

RE-IMAGINING “THE EAST”: DIGITAL GAMES, NEO-ORIENTALISM AND
REPRESENTATION OF THE OTHER IN MILITARY SHOOTER GAMES



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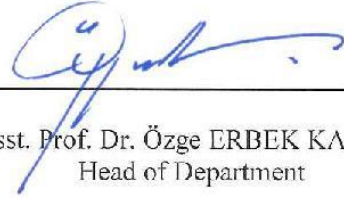
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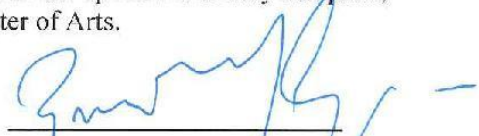
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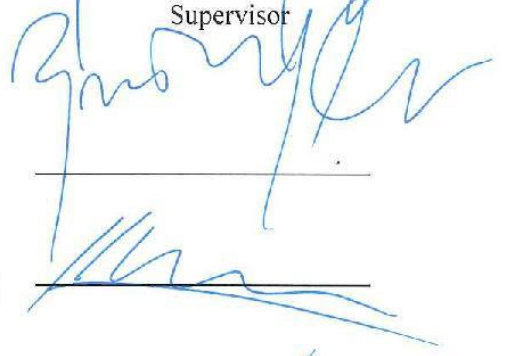
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ABSTRACT

Cultural and ideological media that enable the continuation of the imperial and colonial domination of the West on the East, have gained diversity. Producing, publishing and distributing all kinds of information easily and quickly through digital technologies and communication devices, together with economic and technological power, from the West and Western perspective, which are in the position of political authority, is also being reflected to media contents; all kinds of media texts as films, music, newspaper, magazine, toys have been the carrier of the political, social, cultural and ideological structure of the West. Media texts, in particular, produce discourses on the 'East', and reposition the East as the 'Others'. In this context, digital games should not be considered as independent of the political, social, cultural and economic structure, either. How the mass media, just as it was in the past, is being used to influence the thoughts of the audience and to do this in a narrative through the use of fictional texts, digital games are also influenced by the period and conditions in which they exist. In connection with this, the attacks on Washington and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, caused the East to be rebuilt as the Other and represented negatively on the media. This affects the narrative structure of the military first-person shooter games, and these games create negative imagery of the East. From this point of view, military first-person shooter games named Medal of Honor (2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) and Battlefield (2011) that belong to US-based digital game developer, publisher and distributor company Electronic Arts' have been chosen in order to reveal the relationship between Neo-Orientalism and visual and

discursive elements in these games. In order to reveal the relationship between Neo-Orientalism and visual and discursive elements in these games, John Fiske's three-stage frame which he formed with a semiotic approach and called "The Codes of Television" (2001) is used.

Keywords: Orientalism, Neo-Orientalism, Militarism, Digital Games, Representation of the 'Others'



ÖZET

Batı'nın Doğu üzerinde kurduğu emperyal ve kolonyal hâkimiyetin devam ettirilmesine olanak sağlayan kültürel ve ideolojik araçların çeşitlilik kazanmaktadır. Dijital teknolojiler ve iletişim araçları sayesinde her türlü enformasyonun kolay ve hızlı bir şekilde üretilmesi, yayınlanması ve dağıtılması, ekonomik ve teknolojik güç ile birlikte siyasi otorite konumunda olan Batı ve Batılı bakış açısı medya içeriklerine de yansımakta, film, müzik, gazete, dergi, oyuncak gibi her türlü popüler medya metinleri, Batı'nın siyasi toplumsal, kültürel ve ideolojik yapısının taşıyıcısı olmaktadır. Medya metinleri, özellikle 'Doğu' hakkında söylemler üretmekte ve Doğu'yu bir Öteki konumlandırmaktadır. Dijital oyunlar da bu bağlamda, içerisinde bulunulan siyasi, toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik yapıdan bağımsız olarak düşünülmemelidir. Nasıl kitle iletişim araçları geçmişte olduğu gibi günümüzde de izleyenlerin (audience) düşüncelerini etkilemek ve bunu kurgusal metinler aracılığıyla bir anlatı içinde yapmak amacıyla kullanılıyorsa, dijital oyunlar da içinde bulunduğu dönem ve koşullardan etkilenmektedir. Bununla ilişkili olarak, 11 Eylül 2001 yılında Washington ve Pentagon'a yönelik yapılan saldırılar, medyada Doğu'nun bir Öteki olarak yeniden inşa edilmesine ve olumsuz bir şekilde temsil edilmesine neden olmuştur. Bu durum, özellikle savaş temalı birinci şahıs nişancı oyunların anlatısı yapısını etkilemekte ve bu oyunlar olumsuz bir Doğu imgesi oluşturmaktadır. Bu bakış açısıyla, ABD merkezli dijital oyun geliştirici, yayıncı ve dağıtımçı firması olan Electronic Arts'ın Medal of Honor (2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) ve Battlefield (2011) adlı savaş temalı birinci şahıs nişancı oyunları seçilerek, Neo-

Oryantalizm'in görsel ve söylemsel öğeler ile ilişkisinin ortaya çıkarılabilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Neo-Oryantalizm'in görsel ve söylemsel öğeler ile ilişkisinin ortaya çıkarılabilmesi için, John Fiske'nin semiyotik yaklaşım ile oluşturduğu ve "*The Codes of Television*" (2001) olarak adlandırdığı üç aşamalı çerçeve kullanılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Oryantalizm, Neo-Oryantalizm, Militarizm, Dijital Oyunlar, Öteki'nin Temsili



