizes, during the course of Turkish Nationalization, the subjects of the emperor who passed the certain eliminations of religion, ethnic identity and culture over time, were designated as the citizens of the nation. The significance of the process, however, lies with the authority to designate the qualifications of the appropriate citizen pointing out the policies coming from above instead the demands emerging from below (Kadıoğlu 2011, p. 41). She indicates the problem of this constitution in the following way: "This paved the way to a view of citizens as dutiful servants of the state rather than the people who demand rights" (ibid). The problematic of the will to transform social organization that broadly fail to come from below (as mentioned earlier) constitutes the main stress in the nationalization process.

In line with Kadıoğlu's assertion Uzer remarks that the social groups living under the rule of the Ottoman Empire who did not adopted the ideology of nationalism willingly or even consciously. The constitution of the nationalistic ideology and identity was the consequence of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century global politics that culminate with the foundation of Turkish republic. However, he argues that the Turks never truly internalized the national identity (Uzer 2011, p. 104). In the upcoming

chapter I will signify the critical perspectives to challenge the Kemalist ideology and social reforms of the Early Republican period in 1990s Turkey to comprehend the social sphere that shapes the historical representation of the period practiced in the films from the perspective of the 1990s.

3.2 1990s CRITICISM OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

1990s criticism of the foundation process gains significance through the frequency and the contextual variety of the perspectives used to criticize the reformist implementations of the Early Republican period. Understanding the critical dynamics of 1990s Turkish society is crucial to understand and question the Kemalist ideals of the foundation process. It is important for the scope of this study since revealing the impact of such criticism creates a possible shift in the historiography of the Early Republican past. In order to understand the cultural and ideological dynamics of the Turkish society in the 1990s I will resort to the theoretical discussions and cultural analyses that came forward in the socio-political and economic climate of the period.

The 1990s are designated as the period for the developed expression of the critical statements on the implementation of the foundation process. Even though I am restricting it to a specific time period, the restriction on the timespan shall bear flexibility in order to maintain a comprehensive cognition. For this reason, I include the second half of 1980s with the emergent critical perspectives towards the ideals of the foundation on the aftermath of the coup, and the first decade of 2000s since the impact of such perspectives persist.

Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba's edited collection "Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey" (1997) provides significant insights into critical perspectives during 1990s Turkey. The portrayal of the critical discourses of 1990s towards the Early Republican Period is a fertile ground to interpret the rise of the Political Islam along with the defensive Kemalist reaction in society in the following period.

The critical perspectives that challenge the modernist implementations of the Early Republican period are arguably rare in Turkey until 1980s. According to Bozdoğan and

Kasaba, early criticisms to challenge the modernization process generally vault over the Republican Reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The inquiry on the modernization process aimed at the late Ottoman period that precedes the Independence War or the period that follows Atatürk's death (1997, p. 4). In their account, the initial voices to raise questions on the implementations of the foundation process are heard around 1960s and 1970s. The criticism of the period on the Turkish Modernization is grounded in a Marxist perspective that enabled the signification of the modernist implementations and their consequences through the economic structures, rather than political institutions. Nevertheless, the Kurdish resistance movement is significant for the acknowledgement of ethnic identity during the 1960s and 1970s.

Both the Islamic resurgence and the Kurdish struggle for acknowledgement comes into prominence during the 1990s. As Keyman & İçduygu point out, the secular foundation of the Republic become subject to criticism with the Islamic Resurgence that gained rapid momentum and power in cultural, economic and social fields of 1990s Turkey. At the same time, the Kurdish discourse of ethnic difference addressed its criticism to uncover the illusion of homogeneity in society and the unity of nation. These two critical pacts of religious and ethnic identity establish the main ground to question the legitimacy of the organic vision of society and the state-centric politics that surrounds it (2003, p. 232).

According to Kasaba, the separation point from the ideological customs of the Early Republican Period was the 1983 elections in the aftermath of the military coup (1997, p. 17). By the 80's, Republican promises of the 'enlightened and prosperous tomorrows' began to be questioned as the younger generation that rose after the Early Republican period grew suspicious about the implementations of the foundation process. The stinging histories of various cultural identities that had been neglected for the ideal portraiture of the glorious past vision of the Republic started to re-emerge. And consequently, in Kasaba's interpretation, the political inquiry towards the reforms and implementations of the foundation process were reflected on the sphere of everyday life, influencing various cultural tendencies from music to architecture (ibid, 18).

In line with Kasaba's portrayal, Nurdan Gürbilek designates the 80's and 90's Turkey as the period of decay for the belief and dedication to Republican values and Kemalist

ideology. In “Living in the Shop Window”, Nurdan Gürbilek tracks the reflections of the modernist implementations’ pressures on the cultural artifacts (1992). The pressure of modernization in Gürbilek’s analysis springs from the foundation process’ ambitious target to reach the level of western countries. Such an aim of modernist development that fails to consider the socio-cultural characteristics of the society generates a fatalistic sense of inadequacy. The aim of reaching the level of civilized societies remained a distant target to keep moving towards as the “Turkish Citizen” idealized by the Republican Ideology tried to reach (Gürbilek 1992, p.106; 2001, p. 95). The second half of 80’s and 90’s mark the period of the emergence of doubt, and hence pave the way for statements challenging the reformist implementations of the early Republican period.

Among the critical perspectives towards the Kemalist practice of modernization process, Islamist Conservative criticism was embodied by the Refah Party which in 1983 became the largest political party in Turkey within a decade. The other strong voice challenging the Early Republican Period emerged from Kurds, as one of the largest ethnic groups in the country reclaimed their distinct cultural identity. The parts of the resistance organized into an armed organization clashing against Turkish army (1997, p.17).

In “Nostalgia for the Modern” Esra Özyürek points out that the clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1924 towards minorities only includes Christians and Jews living in Turkey. Accordingly, Kurds or any other ethnic, or religiously diverse communities are not acknowledged. This official position of the state, which projects the acclimation of the “alleged” diversities in society in the Turkish citizen identity was challenged by Islamist and Kurd intellectuals in 1990s. In Özyürek’s reading, the increasing demands of Kurds and religious communities in society to be recognized as distinct groups with cultural rights established the ground for the challenge (2006, p. 70).

In Kasaba’s insightful portraiture, the social tendencies in 80’s Turkey give rise to clashes between the Muslim and the secularist, Turk and Kurd, reason and faith and the urban and the rural (1997, p. 18). This constituted a rather chaotic sphere far from the progressive vision of the Republican ideals. In his view, the Kemalist modernization project targeting a secularist and westernized society within a homogenous ethnic national identity fall short from actualization. And as expected, the conflicting

ideologies challenge the foundation process, provoking a Kemalist reaction against them; they thus existed side-by-side consequently strengthening each other (ibid).

Efforts to bring insights to this diversification ultimately bear the trace of the ideological inclination to explain the condition. From the Kemalist point of view, according to Kasaba's interpretation, the deterioration broadly emerges through the political diversity introduced by the democratically elected governments in 1950's. The Kemalist argument proposes that the opportunist political groups including religious reactionaries blurred the path of the Republican ideals. For them, the Islamist Conservative demand reassured the superior influence of the religion in the society emerged consequently among this disturbance (ibid).

According to Kasaba, the conservative perspective explains the turmoil in 80's Turkey as the consequence of the secularist reforms of the foundation process during the Early Republican Era. For religious conservatives, the Kemalist ideology forcefully discouraged society from practicing religion in the social sphere of everyday life through the secularist implementations. The concealment of Muslim culture oppressed members of the society by the restricting Islamic practice to the private sphere. The absence of religious practice as a form of social interaction led to the inhibition of a massive part of the society from participating in politics. In the Islamic conservative argument, this condition generated the main cause for the domination of the republican elite on the society mainly in 1940s and 1950s Turkey. For them the removal of the restriction of Islamic practice from the social sphere would benefit the society by enabling the necessary reintegration to the political sphere (ibid).

Kasaba draws attention to the Kemalist negligence towards the struggle of Kurdish identity for recognition during the 80's. In his interpretation the reductionist perspective towards ethnic minorities dating from the nineteenth century signified their existence as puppets provoked by external forces that ultimately aimed to divide and conquer the country, which continued to operate in the 1980s. The underestimation of cultural identity most distinctively seen with the Kurds as the largest ethnic group led to the identification of the condition in the context as the "Kurdish problem". The Kemalist discourse acknowledged the condition in the context of terrorism, while the opponents positioned the state as the enemy (ibid, 19).

According to Bozdoğan & Kasaba, among many other scholars dissecting the dynamics of the period, the resurgence of identity politics became more significant with Turkey's exposure to globalization (1997, p. 5). The vulnerability of the state-centric economy in relation to globalization resulted in the empowerment of certain parts of society. As ethnic and religious identities in society become the novel bases for economic convergence, the reflections of this constitution gradually shaped the field of politics. The emergence of an Islamic Conservative pact and its involvement in politics is a significant outcome of the impact of globalization.

3.2.1 The Impact of Globalization

The globalization tendency that erodes the cognition of political, economic, social and cultural practices in direct association to national values is significant to interpret 1990's challenge to the foundation process of Turkish Republic. In Bora's account, economic globalization in Turkey during the 1980's soon spread into the realm of culture and politics (1995, p. 17).

From the 80's on, the involvement in the globalization movement plays a major role in Turkey's transformation towards a position to question the determinacy of the nation. The significance of "the national" in terms of nation-state, national economy, national identity reduces its validity. For Bozdoğan & Kasaba the ethnic and cultural identities along with politic and economic tendencies that have been ignored and oppressed by the republican elite in the determination of "the national" began to be acknowledged through Turkey's exposure to the globalization (1997, p. 4). The practice of the local in terms of identity politics and economic inclinations finds a sphere to become apparently free from the restrictions of the national alignment. The possibility for the recognition of the ethnic, cultural, religious and economic diversity out of the determinations of national identity designated by the Republican Regime enables a sphere to question the foundation process itself. Hence the impact of globalization gains significance for the emergence of the 1990s challenge of the Early Republican period.

The democratization tendency is significant in challenging the implementations of the republican elite during foundation process by 1990s Turkey certainly relates

with Turkey's exposure to globalization. The democratic sphere that arguably flourishes through the multi-party system in 1950's Turkey gains a profound ground with the impact of globalization. As E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu explain in "*Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey: Actors, Boundaries and Discourses*" globalization acted as the major force to designate the course of modernization in Turkey from the 90's (2003, p. 221). In their explanation, the democratization tendency in politics enters into Turkish modernization throughout the 90's by the impact of globalization. Turkey's EU candidacy process for full membership in the EU since the 90's generated a further step in the course of democratization as a fundamental component towards European-style westernization (ibid, 223).

Turkey's economic exposure to globalization through the 1980s, affecting the course of modernization, and the EU candidacy process in the 1990s have had major impacts on the emergence of critical perspectives towards the foundation process of the Turkish Republic. Nevertheless the internal dynamics in the socio-politics that interact with global tendencies require attention to understand the inquiry of the 1990s towards the Early Republican Period.

As the borders of national economy, which is the fundamental ground for national developmentalist ideology diminish, atrophy extended to the legitimacy and validity of "the national" in broad terms. Consequently, the ethnic, religious and cultural identities that had once been oppressed by being excluded from the national characteristics claimed recognition for their differences. The question of identity in Bozdoğan & Kasaba's account locates the mid-1990s as the period which challenged the homogenous and secular national identity carved during the foundation process of the Republic (ibid).

3.2.2 The Critical Discourse of "Modernization from Above"

One of the fundamental discourses to challenge the foundation process of the Turkish Republic during the Early Republican Period is exemplified in the expression "Modernization from Above". The discourse defines the modernization process as a project enforced on society by the Republican elite through the rules

and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. Modernization from Above broadly refers to the reformist implementations of the state to install modernization in the social, cultural, economic and political fields at a fast pace. The Republican Elite's attempt to realize the modernization project during the foundation process is the objective of the critical discourse of modernization from above.

Çağlar Keyder in the chapter "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s" discusses this critical perspective in depth. One of the pitfalls of the practice in his consideration is on the acknowledgement of modernization as a synonym for Westernization during the Early Republican Period. In his perspective, the mindset aimed at embracing all dimensions of modernity in the European sense as a total project generates the source of the problem. The social transformation required to achieve the standards of the European Modernization corresponds to the discursive constitution of "social engineering process" to criticize the implementations of the period (1997, p. 34).

The critical perspectives of the 90's Turkey challenge the modernist reforms for their ignorance of "authentic" culture. The modernization practices freeze the local culture of the society by restricting it to the sphere of folkloric. For Keyder, there was no space for the customization of the Western Modernity pack for the social economic and political conditions of Turkey, therefore the implementation failed to consider the Turkish or Islamic during the practice. This tendency to establish the unconditional acknowledgement of Modern practices in the social sphere culminates in the estrangement of society from the dialogue with the Republican Elite (ibid).

In Keyder's perspective, the origin of the driving force to call for modernization during the Early Republican Era is crucial to discuss the social turmoil of 1980s Turkey. In this discussion, he points to the inconvenience of the practice of modernization to be led by state institutions based on the state's exercise of power on society: "The crucial difference between modernization–from–above and modernization as a self-generating social process is that the modernizers wield state power and are agents with their own interests" (ibid, 35). If the direction of the will to modernize would come from below, the performance towards the modern

experience of life would take the characteristics of the society in consideration. But once it is led by the state, the modernization process is imposed on the society as a standard recipe, contradicting the nature of the experience of modern.

The oppressive state-led implementations of modernization reached the point of overflow and surfaced in the cultural expressions with the second half of 80's and throughout the 1990s. As Gürbilek indicates, the oppression of the modernization project is not exclusive to the ethnic and cultural minorities in Turkey during the foundation process but includes the urban Republicans through the ambition to catch up to Western standards. This period in Turkey's recent history is marked by a cultural shift through the voices that rise outside the space of a Republican high culture. For Gürbilek, the intervention of the illegitimate culture that resides outside of the modernist Republican ideals was a transforming explosion (1992, p. 14). 1990s Turkey was host to various expressions of the pressures of Republican modernization in the realm of popular culture. The high culture imagined by Republican idealism gradually lost its ground as the practice of everyday life found its voice in cultural expressions (ibid, 15). The 1990's expression that states the pressures of modernization constitutes a space of relief from the burdens of fulfilling the Republican responsibilities of modernist progress. As the characteristics of high culture designated by the republican ideals gradually lost their significance, 1990s society in Turkey revealed a sense of cultural deprivation that had been oppressed since the early republican period. The social characteristics of 90's Turkey in Gürbilek's account are marked by cultural expressions that exhibit the emancipation from the modernist duties of Republican ideology (ibid, 19). These are reflected in the desires of various social groups that had been postponed in order to meet the ideals of the imagined modernity. Through this ground Gürbilek identifies the social experience of the 90's Turkey as the "return of the repressed" in society (ibid, 102). The diverse cultural expressions of various social identities that repressed by the republican ideals emerge during the 90's Turkey. The social experience of the period echoed through a critical perspective in academia to discuss the modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period.

Keyder identifies the experience of modernization process in the Early Republican Era as the "Modernization from Above" and highlights the modernizing elite as the agency behind the project. The impact of a strong bourgeois class as a driving force to realize the modernization project was missing. Nevertheless, the lack of the strong bourgeois class also referred to the absence for resistance against the implementation of the modernization project. In Keyman's account, during the foundation of the Republic, most of the bankers, merchants and industrialists of the Ottoman Empire disappeared, as most of the non-Muslim population that had been fulfilling those roles were annihilated during World War I and the Independence War. Their assets, including their estates, were distributed to the rest of the population. Consequently, the state policies of the nationalist modernization enabled the constitution of a new bourgeois class that is appropriated for the Kemalist ideology of the period. Thus, the state-led modernization project is initiated without the challenging impact of a strong bourgeois class to demand a rather economic liberalization involving this process. Hence the absolute authority of the state policy sustained through the path to actualize the imagined modernization (ibid, 36).

In *"The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity"* Ayşe Kadıoğlu interprets the organic, homogenous and monolithic conception of the society as the Republican Elite's solution to achieve the desired level of modernization. As an outcome of this designation on the function of society, the context of citizenship during the period was drawn through the responsibilities of the citizen for the Republic (1996, p. 188). Society is portrayed as the sum of different occupational groups all performing in the direction designated by the Republican Elite's model for modernization. The individual rights and freedoms, pluralism, participation and the claims of difference to demand acknowledgement are omitted during the foundation process for to purpose of reaching the level of civilized and modern nations (ibid). The Republican Model of Citizenship referred to the ownership of democratic rights but used such a will only for the progressive welfare of the country. The individual rights and the decisive power given to the citizen remains in an illusive context far from daily life practices. For her, the course of making modern Turkey involved the transformation process of the masses into citizens, however, the process lacked the awareness of individual rights.

For Kadıoğlu the prominent aim of the Early Republican period solidifies in the implementations of the Republican reforms designated to create a diversion from the Ottoman past. The Republican State's intention to execute such process was to elevate the people to the level of western civilizations and the mission necessitated a 'voluntary amnesia'. However, the Republic failed to realize the intended transformation of the society despite the harsh implementations of the reforms that are executed. Kadıoğlu argues that the place of Islam in the practice of everyday life could not be altered by the secularist reforms and oppressions of the Kemalist ideology. Consequently, the gap between the center and periphery widened gradually as the Reforms of the Early Republican Period were only internalized and practiced by the intelligencia (ibid). By signifying the superficial characteristic of the Kemalist ideology that is far from being established in the layers of society, Kadıoğlu emphasizes the top-down characteristic of the modernization practice: the lack of democracy that was essentially remarked by the Kemalist ideology as one of the six arrows of the Republican People's Party grounding on the top-down implementations of the reforms (ibid).

The division between center and periphery is an utterly complex phenomenon in Turkey that exceeds the boundary in-between the city and town. Gürbilek argues that the periphery does not exists out of the limits of the city, but the border of the periphery is drawn through the limitations of modernity (1992, p. 104). The course of the modernization project defined the place of periphery through certain values and daily practices that are classified as backward in the sense of outside of the customs of Western civilization. The designation of the periphery reciprocally called for a modern regulation that certainly involves a series of oppression. 1990s criticism of the modernization project's implementations of the Early Republican Period is rather the uprising of the groups in society that have been defined in the space of periphery. For Gürbilek, the 90's challenge to the foundation process increase, as the oppressed groups in society are deemed to have life styles that stayed outside of the objectives of the desired level of modernization. The oppression of the periphery restricted its existence in a passive and silent state that is kept out of the realm of culture. The critical perspectives in 90's Turkey was charged with a promise of salvation by recovering the dignity of the values and

practices that are despised by the Republican elite. This perspective in 90's paved the way for the inclusion of the periphery to the social spheres of the center without compromising its identity to adjust the conditions of modernity (ibid). The social groups that have been restricted in a space outside of the realm of Western Modernism encounter the possibility to involve and be acknowledged in the socio-cultural dynamics in 1990s Turkey.

Haldun Gülalp in his article "*Modernization Policies and Islamist Politics in Turkey*" explains the rise of Islamic conservative ideology in the 90's Turkey as an uprising against the Top Down Modernization Process during the Early Republican Era. In his portrayal of the period, he emphasizes the National Developmentalism as practiced by the Republican elite to achieve the rapid modernization and industrialization (1997, p. 56).

In his explanation, industrialization is one of the necessary components of the modernization project that demanded a "proper development" model. This model involved the design and constitution of a society that would meet the demands of such modes of production. Industrialization projects in the foundation process of the Turkish Republic refers to the creation of a sufficient production and consumption network that would substitute import. In accordance with the broad state-centric model of the Early Republican Period, the industrialization process along with its strong influence on the economic, politic and social spheres would be controlled by the state. In order to maintain control over industrialization, the state needed to ensure that the society's proper participation aligned with the republican ideals (ibid).

The "National Developmentalism" in Haldun Gülalp's interpretation of the foundation project refers to the constitution of a society that fulfills the demands of the industrialization project as a necessary phase of modernization. In their approach, they emphasize the lack of a natural genesis of the society to form through its internal conflicts within the modern experience. The class based or individualistic formations that develop in society are essential to the experience of modernity are prevented by the Republican Elite. Such a preventive attitude grounded on the

insecurity for the society to endorse the progress of rapid industrialization of the modernization project (ibid, 57).

Heper & Keyman in "*Double Faced State: Political Patronage and Consolidation of Democracy*" define modernization from above as the "state-centric mode of operation of Turkish Modernity" (1997, pp. 260-261). This state centric mode of operation depends on the strong-state tradition and the practice of national Developmentalism. The critical discourse of Modernization from Above solidifies on the Republican Elite's apprehension of the society as an organic constitution that is adequate to transform towards the desired direction. The hegemonic constitution of the state during the Early Republican period legitimizes the practice of National Developmentalism to enable the modernization project. The transformation of the economic, political and social practices towards a modernized way in a Western sense involves the organization of the society. The national developmentalist perspective to build an appropriated national identity to progress towards the desired level of modernization culminates in the oppression of the various ethnic, cultural and religious identities.

For Keyder the reformist implementations of the foundation process culminate with the alienation of the society. The lack of a reciprocal relationship between the Republican Elite and the rest of the population for the will, the design and the execution of the modernization project sets forth the negative-participation of the society. The detachment of the society evolves into a relationship that conditions obedience to state policies and regulations. Keyder's interpretation presents the key point to understand the barrier in front of the internalization of the modern experience by the society. He considers the modernization project involved in the broader ideals of Turkish nationalism as a solid practice that positioned the masses as silent and inoperative partners to this process (1997, p. 38).

Ayşe Saktanber offers a gender-conscious perspective and interprets the secularist disapproval of the Islamic headscarf in public institutions as a Republican implementation that excludes the women from the public sphere (2006, p. 25). Although the prohibition of the headscarf was enforced in 1980s Turkey in the aftermath of the military coup, Saktanber's criticism focuses on the secularist

implementations of the Early Republican Period grounding on the discourse of Modernization from Above. Designating the headscarf as an extension of a women's right to cover her head, she argues that the implementations of the Kemalist secularism oppress the woman through the course of modernization. The patriarchic tendency of Kemalist ideology for Saktanber either restricts the women with headscarf from the public life or conditions their inclusion through modernist qualifications (ibid, 26). In a perspective that aligns with Saktanber's criticism, Kandiyoti points out the Republic's objectification of the unveiled woman as a sign of modernist progress (2004, p. 48).

Şerif Mardin in "Project as Methodology: Some thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science" brings the disassociation of the society with the state into perspective through the context of Islamic practice (ibid, 61). For him, it was Islamic practice that regulated both the course of everyday life and the politics used to establish the bond between the ruling class and the society during the Ottoman period. He argues that the secularization of the state system during the foundation of the Republic harmed the connection between the society and state. For him the legitimization of the Sultanate to execute power on the masses grounded on the identification of the society with the ruling class over the course of Islam. In his expression: "…Religion not only functioned as an institution (i.e., the corps of ulemas, medreses [seminaries], vakifs [pious foundations], and sufi orders) but also established noninstitutional links as discourse between devlet and the common folk (ibid)". The loss of the operative link bond with the state in Mardin's assertion gradually diminished the intellectual participation of the society in the sphere of politics.

As Keyder argues, it is the malfunction in the internalization of the modern experience by the society that prohibits "modernity" to flow and emerge in cultural artifacts. The lack of participation and thus the embracement of the society towards the progress of the modernization project is remarkable in various fields of culture, including historiography. In Keyder's consideration, the national historiography that is essential for the legitimization of the new regime lacks the vivid essence of a shared ideal (ibid, 39). It is desiccated and relegated to a corner of society through

the lack of the inclusion of various interactions from the layers of the society (Keyder, 1997, 39).

> *The main problem with Turkish nationalist historiography was that it did not result from a negotiation between what the nationalist elites were trying to achieve and what could have motivated the masses to participate, nor it did not come to terms with the events that loomed largest in the experience of the participants. Consequently, the story propagated through official discourse suffered from all-too-obvious concealment of a crucial episode and instead gained pure artifice. There were no grounds in this history for a negotiation because the shared elements of the experience had been eliminated. Thus, it became possible for the nationalist elites to treat the construction of history and national identity in an entirely instrumental fashion; the version they eventually settled on was woefully deficient in its accommodation of popular elements. The masses remained passive during the process and apparently accepted the implicit pact for mutual silence* (ibid).

For Keyder, the field of the popular culture is defined by the Republican Elite, combined with the historiography that goes along with it, since the beginning of the foundation process (ibid). For him the will to redefine and even reinvent narratives that are appropriated to the ideological construction of the regime involves in the nationalist development in broad terms universally. The striking condition for the experience of nationalism in Turkey for him is the tendency to generate a thorough and all-encompassing national myth and tradition. Such a narrative refers to a prosthetic culture that the Republican Elite aims to install in order to maintain the belonging and participation of the society. The design and installation of a prosthetic national heritage exhibits the effort to utilize popular culture as a field susceptible to social engineering practices (ibid). However, the utilization of the field of popular culture through reformist intentions yields bizarre fruit once they are carved out far from the culture of masses.

Thus, another problematic layer emerges through such practice becomes apparent once the preexisting multi-cultural heritage of the society from the Empire is taken into consideration. Such an effort to establish a fresh narrative for the past heritage to progress through in the case of Turkey disregards the existing perception and consequently disturbs the necessary contact with the past.

The representation of national identity is practiced in various forms of visual and oral culture, such as folk tales and songs, legends, public ceremonies, sculptures, paintings and monuments. The narratives of such expressions distinctly involve the

self-confidence grounding on the unity with the glorified state. In Keyman's designation, the definitive characteristic of the narration was to depict a national identity with a flawless ethnic heritage (ibid).

Examples of such claims for the ethnic and cultural unity of the Turkish Republic are illustrated in the historical films produced until the 80's in Yeşilçam cinema. The narrative of the nation united under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal to defend the land against the foreign enemy followed by the glorified victory and the constitution of the Republic on the shoulders of triumphant citizens is a common trope in these films. The films broadly follow and reproduce the official historiography of the Independence War and foundation process of the Republic. *Nutuk* delivered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself in 1927 is the main address of the official historiography for the foundation process. There he narrates the historical incidents of the period from the initial blows to actualize the Independence War until the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The way the story of the foundation process told in those films reveals that the narratives are not only told *from* the perception of the modern republican citizen but also told for the same audience. At the same time, past experiences of religious or ethnic minorities are excluded from the national identity as well as omitted in the filmic representations. I will elaborate on this discussion and examine the characteristics of the historiography practiced by the historical films of Turkey narrating the foundation process in the following chapter.

Keyder attributes significance on the cultural field for the Republican Elite's practice of social engineering during the foundation project and the periods that follow. The lack of mediation between the Republican vision of a modern Turkish nation with the actual conditions of society creates the very gap that precludes dialogue. The dialogue between the ruling elite and the masses in Keyder's perception would have created the space to enable a negotiation. However, the lack of interaction culminates to the authoritarian positioning of the modernizers, which ultimately meets the emergence of resistance (1997, 39).

The ethnic, religious and cultural identities that are ignored and oppressed during the course of the modernist reforms of the foundation project, eventually become the

grounds from which to generate resistance and challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period. As Keyder has it: “Modernization dictated from above necessarily politicizes its object – those who adhere to the already existing indigenous culture – and turns their culture into a residual discourse” (1997, p. 39). For Keyder, through the course of the modernization project, the society is erroneously conceived as a nation (1997, p. 46). The envisioning of an organic and homogenous Turkish Nation leads to the expectation of successful direction through the state-centric authoritarian attitude. However modernist intervention from above operated on various levels and received reactions from the multi-cultural society with diverse ethnic, religious, cultural identities. Thus, the modernization in Turkey for Keyder involves a gap that continues to widen between the imagination of a Westernized nation and the actual experience of the society (ibid).

The concept of reflexive modernity describes the social transformation as a dynamic process that involves the interaction of the social layers in a multidimensional manner. As Giddens, Beck and Lash discuss in “*Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*” the theory depicts the course of modernization as a means of social transformation and points out the inconvenience of straight or top-down dictation for the organization of the action. The experience of the modern occurs in a multifaceted manner through the economic and cultural layers of society. The course of modernization forms through the reactive and defensive challenge it receives and progress on the grounds of negotiation. Rather the process requires dialogue between the state power and social forces where the governance would act flexible in accordance to the social transformation (1994).

In the case of the modernization project in Turkey, the state exhibited an authoritarian attitude during the Early Republican era to generate the social transformation towards the modern customs in a Western sense. The flexibility to create such governance that is sensitive to the needs and desires of the society was arguably deficient during the early Republican period. The experience of the modern formed in a reflexive manner in Turkey through oppression and reaction. “Modernity” for various ethnic, religious and cultural identities in society involved

oppression through the ideology of national Developmentalism during the reformist period and in the decades that followed. 1990s Turkey witnessed the emergence of critical perspectives challenging how the modernization project was formulated and implemented during the Early Republican Period. The inquiry manifested itself in various grounds including the products of popular culture as well as the discussions in the 1990s academia.

As the discourse of Modernization from Above points out, the regulations of the modernist reforms that aim to raise the society to the level of Western civilizations culminates with a series of oppressions. The inadequacy to fit in the qualities of the designated Turkish citizen blossoms through various paths since the early periods of foundation. The steps of the nationalization process as it is mentioned earlier installed a series of exclusion on the ethnic and religious groups of society. The next level of oppression originates in the objective of reaching to the level of modern western civilizations.

The oppression of ethnic and religious groups in society is one of the fundamental consequences of the nationalization process of the Early Republican Period. The Critical perspectives to challenge the implementations of the period provoked a wider cognition on the identity politics maintaining an acknowledgement towards the ethnic and religious diversities in Turkish Society along with the 1990s. The awareness on ethnic and religious diversity reflected on the popular culture since it became one of the key dynamics to designate social tendencies in 90's Turkey. As a significant example of this tendency in popular culture, Martin Stokes in "*Republic of Love*" interprets Sezen Aksu's album "Işık Doğudan Yükselir". Released in 1995 the album virtually manifests the recognition of multi-culturality and appraisal of ethnic diversity (2010, p. 131). As Stokes remarks, Aksu with Üstün Barışta (her friend and strategic advisor) they design the concept of the album as a coherent project to embrace the cultural diversities of Anatolia. The musical director and producer Onno Tunç established various ethnic characteristics of Anatolia from instruments to tonal modalities in the compositions. The shift from the former European modalities in Aksu's music towards a distinctly Anatolian tonality signified her motivation for a more ethnic conscious expression. The wide

recognition and popularity of Aksu's album "Işık Doğudan Yükselir" could well be interpreted in the context of 1990s democratic criticism. Nevertheless, her already existing popularity in the Turkish music industry since the 1970s must also be taken into consideration to avoid a reductionist interpretation.

The sensual impacts of the modernization project to surface through the social dynamics of 90's Turkey solidifies in the state of an obedient resignation, according to Gürbilek's interpretation (2001, p. 91). For her, the obedience is an inherent feature of Kemalist ideology. Achieving the modernist, westernized objectives of Kemalist ideology legitimizes obedience to the rules and regulations of the Early Republican Period. The republican duties repress hunger for daily pleasures that stay out of the customs of modern way of life in Western sense. The considerably over-ambitious targets of Kemalist ideology that fail to be appropriated with a multi-cultural society result in a sense of inadequacy. The shortcomings of society to reach the Kemalist objectives of modernization in various fields from technology to economy, education to agriculture conceives this sense. The progress in aforementioned departments along with many others fails to cope with the sense of incompetency since it would not match the progress in West. The aim to meet such standards despite the blurry target that moves further with each step taken towards it creates a space of disbelief and insecurity. The resignation in Gürbilek's reading of the Turkish society is based on the pressure of Republican modernization's target to reach to the level of Western civilizations (ibid, 95). Her interpretation on the conflicting course of Republican Turkey with the modernity aligns with Gregory Jusdanis' concept of *Bleated Modernity* that he uses to explain the challenges of embracing modernity in the case of Greece (1991).

The inadequacy to fulfill the demands of Kemalist modernization constitutes the sense of resignation. The once faithful servants of the modernization project through the Early Republican period become the resentful groups in doubt. The loss in self-confidence in Turkish society is tied to the shortcomings of the modernist progress. A bleak sense of shame infiltrates in the consciousness of society to emerge in the course of everyday life and is a constant reminder of the failure of fulfilling the promise given by the founding father. The inadequacy to fulfill the responsibilities

of the Turkish Citizen designated by the modernization project during foundation process constitutes the sense inferiority. The sense of inferiority reveals frequently on the comparisons with the west as in the designation for the level of civilization. In Gürbilek's reading, the cultural dynamics of 1990s Turkey reflects the objection of the sense of inferiority from various grounds in society.

This perspective signifies a rejection in the society that develops through the 90's against the sense of inadequacy and inferiority for the shortcomings of fulfilling the duties of Kemalist ideology. Gürbilek tracks the transformation in the social dynamics in 90's through the products of popular culture in "Bad Child Turk" (2001). One of the substantial indications of this shift emerges in the field of popular music in Turkey between 1970s and 1990s (ibid, 15). In her explanation, Orhan Gencebay's arabesk music in 1970s represents the troubles of inadequacy that culminates with resignation. The lyrics and composition of Gencebay's music reflect the discomfort and trouble with the pressures of modernism. The pain and agony that constitute the core of arabesk originates from that very sense of inferiority that sets the ground for the failures on the paths of life and in love.

In her portrayal, the rejection of the pressures of modernist responsibilities and the burdens of shortcomings incarnates with the 1990s popular music and TV series. The social dynamics in Turkey in 1990s are marked by the resurrection of the periphery to claim their right to exist in their own identity. The periphery *returns* in 1990s Turkey with a resistance against the charges of the failures of the modernization project. One solid example of this attitude for Gürbilek is found in İbrahim Tatlıses' music, and his desire to invite the periphery to become an acknowledged part of society (ibid, 15). In her consideration, Tatlıses' song "I want it too" (ben de isterem) addresses the parts of the society whom are loaded with the burden and shame of unfilled responsibilities to match the Kemalist ideals. Such parts of the society that are beaten under conscious deprivations reaches a boiling point and screams to claim for their share. The desire in the statement "I want it too" indicates the will to participate in society and express themselves without the exclusion or shame.

In a similar reading on the popular culture products in 1990's, Gürbilek mentions the emergent antagonists to employ the leading roles in TV dramas (ibid, 90). Highlighting the rise of these dark characters mostly in action-melodramas like *Kara Melek* (Dark Angel) (1997) and *Deli Yürek* (Loose Cannon) (1999) Gürbilek emphasizes the charm in their bitter greediness. She interprets the presentation of such bitter, scarred characters in the narration as a possible asset of identification with the 1990s dynamics towards rejecting the judgements of the modernization project. The characters with a bitter pose and familiarity with criminal activity charm the audience with their impulsive attitude. Their greed for the material trappings of the good life and hence their dark struggles to reach them are legitimized through the tough conditions they grew out. In Gürbilek's regard these characters exhibit a great a contrast with the previous hero stereotypes of Yeşilçam that are honest and content. While the honest, humble and introverted heroes of the past signify the endeavor to cope with the pressures of the modernization project, the charmingly bitter heroes of 1990s TV represents the rejection for the responsibilities of modernization. The attention and admiration these characters receive during 90's points out to their ability to represent the resistance of the social groups that have been oppressed by the implementations of modernist reclamation (ibid, 91).

The 1990's criticism to challenge the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period spawns also in the field of filmmaking in Turkey after the mid 90's. The Period affectionately known as *New Cinema of Turkey* or *New Turkish Cinema* signifies the Turkish film industry's resurgence after the stagnation of Yeşilçam throughout the 80's. During the stagnation, the number of domestic film production exhibits a downfall in 80's and severely in the first half of 90's by reducing to 25-30 films a year (Arslan 2011, p. 201; Erus 2005, p. 161; Özgüç 2003, p. 137). The New Cinema of Turkey is marked by the revelation of the domestic production and distribution of films along with the rise in the number of audiences starting with the second half of 1990s to continue in 2000's with ups and downs (Erus 2007, p. 125; Gürata 2011 p. 132). *The Bandit* (Eşkiya) (1996) is generally considered to be the film that inaugurated the New Cinema of Turkey movement with its box office success, reaching 2,5 million viewers (Suner 2010, p. 13).

Alongside the rise in the film theaters, screens, screening copies, number of audiences and the number of films to be produced, the ascension in the numbers of independent filmmakers to practice new aesthetic approaches become striking through the mid 90's. The New Cinema of Turkey could be acknowledged both as the revival of a popular cinema that triggers the threads of industrial film production as well as the flourishing of an art cinema that gains appreciation in international festivals.

The resurgence of identity politics in 1990s to reinforce the acknowledgement of ethnic and religious minorities and their oppression during the foundation process inherently penetrates to the structures of the New Cinema of Turkey. Suner articulates the texture of the filmic practices of the New Cinema of Turkey through the analogy of a haunted house (ibid, 16). By signifying the critical climate of the 1990s to question the Republican history of Turkey, Suner acknowledges the nostalgic essence to encompass the films as the return of the lost identities. For her, the pillars and plates that structure the form of the cinematic practices through the mid 1990s are made of the efforts to deal with the ambiguities of a traumatic past and a search for an identity. In a perspective that aligns with Suner, Karanfil signifies the rise in the domain of the representation of ethnic, religious and nationalist identities in the narratives of contemporary Turkish popular films (2006, p. 62).

The criticism of the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period appears in the films through the second half of the 1990s. The harbinger of the new era for film practices in Turkey *Eşkiya* (The Bandit) (1996) for instance narrates the story of a Kurdish character that seeks for revenge. On the other hand, the film would not intend to perform a substantial criticism and restrains from denoting the Kurdish identity (Dönmez-Colin 2008, p. 93). It rather employs the ethnic features of the character for building up an appeal through a brand new path of authenticity. The emergence of the Kurdish character in the form of a heroic outlaw in *Bandit* could be interpreted in relation to the revival of identity politics in 1990s despite its obliqueness. Likewise, *Vizontele* (2001) became another milestone in New Cinema of Turkey through its box office success, which takes place in a Kurdish village during 1974. The film aligns with the Bandit by the employment of

the Kurdish identity in the core of its narrative while restraining from direct criticism.

The more explicit and elaborate criticism to challenge the oppression of ethnic minorities through the nationalistic implementations of the Republican State would surface in *Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri* (Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds) (1999) and *Güz Sancısı* (Autumn Pain) (2009) both directed by Tomris Giritlioğlu (Başçı 2017, p. 184; Mersin 2010, p. 15). While *Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri* deals with the pressures of the wealth-tax law executed in 1942, *Güz Sancısı* takes place during the pogroms of September 1955. These films are important for their portrayal of the obscure and contentious periods of the republican past, by introducing the perspective of the non-Muslim characters that were subjected to nationalist oppression. Alongside the historical films of Tomris Giritlioğlu, Yeşim Ustaoğlu's *Güneşe Yolculuk* (Journey to the Sun) (1999) and *Bulutları Beklerken* (Waiting for the Clouds) (2004) are significant for to incarnate the critical discourses of identity politics in cinema in Turkey after the 1990s.

3.2.3 The Major Themes of the Critical Discourse of 1990s

The period that could be designated as 1990s Turkey is significant for the critical perspectives to question the implementations of the foundation process of the Republic. The emergent democratic inquiries of the period play a major role to shape the dynamics to designate the political tendencies in the upcoming decades in Turkey. 1990s in Turkey signify a period, which the society confronts with the pressures and the consequences of modernist implementations of the Early Republican period. The critical perspectives in 1990s towards the foundation process would be gathered under the conceptualization of modernization from above. The critical discourse defines the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. The temporally interconnected stages of the foundation process of the Republic criticized during the 1990s could be assembled into two main tracks: nationalization and modernization. Below I will conceptualize the significant grounds of critical inquiry to gain prominence in the 1990s challenge of the early Republican Period.

As discussed in the nationalism chapter, the nationalist practices of the Early Republican Period were dedicated to maintaining a homogeneous unity in ethnic and cultural terms within the borders of the Turkish Republic. The implementations to designate the qualifications and the limitations of the identity of Turkish Citizen culminate with the disregard and oppression of the ethnic varieties inherent to the land. The phases of both civic-territorial and ethnic models of nationalization that occurred constitutes the main ground for the discussions of ethnic identity to rise along with the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period.

The need for separation from Ottoman identity gains significance in the early implementations to design the Turkish national identity. The attempt to bond the Turkish ethnic origin to a pre-Ottoman Turkish past is solidified through the Turkish History thesis and the Sun Language thesis, as discussed earlier. The shift to the Latin alphabet also serves for the efforts to depart from the Ottoman heritage alongside the fulfillment the goals of westernization. These regulations proceed with a segregation policy on religion which privileged the Muslim population. The traces of the utilization of religion as a determinative notion for national identity emerge with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and Capital Levy between 1942-1944. The non-Muslim population decreased from 25 % to 2,5 % after the population exchanges between Greek Orthodox Christians in Anatolia with the Muslims from Rumeli through the application of the Lausanne contract. The Capital Levy on the other hand culminates with the alignment of economic growth towards the Muslim population. Both regulations are acknowledged as means to oppress the non-Muslim population in the 1990s discussions to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period. Another layer of ethnic segregation practiced in the nationalization process crystallizes in the practices of “Turkification”. Turkification broadly involves the designation of Turkish as the official language, with the harsh restrictions for the use of any other language such as Kurdish, Arabic or Persian. As it solidifies with campaigns like *Citizen Speak Turkish,* this project restricts the Turkish national identity to Turkish-speaking people in society while forcing the ethnic groups with different mother tongues to express them with a foreign language.

1990s criticism challenges the nationalistic practice of the Early Republican Period to designate the Turkish identity through the latent determinism of ethnic diversity. While the Republican discourse signifies the civic-territorial mode of nationalism that includes all the people living within the borders under the roof of national identity, the nationalist regulations exhibit ethnic and religion considered restrictions. The tendency that leads to the discrimination of certain ethnic groups in society becomes apparent in 1990s critical interpretation of the Republican discourses that signify the noble Turkish blood.

The modernization project of the Early Republican Era involved aligning with the standards of Western civilizations. The contemporary conditions of Western civilization for the period designated the level to be accustomed to in terms of industrialization, democratization and secularism. The construction of the Turkish nation in a modern form in western sense was held through various regulations in politic, economic and cultural fields. The modernist regulations and their application are denominated as Kemalist reforms. The reforms were designed to maintain the penetration of the Kemalist ideology to society through the organization of the practice of everyday life. The modernist reforms compromised a huge area in almost every social habitat was devoted to construct a nation totally separated from ottoman virtues and modern in the sense of Western civilization.

The dominancy of the religion on the organization of politics and culture with a wide range to compromise the social life was considered as the main reason of falling behind the Western civilizations. Consequently, the extrication of the authority of religion from the socio-political mechanisms and hence the organization of the sphere of daily life was crucial for the progress of Kemalist ideology. The secularization movement penetrated the space of daily life through the annihilation of the Islamic order's authority from the state administration, civil law and education system as well as the reforms in the clothing style that prohibits the use of turbans and fezzes in public. The secularist implementations with significant sanctions to directly effect the practice of daily life are criticized in 1990s in the context of democratic rights and freedom.

The design and the implementation of the modernization project take the lion's share for the critical perspectives to challenge the Kemalist ideology and the Early Republican Period. The critical discourse of "Modernization from Above" defines the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican Elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. The state centric direction of modernization leads to the oppression of society in the effort to adopt the modern customs of daily life. 1990s criticism challenges the modernist reforms for their ignorance on the authentic culture.

The resignation to a sense of inferiority when compared to the "West" emerges through the inability to fulfill the demands of Kemalist modernization. The once-faithful servants of the modernization project through the Early Republican Period become later on resentful groups doubting the project. The loss in self-confidence in Turkish society solidifies on the shortcomings of the modernist progress. A bleak sense of shame infiltrates the consciousness of society to emerge in the course of everyday life reminding the failure in fulfilling the promise that is given to the founding father. The inadequacy to fulfill the responsibilities of the Turkish Citizen designated by the modernization project during foundation process constitutes the sense inferiority. The sense of inferiority reveals frequently on the comparisons with the west as in the designation for the level of civilization.

Above I attempted to summarize the major themes of the 1990s critical discourse towards the foundation process of Turkish Republic. The main grounds of the 1990s criticism towards the Reformist implementations of the Early Republican Period would be assembled under four topics. First of them is the negligence and oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities through the Nationalization Project that aims for a homogeneous unity in nation and a citizen identity that designed accordingly. Next, the oppression of the religious conservative groups in society through the implementation of the secularist reforms to diminish the authority of religion from the public affairs and everyday life. Third, the state-centric management of the modernization project that leads to the disintegration of the society. 1990s criticism signifies the divergence in the society through the dichotomies of central versus periphery, modern versus backwards, Turkish versus

minority and Muslim versus non-Muslim. The fourth topic would be the self-oppression of the society through the objectives of the modernization project. The failures in accomplishing the duties to reach to the level of Western civilizations generate the sense of inferiority. The demands of modernist progress in Kemalist ideology culminate to the sense of inadequacy that leads to the subjection of society against the Republican elite.

The criticism of nationalism and the modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period in 1990s Turkey penetrated the culture and society as detected through the traces in academia and popular culture. The transformation in the indispensable validity of Kemalist ideology generated a space to question the implementations of the foundation process. The democratic tendency relocated the grand narrative of the foundation of the Turkish Republic and Kemalist ideology to a space that is convenient for inquiry.

3.3 THE RISE OF POLITICAL ISLAM

The modernization path during the 1990s was characterized by social, economic, cultural, and politic transformations. The impact of globalization exposed the Turkish economy to global markets. The diminishing borders of the national in economic terms intrinsically resonated on the fields of culture and politics. The walls of the state-centric governance and the ruling class's divine reputation gradually faded. The National Developmentalist discourses became less influential, as did the ideals of the early Republican Era. As E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu explain in "*Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey: Actors, Boundaries and Discourses*" civil society organizations become efficient political actors in influencing the society to rethink the strong-state tradition (227, 2010). Hence the social transformation in 1990s Turkey emerged as a sphere in which to discuss the definitive characteristics of the Turkish citizen. New identity politics gained legitimate ground in society and appealed to the governing system for democratization by raising their voices to challenge the system.

The ethnic and religious communities demand recognition of their identity in society with the transformation in the economic, cultural and political dynamics towards

democratic governance. The politics of the period gradually formed through the empowerment of the ethnic and religious communities in terms of economic and cultural networks in society. Islamic Conservative groups were one of the strongest identities in which people established ties of solidarity. The strength of their bonds was a shared cognition of history marked by the oppression of the early republican periods' secularist reforms. Their ideological stances were built upon the demand for recognition through the Islamic identity by establishing Islamic practices in the course of everyday life. The call for women's right to wear the Islamic veil in public spaces such as universities and state institutions was one of the significant incidents of the Islamic resurgence.

Meanwhile in the course of the economics, Turkey's exposure to the global economy constituted severe damaging effects towards the end of the 1990s. Bilge Yeşil considers the 1990s a "lost decade" due to the inefficiency of weak coalition governments that were unable to resolve high inflation rates (2016, p. 72). Among the incidents that cleaved the Turkish economy and politics in the final decade of the 20th Century were the 1999 earthquake that almost destroyed İstanbul and the political conflict between the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and President Ahmet Necdet Sezer. In Yeşil's account, one of the final outbursts of the disagreement between the two major political actors resulted with the loss of one-fifth of reserves of the Central Bank and the devaluation of Turkish lira by fifty percent (ibid, 73). The huge crises culminated with the collapse of twenty banks and the bankruptcy of tens of thousands of small and medium sized business along with the loss of almost one million jobs.

The ruling party elected in 2002 in such and economic and political climate. It mainly addressed conservative Islamic groups in society who had been oppressed under the state's secular policies since the reforms of the Early Republican Period. Nevertheless it circulated a discourse of democracy that surpassed any religious or ethnic identity, and by default embraced diverse ideologies in society. Their criticism of oppressive Republican reforms was inclusive for the ethnic and religious groups in society in broad sense, although they clearly represented the Islamic Conservatives. The main critical perspective of the party was directed towards the

oppressive regulations of the Early Republican Period. In Yeşil's account the ruling party's discourse was careful not to directly address the foundations of Kemalism nor Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, despite the discourse of multiculturalism they inherited and utilized. This deliberate position of the party also emerges in their self-identification as a "conservative democratic" party rather than an Islamist one (ibid, 74).

It is commonplace among scholars studying contemporary Turkish politics to attribute the major role of the rising Muslim bourgeoisie as contributing to the success of the rise of political Islam. The transformation in the economic power in society solidified on the establishment of new business associations. The foundation of MÜSİAD (Independent Industrialists and Businessman Association) in 1990 is significant for the institutionalization of the Islamic Conservative groups in Turkish society as an economic power. Keyman & Koyuncu signify MÜSİAD's foundation regarding the governing power of political Islam. In "Islam in Economic Organizations" Buğra points to the relevance of MÜSİAD's organizational structure vis-a-vis Western rational business models to diagnose the success of the association. For her MÜSİAD's success lies in its creation of a network between business groups among various geographical regions and fields of enterprise in Turkey under the shared motto of "trust among believers" (1999, p. 11).

During the period that covers the 2002 and 2011, the origins of the ruling party and its discourses kept being questioned by the secularist challenge. The groups consisted of opposition parties, civil society, the military, judiciary and media formed their challenge on their assumptions towards ruling party's main intention to transform Turkey into an Islamic society. In the election in June 12, 2011 the party won the elections for the third time in a row and became the most successful political party in the history of modern Turkish politics. Keyman & Gümüşçü use the term "electoral hegemony" to define the ruling power both from the side of the party with its supporters and also for the oppositional groups.

In the context of this study that intends to interpret the influence of the 1990s democratic criticism to challenge the reformist implementations of the Early Republican Period via historical films that narrate the period in the contemporary

cinema in Turkey my cut-off date to survey the developments of Turkish politics is the 2011 elections. This limitation grounds on the alteration in political tendencies in Turkey towards a direction that detaches from the 1990s criticism to challenge the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period.

The democratic shift towards the cognition of the Early Republican Period culminates to the resurgence of identity politics involving the minorities and ethnic groups and significantly the rise of political Islam. Such development triggered the emergence of a defensive Kemalist reaction that aims to preserve the validity of the Republican ideals and Kemalist ideology in 1990s and 2000s Turkey. The stress between the democratic criticism of the Republican reforms and the Kemalist defense maintained its impact on the socio-politic tendencies of Turkey until the 2011 elections. The rise of political Islam in 2000's became a major target for the Kemalist reaction through its critical position against the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period. Although the rise of political Islam and the critical perspectives towards it from various directions including the Kemalist and ethnic groups in society continued in the years to follow, the focus of the discussions departed from the core of Modernization from Above. The political stance of the ruling party grew through the downwind of the democratic criticism of the Early Republican Period in 1990s and hence received the Kemalist reaction through the 2000s. However after 2011, the critical perspectives to question the politics of the ruling party shifted its ground and located in the contemporary implications of its politics rather than its criticism of the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican period. Grounding on this assignation I draw the border in the year 2011 to study on the impact of 90's criticism to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period and the Kemalist reaction to rise against it.

3.4 KEMALIST REACTION TO THE CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF 1990s

Taking a broad view of recent Turkish political and social history, I understand the rise of Political Islam in the context of a conservative right party during the 90's as a dynamic inherent to the globalization and democratization processes. Globalization in economic terms penetrated the socio-political realm and created a sphere to

question the implementations of the Early Republican Period by disenchanting the absolute constructions of nationalism. The emergence of identity politics with the 90's gave voice to ethnic and religious groups in the society that had been oppressed during the nationalization movement of the foundation process. The rise of Political Islam could be conceived as one of the main consequences of the democratic tendency to challenge national borders of the Republican ideology.

While the rise of political Islam originated in the pivotal shift of the society's cognition towards the Republican ideals and the Kemalist ideology, the empowerment of Islam as an ideological formation kept affecting the society. The conservative Islamist groups established their positions in the questioning of the Early Republican ideals reinforced by the dominant discourse of Conservative Islam. The effect of political Islam that consolidates through the consecutive electoral success created a defensive reaction on the Kemalist groups in society. Through this defensive reaction, Kemalism as an ideology to signify the superiority of the Republican ideals in the constitution of the state transferred into the public realm. In other words, the Kemalist ideology that at times forcefully dominated the social sphere relocated in a subjective discourse as a reaction to the growing influence of Islam in politics and state.

Esra Özyürek in "*Nostalgia for the Modern"* thoroughly explains the Kemalist reaction to the rise of political Islam that forms through the privatization of the Republican ideals and imagery as a subjective defense system in contemporary Turkish society (2006). She focuses on the reestablishment of the secular state ideology in the public sphere that solidifies through physical objects such as the national flag, Atatürk pins, Atatürk pictures and posters of the Early Republican period, including many more significations, such as the tattoo of Atatürk's signature. Özyürek designates the emergent visualization of the Kemalist indicators in the private sphere along with the 90's simultaneously with the growing influence of political Islam as the defensive stance of the Kemalist groups in society (2006, 3). She interprets the materialization of the symbols of Kemalist ideology as objects established in the subjective field as an outcome of the nostalgia towards the Early Republican Period that merged with the privatization of the market policy (ibid, 8).

For Özyürek the nostalgia for the first ten years of the Republic refer to the foundation process, which is designated as a period of unification in society to reach a joint purpose of modernization via the Kemalist discourse (ibid, 16).

The rise of the identity politics in the 1990s which led to voicing diverse perspectives towards the implementations of the Early Republican Period triggered the nostalgia for the foundation period. In Özyürek's interpretation, contemporary Kemalist groups recall Turkish society as a thoroughly unified constitution of a public that fought for the same purpose (ibid). By the same token, the acknowledgement of unified society during the foundation process as an inherent qualification of the period is an outcome of that very nostalgia. The democratic challenge of the 90's accentuated the ethnic and religious minorities in society that were oppressed during the course of the foundation. The potential of a multicultural atmosphere for a democratic constitution via its prosperous criticism brought about the yearning for the dominance of Republican ideals of nationalism and secularism by Kemalists.

The nostalgia for the Early Republican Period in the subjective realm generated the household applications of the visual representations of Kemalist ideology. Through this tendency, the visualization of the Kemalist state ideology practiced in form of grandiose statues of Atatürk in public squares and boulevards and official buildings transferred to the personal space of individuals. Özyürek portrays the symbolism of Kemalist and Islamic tendencies in public from the 1990s on to designate the competing ideologies in society (2006, p. 97). In her account the commodity-based identity politics established through the consumer culture of 1980s and 1990s had a great influence on the subjective utilization of ideological symbols. The increasing visibility of the veil in public as well as secularist institutions would be identified as the first significations for the visibility of Islam in 1990s Turkey. During the period, the visualization of Islamic way of life blended in the commodity based leisure culture with five-star hotels, non-alcoholic luxury restaurants and fashion shows for Muslim fashion.

For Özyürek, Islamic symbols in the public space existed throughout the history of Republic, such as *Bismillahirahmanirrahim* stickers or prayers on automobiles and

decorative plates as a part of home decoration. However, she points out to the shift in the purpose of display and addressing in these symbols during the 1990s: “The new stickers of the 1990s which read “Piece is in Islam (Huzur İslam’dadır) were located in the rear window rather than the front panel, and thus directed toward people outside the car, rather than those inside” (Özyürek 2006, p. 98). The comparison between the contemporary way of presenting the Islamist symbols and the way it was practiced in past signifies a spatial shift of the sphere of religion in everyday life. Since the secularist implementations of the Early Republican period established definitive regulations for the placement of Islamic practice to the private sphere, the religion was segregated from the public space. Although the secularist regulations of the state stayed for the most part during the 1990s, the religious practice became more visible through the subjective expressions of Islamic symbols in public space.

According to Özyürek, Kemalist reactions to the visualization of Islam in the public space emerged both through state center implementations and private public entrepreneurships. She denotes that the strategy to suppress Islamic symbolism with visual representations of the secularist discourse was a common act since the foundation of the Republic. Ataturk portrait and bust were placed in state institutions, while grandiose statues were erected in city squares and boulevards. During the 90’s state officials increased the number of statues and busts. On the other hand the subjective representation of visual symbols of Kemalist ideology was the novelty of the 1990’s to a great extent (ibid). She explains the shift in the way of establishing the symbols of Kemalist ideology in the sphere of everyday life as a structure of feeling in contemporary Turkish society, where a need emerged to take personal responsibility to protect and promote the republic (ibid).

Özyürek examples her mother’s utilization of the pin with the portrait of Atatürk on it for the defensive use of the Kemalist imagery in public space to compete with the visualization of Islamist symbols (ibid, 99). Her mother tells her that she started wearing the pin after the 1994 elections that indicated the growing political power of the Islamists. She says, “When I am walking down the street, I want to show that there are people who are dedicated to Atatürk’s principles. Look now, there are

veiled people walking around even in this neighborhood. I push my chest forward to show them my pin as I pass them" (ibid). For Özyürek the function her mother attributes to the Atatürk pin charges the object with the ability to exhibit the owner's political positioning. Before the 1990s, in other words before the visualization of the Islamic practice in public space, such Kemalist imagery belonged to the utilization of the state rather than subjective use. But with the 1990s the subjective presentation of the Kemalist imagery became a personal defense system against the rise of political Islam.

It is important to mention here the forced regulations implemented for the exposition of Atatürk portraits and busts in official buildings especially during the years of military regime after the 1980 coup. In Özyürek's interpretation, "The junta used Atatürk as its main symbol in order to bring the divided nation together and reinstate the authority of the state" (2006, p. 101). The reestablishment of Kemalist imagery in personal space in 1990s free from state regulations and dominations of the military junta emphasize the transition in the function attributed to it. During 1980s where such statues, busts and portraits expressed a fascistic omnipotent dominance over the people, the 1990s usage reverses the relationship of power. This time the private use of Kemalist imagery in the public space exposes the public's intent to claim protection of Republican values.

Using Atatürk's image and thus expressing devotion to Republican ideals was soon reflected in the marketing strategies of brands that target a Kemalist client group. Zeki Triko, as Özyürek mentions, also used had a photo of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in his 1997 campaign poster, where Ataturk was sunbathing on the beach with the slogan: "We missed the sun". Triko's campaign appealed to the modern, republican, secularist Turkish people who wear swimsuits in public by exhibiting a clear Kemalist discursive constitution.

The objects to symbolize Kemalism through the 1990s in Özyürek's evaluation exhibit a significant change in terms of their sizes and space of exhibition (ibid, 104). The contemporary applications take various forms like pins, pen and pencils, crystal ornaments and even permanent tattoos. They are way smaller in size and they are displayed in the household space, as accessories and even embedded on the body

itself. The contemporary ways of exposition bear a striking variation as they are established in certain realms that are out of the reach of state control (ibid, 105).