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1 INTRODUCTION

The concept “Orientalism”, defined as a branch of science that explores and investigates the East, is derived from the word “Orient” (“Online Etymology Dictionary”, n.d.)¹, which means “East, where the Sun rises”. However, this situation brings to mind the questions like why “Orientalism” was taken as an area of research and inspection of ‘East’ and by whom the researches have been done and what their purposes were. Therefore ‘East’, getting ahead of its geographical meaning, brings along the impression of its being imagery which is formed at the end of a construction and fiction process. From this point of view, it can be concluded that the notions of East and West represent not only geographic regions but also being the concepts, which include cultural, social, political and economic parameters. In other words, when the names East or West are given, there come out the boundaries drawn by imageries formed in the minds rather than the geographical features. But in this dualism, the West, which has been centering itself for years, as Edward W. Said outlined his work in “Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient” (2013)², has been reconstructing East, which it has established dominance over on the military and political platform, and is creating a definition of ‘West’ and ‘East’ by drawing a border based on ‘differences’ between East and itself through the features that it has attributed to East. Said (2013) focuses on the 18th and the 19th centuries which he takes roughly as the beginning date of Orientalism during when the colonialist

¹ In Latin *orientem* (nominative *oriens*) (“Online Etymology Dictionary”, n.d.).

² This study, which was first published in 1978, has some other editions in the advancing years. In this study, the edition of Said Edward W.’s “Orientalism The understanding of West”, translator: Berna Ülner, İstanbul: Metis Publications” (2013) ‘ is being used.

policies increase and the Orientalism understanding of British and French³ which used to be the two great empires in that period, and the Orientalism understanding of America after World War II. Within this context, Said (2013) examines various British and French writers and politicians and their literary and political texts and dwells on the discourse 'East', which were produced through these texts.

Said's (2013) conceptualization of Orientalism, which he used for defining the approach of West's towards East is also effective on the appearance of different approaches of "Orientalism".⁴ The concept of Neo-Orientalism, which forms the theoretical framework of this study, though not being in Said's work, also owes its theoretical ground to Orientalism. The attacks made simultaneously in the Pentagon and Washington on 11th September 2001⁵ have been building up the turning point of Neo-Orientalism -which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters of the study- which can be seen as a change over from the understanding of imperial/colonial paradigm and Cold War paradigm to War on Terror and Clash of Civilizations paradigm (Kerboua, 2016, p. 21).

When compared to the past, it is observed that the imperial and colonial domination of West on East still continues and that the cultural and ideological means that enable the creation of imagery of 'East' have gained diversity, today. Alongside the literary products such as travel writings, novels, poems and the art forms like painting and music, together with the digital technologies, popular media texts (film,

³ The understanding of Orientalism belonging to British and French, which Said (2013) mentioned in his study is called as "Early Orientalism" (Kerboua, 2016) in some studies. In the continuation of this study, the understanding of Orientalism, belonging to British and French, will be named as "Classical Orientalism".

⁴ See: <http://www.orientalismstudies.com/post.php?pid=2#O>

⁵ It will be shortened as 9/11 in the continuation of the study.

music, digital games) mediate the production of Orientalist and Neo-Orientalist discourse.

By means of digital technologies and communication tools, all kinds of information are easily and quickly produced, published and distributed. However, this situation makes the objectivity of information questionable, but it is important to know by whom the information was produced and targeted whom. Together with economic and technological power, West and Western perspective, which are in the position of political authority, is also being reflected to media contents; all kinds of media texts as films, music, and digital games reflect the West's political socialization, cultural and ideological structure. In other words, media serves the aims and objectives of the West, the owner of the means of production, and provides the information it produces to reach all parts of the world. This power of the Western media came out effectively after the simultaneous attacks on the Pentagon and Washington in 9/11. As Spigel stated, while 9/11 informing people about the new means of communication in the frame of rapidly changing media (2004, p. 260), media texts function effectively on the subject of the relationship between 9/11 I-Other. Together with the increase of Hollywood-made war films, the images of nationalism and heroism are presented to the consumption of masses by means of popular culture products like music and toys. This situation, on the other hand, builds up a factor against West's images of heroism and patriotism, to reprise with the look towards Other and to experience this process more intensively.

In this context, digital games should not be considered as independent from the political, social, cultural and economic structure, either. How the mass media, just as it was in the past, is being used to influence the thoughts of the audience and to do this in a narrative through the use of fictional texts, digital games are also influenced

by the period and conditions in which they exist. As stated by Huntemann, a creative expression tool and an increasingly widespread format -such as films, television, novel, art, and music- digital games also contribute to defining and reflecting the subject and interests of a culture (Huntemann, 2009, p. 310). In this context, digital games as a media text are the producers of meanings and the carrier of culture and ideologies.

Discourses pertaining the Other in the media are produced, distributed and circulated more easily than ever by means of technology. This study has aims like presenting a wide perspective on digital games; showing that military war games (military shooter games) provide an opportunity for the consolidation of war culture and its discourse; bringing out the relationship between digital war games with Neo-Orientalism and West; showing that the digital games serve to impose and legitimize Neo-Orientalist discourse under the shadow of war and conflict fact; showing that 'Other', over the discourses about 'Other', being who and what it is, has been reproduced according to the political agendas of the dominant powers. For these purposes, the following research questions are being formed:

R.Q. 1: What kind of relationship is there between digital war games and Neo-Orientalism?

R.Q. 2: How are the effects of the spreading of military culture together with the campaign War on Terror in the West after 9/11 and the reflection of the Other encoded as an enemy through Neo-Orientalism in digital games happened to be?

R.Q. 3: How is Other in the Neo-Orientalist narrative of the digital games and the media contents based on war culture and conflict being built up and how is this discourse being supported and conveyed by means of visual elements?

Within the framework of these questions, the USA based digital game developer, publisher and distributor company Electronic Arts, Medal of Honor (2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) and Battlefield (2011) games have been chosen as the samples of the study. In order to reveal the relationship between Neo-Orientalism and visual and discursive elements in these games, which are of the type of MFPS (Military First-Person Shooter), John Fiske's three-stage frame that he formed with a semiotic approach and called "The Codes of Television" (2001) is used. Within this framework, which is composed of codes such as Reality, Representation, and Ideology, it is aimed to examine the role of codes in games in the process of meaning creation and to reveal the intricate relationship between visual and technical elements and ideologies.

1.1 A Brief Overview of Digital Game Studies

Although the main subject of this thesis is not the history of digital game studies, it is needed to be mentioned briefly for understanding the historical background of the relationship between these games' narratives and the political agendas of the countries in cultural production centers and how Other, forming the focal point of research questions, was constituted. The tendency to digital game studies, though having gained a big momentum since the beginning of the 2000s, its history dates back to old times. As it is difficult to mention a certain date about the beginning of these studies, according to Mayra, it is difficult to make a certain definition for game-studies, but a simple definition can be made in general: "Game studies is a multidisciplinary field of study and learning with games and related phenomena as its subject matter" (2008, p. 6).

Although it is needed to keep the game studies limited with "digital" games due to the scope of the study, it is possible to extend the digital game studies whose

foundation is formed by traditional games to the beginning of 20. century. When the historical background is considered, it is seen that the game studies took place in other disciplines at the beginning of the 20th century. Game studies, being academic in fact, has been taking place in the disciplines, especially like history and ethnography for a long time. Studies like *Games of The North American Indians* published in 1907 by Ethnographer Stewart Culin, who was a classical name in the field and *History of Chess* published by English Harold James Ruthven Murray in 1913, are still useful and impressive (Mayra, 2008, pp. 6-7). Egenfeldt-Nielsen et. al, draws an extensive frame regarding the subject of game studies. Accordingly, there are two groups making researches in a wide framework on the same subject. The researchers, owning conferences and magazines of theirs and called “Simulation community”, in the first group, while focusing on all the forms of simulation, like non-electronic Sumerian game in which the players have gained information about Mesopotamia of 3500s (B.C) from 1961, have continuously been studying digital games at the same time. The second and newer digital game studies group that came out around 2000 revolve around Digital Games Research Association (DIGRA) and the magazines like, “Game Studies” and “Game and Culture”. The communication and collaboration between these two groups have been limited, so far (Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Smith, & Tosca, 2008, p. 11).

In the group of digital game studies, two types of the general approach, being Formalist and Situationist, can be defined. Formalist Group, having the tendency of game analysis and using ontological analysis, represents a humanist approach to media and focuses on philosophical questions related to the works themselves or the nature of them or their usage. A formalist group within itself is divided in two; one as being symbolic and the other as prioritizing rules, and these groups are sometimes

called narratologists and ludologists. These two groups, within the field of digital game studies, have prompted the most intensive paradigm conflict of the field (Egenfeldt-Nielsen et. al., 2008, p. 11). Considering these two groups the first group of narratologists can be defined based on the combination of words narrative and narration, emphasizing narration; while ludologists, according to Kerr (2006, p. 29), depending on a pre-existing narrative theory and other media analysis, ludologists take inspiration from a pre-existing heritage in non-digital game and games. In the second approach, the Situationist group is generally interested in players in detail or culture. While making the research about general events and rules slightly, they look into the definitions of specific events and social applications more closely (Egenfeldt-Nielsen et. al., 2008, p. 11).

In recent years, digital game studies are gaining momentum and many academics and scientists from different disciplines⁶ show great interest to this field. Alongside the publication of many articles, master's and doctoral dissertations, there are academic research institutes⁷ specialized in the field, also symposia and conferences⁸ about digital games being held and periodic publications come out in collaboration with them. According to Mayra, who underlines that there are so many factors affecting the game studies for becoming so popular, one of the most obvious

⁶ Perron and Wolf, in their digital game studies, put different fields and disciplines in order in detail in their book *The Video Game Theory Reader 2* as: “Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics, Artificial Intelligence, Business/Industry (includes Marketing), Communication Theory, Computer Graphics, Computer Programming, Cultural Studies, Design, Economics, Education, Ethnography, Film Studies, Game Theory, Gender Studies (includes Feminism), Genre Studies, History, Human-Computer Interaction, Interdisciplinary Studies, Law, Literary Theory, Ludology, Media Ecology, Medicine, Methodology, Narratology, New Media (includes Interactivity), Phenomenology, Philosophy (includes Morality and Ethics), Politics, Psychoanalysis, Psychology (includes Cognition, Emotion, and Pleasure), Reception Theory, Semiotics, Sociology, Subcreation Studies, Television Studies, and Theater and Performance Studies” (2008, p. 331).

⁷ See: Digital Games Research Associations (DIGRA), 2003; Game Studies, 2001; International Computer Games Associations, 2011; The Journal of Game Criticism, 2012).

⁸ See: (DIGRA, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; Digital Games Conference, 2019).

reason is the popularity of the games (2008, p. 4). Many researchers from different fields and disciplines are examining digital games with different approaches.

According to Latorre, digital games, following traditional cultural studies examine the cultural studies in two basic research fields: While the first one is the representation and social discourse studies related to the transfer of ideological values in popular video games; gender discourses; strengthening of social stereotypes or the deviation from them, and being the questions about race, multiculturalism, and immigration, the second field is the studies on the profiles of specific sociocultural players with 'active' reception types. (2015, p. 418)

To sum up, the studies on digital games started to gain pace at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. Since the early days of the research in the field this scholarly area has become to be known as the game studies. A good portion of such studies focused on the digital war games and tackled the issue from different perspectives. From the pioneer works in this academic field to today's growing number of academic interest, these studies can be sub-grouped under two main categories based on their subjects, and within these subjects methods, approaches, and/or findings. Due to the wide range/scope of study in the field, research and studies included in this study have been limited to military shooter games. The classification of the studies in this field has been made considering the themes and methodologies within each theme.