For Özyürek another important aspect of the household exposition of the Kemalist objects emerges in the personal relation it binds between the family and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (ibid). The placement of Atatürk's portraits or ornaments in the specific corner of the living room on the table or stall reserved for family photos of various events like birth or weddings exhibit the recognition of the founding leader as one of the family. For Özyürek embracing Atatürk, as a family member is a novelty of 1990s society across the imposition of the Republican imagery practiced widely in 1980s (ibid). She argues "the new images reduce the (at least mental) effects of an all-powerful state that forces itself on its citizens and suggest a less controlling one to which citizens can relate less hierarchically through their own choice" (ibid, 106).

Atatürk's photos that are exhibited in the household space along with the family members are also different in content-wise from the ones in official buildings. As Özyürek points out, the ones that were placed in the official buildings with the foundation of the Republic were depicting him as a hero in the battlefield, a commander but more strikingly as a supernatural human that created the whole nation (ibid). The portraits of Atatürk those become popular to display at home were the ones to portray the leader in everyday life activities in various social spaces. Portraits of him as he was drinking tea with the folks, drinking rakı in a tavern, dancing to waltz in a ball, playing backgammon, enjoying the swing with a childishly joyful expression, chilling in the seaside vs. and many more started to decorate the homes as well as the social spaces of cafeterias, bars and restaurants.

The contrast between the sharp military compositions depicting him as the mighty supreme leader and founding father of the nation, and an ordinary person that shares humanly joys, desires and sorrows is located in the proximity the representations create between Atatürk and the viewer. The grandiose imperious depictions represent him as a half-god character – the one you worship and fear. In such portrayals the relationship between the one that is represented in the image and the one to look at it is overdetermined. The organization of the image orders the

audience to respect, commonly avoiding the eye contact. The portrayal of his everyday life in social spaces on the other hand presents a space for bonding with the leader and even for identification.

For Özyürek the Atatürk images that circulate in homes and social spaces since the 1990s signifies the humanization of his identity in Turkish society (ibid, 107). The tendency toward the comprehension of Atatürk's human side in 1990s would be understood through the context of Turkey's involvement in the globalization process and the critical perspective it triggered towards founding values of nationalization. The omnipotent image of Atatürk established since the early days of the Republic but more specifically with the impact of the military junta in 1980's underwent a transformation with the democratic inquiry of the 1990s. The emphasis on the human side of Atatürk enables multiple interpretations. The omnipotent depictions function to intimidate the ones to deviate from the Republic ideals lose their popularity with the challenging tendencies of identity politics although such images continue to exist in official buildings. On the other side, the reflex that emerges to take personal responsibility to protect the Republican ideals that are being questioned during the 1990s creates an almost natural identification with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on a personal level. The affiliation and bond with the founding father draws upon the sense of companionship to emerge from fighting to protect the ideals that are established by Atatürk. Hence the visual representation of him to express his humanly ways to succeed with tremendous hard work becomes popular to be exhibited in public places of social life.

The increasing attention directed on the personal life of Atatürk particularly on his relationships with women can also be interpreted in the context of this contemporary tendency to relate with Atatürk in a subjective level. Özyürek identifies this tendency as the humanization of Atatürk (ibid, 109). In Özyürek's consideration, Kemalist writers, historiographers and filmmakers from the 1990s onward embraced a distinct perspective to shed light on the human sides of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, rather than presenting him as a supernatural semi-god being. The reason for such a change in her interpretation, lays in the effort to portray him as a person with human qualities – weaknesses and downfalls, which would emphasize his tremendous

efforts to establish the Republic. By the same token, such humanistic perspectives on Atatürk and his military and politic operations would prevent the critical perspectives that would question his legacy (ibid). The prevalent way of portraying him as a superior being before the 1990s signifies the republic as a work of an extraordinary willpower. Such representations employ a signification that the latter generations wouldn't perpetuate the requirements of democracy and Republic. On the other hand, defining him in the context of a strong-minded and extremely hardworking leader during the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic attributes importance to the public. Such definition designates the republican elite as the participants of the challenge and victory of the phases of foundation and the successors of Atatürk.

As an example of the humanization of Atatürk in popular historiography, Esra Özyürek interprets on the representation of Atatürk and the early republican period in Ziya Öztan's 1998 film *Cumhuriyet* (The Republic). The film emphasizes the human side of Atatürk by establishing the main conflict of the narrative on his relationship with two significant women during the foundation process. The film presents the tension between Fikriye who admires and platonically loves Mustafa Kemal and his wife Latife whom he later divorced. In the following chapter I will analyze the film thoroughly for its historiographical practice, but for now I confine myself to Özyürek's interpretation for the humanized representation of Atatürk. The film gained a significant box office success considering the low numbers of screening and filmgoers of the 1990s. In her consideration *Cumhuriyet* introduced Atatürk's personal life to the Turkish people. While the tales about his relationships and personal habits became popular subjects of conversation among family and friends, discussions on the private aspects of his life started to be aired in TV and radio programs (ibid, 110). The leader portrayed as a god-like hero, the founder of the Republic and the creator of the nation, became a character to be acknowledged as a person and thus to be loved and identified with this tendency of the 1990s.

Another striking novelty of the 1990s in the context of Atatürk's visual representation emerges in the historical films representing the Independence War and the Early Republican Period. Even though there is no official law or regulation

on the subject, there have been no films employ Atatürk as an apparent character in the film itself, and hence no actor to play him. In 65 films that have been produced before 90's about the Independence War and the Early Republican period (according to Agah Özgüç's listing) Atatürk wouldn't be employed as one of the leading characters (1992, p. 19). We usually hear Atatürk's name as he is mentioned through the main character's dialogue in respect and admiration but not see him. This condition could be understood in relation to the religious law that banned the visual representation of Hz. Muhammad the prophet to avoid the idolization of his image. Or as Özyürek points out, the non-existence of Atatürk's character in the historical films could be a result of the mindset that wouldn't dare writing dialogue lines and gestures for the great leader let alone acting his character (2006, p. 110). The informal rule is broken in 1981 with the docu-drama produced for the commemoration of Atatürk's 100th year of birth. Oddly enough the first person to play Atatürk was a Belgian actor in the film directed by Marc Mopty.

Since the 1990s Atatürk started to appear on films and TV series to represent the Independence War and the Early Republican Period as one of the leading characters. The visualization of Atatürk in popular historical fictions started to be produced in an increasing frequency and can be acknowledged as an outcome of the demand in society for a tangible reference that would enable identification. The visual recognition of Atatürk practiced in the historiographies of popular films in 90's signifies the reaction of the parts of society during the emergence and rise of political Islam. Another layer of signification emerges once we interpret the appearance of Mustafa Kemal as an actual character in films in the wider context of the humanization of Atatürk's identity. Atatürk's halo diminishes along with the taboo towards the visual representation of him in historical films. Through the 1990s tendency to acknowledge Atatürk as a human that has with his weaknesses and strengths, he could safely be included to the sphere of artistic interpretation.

For Özyürek, the tendency to visually represent Atatürk is not restricted to historical films, but also evident in other fields like sculpture and painting. Even though the figurative sculptures and paintings that portray him as a heroic character is quite common since the early days of Republic, in Özyürek's account, the works that are

produced since the 1990s are distinct in emphasizing his human side (ibid, 111). For instance, Bedri Baykam declares that he reflects on the existence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as true human being in the painting where he portrays him playing backgammon. In the case of statues, Özyürek interprets the significant shift as the portrayal of the whole body becomes popular rather than just the head or torso in the wider context of humanization of the identity of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (ibid, 112). She defines the common depictions of Atatürk's image prior to the 1990s as "These portraits, reproduction of photographs or paintings, usually include his neck and shoulders and reveal either a military or a civilian outfit" (ibid). Even though the sculptures that are erected in the city centers display the whole body, in Özyürek's consideration they fail to represent the vivid qualification of the body. The striking difference in the visual representation of Atatürk emerges not only in the display of the whole body but the portraiture of his being in social spheres. In the photos that are popularly exhibited in restaurants, cafes, meyhane (tavern) and shops Atatürk is represented as he is dancing, laughing and enjoying simple pleasures of life like an ordinary human being. In her analysis, Özyürek detects that the desire to perceive Atatürk as a more approachable and egalitarian character underlines this shift in the tendency of humanistic depiction (ibid, 113). The ones that captures Atatürk's smile gained the most attention as they maintain the first time that the heroic founder father of the nation smiled to his children. In Özyürek's consideration, the images that promise the bond through the possibility of an eye contact with the founding founder desacralize his identity (ibid, 115).

Alongside the promise of imminence, the images portraying Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's social life perform a modern and westernized lifestyle since he is positioned as the founder and the model for the Turkish citizen. The way he dresses, dances, eats and drinks define the qualifications of modern civilization for Turkish society both during the Early Republican period and contemporary Turkey. Thus, in Özyürek's interpretation the rising popularity of photographs portraying Atatürk in social spaces (especially in taverns drinking rakı) in 1990s are acknowledged in relation to the rise of political Islam (ibid). The images become a modernist ground for the parts of the society that embrace secular republican values and feel

threatened for their lifestyle. Such portraits are used to decorate restaurants, bars, coffees, bookstores, even barbershops and groceries.

In addition to the transformation of the social environment, changes in marketing and public relations are also affected by this trend. The rising popularity of the images representing Atatürk's civilian social life remarkably effect the imagery and tone in many advertisement campaigns. For her research Esra Özyürek focuses on newspaper ads made using either Atatürk's image or words between late October to early November 1998 (ibid, 119). The results are thoroughly impressive. She finds out that fifty-one different companies employ the Atatürk identity to promote their product. She notes that while textile companies utilized Atatürk's style as a discursive constitution for modernist and elite ways of consumerism, technology business establish their strategies on his vision for modern technology (ibid, 121). Even though there were certain links established between the brands and Atatürk's identities, the main goal in Özyürek's consideration was to underline the company's loyalty to Atatürk's principles and the secularist republican ideology in the public eye. She exhibits Dufy's tuxedo campaign as a dramatic example where they hypothetically reply to Atatürk's call for the whole nation to work hard. In this ad the image of a folded tuxedo shirt in the center, the line consists of the answer to the founding father saying, "we worked hard" (ibid, 121).

It is evident that Atatürk's image in various forms of photographs, portraits and sculptures has been utilized in official buildings as an extension of state's Kemalist ideology since the foundation of the Republic. The novelty of the 1990s Turkey as Özyürek remarkably notices is the reemergence of this imagery in the public space of everyday life. This time the circulation of these images was directed through public demand rather than the state's imposition. In the course of this, the objects carrying Atatürk's image transformed into miniature forms of subjective use from gigantic representations, which declare the omnipotence of the state: "The mere act of personal choosing and purchasing what has traditionally been an icon of the Turkish state created a new kind of relationship with the idea of the state, one based on the free will and voluntary choice of the private citizen" (ibid, 124).

Through this transformation, the designs of personal use like key chains, pins or watches with Atatürk's image transform the objects into ideological expressions on a subjective level. In my perception, the peak point of this tendency would be the Atatürk tattoos. In this trend that emerged in late 1990s (although it is still popular, it has become less common since 2010) people had Atatürk's signature tattooed in their arms where it can be seen in public easily.

The celebrations of the foundation of the Republic's anniversary during the 1990s and 2000's are remarkable to observe the shift in the society's perspective towards Republican values and Kemalist ideals. Every October 29th since 1923 has been celebrated to commemorate the foundation of the Republic. As Özyürek designates, the ceremonies up until the mid 90's were organized by the state and mainly consisted of student parades in stadiums (ibid, 125). In her interpretation, the celebrations organized by the state inherently reflected the quality of a disciplined citizen in the Foucauldian sense. The sphere of the stadium as well as the strictly designated flow of the shows like the reenactments and marches limited the audience to observe (or clap hands at most) restricting any spontaneous act of excitement for celebration. The participation of the citizens for the anniversaries of the foundation of Republic defined and organized accordingly by the state. The possibility of subjective connection is terminated in such associations where the state defines the rules and regulations of the expression to embrace a national identity and state ideology. Hence society is restricted to the sum of citizens gathered in a stadium to passively participate the celebration by observing the nationalistic play routines.

Such positioning of the citizen in the celebrations for the foundation of Republic arguably underwent a shift during the 1990s and 2000s by the organizations led by the civil society organizations in collaboration with local governors. In Özyürek's consideration, the 1994 celebration organized as a popularly attended festival with free outdoor concerts succeeded in attracting masses to participate in the event (ibid, 133). For her a significant circumstance in the shift was the electoral success of the Islamic majors of the Welfare party in the local elections.

Civil society organizations participate in the celebratory organizations with the secularist governors to bring forth an alternative sphere to celebrate besides the municipalities' stadium organizations. She narrates her experience of the 71th Anniversary of the foundation of the Republic in Istanbul: "On October 29, regular stadium activities took place during the day while at night hundreds of thousands of people filled Taksim square. Some were there to listen to their favorite pop singers for free, while others wanted to join a demonstration against the Islamists" (ibid). In her interpretation she emphasizes the resistant quality to emerge against Islamists that expresses itself in the act of participation. The massive public attendance to the celebrations was both the indicator of public enthusiasm to celebrate the foundation of the republic in joy and the reaction to the growing influence of political Islam.

It is possible to acknowledge this participatory tendency through the broad context of the 90's democratization. The potential of the period for the constitution of the civil society to create the mutual interaction between the state and public is effective on the public interest to actively participate. Arguably the self-perception of the society in Turkey shifts towards a more operative cognition in the aftermath of 80's military junta and the state-centric execution of the Republican system since the foundation. Hence the participatory tendency to the celebrate the foundation of the Republic could be acknowledged in the wider context of democratization triggering the subjective agency. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the Kemalist ideology and the Republican values are apparent since the event is organized to celebrate the foundation of the Republic. In Özyürek's consideration, the massive public participation was a sign of subjective responsibility to protect Republican values. The most significant motivation of this operation was to create a secularist, anti-Islamist statement (ibid, 137). The popular slogan chanted by massive crowds as "Turkey is secular and will remain secular!" (Türkiye laiktir laik kalacak!) stands out to announce the reaction against growing influence of political Islam after the victory of Welfare party in 1994 (ibid, 142).

Another significant incident in the context of a Kemalist Defense emerges with the Republican Rallies starting in April 2007 in Ankara. The Rallies that continues with the gatherings in İstanbul, Çanakkale, Manisa, İzmir and Samsun with a great

participation that exceeding 400.000 people in each city, although the exact number of participators is not clear (Kabakçı 2011, p. 97). These demonstrations are significant for the expression of a Kemalist defense against the consolidation of political Islam through the 90's Turkey. Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (Association of Kemalist thought) holds a key position for the organization of Republican Rallies and is a widespread institution with hundreds of branches nationwide. The institution was founded on May 19th 1989 on the 70th anniversary of the initiation of Independence Struggle, and possesses the objective of fighting against the attempt's to damage the authority of Kemalist ideology in Turkey (ibid).

The Republican Rallies are organized in the verge of the elections in the parliament for the President of Republic due to the end of Ahmet Necdet Sezer's Presidency. The development of the Kemalist reaction builds upon an alarming call for the secularist merits to establish the core of Republican system against the presumed possibility for the empowerment of Islamic tendencies in administration (Çınar 2007, p. 56). The participant Kemalist groups in Republican Rallies positioned themselves as guardians of Kemalist principles against the empowerment of political Islam. They exhibit an attitude that aligns with the motives of Independent Struggle against the imperialist states' siege and the Ottoman Empire's collaborative position. They signify the Islamic conservative threat for the secularist constitution of the Republic as the fiercest danger the Kemalist ideals have faced during the whole Republican Period. This stance argues for the necessity to take urgent action in order to extinguish the rise of political Islam. Such attitudes are solidified in slogans such as "*Acil Laiklik*" (Secularism Now) and "*Acil Bağımsızlık*" (Independence Now) (Kabakçı 2011, p. 106). The strategy to engage the contemporary Kemalist reaction against the rise of political Islam with the Indepence Struggle during the Early Republican Period is also exhibited in slogans and banners accompanying the demonstrations. The frequent expressions on the banners and slogans signify their alignment with the Independence struggle are "*Atam İzindeyiz*" (We Follow Your Path Father), "*Savaşı Atatürk Kazanacak*" (Atatürk will Win the War), "*Atatürk'ün Samsun'a İkinci Çıkışı Gibi*" (Just like the Second Advent to Samsun), and "*Mustafa Kemal'in Askerleriyiz*" (We are Mustafa Kemal's Soldiers) (Işık 2012, p. 2).

While the Kemalist groups in 1990s and 2000s portrays the Early Republican period as the ultimately secularist and modernist phase in Turkish political history, the Islamist groups draw attention to the place of Islam in Republican ideals (Özyürek 2006, p. 154). Both Islamist and Kemalist groups utilize the imagery of the Independence War and the Early republican Period to identify a period of harmony and prosperity in society. While the Kemalists build the foundations of their portraiture on secularism, the Islamists claim recognition for the significance of the Islamic religion as an inherent part of Turkish society during the Early Republican period. In this course both ideological inclinations reproduce the memory of the Early Republican Period in various practices of historiography in line with their perspectives.

As Özyürek notes, the religiously-oriented newspaper *Akit*'s headline on 29 October 1994 is striking in signifying such discursive constitution. Akit points out Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's collaboration with Islamic authorities by printing the photo taken on the day of the republic's declaration as the new regime where he stands side by side with a religious leader among his colleagues (ibid, 152). By such mobilizations of past imagery, the Islamic discourse argues for the contemporary deviation from the Kemalist ideology's original virtues that were built in collaboration with Islamic ideals.

The past as it is acknowledged as the predecessor of the present and hence the linear bond between the past and present is glorified through the progressive understanding of history. As Özyürek puts forward, through the historiographical practices of the Early Republican Period, the past becomes a ground for contestation since it is utilized to justify ideological inclinations: "It is this kind of a presentist negotiation that the Virtue Party administration sought by redefining the foundational past and, more important, by establishing an exclusive relation to it" (ibid, 154-155). The historiographical practice belongs to and in the present and thus involves the contemporary social and political tendencies in the form of resistance or alliance. The past becomes the anchor to the present and hence the portraiture of the past in accordance to the given ideology is vital for its discursive consistency. The historiography of the Early Republican Period is important since it marks the

foundation of modern Turkey. The study on the historiography of the Early Republican Period as practiced after the 1990s reveals the impact of critical perspectives to challenge the foundational process in 1990s Turkey, after the fact.

Popular cinema becomes a functional sphere to interpret the effect of political transformations considering its characteristics conductive to social tendencies. Focusing on the historiography of the Early Republican Period practiced in recent popular cinema in Turkey between 1996 and 2011 is crucial in understanding the impact of the 1990s criticism, the rise of political Islam and the Kemalist defense on the cognition of the foundation process.

4. REWRITING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN HISTORY IN THE NEW CINEMA OF TURKEY: 1996-2011

This chapter tracks the impact of 1990s criticism on commercial historical films produced in Turkey between 1996 and 2011 that represent the Independence War and the Foundation Process of Turkish Republic. For this purpose, I will initially make a brief survey of the Independence War Films produced in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic in the broad context of the historical films of Yeşilçam. In the following subchapter, I'll identify the method used in this study to expose the engagement of the commercial historical films that narrate the Early Republican Period with the critical perspectives in the 1990s. The designation of the frameworks for the time periods to conduct the study will be explained alongside the criteria employed to select the commercial historical films to include in the study.

The subchapter that traces the impact of 1990s criticism toward the Early Republican Period on the commercial historical films produced between 1996-2011 that represent the Independence War and the Foundation Process of Turkish Republic will be based on the analysis of six films. They are *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) (1998), *Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali* (The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali) (2007), *Veda* (Farewell) (2010), *Dedemin İnsanları* (My Grandfather's People) (2011) and *Hür Adam: Bedüizzaman Said Nursi* (Free Man) (2011).

In the last part of this chapter I will juxtapose the engagement of the films with 1990s criticism to evaluate its impact on the films' historiographical practice.

4.1 THE INDEPENDENCE WAR AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC IN CINEMA UP TO THE 1990s

During the foundation process of the Republic in 1920s the state aimed to regulate the cultural field in order to transform it, as the state viewed culture as an essential part of the modernization project designed to align with the Western civilizations. In Arslan's portrayal the exclusion of the Ottoman and Islamic characteristics from the culture was the significant target of the Republican elite's project of building a

national identity (2010, 7). The transformative applications covered a wide cultural field involving music as well as plastic and applied arts. State institutions were founded to educate and support Western-style artistic practices. However, the series of modernist implementations practiced in arts and culture during the Early Republican Period ignored the field of cinema despite its suitability for use as a political instrument (ibid, 9). Through the lack of state support and administration, cinema in the Turkish Republic developed in interdependency to the audience and private entrepreneurship and hence in Arslan's emphasis reflected the culture of the masses (ibid, 10). On the other hand, the Early Republican state arguably attributed quite an attention to the filmic representation of the Independence War and the Republican history both via the narrative forms of fiction and documentary.

The documentary *Ankara, Türkiye'nin Kalbi* (Ankara, the Heart of Turkey) (1933) was made to narrate the successful progress of the Republican reforms on the 10th year anniversary of Turkish Republic. State officials invited Soviet filmmakers Sergei Yutkevich and Lev Arnstam (Özön 1995, p. 286), and the documentary follows the Soviet committee's visit in İstanbul and Ankara in a parallel manner with the arrival of masses from all over of Anatolia to join the celebrations. The film portrays the transformation of Ankara from a barren rural area to a glorious city center with grandiose modern architecture. The representation of the development of Ankara from a wasteland to a capital is utilized to signify the glorious progress of the country under the Republican rule. The poetic form of the documentary emerges through the circulation of images that flow along with the music. The soundtrack of the documentary includes both Soviet and Turkish compositors and contributes to the epic style of the narrative. The limited voice-over on the images exposes the agitprop aesthetics of the Soviet cinema during the period. The climax of the film culminates with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's 10th year speech (ibid).

The archival footage of the Independence War shot by MOSD involving the battlefields reveals the importance attributed to the filmic documentation of the struggle for historiographical purposes. After the War, MOSD produced documentaries with this footage to depict the battlefield. The Republican state values are promoted in documentaries such as Fuat Uzkınay's "*İzmir'in Zaferi*" (The

Victory of İzmir) and Cezmi Ar's "*İşgal ordularının İstanbul'u Terki*" (Occupation Armies' Defection from Istanbul). As film historian Agah Özgüç expresses in his detailed article about the Independence War Films, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk saw these documentaries as valuable historical assets for the maintenance of young generations' engagement with Republican ideals (1992, 14). Özgüç emphasizes Atatürk's fierce reaction against the inadequate representations that fail to accomplish the realistic depiction of the battlefield to signify his attention on the visualization of the war. Atatürk expresses his frustration in a letter to criticize the utilization of his still images to substitute the live ones that are missing from the footage in the documentary "*İstiklal*" (Liberty) (1937). In the letter, he signifies that he acknowledges participating in the reenactments of the Independence War as the commander of the battlefield as a national duty he is responsible of to serve the country (ibid).

In Özgüç's consideration alongside the importance attributed to the documentaries, Atatürk also requested fictional depictions of the Independence War and supported the production of historical films. The first fictional film to narrate the story of the Independence War *Ateşten Gömlek* (Shirt of Flame) by Muhsin Ertuğrul in 1923 was produced on Atatürk's request. Ateşten Gömlek is an adaptation from a novel with the same name by Halide Edip Adıvar published in 1922 (ibid). Mersin notes that the historical films about the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic produced until the 1970's are mostly adaptations from novels that narrate the period. *Ankara Postası* (The post for Ankara) is the second historical fiction film by Muhsin Ertuğrul released in 1928 following *Ateşten Gömlek.* Adapted from Reşat Nuri Güntekin's theatre play "*Bir Gece Faciası*" (A Night's Disaster) originally adapted from François De Currel's play, Ankara Postası narrates the national resistance against the imperialist forces. The third film produced during the Early Republican Period is "*Bir Millet Uyanıyor*" (A Nation is Awaking) directed by the single director of the period Muhsin Ertuğrul in 1932. In Özgüç's account the first three Independence War films evoke great excitement in the audience and in Ertuğrul's claims Turkish society positively responds to these films to an extent far beyond their interest for foreign films (1992, p. 15).

The economic constraits due to the World War II period culminate with the break in the production of Independence War films for more than a decade. Şakir Sırmalı's *Unutulan Sır* (The Forgotten Secret) (1946) is followed by Ferdi Tayfur's *İstiklal Madalyası* (The Medal of Liberty) (1948). *İstiklal Madalyası* is significant for the incorporation accomplished with the army during the production and hence is remarkable for its portraiture of the combat scenes (ibid, 16). In 1949 two Independence War films are produced: *Fato- Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm* (Fato- Liberty or Death) and *Vurun Kahpeye* (Strike the Whore) (1949). In Özgüç's interpretation, *Vurun Kahpeye* was Yeşilçam's acclaimed director Ömer Lütfi Akad's first film and it stands out in its cinematographic and narrative qualities (ibid). Narrating the story of an idealist Republican woman's struggle with the Greeks and the conservative anti-Kemalist groups in the village where she teaches, the film is adapted from Halide Edip Adıvar's novel with the same title. The first remake of the film is produced in 1964 by Orhan Aksoy. The second remake in 1973 is produced due to the 50th anniversary of the Republic by Halit Refiğ. 25 films that take place during the Independence War and the foundation process are shot between the years 1951 to 1960. However, in Özgüç's interpretation, none of them poses any significance except Lütfi Akad's *İngiliz Kemal* (British Kemal) (1952), Osman Seden's *Düşman Yolları Kesti* (The Enemy Blocked the Way) (1959) and Atıf Yılmaz's Bu Vatanın Çocuklar (1959) (The Children of this Country) (ibid, 18). The battle between the public resistance against the occupational forces in Anatolia and the traitors from inside to collaborate with the enemy is the common subject repeated in the majority of the films including the three mentioned above (ibid). The remake of *İngiliz Kemal* with its strong emphasis on the codes of nationalism is produced in 1968 this time directed by Ertem Eğilmez. Another course of war films in Yeşilçam to reproduce the nationalistic discourses of Independence War films emerged during the 1950's with the involvement of Turkey to Korean War through United Nations (ibid).

In 1964 Atıf Yılmaz and Atilla İlhan adapt Mükerrem Kamil Su's novel *Ateşten Damla* (The Drop of Flame) to the screenplay with the same title. The film that stands out with Memduh Ün's performance as the director for Özgüç, exhibits the agonies of the Independence War in a realistic yet intense way (ibid). The first color film *Çanakkale Arslanları* (Çanakkale Lions) (1964) by directors Turgut Demirağ

and Nusret Eraslan represents the Independence War. The film has the highest budget of all Independence War films produced to that date. It included extensive support of the army, and actual soldiers performed in film as extras along with military vehicles, presenting a vivid visuality. The initial decrease in the number of the Independence War film productions emerges in consequence of the prohibition on the military to support the films in 1968 (ibid, 19). The films gradually disappear through the mid 70's along with the general decrease in Yeşilçam productions.

In terms of audience reaction and its reflection on the box office numbers, Independence War Films would not evoke much attention in Özgüç's interpretation. The only exceptions to mediocre representations of the War in films are the first three works of Muhsin Ertuğrul and Lütfi Akad's *Vurun Kahpeye*. Özgüç explains the success of the three early productions in 1920s and 1930s with the recent memory of the War during the Early Republic that charges the public with nationalist sensations. *Vurun Kahpeye*'s success, on the other hand, for Özgüç is grounded on director Lütfi Akad's ability to narrate the story with great intensity (ibid).

The narrative of historical films representing the Independence War and the Foundation of the Turkish Republic is broadly characterized through the nationalist discourse. Hilmi Maktav in his article "Homeland, Nation and Cinema" (Vatan Millet Sinema) interprets the reflection of nationalistic characteristic in historical films that are expressed by military discourses (2006). For his study, Maktav analyses narrative characteristics of the war, with emphasis on the Independence War in particular. He puts forward that the nationalist discourse not only constitutes the core of war films but also encompass the extended field of historical films in general. The dramatic structure of the films is typically built on the courageous Turks' fight against the treacherous enemy. The enemy in the Independence War narratives would be both from inside and out. The inside enemy is the betrayers to collaborate with the occupational forces and the outside enemy would be the occupational forces of imperialist states itself. The victorious Turks fight a just war for their country and vanquish the enemy. Hence the films conceptualize the national identity that binds the land to the Turkish descent as a merit earned by the sacrifice of flesh and blood (ibid).

As Mersin exhibits in his insightful analysis on the discursive constitution of nationalistic heroism in Independence War Films, the frequency of the productions rises in accord with periods of political change (2011, p. 37). The first peak in the production numbers of Independence War films takes place in 1951-52. This period is marked by Democratic Party's administration, Turkey's involvement in the Korean War and the discussions on the Cyprus' affiliation to Greece. The sudden increase between the years 1959 to 1960 happens in a context of political clashes between students' and resistance to the authoritarianism developing in the Democratic Party's administration. This period culminates with the military coup in 1960. After the second half of the 1970s, historical films to representing fantastic heroes and battles takes place during the 14th and 15th century Ottoman period (such as the serials of Kara Murat and Battalgazi) emerge. The 1970s in Turkey also vibrates with political turmoil, culminating in the 1980s coup d'état besides the military operation of Cyprus. The historical adventure films of the period outnumber the Indepence War films during the 1970s to a great extent (ibid).

The representation of the heroic battles, the narrative of the courageousness that roots in the Turkish descent, the legitimization of the fight that is reduced to the struggle between good and bad is the recurring narrative in the tradition of historical films in Yeşilçam cinema. From this perspective, historical films representing the Independence War and the Foundation of the Turkish Republic are positioned within the conventions of Yeşilçam Historical films in general.