Studies take place in the first group processing historical events (like World War I or World War II, The Vietnam War), focus on how the history in digital games is represented and examine its relation with the process of memory construction (Hess, 2007; Chapman, 2016; Sterczewski, 2016; Pöttsch and Sisler, 2019). Just like in the movies, digital games are also based on a fictional narrative structure and

depend on real events. While some war games, being developed today, are dealing with the events that took place in the past, like World War I and World War II, Vietnam War, The Cold War, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and transferring them by means of games; the themes of some games are being built on the wars in the near future. Hess (2007), being one of the researchers examining the games based on these themes, focused on *Medal of Honor: Rising Sun* (a World War II-themed game) and used the method of narrative and ludologic criticism. According to Hess, interactive social memory is being built by the game and the player, not only being aware of the history but also becomes a part of the newly reconstructed history (2007, p. 353). Hess, at the same time, mentions that the war games have tried to create an experimental history and placed the player in the war instead of the players' being witnesses from the sight of the camera (2007, p. 354).

The second group of academic works focus on the dominant ideology in the war-themed digital games and the forms of representation. As in other popular media texts, digital games are also not independent from the meanings they involve directly or indirectly, there being produced and designed, and the political, cultural, economic and social structures and developments of the period they belong. The digital games founded on fictional narration, while transmitting messages to the viewers and players consciously or unconsciously, they affect their thoughts as well. Because of this; digital games, while consolidating nationalist ideology by forefronting the patriotic feelings and images of victory (Nie, 2012; Jankowski, 2017, Schulzke, 2017), they play an important role in the production of the dominant ideology, at the same time.

Research made on war-themed digital games, as being a product of popular culture, reproducing militaristic ideology and forming societies around the war culture can also be included in this group. In association with this, there are basic

names and studies that examine the collaboration between the entertainment industry and government-army (Herz, 1997; Lenoir, 2000; Lenoir and Lowood, 2003; Derian, 2009; Stahl, 2010; Huntemann and Payne, 2009; Turse, 2008). Among these studies, the interaction and collaboration of army-entertainment industry, popular cultural productions like cinema -being more detailed- television, toys and the close relation with army-government, are being examined under these concepts; “Military-Entertainment Complex (MEC)” (Herz, 1997; Lenoir, 2000; Lenoir and Lowood, 2005); “Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network (MIME-NET)” (Derian, 2009); “Militainment” (Stahl, 2010). So much so that, digital war games, while providing an opportunity for shaping the communities around war culture and allowing these discourses to be forwarded to them, they also serve the army and the government on the purposes like military training and personnel recruitment. For example, the game series mentioned as America’s Army (AA),⁹ developed by the American Army, serve for purposes like military training and recruitment. Because of this, some studies (Stahl, 2006; Power, 2007; Andersen and Kurti, 2009) with the game AA, focus on the relation between militarism, entertainment industry, army, and the government.

Likewise, these studies, there are others made in the frame of “*Global War on Terror*” campaign, which had formed the political agenda after the simultaneous attacks that took place in New York and Pentagon in 9/11. *Global War on Terror*, which was declared by the Bush administration after 9/11, resulting in being the cause of the transformation of media contents and configuration of digital games’ contents in this context. 9/11 events constitute an important period, from the American

⁹ America's Army, firstly released as *America's Army: Operations*, in 2002, and the continuation of the series has been developed in 2003 (AA: Special Forces), 2005 (AA: Rise of a Soldier), 2009 (AA 3.0) ve 2015 (AA: Proving Grounds).

political point of view. This event, being the cause of the effects on economic and cultural dimensions, induced the change of the focus point of media and entertainment industries and the re-organization of media contents. In this period, the relation between media and the government shows itself in a particular direction of condensation on the enemy, coded as 'Other' and the media contents (like news, film, music and digital game). Alongside with the axial slip of the focus point of popular culture productions like film, music, and toys to war culture axis, the contents of these productions also lead to coding nationalistic, patriotic and the enemy as Other. Digital games are also affected by this agenda as a popular culture production. In this context, there come out the studies focusing on the relationship between *War on Terror* in the digital game literature and war-themed digital games. In relation to this the sub-group, which can be included in the second studies, are the studies which focus on, from the perspective of Orientalism (Said, 2013), the representation of¹⁰ and examine the war games, being connected with 9/11. Orientalism (2013), which Said dealt with as a cultural tool that serves the imperial/colonial purposes of West on East, is a form of discourse based on the assumption of 'East's being different from West and being reconstructed as 'Other'. Digital game studies in this context draw a general frame on how the games in the West approach to East and how Other is represented in the games. These studies, together with being handled with aforementioned war culture and on the axis of the relation between the entertainment industry and army, their critical outlooks turned towards the production of new orientalist discourse by the

¹⁰ Other digital games as being a popular media text also forms a field in which the representations like race, ethnicity, gender, age, nationality take place, the stereotypes being reproduced and reinforced. When viewing the studies on this subject, there are the ones made with critical perspectives, researching the representations of gender and race in digital games. Associated with this, when the studies made on 'representation' in digital games are considered, the following ones are the those which focuses on the representation of 'race' and being based on post/colonial perspective the studies (Chan, 2005; Kirkland, 2005; Geysler and Tshabalala, 2011; Mukherjee, 2018); studies, focusing on gender (Fisher, 2015; Perreault et al., 2018). Likewise, these studies, also involve the ones which focus on the genres apart from the war-themed digital games.