Scognamillo & Demirhan take nationalism as a key concept in order to determine the narrative characteristics of historical films (2005, p. 139). The discursive constitutions to express nationalism reside in the roots of historical Yeşilçam films regardless of the period of the past under consideration. The depiction of the enemy revolves around a constant narrative of evil, whether that enemy is a Viking or a perfidious Byzantine. The motive of the enemy in this genre emerges from their shared hostility against the Turks. The hatred of the enemy for the Turks may or may not be explained in the narrative; however, they are without exception depicted as pitch-dark, furious barbarians (ibid, 140). The most popular characterization of the enemy in Yeşilçam cinema solidifies on the portraiture of the Byzantine Empire,

which is frequently utilized in the historical films between 1950s and 1970s. Charged with nationalistic motives, these narratives in Scognamillo and Demirhan's account utilize the narrative structures of Hollywood adventure films.

The historical films of Yeşilçam were formed broadly as a reflection of the Turkish Republic's nationalistic demands and ambitions (ibid, 139). The historical representations in these films are rather disconnected from the factuality of the possible interpretations of the historical data. For instance, the only dramatic element consistent with history is the fact that the Ottoman Empire conquers the Byzantine Empire. The rest is what Scognamillo & Demirhan calls a platform made of a historical period to stage action. The stories in the films have no relevance with historical events or characters like Battal Gazi, Karaoğlan, and Kara Murat as they actually existed (ibid, 141). In their conceptualization, the historical cognition and its representation in Yeşilçam is after all a fantasy. Thus, they accommodate their historical survey and criticism on the historical films of Yeşilçam within the book "*Fantastik Türk Sineması*" (Fantastic Turkish Cinema).

Nevertheless, the historiographical performance of the films operates through the experience of diegesis, and hence offers a good amount of patriotic pleasure. By doing so they stand for a bridge that harmlessly binds the Ottoman past to the Republic of Turkey. The Republican attempt for a complete separation from the Ottoman Heritage arguably provokes the pleasures of such historical films. The lack of the root the Early Republican Period entrepreneurs desperately seek to attach seems to trigger the joy of watching the fantastic narratives related to Ottoman past. On the other hand, the fantastic heroic stories of victory narrated in Yeşilçam historical films also feed on the Republican dream of being equal to West.

The complex sensations, or an ambivalent position encompassing both frustration and admiration for the Western World emerges through the Republican ideal of reaching the level of modern civilizations in a Western sense. In Arslan's analysis, the gratification served by the heroic narratives of victorious Ottoman-Turkish identity to bring the Western World to its knees in Yeşilçam historical films extends far beyond the Republican ideals of being equal to them (2011, p. 177). The Western world characterized through Christianity is bound up with a narrative that represents

Christians via their hatred for the Turks and is solidified in the narratives dealing with the Byzantine Empire. The overwhelming defeat of Byzantium by the sword of mighty Turks is thus legitimized on screen.

While the dramatic structure's peak points are built around the battle scenes, where the hero presents supernatural skills of war craft, but we also see love affairs established in the narratives of Yeşilçam's historical films. As Scognamillo & Demirhan note, the Ottoman-Turkish hero falls in love with a beautiful Byzantine Princes soon after his arrival (2005, p. 145). Stereotypically the sexual and romantic impulses of love would not override ethnic differences. Therefore, the charming protagonist must eventually abandon if not punish the princess at once on the wake of her betrayal. In other cases where the love lasts and culminate in a happy ending, the narrative reveals that the princess was actually a Muslim Turkish girl kidnapped by the Byzantines.

The cruelties of the treacherous enemy involve burning the limbs of the protagonist with acid in "*Kılıç Arslan"* directed by Natuk Baytan (1975), murdering the wife and kidnap the son of Battal Gazi in "Battal Gazi's Revenge" (Battal Gazi'nin İntikamı) alongside the countless incidents of racketeering, rape and torture (ibid). This horrendous and inglorious enemy unexceptionally hates and aims to annihilate the Turks. Therefore, the narration legitimizes the bloody decimation executed by the mighty Turkish sword. The expressions of honor, patriotism, dignity and heroism create the pattern for the Ottoman-Turk identity against their fight with the tyrant West. We see similar patterns operating in the narratives of Indepence War films. This time the cruel enemy transforms from perfidious Byzantium to the Imperialist Western states occupying Anatolia.

The dramatic arc of Yeşilçam's Independence War films is generally structured through the events of the occupation of İstanbul by the imperialist states and the constitution of armed forces of resistance in Anatolia to kick the enemy out of the country. Erman Şener in his book on the cinematic representation of the Independence War points to the repetitive characteristic of the films' narratives (1970, 80). In his interpretation, the films frequently portray the struggle of the Anatolian resistance, to be concluded with the expelling of the enemy to the sea in

İzmir. While assembling of a shallow love story to the narrative maintains the fluidity of the flow, the cast is typically formalized through eligible solutions. The stereotypical protagonists of Yeşilçam are placed to play the Anatolians while the antagonists utilized in the roles for the imperialist characters or their collaborators from inside. To solve the congestions in the plot, monologues that trigger the nationalistic impulses occur frequently, as well as the occasional appearance of the national flag. In Şener's account, the films resort to practical solutions to achieve audience attention and gratification. The most common example of this tendency appears on the assembling of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's footage from the newsreels of the Independence War that causes audiences go wild with applause and tears. The ending is typically designed in a closural style to be depicted with the national flag waving in the flagpole in İzmir (ibid).

Other than the use of Mustafa Kemal's actual footage from the war, his physical existence is never represented on screen by an actor in the more than 60 films to be produced in Yeşilçam until the 1990s (Biryıldız 1994). As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, no films have used Atatürk as an apparent character in films even though there is no official law or regulation on the subject. The consistency of avoiding Mustafa Kemal's characterization suggests a silent consensus on the inappropriateness of practicing the cinematic representation of Atatürk. This could be understood in relation to the religious law that banned the visual representation of the Prophet Muhammad to avoid the idolization of his image. By the same token, Yeşilçam filmmakers wouldn't seem to dare to bring the founding father of the modern Turkish nation to life in an illusion of flesh and blood through cinema. This informal rule is broken in 1981 with the docudrama co-produced with a Belgian production company for the commemoration of Atatürk's 100th year of birth. Accordingly, the first person to play Atatürk in a Turkish production was a Belgian actor, participating in reenactments in the film directed by Marc Mopty. On the other hand, the first impersonation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the movie screen actualizes in the British production *You Can't Win 'Em All* in 1970. The screening of the film in Turkey that Patrick Maggie plays the part of Atatürk is banned for forty years up until it is featured in TV in 2011 (Hürriyet, 2011).

Another discussion on the filmic representation of the history of Independence War and the foundation of the Republic revolves around the possibilities and boundaries for the production of an authentic film about Atatürk. The conference held by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1988 aimed to assemble the various perspectives to discuss the production of the Atatürk film. There were a few attempts prior to the conference from the state's side to be considered broadly unsuccessful. These involved a few commissioned works in (both national and international) for the production of a film that "properly" represents the founding father of the nation (1994, p. 253). Metin Erksan discusses the scope and the significance of the debate in his book *Atatürk Filmi* (1989) where he signifies the pitfalls of such film to narrate the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. For him, such vivid representation to be accomplished via the capacities of filmic device would limit the imagination of the mighty leader of the Turkish nation. Representing Atatürk on him would reduce his existence to a human kind and thus would be hazardous for the mythology on the founding father of Turks that revolves around his heroic, superhuman characteristics (1989, p. 18). For Erksan the filmic representation of Atatürk is an intervention on the Turkish society's right to reproduce the legend of his existence and accomplishments. This statement ignores cinema as a narrative tool is quite odd coming from one of the most significant filmmakers in Turkey. On the other hand, it appears that Erksan's opposition to the production of the Atatürk film lies in his disbelief that Turkish filmmakers are up to the task. As he expresses in the book, through the course of the conference he conceives that the Kemalist vision that was supposed to be enlightening the path of the Republican modern Turkey became a frozen memory anchored to the past (ibid, 33). The film about Atatürk would be a cure to that problem by echoing his ideals in the sphere of the contemporary, and hence reactivate the dominance of Kemalist ideals and signify the responsibilities they charge to the nation. However, such a film shall be produced by Hollywood filmmakers such as director Martin Scorsese in order to meet the levels of quality Erksan's demands. Hence Erksan declines the offer to write and direct a film to narrate the story of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the foundation of the Republic proposed by the Ministry of Culture during the period. A decade later, Ziya Öztan's "*Cumhuriyet*" (Republic) (1998) produced by state's TV Channel TRT and

supported by Ministry of Culture would roll up the sleeves to represent the Early Republican Period.

Returning to the stereotypical themes of Indepence War films produced before the 90's, another significant characteristic is designated as the utilization of the informative voice over. The chronological information expressed via the voiceover is inherently consistent with the official history of the War and the foundation of the Republic. However, in Mersin's insight, the informative voice over usually flew disconnected from the diegesis of the films (2011, p. 42).

The stories of Yeşilçam's Independence War Films revolve around the journey of the Kemalists from occupied İstanbul to Anatolia to join the national struggle for independence and the arms smuggling from İstanbul by the undercover organizations that support the resistance. The national Indepence struggle is led by the autonomous structure of armed forces founded by the Ottoman ex-military with the support of anti-imperialist gangs of Anatolia and the Muslim community of villagers (ibid). The non-Muslim population both in İstanbul and in Anatolia are frequently depicted as supporters of the Imperialist countries. Significantly, the Greek population is represented as malevolent traitors who welcome the British occupation and eagerly await the fall of the resistance (ibid, 49).

The depiction of the Indepence War in these films as a fight the Turks victoriously win against the whole world is a significant theme and recurs in the films in accordance with the nationalistic discourse of the Early Republican period. In the wake of the victory, the whole world bows against the courageous fight of the mighty Turks for their independence. At the end of the war, the generals of the occupation forces express their admiration for the fighting skills of the Turkish soldiers who gain their strength from their patriotic soul. After all, on the battleground a Turk is equal to the world (ibid, 48). The films frequently peddle expressions to exhibit the uniting of the nation to defend their land against the threat of imperialist exploitation. The whole nation fights in the war regardless of gender, age or occupation. In this depiction, the context of the nation is described through a Turkish Muslim lens. The ethnic minorities with an emphasis on the non-Muslim groups in society are not only excluded from the Turkish identity, but they are also

depicted as traitors ready to collaborate with the enemy (ibid).

The malevolent representation of ethnic and religious minorities in the films about the Indepence War and the Foundation of the Republic could be acknowledged as an intrinsic extension of the course of nationalism in Turkey. Such a representation of the period in the historical films of Yeşilçam reflects the official historiography of the Early Republican Period.

Films representing the Independence War made before the 1990s are thoroughly framed by the discourses that exhibit Kemalist ideals. They reflect the perspective of the Turkish agents, generals or soldiers fighting on the side of Mustafa Kemal. The stories do not employ the possible perspectives to criticize the Independence movement or the implementations of the foundation process. For instance, the films mostly avoid any critical thoughts on the organization of the resistance against the imperialist states. The whole process is glorified, yet already justified through the rightful fight of triumphant Turkish nation for their freedom. On the other hand, the historical films about the Early Republican Period are broadly limited with the narratives of the Independence War. The touchstones of the period such as the launching of the first parliament in Ankara, the foundation of the Republic, and its 10^{th} year anniversary are seemingly overlooked in the films.

There are sixty-five films are produced in Turkey about the Independence War between the years 1923 to 1974. The twenty-four years between 1974 to 1998 are a period of stagnation for the production of the films to narrate the Indepence War and the Foundation Process. The silence is broken in 1998 with Ziya Öztan's film "*Cumhuriyet*" (The Republic), which narrates the foundation of the Republic.

The interruption is clearly related to the broad decrease in film production through the 80's in Turkish film industry. The number of films to be produced exhibits a drastic decrease in 90's and hardly reaches an annual average of fifty (Scognamillo 2010, p. 367). There is certainly a complex relation of conditions at play leading to the decrease of film production throughout this period that marks the arguable disappearance of the Yeşilçam tradition. The turmoil in Turkish politics reflects the social and economic practices before and in the aftermath of the 80's coup is

significant. During this time, the widespread expansion of television along with the emergence of videocassette technology (VHS) relocated cinematic entertainment into the space of the household. Consequently, the number of films shown in cinemas exhibited a substantial decrease through the 1980s (Arslan 2010, p. 204; Scognamillo 2005, p. 367).

The production of the films to narrate the Early Republican Period in the 1990s and 2000s Turkey portraits a remarkable acceleration after the break that took twenty-four years of silence. The increase in the number of films is directly proportional to the general tendency of the film production in Turkey that took off through the 90's. The period broadly designated as the "The New Cinema of Turkey" is framed to begin with the box-office success of Yavuz Turgul's film *Eşkiya* (The Bandit) in 1996.

As I have discussed in the 3rd chapter, the period of 1990s in Turkey is significant for the emergence of the critical perspectives to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period. The perspectives resonate through academic discussions as well as via the products of popular culture particularly stress on the modernist and nationalist practices held broadly through the Kemalist reforms. In the upcoming section I will analyze the commercial films that represent the history of the Early Republican period produced between 1996 and 2011 to track the penetration of 1990s criticism in the historiographical performance of films.

4.2 TRACING THE IMPACT OF 1990s CRITICISM ON THE COMMERCIAL HISTORICAL FILMS NARRATING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD BETWEEN 1996-2011

This study on the historiography of the commercial historical films representing the Independence War and the Foundation of the Republic produced between 1996 and 2011 identifies the impact of 1990s criticism on the filmic historiography of the Early Republican Past. The aim of the analysis on the historical films representing the Early Republican Period is to reveal the engagement of 1990s criticism with the historiographical performance of the films. The historiography practiced by commercial

films exposes the impact of social tendencies in 1990s and 2000s Turkey that influence the perception of the Early Republican past.

For the selection of the films to be analyzed through their historiographical practice of the Early Republic Period, the initial elimination is applied on the historical period the films represent. Accordingly, I chose historical films that depict the Indepence War and the Foundation of the Republic. I assigned the date 1919 for the beginning of the Indepence War grounding on the official history and marked the end of the foundation process with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938. For the temporal framing of the films produced after 1990s that represent the Early Republican Period, the year 1996 is utilized in accordance with the periodization of the New Cinema of Turkey. None of the films are excluded before 1996 since the first film after the stagnation of cinema in Turkey is Ziya Öztan's *Cumhuriyet* (The Republic) screened in 1998.

The outer time limit for selecting films draws upon the shift in the contexts of the struggle between the democratic criticisms of the Early Republican Period along with the consequent rise of political Islam and the emergent Kemalist defense against it. As mentioned in the third chapter, the stress between the democratic criticism to challenge the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period and the Kemalist defense maintained its impact on the socio-politic tendencies of Turkey up until 2011.

As mentioned in 3rd chapter, this circumscription grounds on the alteration of political tendencies in Turkey towards a direction that detaches from the 1990s criticism to challenge the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period. The ruling party as the incarnation of the rise of political Islam in 2000s became a major target for the Kemalist reaction through its critical position against the oppression of the modernist and nationalist reforms of the Early Republican Period. Although the rise of political Islam and the critical perspectives towards it from various directions including the Kemalist and ethnic groups in society continued in the years to follow, the focus of the discussions departed from the core of Modernization from Above. In the aftermath of the elections in 2011, the criticism directed on the ideology and the ruling performance of the part is gravitated towards its contemporary implementations. The political stance of the ruling party grew through the downwind of

the democratic criticism of the Early Republican Period in 1990s and hence received the Kemalist reaction through the 2000s. However, after 2011, the critical perspectives to question the politics of the ruling party shifted its ground and located in the contemporary implications of its politics rather than its criticism of the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican period. Through this assignation I'll draw the border in the year 2011 for the impact of 1990s criticism to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period and the Kemalist reaction to rise against it. Accordingly, I limit the selection of the historical films that represent the Early Republican Period to include in the study with the films screened by the end of 2011.

The assessment of the historiographical practice of the films will be performed through the formation of the sensual experience towards past events as represented in film. As elaborated in Chapter two, when a historical event is represented through a diegetic structure, that event transports the event to an area that is free from the laws of historical accuracy. In spite of the fictive representation of the historical event, the plot imprints itself on the historical conscience via the comprehension of the historical event through the sense of experience. The sense of experience that diegetic practices locate their process of comprehension differentiates between the effect of the historical representation of the films from the rest. Historical fiction films operate on the field of experience through the identification they form between the spectator and the narration. Such films reproduce the experience of the past and thus the audience experiences the sensuality of the past in the present. The historiographical performance of film medium gains significance through its ability to conduct the experience of past to the audience.

The filmic experience is grounded on the balance achieved in the narrative form. The main formal qualities of the balanced narrative are the coherent cause and effect relationship that is consistent with diegetic gravity, the calculated suspension and gratification of the expectations, and the ending designed in a closural form. In the study I will analyze the historiographical performance of the films and how they present the sensual experience of the past, evaluating this through the utilization of formal qualities of the narrative signified above.

Among the historical films to narrate the incidents that take place during the Early

Republican Period, fictional films that represent the past through a diegetic sphere are selected. The significance attributed to the historical fiction films is grounded on the constitution of the sensual experience towards the historical event narrated in film. Accordingly, the documentaries and docudramas produced between 1996 and 2011 that narrate the Early Republican Period stays out of the framework of the study. Films excluded from the study include the documentary *Mustafa* (2008) directed by Can Dündar and the docudrama *Dersimiz Atatürk* (Our Lesson: Atatürk) (2010). The film "*Allah'ın Sadık Kulu Barla" (*God's Faithful Servant Barla) (2011) is excluded from the study due to its motion capture animation form, which falls short to correspond to the audio-visual representation of the Early Republican period.

The next criteria for the selection of the historical films representing the Early Republican Period is assigned through the commercial characteristic of the films based on their responsive structure to the pulses of the society, and hence their capacity to reflect social tendencies. As elaborated in the second chapter, commercial cinema reflects contemporary cultural tendencies through a supply and demand conscious discipline of production. The contemporary culture as a field of constant struggle involves the discursive constitutions of various ideologies that emerges in the narratives of commercial films. Once the commercial film narrates a historical event, the representation of the past bears the characteristics of the contemporary culture in its historiographical practice. Hence the filmic representation of history in commercial films reflects contemporary perspectives in its expression. By the same token, those films influence the historical perception of society both through the effect of filmic experience and their wide circulation. The historiographical performance of commercial films gains significance in their ability to reveal the contemporary dynamics of society through their association with popular culture. The representation of the past in commercial historical films is bound to shift in accordance with the emergent discourses to trigger social change.

In order to evaluate commercial characteristics, I rely on the screening copies of the films in the opening weekend as a tangible element to indicate the producers' objectives for box office success. The commercial characteristics of the film could be measured through many different conceptualizations, including but not limited to calculated

narrative patterns, large production budgets, substantial marketing activities or extensional release strategies, all of which would exhibit their profit-oriented structure. Nevertheless, films do not rank as commercial films as a result of their box-office success, but they are produced, advertised and released as a commercial film. Consequently, it would be misleading to classify the films solely on the box office results. Commercial films announce themselves as such by promising that they will be sold in large quantities. They solidify the promise on the great number of screening copies that saturate cinemas. A commercial film reaches many film theatres nationwide and in many cases is screened on multiple screens in cinema multiplexes. Commercial films introduce themselves to the audience through wide distribution. With this criteria in mind, I give attention to the quantity of screening copies to distinguish the commercial characteristics of the films.

In this study the designation of a film as "commercial" requires an initial release of over 200 screening copies for the opening weekend. In order to get these figures, I consulted: Nizam Eren the former PR Executive of *Özen Film*; and Halil Çalık the Post Production Executive of *CMYLZ Fikir Sanat Film Production Company*. Through the interviews conducted the mutual decision was set on 200 screening copies as an indicator to reflect the producer's claim on the box office success in Turkish film industry during 2000s. However, the dramatic differences between the condition of the Turkish film industry in 1990s and 2000s is reflected in the quantity of cinemas and screening copies necessitated a binary assessment. The difference through the developments of film industry in Turkey surfaces in the number of screenings that grows from 299 to 505 between 1990 to 1999 and 651 to 2,093 from 2000 to 2011 (Yavuz 2012, p. 123). For this reason, I include Ziya Öztan's *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) (1998) in the study despite its being released with 35 screening copies. Alongside the aforementioned consultants' opinions, the number of screening copies of the two other ambitious projects of the period *Ağır Roman* (Cholera Street) (1997) with 25 copies and *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak* (Everything's Gonna Be Great) (1998) with 70 copies endorsed the inclusion of *Cumhuriyet* in the study. Through these assessments, the films selected to be analysed in the study are *"Cumhuriyet"* (Republic) (1998), *"Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali"* (The Last Ottoman: Knockout Ali) (2007), *"Veda"* (Farewell) (2010), Dedemin İnsanları (My Grandfather's People) (2011) and *"Hür Adam: Bedüizzaman Said Nursi"* (Free Man)

(2011). According to this elimination that takes the screening copies into account, the film *Kubilay* (2010) that narrates the Menemen Incident in the Early Republican Period with 71 copies is excluded from the study.

The analysis on the impact of the 1990s criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the representations of historical films will be performed through the assessment of 1990s criticism on the films. For this assessment, I will utilize the conceptualisation of the criticism that gathers the critical perspectives of the 1990s to challenge the foundation process in four topics.

As elaborated in the third chapter, the main grounds of the 1990s criticism are assembled under four major themes. The "ethnicity criticism" that asserts the negligence and oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project. The project aims for a homogeneous unity in nation and a citizen identity designed accordingly. Next, "secularism criticism" that asserts the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society through the implementation of the secularist reforms. The reforms aim to diminish the authority of religion from the public affairs and everyday life. Third, "modernization from above criticism" that asserts the state centric management of the modernization project that leads to the disintegration of the society. 1990s criticism signifies the divergence in the society through the dichotomies of central versus periphery, modern versus backwards, Turkish versus minority and Muslim versus non-Muslim. And finally, the "inferiority criticism" that asserts the self-oppression of the society through the failures in accomplishing the duties to reach to the level of Western civilizations. The demands of modernist progress in Kemalist ideology culminate in the sense of inadequacy that leads to the subjection of society against the Republican elite.

The engagement of the historical representation of the Early Republican Period in the films with the critical perspectives of 1990's will be characterized as "acceptance and accommodation", "not containing", or "rejection and defense"; these will reveal the positioning of the film in the contesting field of culture and politics from 1996 to 2011. The positioning of the commercial films to represent the history of the Early Republican Period will expose the producers' foresight on the social and political tendencies of the audience. Their foresight will provide insights on the dynamics of the society in relation

with the 1990s criticism towards the Early Republican Period during the late 1990s and the first decade of 2000s.

The analysis on the historiographical performance of the films to narrate the stories that takes place during the Early Republican Period will be held by an approach conscious to film form acknowledging it as a significant tool of meaning production in film. The design of the various formal elements in film medium produces the meaning while they shape the experience of the audience.

Ian Christie in his work on formalism and neo-formalism in film studies identifies neo-formalism as an approach to the filmic medium that focuses on the effect of formal elements on the perception and cognition of the audience (2001, 60). David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson introduce the theorization of neo-formalism in film studies. In Bordwell's *Narration in the Fiction Film* (1985), Thompson's "*Breaking the Glass Armor: Neoformalist Film Analysis*" (1988) and their joint work "*Film Art: An Introduction to Film Studies*" (1986), they developed the neo-formalist approach to film analysis. Bordwell & Thompson assert that the audience engages with the film through its formal characteristics, and it is these same formal elements that transmit meaning. They identify form in film as the element that shapes the filmic experience (2008, p. 70). By formal elements they refer to visual components such as contrast and affinity, space, line and shape, tone, light, color, rhythm and movement. The design of the elements in their conceptualization involves both the in-frame applications in terms of compositions and the relation between the shots in terms of editing. The meaning is produced through the formal elements in film medium, hence the analysis performed on the utilization of formal elements provides a substantial understanding of the narrative.

In order to further explain my utilization of the neo-formal approach of Thompson and Bordwell I will briefly address some of the significant formal elements and their possible sensual effects. The lines and shapes in frame stand out as the essential components in composition. Even though we perceive the objects as the verisimilitude of the materials they visually represent, the objects consist of stains in frame in terms of lines and shapes. The lines appear in the frame in terms of horizontal, vertical or diagonal styles while the shapes are identified through their sharp or smooth verges. According to Bruce Block who explains the visual components and discuss their

dramatic functions in his book *The Visual Story*, the horizontal lines evoke tranquility while the vertical lines add dynamism to the narrative (2008, 93-8). Compositions that involve diagonal lines in their design transmit an anxious feeling. Likewise, in Block's argument, shapes that display sharpness create sensations of excitement while round shapes evoke calm feelings (ibid, 111).

Color is another effective visual component on the dramatic production of meaning. Red, orange, yellow, green, cyan, blue, violet and magenta are the hues defined in the scale of film production. The colors other than the ones on the hue such as pink or navy generate variations of brightness and saturation. The color as a visual component most significantly creates dramatic effects on their warm and cold utilizations. The warm hues are red-magenta, red-orange and yellow and they evoke warm feelings while the cold hues of blue-magenta, blue, green, cyan and yellow green evoke cold sensations (ibid, pp. 136-148).

Bruce Block conceptualizes contrast and affinity through the interrelations of formal elements both within the frames and in between shots (ibid, 9). Contrast as a visual characteristic refers to the difference while affinity means proximity in terms of correspondence. Contrast and affinity provide a functional context to analyze the dramatic effect of the formal elements, as it is applicable to all of them. The formal elements of film are directed in terms of their dramatic effects constituting the composition. The cinematographic choices practiced on the composition are significant in terms of meaning production. Steven D. Katz in *Shot by Shot: Visualizing from Concept to Screen* (1991) explains the dramatic effects of cinematographic practices. Among the tools of executing cinematographic styles, I will briefly explain the dramatic function of camera angles and proxemics in framing.

The eye-level camera angles that place the camera on the same line with the actor or objects presents a neutral feeling. On the other hand, camera angles positioned above eye level offer a weak representation of the object, while those below eye level display greatness. Point of view shot represents the perspective of the character functioning to bond the identification as it shows the exterior word to the audience in the way it is perceived by the character. Proximity in cinematography refers to the distance between the object and camera. A wide shot that signifies a large distance between the camera

and the objects transmits general information about the space and the position of the object in relation to the environment, while a close up on provides detailed information about the character enabling the sensual affiliation through identification (Katz, 1991: 159).

In this study that aims to reveal the impact of 90's criticism on the historiographical practice of the films that represent the Early Republican Period, I will incorporate the analysis on the film form to obtain a substantial interpretation of the narrative.

4.2.1 *Cumhuriyet* (The Republic) (1998)

Cumhuriyet (The Republic) (1998) written by Turgut Özakman and directed by Ziya Öztan narrates the story of the foundation of the Republic and the implementation of the Republican reforms. Produced by the Turkish State Broadcasting institution *TRT* (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), *Cumhuriyet* (1998) is the first film since 1974 to narrate the story of the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic. The ambitious project evoked great attention and expectations even before the film's pre-production stage by becoming the film that breaks the silence. The film deserves attention considering the discussions on the responsibilities attributed to a film that attempts to represent Mustafa Kemal and narrate the history of the Early Republican period during the late 80's. The script is written by Turgut Özakman, the acclaimed writer who also wrote the bestseller *Şu Çılgın Türkler* (Those Crazy Turks) (2005) that narrates the story of the Independence War. Ziya Öztan in an interview published in *Hürriyet* Newspaper states that Özakman handled the script with precision by relying on first-hand information (1998).

The production of *Cumhuriyet* follows the TV series of TRT *Kurtuluş* (Independence) (1994) that consists of six episodes. *Kurtuluş* also written by Özakman and directed by Öztan narrates the section of the Independence War between the *II. Inönü Battle* in 1921 to *Mudanya Truce* in 1922. As he explains in in the Hürriyet interview, Öztan was preparing for the production of a film on the Lausanne Treaty to continue telling the epic story of the Independence War following the TV Series *Kurtuluş*. However, TRT proposed the writer Özakman and director Öztan a project that would encompass the Foundation of the Republic and

the Republican Reforms. The project was designed as the commemoration of the victorious history of the Early Republican Period to be released on the 75th anniversary of the Republic (Hürriyet, 24th October '98).

With the objective of great public attention and hence box office success, the film announced itself as one of the biggest projects of Turkish film history that takes on the glorious history of the Turkish Republic (ibid). The execution of the considerably high production standards for the period involve manufacturing custom-made replicas of the cars actually used in the period and filming in actual locations like the Yıldız and Dolmabahçe Palaces. The scenes that take place in the first and the second Grand National Assembly of Turkey are also shot *in situ*. In total the filming took place in a hundred different locations (ibid).

According to the data provided in *Milliyet* Newspaper on November 6th 1998, the production of the film cost 2.5 Million USD. *Türkiye İş Bankası A. Ş.* the main sponsor of the film covered most of the expenses. *Vakko* one of the leading Turkish luxury goods companies prepared the costumes for the historical film. The designers utilized the exact-matching textile and patterns in the costumes prepared for Mustafa Kemal. The production of the replicas of the car used during the period were handled by *Tofaş* the car company owned by Koç Holding. The company prepared a total of twelve vehicles: eight automobiles, two of which belonged to Mustafa Kemal, two trucks, one bus and an ambulance. Turkish classical music composer Muammer Sun prepared the film's score, which was recorded in the Bilkent Symphony concert hall by the Symphony's artists. The opulent organization of cast consists of 300 main and side characters with 25.000 extras. While the actors of state opera and ballet institution play most of the main characters, Rutkay Aziz the prominent actor of AST (Ankara Art Theatre) plays Mustafa Kemal.