texts of digital games. Some of these studies (Höglund, 2008; Zwieten, 2011) are setting up their theoretical frames on the concept of “Neo-Orientalism”, and discussing the representation of Middle East, Arabs and Muslims in digital war games after 9/11. This is the process of the reproduction of the enemy, namely ‘East’, that evolved after the paradigm process of Neo-Orientalism¹¹ *War on Terror*, which is used by some academics, staying connected with Said’s concept (Sadowski, 1993; Tuastad, 2003; Ali and Behdad, 2010; Samiei, 2010; Altwaiji, 2014; Al-Zo’by, 2015; Kerboua, 2016). Adhering to this theoretical background, in the study made by Höglund (2008) which examines the four American-made games like America’s Army, Kuma\War, Close Combat: First to Fight, and Full Spectrum Warrior: Ten Hammers, the concepts of War on Terror, Military Entertainment Complex and Neo-Orientalism are being discussed. Höglund (2008), who underlines the fact that digital games, alongside being an entertainment element, are also an important part of manufacturing consent, explains this with “American Neo-Orientalism” (2008), staying connected to the concept, American Orientalism (McAlister, 2001). Höglund (2008, p. 9) American Neo-Orientalist discourse mentions that there is a direct connecting link between economy, America’s military applications, and entertainment industry. In addition, Höglund has states that “[t]he military shooter is especially concerned with dramatizing the necessity of continuous military violence in the Middle East by describing this space as a site for perpetual war” (2008, p. 13).

In another study conducted similarly, Zwieten (2011) discusses Medal of Honor which is a first-person shooter game, in the axis of concepts of “the military-entertainment complex” and Neo-Orientalism. Zwieten (2011) has concluded that the depiction and the elements of the army such as weapons, vehicles, and usage of

¹¹ In some studies (Amin-Khan, 2012), it is mentioned as “New Orientalism”.

military language are realistic and that these make the players believe in their being real. From the point of Neo-Orientalism view, Afghanistan and the population in the region are shown as terrorists, and there comes out the distinctions, like ‘Us’ and ‘Them/Other’, ‘Good’ and ‘Bad’. Within the similar point of view, there are some other studies, focusing on the representation of Muslims and Arabs in American games specific to the Middle East; (Shabankareh et al.,2015); Arab made games (Courmont and Clement, 2014); American and Arab made games (Sisler, 2014; Saber and Webber, 2017). In these studies, methodologies like semiotic analysis (Shabankareh et al., 2015); content analysis (Sisler, 2008; Courmont and Clement, 2014) and discourse analysis (Saber and Webber, 2017) have been used.¹²

As it is seen, the collaboration and interaction on the axis of government and army, and entertainment industry are explained with different concepts by different academics. In short, while being supported by the government, the popular culture productions, like film, music, toy and digital game, reproducing war culture, they also serve ‘ideological’ purposes in line with political agendas of the countries in the center of cultural production.

Alongside these researches, there are studies carried out in the scope of the master and doctoral thesis (Sherrick, 2009; Coronel, 2010; Shaw, 2010; Lin, 2012; Susca,2012). When examining the studies related with war-themed digital games in Turkey, it is appointed that they are; the master’s thesis made in the context of war games and ideology (Dönmez, 2012), and the master’s thesis based on the concept “Orientalism” (Abdullayeva, 2018). Dönmez (2012), in his study, has examined three different first-person shooter game and tried to discover the links between these

¹² Apart from these studies, which are focusing on Western-made games, developed with Western perspective, there are also studies, which focus on the games developed by the ones represented as Other (Shaw, 2010; Hensley, 2014; Schulzke, 2014).

games and ideology. Dönmez, who has examined the games, like Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 3, Battlefield 3, and Medal of Honor based on Lars Konzack's (2002) methodology, having seven layers (hardware, program code, functionality, gameplay, meaning, referentiality and socio-culture), has reached the conclusion that the three games have involved motifs, reinforcing the dominant ideology similar to each other (2012). It is seen that the studies are limited. In the study by Abdullayeva (2018), it has dwelled on Islamophobic discourse and how the imagery of Muslim and Arab is represented in the games, Guitar Hero-3, Resident Evil, Counter-Strike, Serious Sam, Clive Barkers Undying, Ayo Dance, Muslim Massacre and Call of Duty. In this context, it is concluded that the identity of Other is constituted as a terrorist, barbarous and illiterate (Abdullayeva, 2018, p. 46) in the study done with "visual rhetoric" analysis method.

When the studies were done in Turkey are examined, it is seen that the studies, examining the war-themed digital games based on the concept linked to creative "Orientalism" (Said, 2013), are fairly limited. When the studies about Orientalism and the representation of Middle East after 9/11 are considered, it is appointed that they focus on Orientalist representations in Hollywood Cinemas, (Rock,2010; Constructor, 2004; Erkan, 2008; Bozyer, 2012; Güngör, 2011; Alca, 2016); to Orientalism in Turkish Cinema, (Kaya, 2010; Sürmeli, 2017); Photos and to Orientalism (Hepdinçler, 2006; Vargı, 2010). This study focuses on the relationship between war-themed digital games (Military Shooter Games) and Neo-Orientalism, and how the elements of Neo-Orientalism are represented in narrative structure and in visual images of the games. The subject of the study, following the perspective of Cultural Studies, focuses on the transfer of ideology in popular media texts and the representation of Other, and it is included in the first group of the classification made

by Latorre, above. In this context, while examining Medal of Honor (2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) and Battlefield (2011) games, John Fiske's three-stage frame which he formed with a semiotic approach and called "*The Codes of Television*" (2001) is used.

This study has purposes like fulfilling the lack of studies made in this field and making a contribution to academic knowledge and importance. Furthermore, the other researches on this subject, developing the new versions of the games, being examined in the context of a research or the discovery of different games, also brings out the need for reviewing the results in the games depending on time and developments. Alongside this, while other studies in this field depending on the extend are being the ones done in 'West', this study, being made by a scientist in Turkey, which is seen as a Middle Eastern or a developing country by 'West', has importance.

In this part of the study, by drawing a general frame for the studies on digital games, the literature related to the theoretical framework of the study has been examined under two categories. In the second part of the study, after referring to the definition of the concept "Orientalism" and its short history, different approaches to "Orientalism" will be discussed. Later on, by referring to Said's -who has formed the theoretical frame of this study- Orientalism, the present situation of the concept will be examined. At the same time, mentioning the paradigm shift of Orientalism, the concept of Orientalism will be discussed. Under the last topic of this part, discussing the link between Orientalism and 'Other', emphasizing how the identity of 'Other' and stereotypes are put into circulation by mediation and the representation of 'Other' will be examined.

In the third part of the study, the history of digital games will be briefly examined by mentioning the concepts of the game and digital games. Later on, the present situation of the game industry and its place in the economy will be mentioned. After briefly referring to genres of digital games, the first-person shooter and the third-person shooter games will be examined in detail in the context of “military shooter games” which are in the scope of the study. At the end of the third part, the relationship and the reflection of the period of military operation “War on Terror”, which was started by the Bush Government after 9/11 events and Neo-Orientalism's coming out as a result of its reflection, digital games, military culture, and entertainment industry will be examined.

2 ORIENTALISM

2.1 Definitions of Orientalism

In order to indicate directions in daily life, geographic terms like East-West, North-South are often used. However, these words, carrying geographical meanings at first glance, gain secondary meanings together with political, cultural, social and economic processes. From this perspective, the notion of East and West come into prominence as immanent ideology concepts, beyond being geographical terms. In other words, these concepts, frequently used in everyday language, beyond the borders drawn on a map, point out political, cultural, social and economic differentiation. In this way, West or East becomes the bearer of certain imageries by getting ahead of the basic geographical meaning, and the Western-Eastern nomenclature, besides the geographical regions where people belong to or live, brings along the thought patterns that belongs, or rather that determined for those regions. In this respect, the notions of East-West, whose boundaries are drawn in minds, point to

the whole of representations based on contrariness that divides the world into binary poles, beyond being neutral geographical concepts. In this dualism, it is questionable where the central point separating East-West is, which countries are located in the East, which are located in the West and whether these two poles determined according to the geographic features or different parameters.

Today, when it is called West, there comes the geographical regions like West European countries and North America to mind. The ones staying out of these countries in the case are called East. Such that, although being in the west of the USA, China and India are accepted as being in the East of the world (Keyman at al., 1996, p. 7). Although being on the same meridian with a good deal of European countries - like Morocco being in the west according to many European countries - African and Middle Eastern countries are categorized as East. This information that points out the existence of the paradoxical situation, the regions called West or East, beyond being determined geographically, show that their 'development' (with its meaning here, it defines the technological, economic, cultural and political position of theirs) levels are taken as reference. Likewise, this makes it possible for the countries called as 'Western', alongside their being categorized together with the adjectives like 'developed', to be ascribed features like 'modern', 'contemporary', 'freedom', 'equality', 'novelty'. 'East', which is on the other end of this antagonism in case, is labeled with the opposite adjectives of these features. When the contradictory situation is considered again, it is revealed that this categorization and the attributed features are a fiction which is formed beyond the geographic features. Who attributes these features to West and East? It shows that beyond the borders drawn on the map, there is an East imagery created in minds and these imageries are constructed by central powers that position themselves as West. As Clifford states, when we talk

about West today, we are pointing out a technological, economic and political power that spreads out from generally discrete geography or cultural center through complex ways (2010, p.153). This power that positions itself as the norm, creates an "East" image, which it defines through its own presence. As it is seen, Western countries like North American and West European countries positioning themselves in the center of forming the geographical borders, create their own East.

The subjects of how the mental design processes, which go beyond the geographic elements, are created by West, how West structured East culturally and what kind of a picture of 'East' it had drawn, included in the borders of the "Orientalism" concept. The conceptualism of "Orientalism", which takes part in Edward W. Said's work *Orientalism Western Conceptions of the Orient* (2013) and forms the conceptual and theoretical framework of this study, critically reads how West imagines East and how East is structured by West. It forms the framework of making the hegemony of West permanent due to West's dominance gained over East and the contribution of "Orientalism" to this situation. Before moving to Edward Said's analysis of Orientalism, it is important to briefly mention about the concept's etymological and historical background in order to understand the arrival point of it.

When the etymological origin of the concept of "Orientalism" considered, the word "Orient" meaning "East"¹³ in old French corresponds to the word "Orientem" in Latin meaning "East" or "the place where the sun comes up and rises" ("Online Etymology Dictionary", n.d.). In this context, it is seen that the geographical characteristics of the East, corresponding to the etymological origin of the concept, are at the forefront. When the dictionary meaning of Orientalism examined, it is seen

¹³ In the source taken as reference, the place called 'East' is meant to be the Middle East with its present meaning.

that the concept has a more cultural expression than that of its coming out from the root “Orient” and having the meaning “the place where the sun rises”. According to the definition of the Oxford English Dictionary in 1971, Orientalism corresponds to a concept which refers to 18th and 19th century's orientalist studies and scientists who are specialized in Eastern languages and literature; in general, that concept is used for defining the character, style and the structure of the world of art which became identical with Eastern communities (Macfie, 2002, p.3). Orientalism, derived from the root “Orient”, is the discipline that examines ‘East’ and ‘Eastern’ (Bulut, 2017, p. 1).