The characterization of Mustafa Kemal in *Cumhuriyet* is a novelty in the Cinema of Turkey apart from the performance of the Belgian actor in the docudrama produced in 1981. The historiographical practice of *Cumhuriyet* to represent the Early Republican Period embodies Mustafa Kemal in flesh and blood in the cinematic space. The diegetic form of the historical fiction film enables a sensual encounter with the founding father of the Republic.

The plot of *Cumhuriyet* unfurls via two interconnected chronological stories taking place during the Early Republican Period. The first narrative consists of the Independence War, the termination of the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of the Republic and the implementation of the Kemalist Reforms during the first ten years of the Republic; the other focuses on the personal life of Mustafa Kemal. The filmic representation of Mustafa Kemal's personal life diverges from earlier cinematic history, in this presentation he is depicted as other than a sharp-witted political genius and a brave commander. The film portrays Mustafa Kemal as a sensitive, loving son to his mother and a charming illustrious gentleman who attracts young Turkish women who keep his picture in lockets. *Cumhuriyet* narrates the intimate story of Mustafa Kemal's bumpy marriage that culminates with a divorce with Ms. Latife and the unrequited love of Fikriye for him that leads to her suicide.

The representation of the Early Republican past in *Cumhuriyet* invites the audience into an intimate space to meet anew the glorious leader, the founder of the nation. This establishment offers the audience a chance to acknowledge the leader as a human and thus embrace him with his vulnerabilities and shortcomings. The filmic representation of Mustafa Kemal as a character with mortal fragility provides the surface on which to appreciate his discernment and determination in dealing with tough conditions. In addition, this "well-rounded" meeting with him offers a chance for a different form of admiration for Mustafa Kemal to grow, one depicting him as a charming, powerful man who is desirous for the appetites of life, like art, music, dancing, eating and drinking. Mustafa Kemal as the protagonist of the film presents the audience with a narrative path through identification. The identification creates the possibility for the constitution of empathy with the founding leader. The presentation of the perspective of Mustafa Kemal offers the chance to see the struggles, obligations and agonies faced during the foundation of the Republic.

The historical period represented in film (1922-1933) compromises a large field of the Early Republican Period. Opening with a sequence in battlefield on the path to İzmir towards the end of the Independence War, the film continues with the struggles of the institutionalization of the parliament and the government in the wake of the dispersal of the Ottoman Empire. The efforts to build up administrative recognition

in the international context are broadly represented through the discussions on the articles of the Treaty of Lausanne. The national development through the path of modernism is expressed through the implementation of Kemalist reforms. The foundation and the organization of the Republican rule on the government along with the struggles for the transition to the multiparty system are narrated. *Cumhuriyet* culminates with the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Turkish Republic. The narrative highlights the struggles and the sacrifices of Mustafa Kemal along with the Republican elite in founding the Republic. The resolution part of the plot places the emphasis on the vulnerability of the new system that requires constant defense and empowerment by the upcoming generations. Through the contextualization of the Republic as the consignation of Mustafa Kemal to the young generations, *Cumhuriyet* attempts to charge the audience with the duty to defend the Republic and Kemalist ideals in the 1990's.

The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in *Cumhuriyet* constitutes a historiographical practice through the narration of the events that occur during the foundation of the Republic and the implementation of the Kemalist Reforms through a diegetic structure. In the plot, the significant events of the Early Republican Period such as Mustafa Kemal's Parliament speech on the termination of the caliphate and Sultan Vahdettin's demand for asylum to Britain are narrated in a causal engagement. and matter of fact way. Certainly, the past events narrated in *Cumhuriyet* are designated as an outcome of a selection among the data pool that consists of historical documents of the Early Republican Period. The selection of the past events to represent is a narrative necessity for the constitution of the diegetic gravity that requires internal consistency. The structured plot to unfold the incidents of the Early Republican Period in a causal order present the comprehension of the period as a meaningful whole. The historiographical practice of the film encapsulates a fraction of time from the past and represents it in a closural form. Nevertheless, the historical representation of the Early Republican Period practiced in *Cumhuriyet* is only valid in its own diegetic sphere. As a historical fiction film, *Cumhuriyet* resides in a space free from the responsibility of historical accuracy and would not claim authenticity.

That said, the representation of the Early Republican Period in *Cumhuriyet* is stitched to the official history of the period through the dates of the events. The dates of the significant events such as October 29th which marks the foundation of the Republic, appears on the screen in written form in the opening of the scene that narrates the event. *Cumhuriyet* utilizes diegetic radio announcements as another narrative tactic to convey historical information that sets the background for the past incidents represented in film. The dates of the historical events signified in the film create a junction where actuality and the diegetic sphere of *Cumhuriyet* come together. The overlap between the diegetic representation of the Early Republican Period and the official history of the period reveals the probability of authenticity.

According to the newspaper article in *Milliyet* appearing on the 6th of November and published one week after the film's release in theaters on October 30th, the film generally receives negative criticisms. The article gathers the reviews of the prominent film critics of the period and puts forward the shared sense of disappointment for the execution of cinematic tools of storytelling for the historical representation of the Early Republican Period. The two-dimensional representation of space diminishes the power of cinematic expression and the stereotypical establishment of shot-reverse shots fails to enrich the wide-angle shots to cover the scenes are the distinct features of the disapproval. In Atilla Dorsay's account *Cumhuriyet* was nothing more than the random visualization of the official history that lacks the artistic implementation of mise-en-scene and cinematography. For Göksel Gülensoy bad direction culminates in the null representation of the period, which is reinforced by the inadequate execution of location and wardrobe design. Uğur Vardan in his approach that aligns with the broad dissatisfaction for *Cumhuriyet* underlines the structural problems of the plot that complicate the comprehension of the story itself (Milliyet, 6th November '98).

Despite the negative criticism *Cumhuriyet* receives for directorial skills, the execution of cinematography, and production design, the matter of historical accuracy would not emerge as a key point in the discussions. The correspondence of the historical facts about the Early Republican Past and the filmic representation of the period would not gain much attention on the critical perspectives to evaluate

film's success. The question of realism broadly resides in the practice of the art department to design the locations and costumes through the expectation of maintaining the matching execution. Furthermore, *Cumhuriyet* is widely appreciated for its attempt to narrate the story of the foundation of the Republic with an emphasis on the personality and private life of founding father Mustafa Kemal. This would imply a broad acceptance of the film's historiographical performance. For instance, film critic Tunca Arslan appreciated the emphasis on the anti-imperialist tendency to infiltrate the historical representation of the period (Milliyet, 98). This indicates that the stereotypical positioning of Turkey and Turkish nation in a constant struggle with the enemies both from inside and outside continues to be appreciated in the criticism that follow its release. Alongside to that, discussions on *Cumhuriyet* would not involve the ideological inclinations of the film to influence the historiographical practice. Probably the reluctance to discuss the operative of ideology in the film came from a consensus of state ideology in the film due to the involvement of TRT.

In the following parts of the analysis I will continue analyzing the impact the 1990s criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period had on the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet*. The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in *Cumhuriyet* establishes a responsive attitude in broad context against the critical perspectives of 1990s that challenge the implementations of the foundation period. The film exhibits a rather aggressive stance of defense towards the secularism criticism that emphasize the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society through the implementation of secularist reforms to diminish the authority of religion from the public affairs and everyday life,

Cumhuriyet begins with sequences generally devoted to presenting the miserable condition of society in terms of civil rights and justice prior to the foundation of the Republic. A group of scenes that take place in the film's introduction emphasize the underrated position of woman in society under the rule of Ottoman Empire, one that embraced Islamic regulations in the organization of the social order. A scene which two women covered in hijab crouch on the street facing the wall as two men pass by is meant to demonstrate the existential shame attributed to woman during the rule of

the Islamic order. The exterior daytime scene depicts the dialogue of two supporters of the Ottoman Empire who criticize Mustafa Kemal's political initiatives that lead to the annihilation of the sultanate. The shot-reverse shot utilized to cover the dialogue scene is interrupted by the use of a wide-angle shot synchronized to the crouching of women. The completion of the scene through the continuous use of the wide-angle without intercutting to the talking head close-ups indicates the significance attributed to represent the degradation of women in society. By portraying the obstruction of the Islamic rule that is utilized to organize the practice of daily life on the inclusion of women to the public sphere, *Cumhuriyet* responds to criticism of the secularist implementations of Republican rule. By stressing the exclusion of women from the sphere of daily life under the Islamic authority, the film signifies that is secularism as an essential tool that paves the way towards the civilization of the society.

In another scene that follows in a similar vein, depicting the degradation of women in society prior to the establishment of the Republican system, two parliament members gossip about Mustafa Kemal's marriage ceremony with Ms. Latife. In the dialogue scene designed in the shot-reverse shot pattern the supporters of Islamic rule reprimand the participation of Ms. Latife in the ceremony. The assertion that supports the exclusion of women from the public sphere in accordance with the authority of Islamic rule amplifies with the upcoming scene where Ms. Latife enters Parliament. The Parliament members which consists of men only prior to the constitutional reform to maintain the participation of women in the administration greet Ms. Latife's visit on Mustafa Kemal's request with astonishment. The close-up shots of members depict the annoyance of the crowd that grumbles on the unacceptability of a woman in Parliament. In his speech during the session, Mustafa Kemal declares his democratic vision towards the realization of women's participation in parliament despite the negative attitude of the crowd.

The attitude of the secularist Republican regime on the mandatory use of the Islamic veil for women in public is expressed in *Cumhuriyet* via a scene that represents the parade of the graduate teachers. The march of the women graduates gets disturbed with the stumble of their feet due to the difficulty of wearing the hijab that covers

their eyes and feet. A member of the Republican committee approaches Mustafa Kemal and questions the possibility of a female teacher to teach properly in this condition, one that even prevents her from managing a straight walk. In response Mustafa Kemal is framed in a close-up shot below the eye level to emphasize his strength, and states that the Republican woman will eventually choose the graceful, natural and practical clothing style to incorporate in their daily life. The contextualization of the secularist regime in the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* exhibits the termination of the veil as a matter of choice rather than an implementation forced on women. The framing of secularization in the historical representation of Cumhuriyet demonstrates the liberating characteristics of the application rather than an act of oppression on the conservative groups in society. The termination of the authority of Islamic rule on the organization of daily life becomes a necessity through the civil code that encourages women's representation in the public sphere via the right to education and political participation.

The narration of the termination of the caliphate in *Cumhuriyet* that is inclusive to the proclamation of the Republic constitutes another track of a responsive stance against the emergent criticism in 1990s towards secularist implementations. In a scene that depicts Mustafa Kemal's speech on the 29th of October 1923, he contextualizes the secularist implementation as an act of purification that aims to glorify Islam. In Mustafa Kemal's interpretation the separation of the authority of religion and politics with the secularist project aims to recover the legitimacy of religious belief from the corrupt sphere of politics.

The statement that exhibits the respectful and dignified positioning of Islam in the secularist Republican ideals partakes of a narrative hook to set the ground for the representation of the Sheikh Said Rebellion. In *Cumhuriyet's* interpretation, the incident is consisting entirely of the corruption of conservative communities by becoming an instrument of political strategies against Mustafa Kemal and the Republican ideals. The foundation of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) that marks the initial attempt for the transition to the multiparty system inaugurates the politic sidesteps in the government. The opposition party resorts to positioning the conservative communities against the

Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) founded and headed by Mustafa Kemal. As a political strategy, they emphasize the diminishing of the authority of religion from the public and private affairs under the governance of the Republican People's Party. The film portrays the campaign process, mostly consisting of the lobbying activities with conservative communities behind closed doors with a montage sequence. The montage sequence as a narrative editing technique functions to present an incident in a compressed piece of time by juxtaposing shots regardless of the time and space continuity (Thompson & Bordwell, 2006; 479). These sequences represent the authorities of the Progressive Republican Party as they incite the conservative communities and utilize them as a tool of their political agenda to take down Mustafa Kemal's party. The agitated speeches of the party members stress the threat Islam faces under the secularist establishment of the Republican regime.

During the sequences the leaders of the conservative communities along with their participants are framed in the dervish lodges lit in a somber style, frequently in ecstatic *dhikr* sessions. The dark features and uncongenial manners of the dervish are striking in *Cumhuriyet's* representation of Islamic communities during the Early Republican Period. The verbal expressions in the montage sequence of provocation belong solely to the politicians. The sheiks and disciples would not participate in the dialogue. They are depicted as just listening and nodding, thus their position is not represented in the narrative. The historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* restrains from accommodating the perspective of the Islamic conservative groups in the discussion of the impact of secularism. The Islamic conservative communities are portrayed as illiterate, narrow minded and purposeless groups whom became the instrument of the political strategy of the opposition party.

The Sheikh Said Rebellion in *Cumhuriyet* is represented via the scene of a raid on a police station on the Eastern border of Turkey. The rebellion is portrayed in the context of an incident triggered by the Progressive Republican Party to paralyze the modernist progress of Mustafa Kemal's Republican People's Party. The film conceptualizes the inclusion of the Islamic conservative community led by Sheikh Said as a result of being deceived and becoming an instrument of political tactics.

The trials of the community members along with their leader Sheik Said lasts two months following their arrest, which resulted at the time in a State of Emergency in Eastern Turkey. The information about the arrest and the trial is explained to the audience through the tout of the paperboy in the street announcing the headlines. The trial results with the verdict on the abolishment of all dervish lodges in the region and the termination of the Progressive Republican Party. The narration of the trial sequences in the film are devoted to legitimizing the punishment of the Islamic community members that participated in the rebellion with their leader Sheik Said and the termination of the Progressive Republican Party for terrorist action. Hence in the historical representation practiced in *Cumhuriyet*, the decision to abolish the Islamic lodges is explained as a necessity to protect the dignity of Islam and religious practice. This contextualization points to the respectful and considerate attitude of the Kemalist regime for the Islamic religion, and thus exhibits the defensive reaction of *Cumhuriyet* against the 1990s criticism for the oppression of secularist implementations.

The representation of the Menemen Incident in *Cumhuriyet* follows the same track of defensive response against the critical perspective to assert the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups by the secularist implementations during the Early Republican Period. The *Menemen Incident* also known by the name Kubilay Incident is the armed assault on the government soldiers organized and practiced by a group of dervishes in a small town called Menemen close to İzmir in 1930 (Cagatay 2006, p. 42). The brutal action of the Islamic group in turbans is emphasized in *Cumhuriyet* through the visualization of the violence with great detail. The sequence portrays the furious dervishes as they decapitate an unarmed young soldier and march through the streets chanting prayers out loud with the head attached on the pike. Consequently, the actors of the incident are caught following another period of state of siege executed in the north Aegean region. The trials culminate with a verdict on the execution of the dervishes who participated in the incident. The perspective of Mustafa Kemal on the Menemen Incident and the execution of the dervishes are expressed in *Cumhuriyet* via the scene where he dictates his parliament speech to Afet Inan. In the speech (designed to demonstrate the essentiality of freedom of thought and belief for the democratic republican regime) Mustafa Kemal highlights

his responsibility to inhibit the threat of religious oppression. Thus, the representation of the Early Republican Period in *Cumhuriyet* legitimizes the intervention on the Islamic communities by bringing the acts of violence practiced by them against the development of the Republican government under the spotlight.

The historical representation of the Early Republican period in *Cumhuriyet* exhibits a minor defensive response towards the ethnicity criticism that asserts the negligence and oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project that aims for a homogeneous unity in nation and a citizen identity designed accordingly.

There is only one scene in Cumhuriyet featuring a non-Muslim character. The interior barbershop night scene takes place in the sequence that narrates the kidnapping of Ali Kemal the supporter of Ottoman Empire by the committee of union and progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*). Aleko, the Greek Orthodox character with a single line in *Cumhuriyet*, witnesses the incident as Ali Kemal is being taken while having a shave in the barbershop. Aleko reacts to the commotion in a rather reckless annoyance and questions the authority of union and progress committee in İstanbul under British rule. With this representation Cumhuriyet repeats the pattern of labeling the non-Muslim population in society during the Independence War and the foundation process as collaborationists with the imperialist states. Although this is a stereotypical portrayal, it still constitutes a defensive response that functions to legitimize the exclusion of non-Muslim citizens from the national identity during the nationalization process of the Early Republican Period.

Other than the scene to represent Greek Orthodox Aleko as a supporter of the British siege in Istanbul, the ethic and religious minorities in society during the period do not appear in *Cumhuriyet*. The exclusion of the ethnic and religious minorities from the narrative in the filmic representation of the diplomatic process of the Treaty of Lausanne and Sheik Said Rebellion is striking, in light of the attitudes towards ethnicity criticism in 1990s. The issue of the population exchange that resulted with the decrease of the non-Muslim population in Turkey from 25 % to 2,5 % (as explained in the 3rd chapter) constitutes a significant component of the Treaty of

Lausanne. Although *Cumhuriyet* narrates the process of the Treaty of Lausanne in great detail, highlighting the diplomatic success which followed the victory on the battlefield against the European states, the population exchange is omitted in the historical representation. In a similar attitude, the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* abstains from treating the question of Kurdish identity and the participants in the Sheik Said Rebellion.

The representation of the Early Republican Period in *Cumhuriyet* engages with the inferiority criticism through a defensive response. The inadequacy to fulfill the responsibilities of the modernization project to reach the level of Western civilizations during the foundation process is what constitutes this sense of inferiority. The sense of inferiority is frequently revealed via comparisons with the West and Western society as the benchmark for the level of civilization.

Mustafa Kemal's speech in the parliament in the aftermath of the Independence War is significant in order to take the temperature of the 1990s criticism in *Cumhuriyet* with regards to inferiority criticism. In the speech Mustafa Kemal signifies that the victory acquired with the war only constitutes the first stage of the independence battle of the struggle against the western imperialism. The next stage in his interpretation relies on the decision between submitting to the Ottoman Empire's antiquated regime, which surrenders authority to the Western states, and the foundation of the Republic by terminating the sultanate. In his contextualization, the foundation of the Republican along with the modernization project through the implementation of the Kemalist reforms is the key to dealing with Western imperialism. Manifesting the diplomatic authority of the Western states on the country under the Ottoman rule, the representation of Mustafa Kemal in *Cumhuriyet* signifies the backwardness as the source of inferiority. The project of modernization that aims to reach the level of Western civilizations is portrayed as the sole solution to cure the inferior state of the country. Hence *Cumhuriyet* opposes the critical perspective to designate the duties to fulfill towards westernization in the courses of modernization as the core for the sense of inferiority in 1990s by proposing Westernization as the cure itself.

Cumhuriyet expresses the defensive response towards the sense of inferiority to emerge in the ways of confrontation with the West extensively in its representation of the diplomatic process of the Treaty of Lausanne. The film sequences representing the conference that lasts seven months towards the realization of the treaty are shot on location in Lausanne, Switzerland, including at the Palace de Rumine. The portrayal of the delegates from the Westerns states to participate in the diplomatic process as in *Cumhuriyet* remarks the underestimating attitude towards the Republican state in the wake of the foundation. In *Cumhuriyet*'s framing of the diplomatic process, Western States intend to extend the capitulations on the country as well as charging the interests of Ottoman Empire's depths from Turkish republic. In İsmet İnönü's expression, they seek to gain what they have lost in the battleground of the Independence War through politics. *Cumhuriyet* portrays the arrogance of the Western delegates through scenes depicting the discussions in the conference hall. The British, Italian, and French delegates are shown pursuing the treaty in their own interest, by cornering the Turkish committee through their claim for unjust acquisitions. The solid stance of İsmet Paşa rising up on patriotic sentiments to stand against the sneaky tactics of the Western delegates with legitimate arguments illustrates the superior virtues of the Turks. The heated negotiations culminate in a well-deserved politic victory, according to *Cumhuriyet*'s portrayal. The emphasis on the superiority of the courageous and wise Turks against the arrogant and exploitative Westerners reveals *Cumhuriyet's* defensive attitude against the criticism of inferiority.

Cumhuriyet rejects the critical perspective of the state centric implementation of the modernization process to alienate the society from the Republican elite by grounding on the emergency of the development that necessitates an authoritarian leadership. The critical discourse of "Modernization from Above" defines the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican Elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. The state-centered management of modernization corresponds to the acknowledgement of the practice of modern life as a series of customs to be adopt and internalized by the society.

1990s Modernization from Above criticism challenges the state-centric modernist reforms for their ignorance of authentic culture that leads to the oppression of society in the effort to adopt the customs of modernity. The demand for the unconditional acknowledgement of modern practices in the social sphere culminates in the estrangement of the society from the dialogue with the Republican Elite. The critical perspective stresses modernity as an artificial formation forced upon society as a project.

The representation of Mustafa Kemal's Eskişehir meeting on 15th of January 1923 in *Cumhuriyet* is significant in order to interpret the film's position in relation to the Modernization from Above criticism. The scene that covers the meeting is framed as one of the milestones on the path to the foundation of the Republic and opens with a wide shot of the city square. The square of the mid-Anatolian city is designed in a humble manner corresponding to the post-war conditions of an Anatolia in ruins. The Turkish flags hang from poles like arrows in the sky. The shot that is captured with a crane movement on the square packed with residents signifies crowd's excitement to see and listen to Mustafa Kemal. The next shot frames Mustafa Kemal and is positioned below his eye level, to aggrandize his persona and strengthen his authority while addressing to the crowd.

The speech of Mustafa Kemal in *Cumhuriyet* emphasizes the necessity for the organization and implementation of the state-led modernization project to accelerate the process. He explains the vitality of the fast-paced regulations for the modernist progress with the current condition of the Turkey as an underdeveloped country. He points out the congested state of the economy, the primitive mode of agricultural activity, and the lack of industrial production. Highlighting the authority of the foreign states on the rare functioning components in the county such as the railways, he signifies the dependent position of Turkey despite the victory of the Independence War. He describes the inadequacy of highways, hospitals and institutions of education as obstructions to the path of progress towards a modern society level with Western civilizations. The population is illiterate and miserable through the struggle with the epidemics of tuberculosis and variola suffering from poverty of post-war Anatolia. Through this framing that signifies the weak and

ineffective state of the country, Mustafa Kemal highlights the necessity for the reclamation of the society through and urgent organization towards modernization. The regulations that enable the progress of industrialization, technological development, and institutions of education need to be organized and conducted by the state. He attributes necessity to the state-centered implementation of the modernist project due to developmental urgency. He designates the society's accord with state-held regulations and internalizes the path of modernity as the key element for the survival of the country.

The scene that covers the initial meeting of Mustafa Kemal with İsmet İnönü following his return from Lausanne presents *Cumhuriyet*'s position against the critical perspective of modernization from above. The single-shot dialogue scene takes place in the backseat of a convertible car where Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü evaluate the process and consequences of the Lausanne contract, and frames the characters in medium close-up. The directorial choice for the single-shot with a fixed camera to cover the whole dialogue between the two characters reflects the intention to reduce the possible interruption of cutting among the headshots. In their conversation, İsmet İnönü expresses the Western delegates' opinion of Turkey's financial and cultural inadequacies. In his interpretation, the western perspective acknowledges Turkey as a backward country that fails to pass the Age of Enlightenment. For them the current socio-economic conditions demonstrate enough evidence towards the impossibility of the country to reach the level of Western civilizations. Thus, they are convinced that Turkey would fall on its knees in financial crisis and eventually pass under the European yoke. Mustafa Kemal listens to İnönü in a considerate yet calm manner and responds to his concerns by saying "They'll see." Mustafa Kemal's attitude exhibits his confidence to prove the biased perspective of the Western states wrong by completing the phases of modernization in a systematic acceleration. Stepping up from his speech in Eskişehir that represents Mustafa Kemal's explanation on the vital necessity of the implementation of modernization as a project, this following scene contributes to the film's defensive reaction against the criticism of modernization from above. The dialogue between İnönü and Mustafa Kemal in this scene reinforces the emphasis on the necessity of the state-held regulations to conduct the project of modernization.

Another scene that is significant for the engagement of *Cumhuriyet* with the 90's criticism of the Early Republican Period towards the state-led process of modernization is Mustafa Kemal's meeting in Kastamonu in August 1923. In this scene he realizes the official launch of the "hat reform" as the initial stage of a series of regulations implemented on the clothing style to adopt the Western standards of modernity. During his speech he presents the hat with its possible gestures of respect in society as a sign of civilization in the Western world. The crowd that fills up the town square is portrayed in a cheerful and enthusiastic manner while whole heartedly watching Mustafa Kemal's demonstration. Suddenly an old man approaches to the front introducing himself as a war veteran addressing to Mustafa Kemal in adoration. The man exaggeratedly expresses his dedication for Mustafa Kemal whom he fought under his commandment in Çanakkale and Sakarya Wars. Leading towards the direction of the great leader's will would be the most honorable duty for the veteran he comments, since Mustafa Kemal never fails in the decisions of the war field. Through this analogy he takes out his fez in a performative manner to the crowd and replaces it with a hat as a sign of loyalty to the leadership of the great commander. The old veteran's act receives a great acclamation from the crowd at the meeting.

The old veteran's performance during the Kastamonu meeting scene in *Cumhuriyet* is meant to demonstrate society's faith in Mustafa Kemal as the great commander to build the Turkish Republic and Nation as a modern, civilized country. Through exhibiting the society's enthusiastic collaboration to adopt the modernist reforms of the Early Republican Period, the position of *Cumhuriyet* reveals in relation to 90's criticism its emphasis on modernization from above. The representation of the hat reform in *Cumhuriyet* rejects the critical perspective to stress on the alienation and hence the oppression of the society during the modernist implementations of the Early Republican period. The portraiture of the active collaboration of the public in Kastamonu rejects the critical perspective to argue on society's divergence through the dichotomies of central versus periphery and modern versus backwards during the reformist period. On the other hand, the film's historiography performs a scarce representation of Turkish society during the Early Republican Period. While the film lacks any portrayal of everyday life, the representation of the public is reduced to the

cheerful crowds to fulfill the town squares in Mustafa Kemal's meetings. The whole story of the Early Republican Period is told from the perspectives of the Republican elite and primarily Mustafa Kemal. In this regard, the non-existence of the point of view of the society facing the struggles of the Independence War and the reformist implementations of modernization reveals inherent segregation of the common people in the filmic performance of historiography.

As I have tried to demonstrate in the analysis above, *Cumhuriyet* as a commercial film representing a large part of the Early Republican Period rejects the 90's criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the foundation process. The analyses on historical representation in *Cumhuriyet* through its engagement with the 1990s critical conceptualizations of Ethnicity, Secularism, Modernization from Above and Inferiority reveal the film's tendency to reject the 1990s criticism. In this respect, the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period.

Moreover, the emergence of Mustafa Kemal as the protagonist of *Cumhuriyet* to be represented in flesh and blood reinforces the bond by enabling the identification. The introduction founder of the Republic's perspective to the audience creates a sphere to engage with Mustafa Kemal personally by revealing his humanity. The engagement *Cumhuriyet* offers with Mustafa Kemal in the diegetic sphere of the film transmits the sensual experience of his struggles during the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic. By doing so, the film justifies the harsh decisions he makes on the nationalization and modernization process and hence creates another layer of defense against the critical perspectives of 90's.

4.2.2 *Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali* (The Last Ottoman: Knock Out Ali) (2007)

Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali (The Last Ottoman: Knock Out Ali) 2007 (dir. Mustafa Şevki Doğan, hereafter *SOYA*) is an historical adventure film that takes place during the beginning of the Independence War adapted from Suat Yalaz's popular comic book series of the same name. The adaptation of *SOYA* to film from the series was the longtime vision of producer Mehmet Soyarslan who also owns the production

company Özen Film. The creator of the comic universe of *SOYA* Suat Yalaz participated as one of the scriptwriters in the film adaptation. He is well known from his work on popular comic book series like *Karaoğlan*. Like *SOYA*, *Karaoğlan* is also a historical adventure series, narrating the tales of a fictional hero during the Ottoman Period. The comic strip series were adapted to film many times during Yeşilçam period as well as the recent production *Karaoğlan* (2013) directed by Kudret Sabancı.

The film received critical acclaim in broad terms for its outstanding qualities in cinematography, art direction, special effects and sound design, as well as the skillful directing of Mustafa Şevki Doğan. Kenan İmirzalıoğlu's performance as an action hero is particularly emphasized in reviews (Radikal, Hayat 20.01.2007; Beyazperde, 20.01.2007). As an indicator of a high-end commercial interest, the film opens up in film theatres with 250 copies in Turkey alongside international releases in Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Holland. On the review published in his column in *Sabah* newspaper, film critic Atilla Dorsay praised the meticulous work on the visual characteristics of the historical period narrated in film (Sabah, 20th January 2007). In his interpretation such efforts are reflected on the set designs of both actual locations and the studio that ultimately constitute a substantial degree of plausibility.