Although there is no certain information about the beginning date of Orientalism which can be identified as the way or system of thinking about ‘East’ or the method of expressing East in short, there are different opinions about the subject. While it was accepted that Orientalism had started officially with the decision about establishing the departments of Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac at the universities like Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon and Salamanca taken by the Church Council's summit of Christian West in Vienna in 1312 (Said, 2003, p. 59), Zakzük thinks that this situation points out to the “Church Orientalism” and that it is evidence that unofficial Orientalism had existed long before that date (1993, p. 8). Besides, while there are researchers thinking that Orientalism dates back to the beginning of 11th century, there are also others like Rudi Paret, who dates it back on 12th century, during which the studies made in Europe about the Arab and Islamic world, Kur'an being translated into Latin for the first time and the Latin-Arabic Dictionary's coming out for the first time, take place (as cited in Zakzük, 1993, p. 9). However, the aim of this study is not examining the interaction of Orientalism's history within the historical process, from the point of view by taking the East-West distinction. Likewise, as Hentsch (2008, p. 24) points out, this opposition between East and West

is not the same age, no matter from which era it was started. In other words, neither East nor West have begun the development process in the historical process at the same time and they did not exist at the same time. In this study, the history of Orientalism, together with the term which Said took it as the starting point roughly at the end of 18. century (2013, p. 13), is taken as the term, namely when the colonialist/colonial policies of Europe are on the rise and the works of Orientalism develops accordingly.

In the process of Orientalism's emergence and spreading as a discipline, alongside the trips made on the purpose of curiosity and collecting information, and the researches of language, there are other factors. Turner, who points out the factors like competition and military power as causes of facilitating Orientalism's development and providing the impetus for it, emphasizes that the knowledge on East cannot be thought separately from Europe's spreading in the Middle East and Asia due to these reasons (2002, p. 67). Therefore, the relationship between Orientalism and colonial/colonialist policies gain importance.

The term in which Orientalism's development accelerated corresponds to the term when Europe's colonialism summit. In this context, as Rodinson points out, the detailed spread of the works of Orientalism in Europe took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1991, pp. 67-68). According to Said (2013, p. 52), who indicates that Napoleon's Egyptian invasion in 1798 is the beginning of the processes which dominate the cultural and political viewpoint that is being held today, while West's gaining land in the East increases, the Westerners' making discoveries to East becomes urgent (2013, p. 235). As associated with this, in the period when colonial/colonialist policies are intensified, interest in Orientalism increased and

various attempts were made to carry out studies in this field.¹⁴ In light of this information, it can be concluded that there is an important relationship between Orientalism and imperial/colonial policies and that they feed each other. While the policies of the conquest were being justified by means of the produced knowledge on East, as Konty stated, Orientalists researched comfortably in the places occupied by the colonialist armies (2005, p. 133). In short, while the Orientalists and Orientalism's works serving the colonial empires, they have started to function as the cultural weapons of the policies of ruling over East.

As there are different opinions about the beginning date of Orientalism, there are those who define Orientalism in different ways and who also attribute different meanings to the concept. For example, there take place the names like John M. MacKenzie and Bernard Lewis, who affirm the dominant meaning and position of the concept. MacKenzie, being one of these names who have developed criticisms about Said's Orientalism, examines the relationship between art, design, architecture, music, theater, and Orientalism, and focuses on East's approaches to these areas that will provide inspiration and ideas to the West (1995). MacKenzie, who thinks that the meaning of Orientalism has changed in the last twenty years and being the one attributing positive meanings to the concept, mentions that the word has an exactly sympathetic meaning in original and considers Orientalism as an examination of languages, literatures, religions, thoughts, art and social life, in order to preserve them from the West's arrogance and present them to West. (1995, p. xii). In addition to this,

¹⁴ In England, in 1784 Asiatic Society, and in 1823 Royal Asiatic Society was established; in France, Institut d'Egypte and Societe Asiatique were founded in 1821 under the leadership of Napoleon, and after them, the first Orientalist institute is established in Germany, in 1845. Through the agency of these institutions, the information belonging to East, researches of philology and the mastery of Eastern languages are developed and have been institutionalized (Rodinson, 1991, pp. 67-68). While the concept of Orientalism emerged first in England in 1779, it has started to be used in France in 1799. Later on, the concept entered in the dictionary of French Language Academy in 1838 (Rodinson, 1991, p. 57).

MacKenzie (1995, p. xiii) states that Orientalism, at the same time, has a meaning which involves the painting type led by the French in 19th century, that takes Middle East and North Africa as a subject and developed by British and a few European countries' artists. The important point here is that, whether within the frame of sense of art or for other purposes, the definition of McKenzie is away from the critical point of view, and his comments feature argument regarding concept's innocence.

Alongside this, MacKenzie, who has indicated that the concept has gained a different dimension together with Edward Said, and that Orientalism has not become a structure that represents reality, but a symbol of the ruler's weapon and its dominance, states that Orientalism has lost its "sympathetic" meaning as an icon of academic worship for different and exotic cultures, that Orientalism is a literary tool for creating it is becoming the literary tools for creating a stereotypical and mystical East and that it has a negative meaning which was new and dominant in the years 1980-1990s (1995, p. xii).

According to Bernard Lewis, owning a similar approach and thinking that the concept has been poisoned through a way of pollution, mentions that the concept of Orientalism had been used in two different meanings in the past. While the first had been used for a group of artists -mostly from West European countries- who have travelled in Middle East and North Africa and depicted their experiences or their dreams in a romantic or pornographic way; the second meaning, which is more widespread, expresses a branch of research field having a different meaning and completely independent from the first one. In the second definition, whose beginning of development dates back to Renaissance in West Europe and known as an academic discipline involving researches on other languages, there were Hellenists reviewing Greeks, Latinists reviewing Latins, Hebrews reviewing Jews and the ones in the first

two groups were named as classicists while the third ones were called as Orientalists (Lewis, 2010, p. 220). After the use of the word Orientalism was abandoned, Lewis, who stated that the concept had been thrown into the dump of the history and that dumps were not safe places, argues that the concept has been converted back on purpose to attack the counter side in arguments and reformed again (2010, p. 224). At this point Lewis, together with criticizing Orientalism's evolution towards its critical meaning states these:

For some years now a hue and cry has been raised against Orientalists in American and to a lesser extent European universities, and the term "Orientalism" has been emptied of its previous content and given an entirely new one— that of unsympathetic or hostile treatment of Oriental peoples. For that matter, even the terms "unsympathetic" and "hostile" have been redefined to mean not supportive of currently fashionable creeds or causes (1982, p. 2).