SOYA takes place in occupied İstanbul under the siege of imperialist states in the aftermath of World War. Starting from November 1918 to May 1919, the historical representation of the film covers the beginning period of the Independence Struggle that precedes the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Set on this spatiotemporal ground, *SOYA* narrates Tahtacızade Ali's (aka Knock Out Ali) story of becoming a part of the independence struggle in Anatolia under the command of Mustafa Kemal. Knock Out Ali who is a young, smart and handsome rouge hanging out in barrels of İstanbul is a dropout of the Ottoman navy. After years of fighting in multiple fronts of World War I, he turns back to İstanbul where it's occupied by the imperialist states. He is daunted and despairing without a hint of faith for the constitution and function of an organized resistance that would stand up against the imperialist states and fight for the Independence of Turks. Nevertheless, he feels the

suffering of the misery of Turkish people and soldiers in occupied Istanbul and finds solitude in singlehandedly challenging the British soldiers and their local collaborators by the law of the fist. The motherland under threat is reduced to an intimate matter of honor for him and hence he retains a singular fight away from a conscious political stance. The main drive that sustains him in strength and reason while wounding his hearth in agony is his love for Defne, his ex-fiancé. Defne is married to an old rich businessman of Greek origin who collaborates with the British forces on the occupation of Istanbul. She was obliged to marry the old treacherous businessman after hearing false news of Ali's death in battle. His true motivation to stay in Istanbul is to see her at nights secretly down by Defne's window while scrambling to save a substantial amount of money to run away to Vienna with her. However, his destiny takes a new route once his path intersects with Mustafa Kemal's. Mesmerized by the strike of his spark, Knock Out Ali eventually joins the independence struggle that fires up in Anatolia under Mustafa Kemal's command. The deep buried patriotism that accompanies him through a disoriented anger and violence finally reaches its outlet when Ali joins the independence struggle.

While Mustafa Kemal shines as a character in *SOYA,* he is not the protagonist of the film, nor does the plot follow in detail his path to the organization of the independence movement. The plot develops over Ali's dramatic story of romance and his adventures, hence designating him as the central character of the film. Nevertheless, the historical representation of *SOYA* portrays Mustafa Kemal as a bold, virtuous leader who is determined to save the people and land from expropriation by the imperialist states. The opening sequence of the film that involves Mustafa Kemal's arrival to İstanbul on the ship passing through the Bosphorus is significant for the glorious representation of him in *SOYA*. The sequence narrates the famous response of Mustafa Kemal on the occupation of İstanbul by the British Army. The travelling shot depicts the enemy fleets, which almost cover the Bosphorus, and locates Mustafa Kemal's ship where he stands on the deck concerned with his comrades. One of the comrades asks in apprehension "Now what?". Through a long pause the camera approaches Mustafa Kemal while the frame shifts from a medium close up to a close up signifying a deeper affiliation with his thoughts. Katz in *Shot by Shot* thoroughly explains the sensual effect of

close up shots to maintain a stronger sensual engagement with the subject (1991, 159). The silence is broken with him commenting on the situation while gazing at a distant point in a calm yet determinant manner: “Geldikleri gibi giderler” (“They go as they arrive”).

SOYA narrates Knock Out Ali’s encounter with Mustafa Kemal in a cinematic form that creeps towards the edges of magical realism. The meeting that turns out to be a milestone in Ali’s life occurs once Osman Bey, a member of the union and progress association (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) asks for Ali’s help in a quest to guard Mustafa Kemal during a confidential meeting. Ali detains the British agent who is assigned to leak intelligence from the meeting. The scene to cover their encounter takes place in the garden of the meeting place at night where Ali strangles the British agent. The camera begins to approach Mustafa Kemal with a slow vertical dolly movement as he enters the garden. *SOYA* signifies the illuminating effect of Mustafa Kemal’s existence by the cut away to Ali as he watches him coming by. The shot reverse shot pattern implied in quick cuts between Ali and Mustafa Kemal with closer shot sizes in each cut emphasize the connection among them. Knock Out Ali’s eyes burn in sparkles when he introduces himself to Mustafa Kemal as a common patriot. Mustafa Kemal’s face enlightens with affection as he thanks Ali in gratitude. Tears burst from Ali’s eyes through the strong emotions of excitement and passion as Mustafa Kemal tells him, “Well done boy, maybe you just changed the fate of a nation, this country will be saved by the brave men like you”.

The historical representation of *SOYA* enables a non-directional engagement with Mustafa Kemal since the audience fundamentally identifies with Knock Out Ali. The bond with Ali presents to the audience his perspective, through which the audience experiences the historical period and enables the connection with Mustafa Kemal from his point of view. Hence the historical representation of *SOYA* transmits the sensual experience of meeting with Mustafa Kemal in person through the identification bond with Ali. The strength of Ali’s admiration and respect for Mustafa Kemal and Mustafa Kemal’s transformative influence on Ali is transmitted to the audience through the historical representation of the film.

SOYA performs a historiographical practice through the representation of the beginning stages of the Early Republican Period by depicting the initiation of the independence struggle. The diegetic space of *SOYA* builds upon the spatiotemporal ground of the independence struggle sparking off in İstanbul under British occupation. *SOYA* transmits a sensual experience of the period through a balanced narrative that is coherent with diegetic gravity. As the plot unrolls, Ali's adventures are charged with both patriotic and romantic motivations and lead to his involvement in the independence struggle. The structured plot unfolds as the incidents of Ali's tale maintain in a causal order a comprehension that expands to the historical period as a meaningful whole. In other words, the plausibility of Ali's tale, which originates in the coherent cause and effect relationship between the events of the plot, incorporates to the historical period represented in *SOYA*. Yandım Ali's tale of retrieving the woman he loves and joining the independence struggle in *SOYA* is narrated in a closural form that culminates to an end where the story resolves. Thus, the historical representation of *SOYA* carves out a certain period of history—the commencement of the independence struggle—and narrates it in a closural form. *SOYA* performs historiographical practice by laying the adventurous love story on the foundation of a significant period of the Early Republican Period. The film offers a sensual experience of the historical period it represents by maintaining a consistent narrative through the application of causality and the execution of the closural form. Despite the fictive representation of the historical event, the plot establishes a historical conscious via the comprehension of the historical event through the sense of experience.

Following the general tendency of diegetic fictional historical films in broad terms, the historiography of *SOYA* is located on a ground free from the responsibility of historical accuracy and makes no claims to authenticity as such. However, the historical representation of *SOYA* calls for an exploration that attends to formal structures with respect to the assertion of historical relevancy. The date and place of historical events in the film is communicated to the audience in written form that appears onscreen, a common technique frequently utilized in historical films. "November 1918 İstanbul" appears right after the opening credits and functions to tie the filmic diegesis to the space of actual history. Alongside the appearance of

date and time, the utilization of archival footage in the sequence represents the march of the British and Greek soldiers in İstanbul and adds texture to claims of historical accuracy. The scenes that compose the marching sequence in *SOYA* are established by accommodating both archival footages from the occupation and the filmic image constructed in the style of archival footage.

The inclusion of archival footage (both original and fabricated) is a common practice in historical films. The question is: What would be the effect of the installation of the fabricated archival footage to the sensual experience of the historical event that is transmitted through the narration of the diegetic historical film? Archival footage refers to the various forms of visual documentation that conveys historical data such as found footage or newsreels. Through this perspective archival footage is inherent to the field of historical documents (Baron, 2012, 105). The formal characteristics of archival footage vary according to the technical capacities of the production period. The installation techniques of archival footage frequently consist of the intercalation of the archival footage within the film.

Fabricated archival footage refers to footage that is shot and produced in the formal characteristics of a historical document through the phases of cinematography and postproduction. In this case, the footage is not found therefore it doesn't bear the significance of an historical document, however it is formally constructed as archival footage. Nevertheless, the difference between archival footage and fabricated archival footage diminishes once it is installed in the sphere of diegesis.

I argue that the inclusion of the archival footage (fabricated or original) to the diegetic sphere would not raise the credibility of the historical representation nor deepen the effect of the sensual experience. As a part of the diegesis, the archival footage (whether original or fabricated) transforms into an element of the fiction just like the costume or props designed by the art direction according to the characteristics of the historical period narrated in the film. Through the establishment into the diegesis, the essence of historical data evaporates from the archival footage. The archival footage blended into the diegesis changes into a cinematographic choice or a design of art direction. The historical data mutates into an undistinguished element once established in the sphere of diegesis. I claim that

the intensity of sensual experience transmitted through the filmic representation of the historical event does not change due to the inclusion of archival footage in the diegesis. Therefore, while the use of archival footage along with the filmic image in the marching sequence generates an ambiguous zone in *SOYA* with respect to temporal diversity, such a practice would not signify historical accuracy.

In the following parts of the analysis I will continue with the impact of the 1990s criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the historical representation of *SOYA*. The engagement of *SOYA* with the critical concepts of 1990s becomes evident in the film's defensive responses to ethnicity and inferiority criticisms.

SOYA's engagement with ethnicity criticism crystalizes via the representation of the Greek Orthodox characters in the film as treacherous collaborators working with the imperialist invasion. *SOYA* legitimizes the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities in society during the Early Republican Period by signifying their betrayal during the independence struggle.

The fight between Ali and a Greek gang in the scene that takes place in a tavern significantly reveals *SOYA's* position in relation to the 1990s criticism of ethnicity. The interior daytime scene opens up with Ali drinking rakı in the tavern. He is contemplating in agony the illusion of his lost lover Defne, which appears on the surface of the rakı glass. Tears roll down his cheeks as a folksong longing and gradually coats the soundtrack.

The broken love story of Ali and Defne is exposed to the audience in earlier scenes. Defne gets married to an old and rich Greek businessman after she receives the news of Ali's demise on the battlefield. Alongside being positioned as one of the key villains of *SOYA* by his marriage with Defne, Dimitri is an arms smuggler working in collaboration with the imperialist states. The representation of Dimitri as a Greek character committing treason is far from exceptional, but it is a part of *SOYA*'s general tendency to locate the ethnic and religious groups in society.

While Ali drowns his sorrow in alcohol in the *meyhane*, the Greek gang enters the place shouting around in a random vulgar. They call out to the owner to serve them some food with rakı pursuing their rude attitude and teasing him by saying "Where are you mate? Did you run away to your homeland when the ships surrounded the Bosphorus?" referring to the British siege in İstanbul. Ali takes a sip from his rakı in an effort to restrain his anger while they burst in laughter mocking the owner. The Greek gang continues to provoke the owner with the words, "The fear doesn't help the fate dear, Istanbul will be ours soon, Thracia as well". Clearly referring to the unity of Greek population with the British state on the invasion, the guy states the share they will receive in the aftermath of Ottoman's surrender to the siege. The earnest owner calms Ali down in his attempt to attack the gang saying they wouldn't be worth the effort. However, Ali loses his temper at once when the gang pokes on his weakest spot by motioning Defne's marriage the Greek arms dealer. Ali pays the owner for the damage after beating up the whole gang. The owner expresses his gratitude to Ali for defending their honor.

The representation of the Greek population living in İstanbul as the collaborators of the imperialist forces that occupy the land reveals the tendency of *SOYA* to reject the ethnicity criticism. The historical representation of the film legitimizes the oppressive implementations of the nationalist development against the ethnic and religious minorities during the Early Republican Period. Through this statement *SOYA* exhibits a defensive attitude in relation to the ethnicity criticism towards the implementations of the Early Republican Period.

Although the accommodation of other ethnic and religious minorities in *SOYA* are limited, they are too depicted within the borders of *SOYA*'s positioning for the non-Turkish groups. For instance, Jerar who eventually becomes Ali's right-hand man was initially introduced as a smalltime agent running the errands of the British intelligence who gathers Intel on Ali. Jerar, the son of a French Levantine family, dedicates himself to Ali's service in gratitude when Ali spares his life on revealing his treachery.

SOYA engages with the inferiority criticism through the depictions of the British generals and soldiers in the occupied Istanbul. The inadequacy to fulfill the

responsibilities of the modernization project in order to reach the level of Western civilizations during the foundation process constitutes the sense of inferiority. As mentioned earlier, the sense of inferiority is frequently revealed through comparisons of Turkey and Turkish society with the west and western society as the ultimate goal of civilization.

The scene that depicts Ali's rebellion against the atrocity of British soldiers towards the detained soldiers of the Ottoman army exhibits *SOYA*'s rejection for the critical claim of the sense of inferiority. The exterior night scene opens up with a wide shot on the premises of the Kılıçali Paşa mosque packed with Ottoman soldiers miserably sitting on the floor. As it is soon revealed in the narration, these are the Ottoman soldiers detained in Anatolia during the British intervention. They have been brought to İstanbul as arrestees and left on the street without food and water or money to return their homeland.

In the first shot, the low-key lighting of the still frame establishes a somber atmosphere and gains a disturbing dynamism through the diagonal movement of the British troops' march tearing the frame from side to side. The color palette of the scene is significant for the visual emphasis located on Ali's character. The affinity constituted through the dominance of pale green and yellow on the soldiers' costumes and the grey background set by the Tophane Fountain clashes with Ali's costume. The characteristic costume of Ali consisting of a black western suit combined with a white shirt and a red collar with his black fez gathers the attention on him at once he enters the frame. The arresting condition of Ali's entrance is mostly achieved through the contrast between the unsaturated green-grey and yellow with the vivid red on black and white.

The next shot captures Ali as he crosses the square looking around with sadness in his eyes he sees a British soldier throwing a piece of dry bread to a Turkish soldier. Ali glowers with anger sparkling in his eyes after witnessing the derogatory act of the British soldier who exploits the misery of the Ottoman soldier. Ali approaches the soldier as he blesses the bread and puts it on the fence. A British soldier gets alarmed and charges on Ali as he was handing all the money in his pocket to the soldiers. Following the brief quarrel between them where Ali scorns the British

solider in Turkish as he was asking for his identity card in English, Ali loses his temper and starts the fight with a head-butt. His rival soon proliferates into a small army all trying to knock down Ali. Even though he eventually gets shot and escapes to the alleys he still beats the hell out of the British soldiers.

The inglorious characterization of the British soldiers in *SOYA* reveals the film's rejection of the inferiority criticism in comparison with the West. Ali defends his and the Ottoman soldiers' honor by the power of his fist, resisting the British soldiers. In this manner. This resistance to the British corresponds to *SOYA*'s rejection to the claim of the sense of inferiority. In fact, the defeat of the British soldiers by Ali functions to restore the sense of inferiority signified by the 90's criticism. Consequently, the historical representation of the independence struggle in *SOYA* simultaneously restores the troubles of the inferior sense against the west while resisting against the 1990s criticism to signify such condition.

As I demonstrated in the analysis above, as a commercial film to represent the independence struggle part of the Early Republican Period, *SOYA* exhibits a broad rejection of 1990s criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the foundation process. The historiographical performance of *SOYA* do not contain the critical perspectives to conceptualize secularism and modernization from above. *SOYA* engages with the ethnicity and inferiority criticisms of the 1990s by rejecting them. In this respect, the historical representation of *SOYA* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period.

4.2.3 *Veda* (Farewell) (2010)

Written and directed by Zülfü Livaneli, *Veda* (Farewell) (2010) is a historical film that narrates the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The historical representation of *Veda* covers a wide period beginning with the early childhood of Mustafa Kemal and ends at his death. The film is based on the memoirs of Mustafa Kemal's chief aide-de-camp Salih Bozok "Yaveri Atatürk'ü Anlatıyor" (*His aide-de-camp narrates Atatürk*), and published for the first time in 2001. *Veda* establishes Bozok in the diegetic structure as one of the leading characters and the narrator of a film which uncovers the personal life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Being close friends

with Mustafa Kemal since their childhood, Bozok is positioned as his aide-de-camp both during his military command and presidency following their companionship in military school and on the battleground. The plot of *Veda* develops through Bozok's recollection of his memories with Mustafa Kemal while he writes his suicide letter in the next room of his deathbed in Dolmabahçe Palace on the 10th of November. Having devoted all his life to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Bozok sets his mind on ending his life at once after his beloved leader and friend passes away. Following Mustafa Kemal's life, the filmic narrative of *Veda* includes significant incidents of the decay of the Ottoman Empire, the Independence Struggle and the foundation of the Turkish republic in its historical representation.

The writer and director Zülfü Livaneli is a distinguished artist in Turkey producing music, literature and films since the 1970s. Within his artistic presence, Livaneli gains prominence through his political presence with leftist tendencies and served in parliament as an independent congressman of İstanbul during the 22th period. According to IMDB, the film was produced within an approximate budget of 6.000.000 and stands out as a large-scale production considering the limits of the film industry in Turkey during the time. The film's marketing campaign emphasizes the financial and artistic efforts served to reach the ultimate quality for the visual reconstruction of the Early Republican past (veda - film. blogspot 2010). The promotional campaign prepared for the film's launch highlights the extensive work during the pre-production process of the film that took three years. The detailed work on the production design involved the construction of matching settings of the period in studios as well as the organization of actual locations like Uşakizade Mansion in İzmir. During the production of the battlefield scenes shot in the meadows in Seferihisar a large military specialist stunt crew is assigned besides 250 extras and 55 horses. A total of 12.000 costumes are designed and prepared for the film as a result of a demanding process of wearing out in order to achieve the lifelikeness.

Veda Launched in February 2010 as an ambitious project devoted to presenting the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to the audience. For Livaneli, the novelty of *Veda* originates in the vibrant and sophisticated depiction of Mustafa Kemal as a

charismatic and admirable person that goes beyond the stereotype of the statuesque leader (Cumhuriyet, 8th March 2010). As revealed in the blurb published on the film's website, *Veda* aimed to achieve a worldwide recognition for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk alongside the local audience by providing a thorough portrait of him (veda - film. blogspot 2010). *Veda* opened up with a large distribution of 227 screening copies nationwide on the 26th of February 2010, in line with its target to reach a wide audience.

The impersonation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in *Veda* rises above the attempt to introduce the admirable virtues of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the great commander and the founder of the nation in person to the audience. The film reveals the life of Mustafa Kemal from the perspective of his best friend, comrade and aide-de-camp Salih Bozok. The plot of *Veda* unfurls via the expression of Bozok's memories of the period they spent together. Through their intimate relationship, which encompasses a great portion of their lives *Veda* presents the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk from the early childhood till the day he dies. The great virtues of his persona are exposed to the audience from the very early stages of his childhood. He is the wholehearted and courageous child who sacrifices himself to take the bastinado punishment on behalf of his friend when he was six years old. He is the invincible commander of all the military games played in the neighborhood. And he is the passionate leader of the independence movement to designate the path for the salvation of the country whilst being charged with a death warrant by the Ottoman state.

The way Mustafa Kemal rose above the agonies of unfortunate events in a resilient struggle reinforces the sculpturing of the thorough representation of him in *Veda*. His early tragedies are depicted through the narration of losing his father in early childhood. The years he spent away from home in military boarding school and the second marriage of his mother constitutes the basis of the wounds in his soul along with the devastating poverty they suffered during the years of war. While his relationship with Mrs. Zübeyde is stressed to signify Mustafa Kemal's affectionate nature, his charismatic and charming presence shines through his encounters with Latife and Fikriye, the other significant women in his life.

The depiction of Mustafa Kemal in *Veda* attempts to reach the profound portraiture of him through representing him as an ordinary person who accomplishes the extraordinary. He is the wounded orphan from the lost homeland Thessaloniki who defeated the world and resurrected a nation from the ruins. The structure of the affective representation of Mustafa Kemal's life within the history of the Early Republican Period in *Veda* is constructed via praise on his victorious character. Despite the selective modality that is only sensitive to his favorable virtues, *Veda* aligns those components in the effort to create the multidimensional sculpturing of Mustafa Kemal that signifies him as a human alongside a great leader.

Veda is boldly criticized by the film critics for the stereotypical representation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The newspaper article published in *Radikal* gathers the comments of various film critics on *Veda* (Ekinci, 2010). The critical perspectives intersect on the problematic narration of the film that reveals a unilateral structure through the sole signification of the glorious characteristics of Mustafa Kemal. Inherent to the framing of the criticism on the reductionist portraiture of Mustafa Kemal, critic Murat Özer emphasizes the historiographical performance of the film which only consists of the reproduction of official history. In the same track with Özer's designation, critic Şenay Aydemir identifies the film as a reenactment of the history of modernist revolutions as a mandatory class taught in elementary level (ibid). Cüneyt Cebenoyan identifies *Veda* as a film thoroughly devoted to the glorification of Mustafa Kemal, and a large number of critics unite on the core motivation of the film to respond to *Mustafa* (2008) the documentary on Mustafa Kemal (ibid).

Can Dündar's documentary *Mustafa* (2008) narrates the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk by covering a large period from his birth to death. The documentary generated a huge sensation upon its release in film theatres and reached a audiences exceeding a million people. The portraiture of Atatürk in *Mustafa* induced a substantial amount of discussion emerging from various fields of politics, history and film criticism. The critical perspectives praising the depiction of Atatürk in the framing of *Mustafa* emphasized the tangible representation of him as a novelty served by the documentary (Ekinci, 2010; Vardan, Radikal, 2008; Dorsay, Sabah,

2008). This perspective highlighted Atatürk's childhood traumas, weaknesses and shortcomings during the Independence Struggle and the Early Republican Period as key elements that functioned to maintain the humanization of him. The portraiture of Atatürk as a human being who faced great challenges with faults alongside his accomplishments in *Mustafa* created a novel depiction rather than the stereotypical divine, extraterrestrial, statuesque portrayal (ibid). The humanization of Atatürk in *Mustafa* thus enabled the formation of a sincere connection for the audience with him.

Not all of the criticism of *Mustafa* was positive, however. Bitter criticism reproached the documentary for disparaging the memory of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, through the portrayal of him as a drunkard, profane fascist (Gazete Vatan 2008; Oda TV, 2008; Cumhuriyet, 2008; indigo, 2016). Among this perspective, in the interview published in *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper on the portraiture of Atatürk in *Mustafa* Turgut Özakman interpreted the work as an act of vandalism against the reputation of Turkish Nation's hero (Cumhuriyet, 2008). For Özakman, the denigration of Atatürk in Mustafa is through the film's representation of him as an aggressive skeptical introvert who has a perverse fondness for alcohol and women (ibid).

The glorification of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Livaneli's *Veda* is extensively interpreted as a defensive response aiming to restore the reputation of the leader in the historical cognition of the Early Republican Period. Aligning in the perspective to appreciate the humanization of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in *Mustafa* Vardan discredits *Veda* for reestablishing him into the outdated stereotype of the statuesque sculpture (Ekinci, 2010). Livaneli reacts to the bold tendency to criticize *Veda* in comparison with *Mustafa* and more specifically the interpretation of the portraiture of Atatürk in his film as a defensive response to the documentary (Gecce, 2010). Livaneli's initial rejection develops on the difference of his film as a historical drama form the *Mustafa* the documentary. In an interview published on the online portal he asserts that the portrait of Atatürk in *Veda* reflects his conceptualization of him in the self-substantive space of the film's diegesis. Hence, he refuses to be

compared with the documentary *Mustafa* as a non-diegetic form grounding on structural divergence (ibid).

Livaneli rejects the criticism that claims his stereotypical flat portraiture of Atatürk in *Veda* brings back the statuesque sculpture to the scene. In his rejection he argues for the inevitability to avoid Atatürk's human side in the filmic representation of Veda since he was indeed a human. Livaneli delineates the contemporary tendency in Turkey to attribute fallacious and offensive characteristics to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He criticizes the emergent function of such defamation as a threshold to achieve the thorough representation of him. Having said that, he argues for the necessity to reflect on Atatürk's glory in the effort to accomplish the ultimately genuine representation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (inherently in the boundaries of his own cognition of him). In other words, Livaneli asserts that the intention to narrate the story of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's life and the foundation of the Turkish Republic saddles the narrator with the inevitable burden of expressing his brilliance. In this context, Livaneli acknowledges that making *Veda* was his life's mission, the point of destination, and the point at which all his accomplishments in art and politics so far intersect (ibid). In another interview published in Cumhuriyet newspaper with the headline "Veda, Bir Direniş Filmi" (Veda, a Resistance Film) Livaneli qualifies his film as an act of resistance against the contemporary tendency to tarnish Atatürk's name and the glory of his accomplishments (Cumhuriyet, 2010). Defining himself as a life-long warrior for justice and freedom, he exhibits the resistance songs he wrote during the severe periods of March 12th and September 12th coups d'état. Signifying the time he served in jail for challenging the anti-democratic regime of the period along with the revolution songs of him that still remain prohibited from the public sphere, he frames his position to align to oppose the dominant ideology in Turkey.

He signifies *Veda* as a peak point in his artistic expression that grows from the root of his resistance position in politics. In this manner Livaneli defines the historiographical practice of *Veda* as a structure of historical representation made to confront the contemporary critical tendency to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican period. Thus, even though he refuses the interpretation of the

historiographical performance of *Veda* as a defensive response to the portraiture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in *Mustafa* directly, Livaneli acknowledges the defensive form of Veda against the contemporary criticism of the foundation period in general.

The historiographical performance of *Veda* develops on the expression of Salih Bozok's memoirs of his life that is spent almost entirely with Atatürk. Salih Bozok is utilized in the narrative form of *Veda* both as the non-diegetic narrator and the character inherent to the diegetic sphere of the film. The story is told from the perspective of Salih Bozok, the close friend of Mustafa Kemal since childhood, his comrade in war and aide-de-camp till the day he dies. Such practice engenders a space of authenticity within the diegesis through the accommodation of a subjective perspective to narrate the story of the life of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The utilization of Salih Bozok's perspective to present the story of Atatürk's life functions to create an expression that conveys sincerity.

Veda performs a historiographical practice through the story of Mustafa Kemal's life that involves the historical representation of the fall of Ottoman Empire, the Independence War and the Early Republican Period. The plot begins at the deathbed of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and utilizing the narrative technique of flashback, the narrative relocates to the spatio-temporal structure of his childhood in Thessaloniki. Through the temporal leaps towards the 10th of November 1938 in Dolmabahçe and back to the earlier stages that consist of the Independence War and the Early Republican Period, the narrative completes the round-trip reaching all the way to his deathbed. The structured plot unfolds along Mustafa Kemal's path, which leads to him commanding the salvation of the country in a causal order that employs the interplay of expectation and gratification. The alignment of the chain of events in a causal relationship maintains a comprehension of the historical period as a meaningful whole. *Veda* transmits a sensual experience of the period through its balanced narrative that is coherent with diegetic gravity. The historical representation of *Veda* typically carves out a certain period of history in order to designate the borders of the diegetic space. The film begins with the presentation of Mustafa Kemal as a child ends with his death. Hence, it offers a sensual experience of the historical period it represents by maintaining a consistent narrative through

the application of causality and the execution of the closural form. Despite the fictive representation of the historical event, the plot imprints itself on the historical conscious via the comprehension of the historical event through the sense of experience.

In the following parts of the analysis I will continue with the impact of the 1990s criticism of the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on *Veda*'s historical representation. The film engages significantly with the Ethnicity and Modernization from Above criticism through rejection.

As mentioned previously, the context of the ethnicity criticism in 1990s concerns the negligence and oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project that aimed for a homogenous unity in the nation and citizens' identity. The representation of the Early Republican Period in *Veda* rejects the ethnicity criticism by framing the suffering of the ethnic and religious minorities as an inherent condition of the tormenting process of war and the reinstatement of the country. The contextualization of this allegation in *Veda* develops in three stages throughout the narrative structure.

The first stage establishes the ground for that argument by building upon the representation of religious and ethnic minorities in Ottoman society who lived in peaceful harmony with the Muslim Turkish population prior to the attempts of the imperialist Western states. The sequence portrays Mustafa as a young child wandering around the cheerful alleys and town square of Thessaloniki with his father in a pleasant Ramadan evening. The small coffee shops in the streets are filled with people enjoying their drinks and the fairground set in the square touts the audience for the Hacivat & Karagöz performance that is about to begin. Six-years-old Mustafa takes his place among the audience with his father bursting into laughter and joy with sparkles in his eyes as he watches the play. The warm low-key lighting in an ambient style that corresponds to the kerosene lamps used in the period contributes to the cozy setting of the night sequence. The theme song of the film, the Rumelian folk song "Manastırın Ortasında" (In the middle of Monastir) covers the soundtrack of this sequence performed with a gentle acoustic piano that sets a sentimental atmosphere mixed with the diegetic environmental sounds.

The sequence incorporates the voice-over of Salih Bozok as the narrator. The narrative style of *Veda* frequently resorts to Bozok's voice-over of during the flashback sequences in Mustafa Kemal's life. Here Bozok comments on the multi-cultural structure of the society in Thessaloniki by locating the emphasis on the peaceful atmosphere during the time. Bozok says: "Mustafa loved his father very much, he frequently recalled the night his father took him for a walk in that Ramadan evening with nostalgia. In Thessaloniki during that period, the Muslim, the Orthodox, the Jew, all of the Ottoman citizens were living together in tranquility".

The second stage for the development of the argument that diminishes the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities during the Early Republican Period to the collateral damage of the Independence War and the foundation process builds upon the sequence representing the Çanakkale War. The first scene of the sequence that takes place on the battleground opens up with Mustafa Kemal in a trench with soldiers as the commander of the army. The words "Çanakkale 1915" appear in the corner of the frame to locate the audience in the historical period represented in the scene. The reflection of the artillery shootings to expose the flashes of light followed with pitch darkness dramatically reinforce the thoughtful expression on Mustafa Kemal's face. The following scenes of the Çanakkale battlefield sequence aim to depict the uphill struggle of the young soldiers. The alignment of single shot action scenes constitutes the montage sequence that spiritedly represents the anguish of the soldiers shivering in the trenches with fear in their eyes. The montage sequence in the trenches aims to express the desperation of the soldiers and is directly followed by a montage sequence that clusters the scenes of clashes. The young soldiers charge on the enemy perimeters thrusting themselves courageously on Mustafa Kemal's command despite their desperation. The emphasis on the brutality of war is distinctly stressed through the manipulation of time in the shots to depict the action. In this implementation, the real-time action is fragmented into pieces and detached from its temporal coherence by the application of deceleration and acceleration effects.

The narrative structure of *Veda* resorts again to the commentary of Salih Bozok, which contextualizes the portraiture of the Çanakkale Battle through the harmony of Ottoman society within the ethnic and religious diversities. The incorporation of Bozok's commentary on the sequence depicting the battlefield is established in the typical style of the voice-over. The commentary reinforces the courage of the young soldiers sacrificing their lives despite the anguish of facing the brutality of war. Addressing to his son in the letter he writes prior to his suicide attempt Bozok states: "Son, it is probably hard to conceive for you now, but during the Çanakkale battle we fought against the foreign intruders as a unified nation that consists of the Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Armenian, Jew and Arab. But unfortunately, later we are set against each other by the intrigue of the big states aiming to destroy us. They pit brother against brother." This expression indicates the strong ties in the society that enabled them to stand up against the enemy during the course of war, regardless of the ethnic and religious diversity. Bozok's commentary clearly indicts the imperialist states for disrupting the peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic and religious groups in Ottoman society. By the same token, such an interpretation degrades the position of the ethnic and religious minorities during the period through designating them as puppets provoked by external forces that ultimately aimed to divide and conquer the country.

The first stage of the framework to respond the ethnicity criticism in *Veda* develops through the expression of the harmony in the Ottoman society in times of peace and tranquility on the joyful Ramadan evening. The second stage aims to exhibit the strength of the nation within its ethnic and religious diversities against the enemy in the portraiture Çanakkale War. The second stage of *Veda*'s designation to respond to the ethnicity criticism also functions to target the imperialist states' trap that operates on the ethnic and religious diversities in society in order to divide the country. In the final stage of the structure to develop the responsive argument against the ethnicity criticism, *Veda* explains the suffering of the ethnic and religious minorities during the early Republican Period in the context of the agonies of war. The historical representation of the film designates the oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities as the collateral damage of war, one binding all parties in the society. Such a framework that reduces the torment to the bitter consequences of

war conceals the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project that aimed for a homogenous unity in nation and citizen identity during the early Republican period.

The final stage of the argument forms through the sequence that depicts Mustafa Kemal's entrance in İzmir along with his comrades. Their arrival is an intense moment marking victory over the Greek army's defeat and the termination of the imperialist occupation in İzmir. Nonetheless *Veda* represents the historical incident outside of a proud victory by exposing the solemn attitude of Mustafa Kemal and his comrades. The piece is designed in the style of a montage sequence that aims to express the devastating effects of war on civilians and in the broad course of everyday life. As they advance through the streets of İzmir in a military jeep the final clashes of the battle with the Greek soldiers unfold. They pass through the chaos of the combat alongside dead civilians lying on the streets, men and women running around in fear, and small children desperately calling out their parents. The close-up shots that depict a piece of a cloth with torn lacework being trod on by a soldier's horse or a wooden chair lying broken in the street aim to signify the anguish of the civilians during the time of war. Another tracking shot within the montage sequence reveals a small group of residents as they cheer to welcome Mustafa Kemal saying "Yaşa Mustafa Kemal Paşa" (Viva Mustafa Kemal Paşa). The tracking shot continues with the depiction of a group of people rushing to leave the town with their belongings. The Orthodox Reverend who joins the group in the departure functions to signify them as Greek Orthodox residents leaving İzmir. Salih Bozok's voice-over during the sequence comments on the Greek population leaving İzmir following the termination of the occupation. Bozok intones: "This time the Greeks were escaping from Izmir just like the Turks escaped from Thessaloniki ten years ago. Some would know what it means to lose your home my son. It means losing your ancestor's graves, your memories, the streets where you spent your childhood and leaving your first love. At the end you are only left with songs that stream from your eyes."

Bozok's commentary aims to emphasize the identification of Mustafa Kemal with the departure of the Greek population from İzmir through his sorrow of being

departed from Thessaloniki for good. Throughout the plot, *Veda* frequently emphasizes Mustafa Kemal's, Mrs. Zübeyde's, Salih Bozok's and Fikriye's longing for Thessaloniki, their homeland from which they were detached during the Balkan War. The representation in *Veda* of the Greek population's departure from İzmir in the aftermath of the Independence Army's victory to terminate the occupation interprets the condition as a painful but ordinary consequence of war. The sorrows of being departed from the homeland never to return again, being detached from your memories, the soil that cover your dead, all are interpreted as an inherent condition of war. In *Veda*'s designation, all the groups in society included in the war take their fair share of the agony. Just like Mustafa Kemal and his family detached from Thessaloniki, the Greek Population in İzmir leave their homes. In this framework, while the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities is reduced to the torments of war, the consequences of the nationalization project related to those groups during the early Republican Period are concealed. Such a positioning maintains a rejective response to the 1990s criticism that signifies the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project.

Veda's engagement with the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period towards the state-led process of modernization is built upon the scene that depicts Mustafa Kemal's conversation with Kazım Karabekir in Erzurum. On the critical perspective that challenges the state-centric implementation of the modernization process to alienate the society from the Republican elite, *Veda* exposes a defensive response. The historical representation of *Veda* submits to the "emergency" of developments that necessitates authoritarian leadership in order to legitimize the state-centric management of the process.

As mentioned previously, 1990s criticism challenges the state centric modernist reforms for their ignorance on the authentic culture that leads to the oppression of society in the effort to adopt the customs of modernity. The demand for the unconditional acknowledgement of modern practices in the social sphere culminates in the estrangement of the society from the dialogue with the Republican Elite. The critical perspective stresses the artificial formation of modernity imposed as a project on society. The defensive response against critical perspectives challenging

the state centric implementation of modernist reforms during the Early Republican Period in *Veda* is grounded on its necessity for the survival of the country.

The scene that depicts the conversion between Mustafa Kemal and Kazım Karabekir in Erzurum during the early stages of the independence struggle exposes the defensive response of *Veda*. While they drink Turkish coffee in Mustafa Kemal's humble room, he warns Karabekir with a mischievous attitude that the ideas he is about to reveal will shock him. Mustafa Kemal asks his clerk to note down what he says and starts to outline the steps he plans to take after the success of the Independence Struggle. The first article he states would be the designation of the Republican system for the administration of the country. The next one expresses the termination of the Sultanate. The third articulates abolishing the use of chador in women clothing, while the fourth focuses on the termination of the use of the fez for men. Instead, he proposes the use of hats just like it is done in the civilized countries. With each article he states in a determined and clear manner, he looks up to Karabekir and his clerk in defiance searching for the signs of rejection in their faces. The silence of Karabekir and the clerk responding him with their eyes open wide out of astonishment ignites Mustafa Kemal more and hence he continues to count the articles. Article five would be the admission of the Latin alphabet. As he is about to continue laying out the articles, Karabekir stops him to ask that if he really believes that all of these changes will be realized. Assuring Karabekir on his confidence of the realization of the modernist reforms, he identifies the key point as getting society accustomed to the new ideas. The choice of the term "accustom" is significant in this line for the expression of the defensive position against the criticism of modernization from above since it highlights the consent to adopt the modern customs. Mustafa Kemal's next line reinforces this statement by denoting that he is not promoting military fascism but a national assembly that will be placed above all. The army and the supreme military command will be dependent on the national assembly. Kazım Karabekir shares Mustafa Kemal's ideas, however he notes that he finds it impossible for these developments to be achieved in such a quick pace. Mustafa Kemal defends his ideology and methodology from Karabekir's accusation of hastiness and plans to execute the modernist reforms grounding them on their consistency with the direction of civilization. In his defense, he exemplifies

the monarchies all over the world fall apart one after another to be replaced with Republican systems. He designates the establishment of the Republican system within the broad project of modernist development as a vital reform for the country's survival.

In *Veda*'s framework the necessity for modernization builds upon the vital need to be in accord with the zeitgeist of the period. Hence, the film legitimizes the state-centered implementation of the modernist project through developmental urgency. Hereby, the historical representation of *Veda* exhibits a defensive response against the criticism of modernization from above by legitimizing the state-led implementation of the modernization project through its vital urgency. The society's accord with the state-held regulations and the internalization of modernity's "course" is designated as the key element for the implementation of the project. The emphasis on society's accord in *Veda* maintains a position that responds to the critical perspective that challenges the state-centric implementation of the modernization process for alienating the society.

The historiographical representation of *Veda* distinctly engages with the 1990s critical perspectives of Ethnicity and Modernization from Above by manifesting a clear rejection. The film does not contain the critical concepts of Secularism and Inferiority. In this respect, the historical representation of *Veda* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism that challenges the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period.

4.2.4 *Dedemin İnsanları* (My Grandfather's People) (2011)

Dedemin İnsanları (*My Grandfather's People)* (2012) written and directed by Çağan Irmak is a historical drama that narrates the emotionally charged tale of a lively family in the face of the coup d'état in 1980. The grandfather who was obliged to leave Crete as a child to arrive in İzmir in the aftermath of the population exchange in 1923 stands out as the main character of the film. Driven through the mighty personality of the grandfather, the focus of the narrative is in the hearth-warming relationship between him and his grandson. The effects of the '80s coup d'état on the courses of daily life are reflected through an affective atmosphere built upon

family ties. The grandfather is charged with the trouble of residual otherization due to his obligatory immigration from Greece and fails to overcome the distress of the consequences of military coup d'état. In this way *Dedemin İnsanları* rises to a climax through the over-sentimental narrative of the grandfather's suicide, and hence takes its rightful place in Çağan Irmak's filmography of tear jerkers.

Featuring pieces of various memoirs of the families who have migrated to Turkey leaving their homeland in Greece according to the obligations of the Treaty of Lausanne, the story of *Dedemin İnsanları* is heavily based on the true story of Irmak's own grandfather. As Irmak reveals in the interview on the special features of film's DVD, *Dedemin İnsanları* is a reflection of his own childhood.

Co-produced by Most Production and Ay Yapım, *Dedemin İnsanları* stands out as Irmak's film with the largest scale of production. Despite the relatively humble scales of production in Irmak's previous films such as *Babam ve Oğlum* (My Father and My Son) (2005) and *Issız Adam* (Alone) (2008), he nevertheless gained significance in New Turkish Cinema especially via widespread audience recognition. In this way *Dedemin İnsanları* bears the characteristic features of a mainstream film, with star actors reappearing from his former films like Çetin Tekindor, and Hümeyra. Here Irmak targets the next big phase in his path through local blockbuster filmmaking.

Dedemin İnsanları performs a historical representation of the '80s military coup d'état by narrating the touching story of a family that across three generations. Even though the main spatio-temporal ground of the diegesis is set in a small Aegean town in 1980, the film represents the Early Republican Period through the comprehensive flashback sequence that depicts the population exchange in 1923. Apart from those, the resolution sequence of *Dedemin İnsanları* takes place on Crete in 1994. The ending sequence depicts the visit of the grown-up grandson to his grandfather's house, from which he was detached by their obligatory immigration and lived his life longing for it.

The plot unfolds during the summer of 1980 in a cozy Aegean seaside town depicting the strength of the ties that wrap around the family with an emphasis on

dignity and compassion. The flow of events in a causal order employs the interplay of expectation and gratification. The events leading to the period of coup d'état through its reflection on the family culminate in the grandfather's suicide. The character development of the grandfather in *Dedemin İnsanları* builds up through the exposure of his background as an immigrant arriving in Turkey due to the regulations of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The story of the grandfather's childhood is expressed through the narrative technique of flashback, initiated via a conversation between him and his grandson on a pleasant midsummer evening. During the flashback sequence the spatio-temporal structure of the diegesis relocates to Crete in 1923. The depiction of the cheerful life of the grandfather's family prior to the population exchange is followed by their tormenting and traumatizing path to relocate in İzmir. After the flashback, the narrative continues to flow from the point it stopped in 1980. The chain of events are aligned in a causal order in both past layers and strive for a comprehension of the periods narrated in *Dedemin İnsanları* as meaningful wholes. By the same token, the layers of past periods are bound to each other by the stories of three generations in chronological order and produce an outboard coherence in the diegesis. The historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları* transmits a sensual experience of the past periods through its balanced narrative that is coherent with the diegetic gravity. The story of the family begins with the obligatory departure of the grandfather from Crete and ends with the grandson's visit back to the grandfather's house composing a circular structure at the point of closure. Through maintaining a consistent narrative through the application of causality and the execution of the closural form, the film offers the sensual experience of the historical period it represents. Despite the fictive representation of the historical period, the film's portrayal of the past is established on the historical consciousness of the audience through the maintenance of the filmic experience.

Alongside the inner coherence of the diegesis in *Dedemin İnsanları* that generates the sensual experience of the past periods represented, two other features also participate in the historiographical performance of the film. The words that appear onscreen in the beginning of the film – "Based on a true story by the actual people" – signify the actuality of the story told in the film. As mentioned above, Irmak

presents *Dedemin İnsanları* as the story of his own family that indeed emigrated from Crete. Such positioning exhibits a claim for authenticity for the historical representation of the periods of population exchange in 1923 and '80s coup d'état in the film. The next feature that takes part for the constitution of the authenticity towards the historiographical performance of the film arises with the appearance of actual photographs of the people from the Turkish population in 1920's Greece, involving Irmak's family. With an effect close to the impact of the installment of archival footage in the diegetic sphere of the fictional film, the actual photos of the characters represented in film function to assert a claim for authenticity.

The film received broad appreciation from critics in the wake of its public screening on November 25th, 2011. The critical recognition was mainly attributed to what was seen as its sincere performance to bring the anguish of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey and 80's military coup d'état under the spotlight (Tezkan, Milliyet, 2011; Aksoy, Hürriyet, 2011; Radikal, 2011). In an article published in Radikal Newspaper that gathered various film critics opinions on *Dedemin İnsanları*, Atilla Dorsay emphasized the spirited bond the film maintains with the audience through identification, while Olkan Özyurt signified the function of this identification to come into terms with the traumatic past (Radikal, 2011). Alongside the positive criticism it received from critics for shedding light on wounding periods of recent history, *Dedemin İnsanları* reached a wide audience consisting 1.200.000 people. The broad positive response the film received for its ability to represent past reveals that the question of authenticity has not yet been breached. In the following parts of the analyses I will continue with the impact of the 90's criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları*.

Dedemin İnsanları performs a representation of the Early Republican Period via flashback sequences that narrate the immigration of grandfather's family from Crete in 1923. The historical representation of the population exchange in *Dedemin İnsanları* engages with the 90s criticism of ethnicity that challenges the implementations of the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period. The depiction of the agonies of the Turkish citizens through the

traumatizing process of immigration during the Early Republican Period reduces the oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities in the country to the casualties of war and its aftermath. Such framing presents the suffering of the ethnic and religious minorities as an inherent condition of the tormenting process of war and the reinstatement of the country. Hence the representation of the Early Republican Period in *Dedemin İnsanları* exhibits a rejective response towards the ethnicity criticism by exposing the suffering paths of the Turkish citizens during the period.

The flashback sequence that narrates the immigration of the grandfather with his family from Crete to Turkey initiates through the cozy conversation in the dinner table hosting friends and family in an Aegean midsummer evening. The imagery of a big white plastered house becomes the first thing that he recalls when the grandfather thinks of his motherland. The sense of his belonging was carved out from the house with the regulation of population exchange that forced him to leave when he was seven years old. The sounds of the Aegean Sea waves crash nearby and the Greek folk tunes from the old tavern next door fill his head accompanying the sights of his house. Throughout the flashback, the grandfather's voice falls on the sequence as he narrates the story of their immigration and resettlement to İzmir. On the scenes depicting the events of their ordinary life in Crete in a cheerful tone, the voiceover of the grandfather presents the family members. He recalls his two siblings, an older sister and his baby brother, his father with an emphasis on his strength and charm, and his beautiful mother and her compassionate nature. Through the commentary he expresses their happiness prior to the spread of the news on the population exchange in 1923. Alongside their joyful and humble lifestyle in Crete these scenes indicate the family's use of the Greek language in everyday life as their mother tongue. Hence, they have an extra hard time coping with Turkish bureaucracy following their arrival to İzmir.

The dramatic scene that depict their packing to vacate the house is lit in a fragmented style that creates stark contrasts between the lighter and darker shades surrounding the apartment. The green-gray palette dominates the interior space over the low saturated colors of the house where the small furniture with odds and ends are stacked in the corner of the empty hall. The grandfather's commentary explains

the condition by indicating their obligatory departure that forces all the Turks in Greece to leave their houses and homeland. He says that they had to sell whatever they had much under its real value in a hurry before they leave, while the shot of the mother depicts her as she sews a gold coin into her son's clothes in tears. Whatever left from the belongings of the family is transformed into gold coins to enable transportation during the travel and sewn into clothes as a precaution for robbery. Another shot shows the father watching the mother and children packing by the wall with his once majestic torso bended forward in grief.

While they were leaving the house for good, his mother rushes in a hurry and grabs the lemon seedling in the garden, which the grandfather's voiceover mocks with her attempt that stands for taking the house with them in a bittersweet tone. In their last moment within the territory of the house the whole family is deeply affected by the control officer who visits the house to make sure that they are leaving. The visit of the officer to document the vacancy of the house in a way marks their inability to stay where they feel attached. They hit the road on foot with their few belongings loaded on a horse drawn carriage towards the port where they will wait for the ship called "Gülcemal" to take them to Turkey. At the end of the alley where it reaches the main street they blend into the march of the hundreds of Turkish people who share their fate. The Greek population in the street witnessing their departure exhibits conflicting attitudes towards the situation. While most of the people say farewell to their neighbors in tears with their obligatory separation, some others celebrate their departure with insults targeted on them as they march towards the port.

The suffering of the journey to the port on foot is depicted in the marching scene through the shots of women carrying their small children and babies in their laps and men swinging up heavy loads on their back. It takes two days for the arrival of the ship Gülcemal after the people of Turkish descent make it to the port of Crete Island. They wait in the port for those two days with extremely limited supplies in terms of nutrition and sheltering. At nighttime when the damp cold breeze of Aegean coast penetrates their bones, the mother and father of the grandfather desperately try to keep their children warm by wrapping their bodies around them.

Their journey to the Turkish shore starts in the ship Gülcemal where the huge crowd hardly fits. Over the scene that the family approaches to the ship in the jolly boat, the commentary of the grandfather remarks that they were among the first ones to immigrate to Turkey. After them, the ship Gülcemal traveled over fifty more times carrying two million people from both sides. The most traumatic event of the journey for grandfather's family is the loss of the baby brother Mustafa due to rubella he suffers during the trip. The poignant scene depicting the mother's realization of the baby's death brings a lump to the throat as she desperately loses herself in the clamor. The whole population of the ship chokes up in a massive grief when the officers approach the family and ask for their permission to throw the baby's body overboard in order to avoid the spreading of the disease.

After long days of sailing they arrive at the shore of İzmir where the immigrants are kept in a medical shelter to avoid the various epidemics to spread since most of them were infected by typhoid and malaria. The commentary of the grandfather remarks that the name of the location "Karantina" in İzmir, Konak, still persists with the same name grounds on the medical shelter where the immigrants are kept during the period. The low saturated colors buried under the low-key lighting emphasize the somber mood in the shelter. The crowd of hundreds that accompany small children and the elderly constitute a chaotic environment characterized by sickness and desperation. The addressing of the doctors and other attendants in the shelter expose an indirect disrespect that leads to insult against the immigrants due to the communication problem, since they do not understand Turkish. Over the scenes that depict the suffering period during the quarantine, the grandfather's commentary reflects on their in-betweeness (or their neither-here-nor-there-ness) as immigrants of Turkish descent in Turkey. He recalls that they were not welcomed, recognized or embraced in either of the places: being a Turkish seed in Greece and a Greek infidel in Turkey.

In the aftermath of the traumatizing journey and the tough period they had in quarantine, they initially settle down in İzmir. After losing all of his family members by the age of twenty-five, the grandfather relocates to Seferihisar where he raises his family with his wife, also an immigrant from Albania. Despite being settled in a

cozy Aegean town with a fairly successful business and an expending family of grandchildren, a great part within him keeps suffering from the longing of his homeland. He sends notes to the opposite shore to Crete in bottles hoping someone to finds and hand them to the person living in the house where he once left. In his explanation, if he could contact the person who lives in their house, this would mean that he and his family's existence as once a part of that land would be acknowledged. As an immigrant detached from his motherland at such an early age and having never returned, being acknowledged as a part of that land has great importance to soothe the defects of identity crises.

The traumatizing process of immigration through the torments of the journey and the challenges of resettling is narrated within the broader context of the agonies of the Independence War and the foundation process that follows. The representation of the Turkish family's obligatory immigration from Crete indicates that social groups from various ethnic and religious diversities involved in the Independence War and the foundation process suffered. The depiction of the people with Turkish descent, their suffering immigration and alienation in society expose that all the social groups regardless of ethnic and religious identity got their share of agony during the period. Such framing presents the suffering of the ethnic and religious minorities as an inherent condition of the tormenting process of war and the reinstatement of the country. By demonstrating the anguish of the people with Turkish descent during the period, the historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları* opposes the ethnicity criticism for the oppression of the ethnic and religious minorities, since in the film those apply to all. This maintains a rejective response against the 1990s criticism to signify the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities through the nationalization project that aim for a homogenous unity in nation and citizen identity during the early Republican Period.

The historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları* engages with the 1990s critical perspective conceptualized as Ethnicity through rejection. The film does not contain the critical concepts of Secularism, Inferiority and Modernization from Above. In this respect, the historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları* exhibits a defensive

Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period.

4.2.5 *Hür Adam: Bediüzzaman Said-I Nursi* (Free Man) (2011)

Hür Adam: Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (2011) (hereafter *Hür Adam*) is a historical film that narrates the life story of Islamic Theologian Said-i Nursi, the Kurdish founder of the Nur Community. The biopic bears the characteristics of a commercial film through its far-reaching launching campaign, opening up in 235 film theatres in its first weekend. Reaching almost one million official viewers, the film became the 10th biggest box office hit in Turkey in 2011.

Hür Adam narrates the significant parts of the life of Said-I Nursi in an episodic form. Nursi between 1877-1960, so the life of the character intersects with the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Independence War, the Early Republican Period and the multiparty system. The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in *Hür Adam* includes the film in the field of this research. *Hür Adam* introduces Said-i Nursi as a spiritual Kurdish boy of seven years old living in Nurs village in Bitlis in 1882. He becomes a respected Islamic intellectual in his environment improving himself in both scientific and theological disciplines. He is involved in the battle with Ottoman military forces on the eastern front during World War I while serving as an Islamic cleric in Van. Nursi arrives in İstanbul following his escape from Russia where he was held captive after WWI. There he initiates the civilian resistance against the British occupation.

During the Independence War, Nursi's approach to Islam, his interpretation of Quran and Islamic comments gradually spreads. In his speeches that evoke a wide admiration, he expresses positive messages towards the republican ideas of the Independence movement. In 1922 Mustafa Kemal officially invites Said Nursi to Ankara offering him a position in the republican state to assist the modernization process. Expressing respect for Nursi's Islamist approach that interprets the virtues of Quran in the service of scientific progress, Mustafa Kemal demands his contribution to the implementation of modernist reforms.

In the historical representation of *Hür Adam*, Mustafa Kemal identifies the reforms as relaxing the practices of Islam in terms of clothing and alcohol consumption that would obstruct the modernist and westernize progress. Nursi rejects Mustafa Kemal's offer, claiming that the sentences of god cannot be re-arranged. In return, Mustafa Kemal commands him to stay out of the way of the reforms and subtly intimidates Nursi with imprisonment if he acts otherwise. In the aftermath of this, Said-i Nursi faces trials due to the allegations for his association with the Seyh Said Rebellion and spends most of his life in exile. During exile he completes the manuscript of Risale-i Nur, which the distribution of the piece reinforced the establishment of the Nur Community.

The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in *Hür Adam* gains significance by the depiction of the period from the perspective of a controversial character through the conflict between his Islamic Conservative identity and the secularist Republican ideals. In the press release of the film, the director, producer and the writer of the film Mehmet Tanrısever defines *Hür Adam* as a document to present the historical treasures that have been hidden from the public (2011). *Hür Adam* is explicitly positioned as a tool to produce an alternative historiography of the Early Republican Period through its practice that accommodates the perspective of the Islamic Conservative groups in society.

Mehmet Tanrısever, a conservative businessman in the steel business indicates that his involvement in filmmaking rises from the urge to tell stories of Turkey's moral roots to the believers. He started his filmmaking career with *Abdulla from Minye* in 1989. Tanrısever resides in the wider category of Islamic Cinema in Turkey that has its roots in the 1970s (Akser, 2015; 34). In Akser's portraiture, the emergence of Islamic Cinema in Turkey is intrinsically related to the rise of Islam in Turkish politics since the 1970s and hence it developed through 1990s and 2000s with a slight recession in the 1980s. Apart from its accordance with the dynamics between religion, politics and economics, Islamic Cinema in Maktav's understanding broadly exhibits the characteristics of Yeşilçam Melodrama (Maktav, 2010, 33). As he points out in his article on the Sufi journey in Islamic Cinema, the distinctive element of Islamic Cinema resides in the identification of the filmmakers with their Islamic lifestyle (ibid). Other than the emphasis on the Islamic identity of the film

makers, the films could be categorized as dark melodramas that narrate the tales revolving around religion and fate (ibid). With the reblooming of Islamic Cinema in 1990s as Akser points out, the issue on the Islamic veil's application to social spaces in Turkey preoccupies Islamic Cinema to a great extent (2015, 34). While the *Birleşen Yollar* (1970) (Merging Paths) directed by Yücel Çakmaklı is broadly designated as the first film of Islamic Cinema, other significant productions of the movement from the 1970s are: *Zehra* (Zehra) (1972) and *Oğlum Osman* (My Son Osman) (1973) both directed by Yücel Çakmaklı. Mesut Uçakan, another significant director of Islamic Cinema directs *Reis Bey* in 1989 (Chief) to be followed by four other feature films during the 1990s including *Sonsuza Yürümek* (1991) (Walking to Eternity) and *Ölümsüz Karanfiller* (1995) (Immortal Carnations). In 1989 and 1990 Yücel Çakmaklı directed *Minyeli Abdullah* (Abdulla from Minye*)* and *Minyeli Abdullah II* (Abdulla from Minye II) both produced by Mehmet Tanrısever within his production company Feza Film. Feza Film has produced a handful of feature length works of Islamic Cinema including the ones Tanrısever directed himself like *Sürgün* (1992) (The Exile).

The Islamic Cinema of Turkey is one of the various names to identify the films produced and directed by Islamic conservative filmmakers reflecting religious concerns. The category is identified under names like religious film, Islamist cinema, green cinema, white cinema, national cinema, cinema of faith or spiritual cinema (ibid, 34). White Cinema is the name given to the category by the Islamic conservative film critic Ali Murat Güven who admires the category and signify the wide spread of such films to reach great numbers of audience in 2000's. In 2010 the 40th anniversary of White Cinema was celebrated by a series of symposiums and the screenings of the restored copies of ten films by the directors Yücel Çakmaklı, Mesut Uçakan, İsmail Güneş, Mehmet Tanrısever, Metin Çamurcu, Salih Dirilik and Nurettin Özen (ibid).

Hür Adam is appraised as one of the benchmarks of White Cinema by Ali Murat Güven for its large-scale budget, production quality, and extensive launch in film theatres with 235 copies in the first weekend (Güven, Haber 7, 2011). Mehmet Tanrısever known by the nickname "Hacı Fellini" in his circles, acknowledges cinema as the most resourceful tool to transmit ideas to masses. In an interview

published in *Yenişafak* Newspaper in the wake of *Hür Adam*'s screening, he claims that a film can reach over forty thousand kilometers while a school can reach ten and a mosque even a single kilometer (2010). In his speech prior to the film's premiere, Tanrısever signifies his objective to introduce Said Nursi to the masses in an international frame. Expressing his deep grief for the misrecognition of Said-i Nursi and his common reputation as a rebellious tyrant, Tanrısever aims to focus on his humanism, compassion and mission through *Hür Adam* (Kural, Hürriyet, 2010).

The evaluation of *Hür Adam* by the film critics in the launching week of the film could be gathered under three categories. The category to appraise *Hür Adam* manifests in Ali Murat Güven's article published online in *Haber 7*. The valorization of Güven glorifies the film for its revolutionary courage to narrate the story of a divine character that has kept hidden under the oppression of official history (2011). Another approach reflects the affirmative evaluation of *Hür Adam* as an attempt to generate a polyphony in the historiography of the Early Republican Period that challenges the authority of the official historiography. The ideas reflected in the articles of Uğur Vardan published in *Radikal* Newspaper (2011), Serdar Akbıyık in *Star* Newspaper (2011) and Cüneyt Cebenoyan in *Birgün* Newspaper (2011) fall under this category of appreciating the film's historiographical performance for its diversity. However, the artistic incompetency of the film to execute the narration of its subject matter is emphasized in their evaluation. The third category of criticism on *Hür Adam* solidifies on the approach that identifies the film as a tool of religious propaganda. The articles by Gökçe Aytulu in *Radikal* Newspaper (2011), Kerem Akça in *Habertürk* (2011) and Alper Turgut in *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper (2011) focus on the calculated structure of the film for the Conservative groups in society. They interpret the historical representation of *Hür Adam* as an unsophisticated attempt at propaganda that frames the past period over the mortal struggle of the Republican regime to banish the ideas of the great theologian.

The inquest filed on *Hür Adam* by the chief public prosecutor's office in Ankara prior to the screening exhibits another case of reactions to the historical representation of the Early Republican Period in film. The official petition of the inquest identifies a defamation case for the moral rights of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

and claims for *Hür Adam*'s practice as a tool of terrorist propaganda (Habertürk, 2010).

The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in *Hür Adam* exhibits a historiographical practice through the narration of Said-i Nursi's life that intersects with the foundation of the Republic and the implementation of the Kemalist Reforms. The plot of *Hür Adam* unfolds to represent Nursi's life with a causal order in a diegetic structure. Certainly, the past events narrated in the film are designated as an outcome of a selection among his biography, historical documents on the period, and his followers' recollections of Nursi's life. The selection of the past events is a narrative necessity for the constitution of the diegetic gravity that requires inner consistency. Events such as his involvement in Independence Struggle, the invitation he receives from Mustafa Kemal, and the trials he faces later are narrated within a causal engagement and present the comprehension of the period as a meaningful whole. The narration of Nursi's life in *Hür Adam* begins with him as a small child and concludes with his symbolic through the scene by the tombstone. The main spatiotemporal ground of *Hür Adam*'s diegesis is the period he spent in Barla during his exile between 1927-1934. The flashback and flash-forwards on the representation of this period present Nursi's story by evoking a sense of completion.

The historiographical practice of the film encapsulates a fraction of time from the past and represents it in a closural form. The film offers a sensual experience of the historical period it represents by maintaining a consistent narrative through the application of causality and the execution of the closural form. Despite the fictive representation of the historical period, the plot establishes on the historical conscious via the comprehension of Nursi's life through the sense of experience. Nevertheless, the historical representation of the Early Republican Period practiced in *Hür Adam* is only valid in its own diegetic sphere. As a historical fiction film, it resides in a space free from the responsibility of historical accuracy and would not also claim for authenticity.

On the other hand, the representation of the Early Republican Period in *Hür Adam* is stitched to official history of the period through the dates of the events. The dates of

significant events appear on the screen in written form in the opening of the scene that narrates the event. The dates of the historical events signified in the film create junctions where the actuality and the diegetic sphere of *Hür Adam* meets. The overlap between the diegetic representation of the Early Republican Period and the official history of the period reveals the probability of authenticity.

In the following part of the analysis I will continue with the impact of the 90's criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the historical representation of *Hür Adam.* The historical representation of the Early Republican Period in the film engages with the critical perspective to emphasize the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society through the implementation of secularist reforms that aim to diminish the authority of religion from public affairs and everyday life. The historical representation of *Hür Adam* articulates the criticism that challenges the secularist implementations of the Early Republican Period during the 90's.

The narration of Said-i Nursi's meeting with Mustafa Kemal in *Hür Adam* gains significance for the film's position to relate with the 90's criticism of secularist reforms during the Early Republican period. The narrative of their meeting initiates with the portraiture of Nursi's escape route to İstanbul from Russia where he was kept as a hostage after the loss of the battle in Caucasian front during World War I. Nursi's route is explained to the audience through an infographic with a voiceover on it. The voiceover states that he escapes from the prison camp taking advantage of the chaos of Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and starts the civilian resistance against the British occupation in İstanbul. He receives an official invite from Mustafa Kemal in 1922 to give a speech in the parliament on account of his services for the Independence Struggle. The infographic ends stating that Nursi leaves Ankara with doubts about the Republican Regime after the meetings he participates and returns to Van. Later on in the chronological order of the plot the meeting of Said-i Nursi with Mustafa Kemal is presented to the audience through a flashback. The commencement of the flashback is triggered with the question of one of Nursi's followers on his involvement to the Independence Struggle and his acquaintance with Mustafa Kemal. Nursi answers that he was invited to Ankara by Mustafa Kemal

and offered a mansion, a ranch and a monthly salary of 10.000 banknote in return for his collaboration. Nursi states that he rejected the offer and the scene is cut to the flashback.

The flashback scene of their meeting opens up with a vertical dolly movement, where the camera enters Mustafa Kemal's office to frame them in a long shot. The place and the date of the meeting appears in the screen in written form "Parliament Presidency office- 1922". Mustafa Kemal compliments Nursi for his speech in the parliament specifying his interest on the parts involving science and scientific study of knowledge. Nursi responds him by stating that whereas the mind seeks satisfaction through science, the conscience would be satisfied through the study of religion. Nursi continues his words by asserting that the power of the contemporary period resides in progress in both moral and material means. Hence Europe's oppression on them is linked to their progress in scientific and artistic practices. To overcome this, they shall fight against the ignorance, poverty and divergence with the weapons of science and art that eventually enable them to spread the word of Allah. Mustafa Kemal responds to Nursi by expressing his admiration for the courage and sturdiness Nursi has in his fight. The medium-close up shot size to frame Mustafa Kemal changes into a close up with the dolly-in as he denotes that they will execute some innovations, with these words the expression in his face turns slightly serious. He expresses that they need Nursi's help in this process, which they will execute some modulation concerning the issues of alcoholic beverages and clothing. After an annoyed pause, Nursi straightens up in his chair and expresses that the commands of Allah cannot be altered with sparkles in his eyes. Mustafa Kemal defends his reason by pointing out humankind's right to earthly pleasures, which are endowed to them by the call of Allah. In response, Nursi addresses Mustafa Kemal in a threatening tone and says that he may execute innovations to enable the development of science and arts however he shall not attempt to execute reducing regulations on the commands of Quran. After Nursi's outburst, Mustafa Kemal tries to soothe him by saying that they need a heroic hodja like him in the foundation process and he invites him to utilize his eminent cognitions. Nursi stands up and turns his back to leave the room. With this gesture Mustafa Kemal shifts to a bitter tone uttering that he respects Nursi since his speech in Thessaloniki but to persist his

freedom he shall not interfere with the reformist implementations. Mustafa Kemal's statement clearly indicates that Nursi's freedom will be restricted if he interferes with the reformist implementations. Nursi would not turn his face to Mustafa Kemal; instead he leaves shutting the door at once while Mustafa Kemal remains in the frame and is left alone in the room with rejection.

The infographic that expresses the return of Said-I Nursi from Ankara with doubts for the Republican regime is followed by the scene that represents Nursi as he was trying to stop the *Sheikh Said Rebellion*. In the scene while a group of men walk towards an undetermined direction in an open environment Nursi stands in front of them with his arms wide open and questions their purpose for rebellion. They respond that they are revolting against the annihilation of Islam by the atheistic state founded in Ankara. Nursi tries to stop them by stating that it would be unjust to rebel against the leaders of the nation that have fought to spread Islamic religion. However his claim would not be enough to calm the angry group down.

The next scene shows Nursi as he leaves his rare and valuable belongings like his dagger and silver case on the table in the dervish lodge waiting for the soldiers to come arrest him as he calmly wraps his white turban cloth around his head. The soldiers are depicted with the parallel editing with Nursi's scene in the lodge enter the room and ask Nursi to surrender. Even though Nursi's efforts to prohibit the Sheikh Said Rebellion is exposed in the earlier scenes, he is still arrested and sent to exile in Barla in being accused of partaking in the action.

The alignment of the scenes narrating Nursi's visit to Ankara and his arrest in relation to the rebellion signifies the causal relationship between the two events. In this way, the concealed thread of Mustafa Kemal addressing Nursi that rejects collaborating with the Republican elite during the implementation of secularist reforms substantiates. The historical representation of *Hür Adam* reveals the unjust punishment of Said-i Nursi by a crime he hasn't committed after declining Mustafa Kemal's offer to take part in the reformist period. According to the film's portraiture, Said-i Nursi as an acknowledged theologian of his period, a heroic character is restricted by the state at once for his dissidence and sent to exile. Hence the Republican regime is framed through the oppression of the Islamic conservative

groups for the sake of the progress in modernist and nationalist implementations of the period. In this manner, the representation of the implementation of reforms during the Early Republican Period aligns with the critical perspective to emphasize the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups through secularist reforms.

The scene that narrates the state inspector's visit from Ankara to the district governor of Barla is significant in exhibiting *Hür Adam*'s portrayal of the Kemalist reforms. The historical representation practiced in this scene identifies the Kemalist reforms as regulations that aim to annihilate Islam from the public affairs and everyday life to pave the way for the modernist progress. In the conversation between the inspector and the district governor, the inspector proudly breaks the news on the great preparations that are being held in Ankara for the upcoming reforms. He denotes that everything is going to change. All the books are going to be renewed due to the change in the alphabet and also all the superstitions about religion and judgment day will be removed from them during the process. The inspector continues with a growing appetite on the winds of change that are about to begin: he says that the reforms will change the clothes all together. The district governor listens to him in astonishment and lashes out in alarm, stands up and questions that how this could happen and whose call is it. The inspector responds with an authoritarian tone explaining that it was the quitting of religion enabled the progress in Europe on science and technology where as we are in deadlock by surrendering to God's will. He continues by threatening the district governor saying that he shall not mess with the decisions made from Ankara, but practice them relentlessly, otherwise he will be in trouble. Facing the intimidating tone of the officer, the district governor sits back into his chair then he slowly turns back to the wall behind him and looks at Mustafa Kemal's portrait hanging looking at him from above. The powerful look of Mustafa Kemal to terrify the governor is reinforced with the non-diegetic music to underline the shot that is peculiar to horror genre. The last part of the scene with Mustafa Kemal's portrait demonstrates the authoritarian, oppressive regime of the government that promises a punishment for anyone who attempts to question its operations.

Hür Adam represents the implementation of the Kemalist reforms through their traumatizing effects on the practice of daily life in Barla. The reform in clothing is presented as an extension of the republican intervention in order to execute power and control on the customs of daily life. Said-i Nursi resists the hat reform and expresses his determination to the officers by expressing that the republic would only remove his turban along with his head. The film similarly presents the shift to the Latin alphabet as an act of inhibition towards the comprehension of the Quran through the conservations between Nursi and his followers in Barla. *Hür Adam* identifies Kemalist Reforms' function as to alienate Islamic customs from the space of daily life that eventually would constitute the elimination of the religion itself.

The historical representation performed in these sequences match with the 1990s criticism that emphasizes the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society through the implementation of secularist reforms. By identifying the Kemalist Reforms as regulations that annihilate Islam from public affairs and the space of everyday life, the historical representation of *Hür Adam* articulates the 1990s criticism that challenges the secularist reforms of the Early Republican Period.

The Kurdish identity of Said-i Nursi suggests an intrinsic engagement of the historiographical performance of *Hür Adam* with the ethnicity criticism to emerge in the 1990s. The Kurdish identity of Said-i Nursi gains a distinct representation in the scene that narrates his efforts to prevent the *Sheikh Said Rebellion.* In the opening of the scene the place and the date of the meeting appears in written form "Van- 1925". A group of men with beards and turbans are gathered in a room with Said-i Nursi to deliver Sheikh Said's letter to him that he asks for Nursi to participate in their fight with the annihilation of Islam. On Nursi's inquiry they set forth their demand for the reestablishment of the Muslim religious law for the reason of the rebellion. They effort to persuade Nursi to join the rebellion against the Republican state is over their shared Kurdish identity. By pointing out the sharp emphasis on the Turkish identity of the nation, the followers of Sheikh Said reject the oppression of the Kurdish people by the Republican state. However, Said-i Nursi disapproves of their opinion and argues for the fraternity of the people of Turkish and Kurdish descent.

Nursi asserts that the Kurdish and Turkish people served the Islamic religion for centuries together and now the Turkish deserve respect and solidarity since they govern the country.

Nursi's rejection of the followers of Sheikh Said signifies Nursi's dissent for argument on the oppression of the Kurdish groups in society in the representation of the Early Republican Period in *Hür Adam*. Hence, the representation of Nursi's perspective would not align with the 1990s criticism of ethnicity even if his Kurdish identity bears an inherent engagement. On the contrary, Nursi's assertion on the fraternity of Turkish and Kurdish groups in society exhibits a rejection of the ethnicity criticism.

The historical representation of *Hür Adam* articulates the oppression of the Islamic conservative groups in society over the representation of the theologian Said-i Nursi's ordeal in Barla where he is sent to exile. In this respect *Hür Adam* accommodates the 1990s criticism that challenges the secularist implementations of the Early Republican Period that aims to diminish the authority of religion from the public affairs and everyday life. The historical representation of the Early Republican Period performed in the film does not contain any other critical concepts of Ethnicity, Inferiority or Modernization from Above. The representation of Nursi's perspective in *Hür Adam* would not align with ethnicity criticism, even if his Kurdish identity bears an inherent engagement. On the contrary, Nursi's statement on the fraternity of Turkish and Kurdish groups in society exhibits a rejection for the ethnicity criticism. In this respect, while the historical representation of *Hür Adam* acknowledges and accommodates the 1990's criticism that challenge the secularist implementations of the Early Republican Period, it exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude by rejecting the ethnicity criticism.

4.3 JUXTAPOSING THE FILMS' ENGAGEMENT WITH THE 1990s CRITICISM OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Through studying the historiography of commercial historical films representing the Independence War and the Foundation of the Republic produced between 1996 and 2011, I intended to present the impact of 1990s criticism on the filmic

historiography of the Early Republican Period. The analysis of historical films to represent the period intends to reveal their engagement with the 1990's criticism. The engagement of the filmic historiographies with the critical concepts of 1990s exposes the impact of social dynamics in 1990s Turkey to influence the perception of the Early Republican past.

Cumhuriyet (1998) as a commercial film representing a large part of the Early Republican Period exhibits a rejection of the 90's criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the foundation process. The analysis on the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* that reveals its engagement with the 1990s critical conceptualizations of Ethnicity, Secularism, Modernization from Above and Inferiority exposes how the film rejects the criticism. In this respect, the historical representation of *Cumhuriyet* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period.

Moreover, the engagement *Cumhuriyet* offers with Mustafa Kemal in the diegetic sphere of the film transmits the sensual experience of his struggles during the Independence War and the foundation of the Republic. By doing so, the film justifies the harsh decisions he makes on the nationalization and modernization processes and hence creates another layer of defense against the critical perspectives of 90's.

Son Osmanlı Yandım Ali (2007) represents the formation of the independence struggle in its narration and manifests a clear rejection of the 1990s critical concepts of ethnicity and inferiority. The historiographical performance of the film does not contain criticisms of secularism and modernization from above in its representation. In this respect, the historical representation of *SOYA* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period.

Veda (2010), distinctly engages with critical concepts of the 1990s, namely Ethnicity and Modernization from Above while the historical representation of the Early Republican Period performed in the film does not contain the critical concepts of Secularism and Inferiority. In this respect, the historical representation of *Veda*

exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period.

Dedemin İnsanları (2011) engages with the ethnicity criticism of the 1990s. Other than that, the historical representation of the Early Republican Period performed in the film does not contain other critical concepts as Secularism, Inferiority and Modernization from Above. In this respect, the historical representation of *Dedemin İnsanları* exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude against the 1990s criticism on the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period.

Hür Adam (2011) accommodates and articulates the 1990s secularism criticism in its historical representation. Besides that, the film does not contain any other critical concepts of Inferiority or Modernization from Above. The representation of Nursi's perspective in *Hür Adam* would not accommodate ethnicity criticism, even if his Kurdish identity bears an inherent engagement. On the contrary, Nursi's statement on the fraternity of Turkish and Kurdish groups in society exhibits a rejection for the ethnicity criticism. In this respect, while the historical representation of *Hür Adam* acknowledges and accommodates the 1990s criticism that challenge the secularist implementations of the Early Republican Period, it exhibits a defensive Kemalist attitude by rejecting the ethnicity criticism.

As I have elaborated in the second chapter, the characteristics of commercial films are inherently engaged with the dynamics of popular culture due to their objective to be sold on a large scale. Hence the historiographical performance of commercial films gains significance on their ability to reveal the contemporary dynamics of society through their association with the popular culture. The analysis exhibits that the majority of the representations to emerge in the commercial historical films that narrate the Early Republican Period produced between 1996 and 2011 reject and exhibit a defensive attitude against the 1990s criticism. Such conditions expose the significant influence of the defensive Kemalist tendency on the popular culture between 1996 and 2011 to rise against the 1990s criticism. In the upcoming conclusion chapter, I will interpret the influence of the defensive Kemalist tendency to shape the historiographical performance of the films produced between 1996 and 2011 in great extent.

5. CONCLUSION

This dissertation investigates the impact of 1990s criticism on the filmic historiography of the Early Republican Period by studying the historiography of commercial historical films between 1996 and 2011, which represent the Independence War and the Foundation of the Republic.

With this purpose, I commenced the study with an examination of the concepts on history and historiography in order to discuss and interpret the historiographical performance of the historical film. The second chapter "Historiography and Cinema" presented the theoretical discussions in historiography and film studies to explain my position to appraise film as a tool of historiography. The notion of filmic experience gained significance to differentiate the historiographical performance of fiction film while the commercial historical film is established in a distinct position for its ability to reflect the contemporary social dynamics in its historiographical practice.

In the third chapter I interpreted the 1990s criticism that challenged the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period by discussing it in the context of the critical discourse of Modernization from Above. In order to understand the cultural and ideological dynamics of the Turkish society in the 1990s, I retraced the theoretical discussions and cultural analyses' that came forward during the 1990s on the socio-politic and economic climate of the period. I examined the penetration of the critical discourse of "Modernization from Above" in culture through its reflection on the artistic productions of the period as well as the academic discussions to comprehend the socio-political sphere of Turkey in 1990s. Through that survey, I assembled the main grounds of the 1990's criticism under four concepts as "ethnicity criticism", "secularism criticism", "modernization from above criticism" and "inferiority criticism". In the last two parts of the 3rd chapter, I discussed the rise of political Islam in the 1990s as a consequence of the challenge on the implementations of the Early Republican Period and the emergence of a defensive Kemalist reaction that aimed to preserve the validity of the Republican ideals and Kemalist ideology.

In the 4th chapter, I tracked the impact of the critical discourses to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican period in 1990s on the commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011 that represent the Early Republican Period. In order to provide a ground to compare the filmic representation of the Early Republican Period practiced between 1996 and 2011, I made a brief survey on the Independence War Films produced in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic in the broad context of the historical films of Yeşilçam. In the following section, I identified the method accommodated in this study to expose the engagement of the commercial historical films that narrate the Early Republican Period with the critical perspectives to rise in 1990s. The analysis on the impact of the 1990s criticism towards the nationalist and modernist implementations of the Early Republican Period on the representations of commercial historical films are performed through the assessment of 1990s criticism. The engagement of the films with the critical concepts of 1990s revealed the positioning of the film in the contesting field of culture and politics between 1996 and 2011.

Out of the five commercial historical films examined in relation to their depiction of the Early Republic period, only one of them, namely *Hür Adam* (2011) directly engage with 1990s criticism by accommodating it in its representation. That being said, it should be noted that the acceptance and accommodation in the film solely covers the secularism criticism. The film does not contain the critical concepts of "Modernization from Above" and "inferiority" and hence it exhibits a confined accommodation of the 1990s criticism to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period. Besides, *Hür Adam* exhibits a rejective stance against the Ethnicity Criticism. The remaining four films engage with the critical concepts of 1990s by means of rejection and defense. Only one of the films, *Dedemin İnsanları* (2011) rejects and exhibits a defensive position against a single critical concept (ethnicity criticism), while the other three engages with at least two of the critical concepts, and *Cumhuriyet* (1996) significantly rejects and exhibits a defensive position against all of the critical concepts.

The assessment of the analysis on the engagement of historical representation of the Early Republican Period of the commercial films produced between 1996 and 2011 read

alongside 1990s criticism reveals that the “rejection and defense” of the criticism outnumbers the “acceptance and accommodation”. As previously elaborated, commercial films are inherently engaged with the dynamics of popular culture due to their objective to be sold on a large scale and reach a wide audience. Culture as a contested terrain, harbours the dominant and resistive tendencies, the ideological inclinations of the past and present, forming the basis of the future. Popular culture in its dynamic nature could be perceived as the culture of the contemporary, the pulse of the society. It consists of the prominent ideas and ideological tendencies that are in struggle in society. It forms the contemporary impulses of engaging with the cultural environment and influences the cultural practices in a given time and space. By identifying commercial film as a formation intrinsic to the field of popular culture, I signify the ability of such films to reflect contemporary social tendencies. The commercial films relate to popular culture through their effort to catch the pulse of the society in order to reach a large audience. Through such effort, the films keep up with the dynamics of popular culture. By detecting the prominent dynamics in popular culture, the commercial film creatively engraves the fears and fantasies of the audience in the narration (Kellner 2003, p. 207). The stylish lacework aims to attract the attention of the audience by portraying and healing socially conflicting fields; in other words, they inhabit the space where the shoe pinches in society. Once the commercial film narrates a historical event, the representation of the past bears the characteristics of the contemporary culture in its historiographical practice. Hence the filmic representation of history in commercial films reflects the contemporary perspectives in its expression. By the same token, the historiographical performance of commercial films influences the historical perceptions of society both through the effect of filmic experience and their wide circulation. The representation of the past in commercial historical films is bound to shift in accordance with emergent discourses in order to trigger social change.

The majority in the attitude to reject 1990s criticism in the commercial historical films of the Early Republican Period produced between 1996 and 2011 signifies the impact of the defensive Kemalist reaction in society. The analysis of the films exposes the substantial influence of the defensive Kemalist tendency on the dynamics of popular culture between 1996 and 2011 to rise against the 1990s criticism. The defensive Kemalist tendency to influence the dynamics of popular

culture in Turkey between 1996 and 2011 can be interpreted as a reflection of the Kemalist reaction to the 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period elaborated on the third chapter. The defensive Kemalist reaction to rise against the criticism that challenges the implementations of the Early Republican Period would be contextualized as the constitution of a subjective responsibility in the society in order to protect Republican values. The defensive Kemalist reaction that is formed against the critical discourses of the 1990s, signify the superiority of the Republican ideals in the constitution of the state. The statements of such defensive attitude are reflected to the public realm. In other words, the Kemalist ideology that at times forcefully dominated the social sphere relocated in a subjective discourse as a reaction to the critical discourses of the 1990s to challenge implementations of the Early Republican Period (Özyürek 2006, p. 3). In the context of the subjective emanation of the defensive reaction, Özyürek emphasise the reestablishment of the secular state ideology in the public sphere that solidifies through physical objects such as the national flag, Atatürk pins, Atatürk pictures and posters of the Early Republican period, including many more significations, such as the tattoo of Atatürk's signature (ibid). The emergent nostalgia for the Early Republican Period in 1990s and the consequent defensive reaction to protect its values derives from the designation of the period as a time of unification in society to reach a joint purpose of modernization via the Kemalist discourse (ibid, 16). This tendency has had a considerable effect on the cultural dynamics in Turkey opens up a field of discussion with regards to the critical discourse of Modernization from Above.

As elaborated in third chapter, the discourse defined the modernization process as a project enforced on the society by the Republican elite through the rules and regulations implemented in the context of modernist reforms. The project acknowledged modernization as the synonym for Westernization and aimed to embrace all dimensions of modernity as a total project (Keyder 1997, p. 34). The Republican elite imposed the project of modernization as a standard recipe in the social, cultural, economic and political fields by wielding the state power. And hence, according to the critical discourse, this condition led to the alienation of a large portion of society from the dynamics of social transformation and inhibited the internalization of the modern experience. The lack of a reciprocal relationship

between the Republican Elite and the rest of the population for the will, the design, and the execution of the modernization project set forth the null-participation of the society. This social detachment positioned the masses as silent and inoperative, which then evolved into a relationship that conditions obedience to state policies and regulations (ibid, 38).

However, the defensive Kemalist tendency in the society rising against the 1990s criticism to protect the Republican ideals as a dynamic that is substantial enough to influence popular culture between the 1996 and 2011 signifies an active stance. Through such attitude that demonstrates an action far from the position of a silenced inoperative mass, the defensive Kemalist stance rising in some parts of society between 1996 and 2011 reveals the internalization of the Early Republican Period's ideals at least to a certain extent. Having said that, the impact of the 1990s criticism on the corpus of the New Cinema of Turkey in broad terms during 1990s deserves special attention, namely to interpret the influence of the defensive Kemalist tendency on the historical films to narrate the Early Republican past. As discussed in Chapter 3, criticism challenging the modernist and nationalist implementations of the Early Republican Period shaped the characteristics of the New Cinema of Turkey to a great extent. Significantly, the resurgence of identity politics in the 1990s reinforced the acknowledgement of ethnic and religious minorities and their oppression during the foundation process and structured the New Cinema of Turkey (Suner 2010, p. 13). The resurgence of identity politics in 90's to reinforce the acknowledgement of ethnic and religious minorities and their oppression during the foundation process inherently penetrates to the structures of the New Cinema of Turkey. Suner articulates the texture of the filmic practices of the New Cinema of Turkey through the analogy of a haunted house (ibid, 16). By signifying the critical climate of the 1990s to question the Republican history of Turkey, Suner acknowledges the nostalgic essence to encompass the films as the return of the lost identities. For her, the pillars and plates that structure the form of the cinematic practices through the mid 1990s are made of the efforts to deal with the ambiguities of a traumatic past and a search for an identity. In a perspective that aligns with Suner, Karanfil signifies the rise in the domain of the representation of ethnic, religious and nationalist identities in the narratives of contemporary Turkish popular films (2006, p. 62).

Alongside independent art-house examples such as Yeşim Ustaoğlu's *Güneşe Yolculuk* (Journey to the Sun) (1999) and *Bulutları Beklerken* (Waiting for Clouds) (2004), the 1990s criticism also surfaces through mainstream films like *Eşkiya* (Bandit*)* (1996), *Vizontele (*Vizontele*)* (2001), *Salkım Hanımın Taneleri* (Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds) (1999) and *Güz Sancısı* (Autumn Pain) (2009). Hence, the penetration of the 1990s criticism in the New Cinema of Turkey that also surfaces from mainstream films exposes the influence of it on the dynamics of popular culture. Moreover, films like *Salkım Hanımın Taneleri* (*Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds)* (1999) (on the wealth-tax law in 1942) and *Güz Sancısı* (Autumn Pain) (2009) (on the pogroms of September 1955) reveal the impact of 1990s criticism on the representation of the Republican history of Turkey (Başçı 2017, p. 184; Mersin 2010, p. 15). Accordingly, it shall be acknowledged that the representation of the aftermath of the Early Republican Period in the New Cinema of Turkey embraces and reflects the 1990s criticism.

The deduction of this study that the representation of the Early Republican Period in commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011 is characterized by defensive Kemalist positions signifies that the filmic historiography of the Early Republican Period (1919-1938) in commercial cinema stays immune to the 1990s criticism. In other words, the criticism of the Early Republican Period in 1990s is stonewalled by the position of the defensive Kemalist reaction when it comes to the cinematic representation of the period. On the other hand, the political implementations of the period that follows the Early Republican Period (after 1938) receives its share from the 1990s criticism in the historiographical practice of the films produced in 1990s and 2000s. Consequently, while the filmic representation of the Republican history that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk operated himself is defended against the 1990s criticism, the criticism penetrates into the historical representations of the films that narrates the period following his death.

In addition, once we compare the representations of the Early Republican Period in Yeşilçam Cinema between 1923 and 1974, and those commercial films between 1996 and 2011, we see no significant differences, except for the embodiment of the figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The historical representation of the Early

Republican past in these two periods are analogous in terms of the inglorious representation of the occupying forces, malevolent representation of the ethnic and religious minorities, as well as the obscurantism of the conservative Islamic groups in society. As elaborated in the 4th Chapter, the historiographical practice of the films in the Yeşilçam period reflects the state ideology of nationalism in Turkey (Mersin 2011, p. 42; Maktav 2006, p. 74). Apparently, the representation of the Early Republican Period in commercial films between 1996 and 2011 broadly reproduces Yeşilçam's structures once exposed to the impact of the defensive Kemalist tendency to rise against the 1990s criticism. This situation indicates that the representation of the Early Republican Period in commercial films between 1996 and 2011 influenced by the defensive Kemalist position, utilizes the patterns shaped by the state ideology of previous decades regardless of being the extension of a subjective reaction to protect the Republican values.

Among the academic studies to focus on the historical films of Cinema in Turkey compromising both Yeşilçam period and the New Cinema in Turkey, the works of Şener (1970), Özgüç (1992), Scognamillo & Demirhan (2005), Karanfil (2006), Maktav (2006), Suner (2009), Mersin (2011) and Paça-Cengiz (2014) are prominent for their attention to the field of cinematic representation of history. The examination conducted on the historiographical performance of the film medium in this dissertation gains significance in the field by highlighting the distinct position of the historical fiction film regarding its ability to transmit the sensual experience of the past period represented in the film. The sensual experience of the past event that is presented by the filmic representation of history is emphasized in this study since it incorporates into the historical perception of the audience. Through this function, the historiographical performance of the fiction film positioned as a powerful tool of historical representation and identified with a distinct theoretical approach among the other historiographical practices.

The dissertation contributes to the studies that focus on the historical films in the Cinema of Turkey by presenting the impact of 1990s criticism of the Early Republican Period on the historiography of the period in the commercial films produced between 1996 and 2011. Exhibiting the inherent association between the commercial films and

the dynamics of popular culture by touching upon the relevant literature, the revealing nature of the historiographical practice of commercial films is utilized in this study due to their ability to reflect contemporary social tendencies in their representations. By treating those commercial historical films produced between 1996 and 2011 as entities that expose the impact of the critical perspectives to challenge the implementations of the Early Republican Period in 1990s, the engagement of the films with the critical concepts are analyzed. The outcomes of the analyses positioned the films' representations within the critical concepts of 1990s and hence brought insights to discuss the social dynamics of the period that influence the filmic historiography of the Early Republican Period between 1996 and 2011.

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