It is observed that Orientalism, just like Lewis narrates within both of its two meanings, defines East as a field of investigation and learning, both in curiosity and academically. In other words, West, taking East as an object of depiction and research, considers East as a place to be researched and shoulders this issue by itself. Besides, being depicted in a romantic or pornographic manner, East is placed in certain judgement patterns. When the conditions of that term taken into consideration, it is inevitable that the people who have never been to places named as East has created the reality of East through the fantasy produced by artists. East takes place in West in the aspect transferred by Western artists, travelers or researchers.

Describing Orientalism as a discipline which examines 'East' for purposes of curiosity and information gathering, results in neglecting the relationship between the

colonial empires and Orientalism, and the services it provides to them. Therefore, the prevailing definition of Orientalism which describes it as a field of study which focuses on Eastern languages and Eastern sense of art is being legitimized and becoming the prevailing opinion. But the concept has begun to experience changes in time and to express other meanings than its predominant meaning. II. Orientalism, preserved its basic meaning that reflects the character of the Eastern societies, their style and structure until the decolonization period after the WWII (1939-1945), has started to be dealt with different perspectives in twenty years' period after this process (Macfie, 2000, p. 2).

When considering the definition of Oxford online dictionary in 1971, there are scientists who approach and criticize Orientalism for its dominant definition of the concept rather than its meaning, which defines the character, style and structure of East's art world (Macfie, 2002, p. 3). These names see Orientalism as a cultural tool that serves colonialist/ colonial Western powers. One of the names that set out from this approach is Said, who has contributed greatly to the emergence of the critical meaning of Orientalism today and built up the theoretical basis for this study.

Although Said comes first among the names who have brought the critical perspective into Orientalism and formed the theoretical framework of many studies in areas such as Post-Colonial and Cultural Studies today, it is possible to say that there are various studies conducted with a critical perspective before him. In fact, Said states that what he has said about Orientalism had been previously mentioned by the names like Enver Abdel Malek, A.L. Tibawi, Abdullah Laroui, Talal Asad, S. H. Alatas, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Sardar K. M. Pannikar and Romila Thapar, who had experienced the destructive effect of imperialism and colonialism (2016, pp. 72-73) Since the theoretical approach of this study is based on Said's Orientalism conceptualization,

the other names who approach Orientalism from the critical point of view will not be considered in detail.

Abdel-Malek, in his study called *Orientalism in Crisis* in 1963, states that Orientalism is in crisis and says that East, which has been escaped from since 1945, will be the subject of the studies instead of being the object from then on. Malek (2014, pp. 41, 44), who emphasizes that Orientalism serves the colonial empires, claims that together with the end of 19th century a group of socialist states' coming up is being the cause of differentiation in the content of Orientalism and that the traditional methods and tools of Orientalism have been left behind. Therefore Malek evaluates the Orientalist studies according to their methods and tools while dividing them in two as Western European Neo-Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism of Socialist Block (2014, pp. 51-77). What Malek calls Neo-Orientalism, with its meaning in this study, is not a Western perspective that was initiated with reference to the events of 9/11. Malek's approach, instead of this, though gathering the Orientalist studies under the heading of Neo-Orientalism after World War II, separates them from the traditional Orientalist studies and compare them with European colonialist Neo-Orientalism and the Socialist Block's Neo-Orientalism.

Abdul Latif Tibawi, in his study called "English Speaking Orientalists" which was composed of two parts in 1964 and 1979, refers to researchers in Great Britain and North America by using the phrase "English speaking Orientalists". Even if the studies on the subject of Islam conducted by these researchers differed by the accumulation of erudition, he stated that when they and their bibliography are deeply examined they are based on predictions, including speculations, with little or no concrete evidence (2000, p. 62).

In this part of the study, the etymological origin of orientalism, its meaning and different approaches of the concept are given. In the theoretical framework of this study, Edward W. Said's conceptualization of "Orientalism" is being used. Because Said, while supporting the positioning of East as 'Other' against West with the wide research he has made on academic, political and literary texts, reveals the contribution of these texts to Western power established on East and to colonial empires. Said, who has made a radical change in the dominant meaning of Orientalism, takes it as a discourse which legitimize the dominance of West on East. Halliday, who states that Said's study both includes the studies made before him and that it has started a new discussion, reveals the difference of Said's study in this way: "[B]ecause while much of the other work was framed in broadly Marxist terms and was a universalist critique, Said, eschewing materialist analysis, sought to apply literary critical methodology and to offer an analysis specific to something called 'Orient'" (1993, p. 148)

Shortly, the reasons for why Said was chosen among the names who evaluate Orientalism from the critical perspective, there lie the factors like how East was reproduced culturally along with the West's political and economic hegemony on East and how its continuity is being provided; his support by examining it in the political and literary texts and his focusing on the sub-meaning of these texts; while dealing with Orientalism as a discourse by placing Foucault's "knowledge" and "power" notions in the center of his research, and at the same time showing the justification of the West's putting pressure on East by means of hegemony benefitted from Gramsci's "Hegemony". At the same time, Said's approach is being a guide for the discovery that not only media texts such as novels, poems, but also various media texts such as films, music, and digital games produce a discourse of 'East'.

2.2 From Saidian Orientalism to Neo-Orientalism

The “Orientalism” Conceptualization of Said, who has formed a basis for the theoretical frame of many academic studies like postcolonial studies and cultural studies that take place in the literature of Social Sciences, is a critical statement against the dominant vision form, produced through political and economic ways by West on East for centuries. In other words, “Orientalism”, as being an expression of the West’s form of imagining East, is an effective and systematic tool for serving the West’s imperial/colonial purposes. Palestinian origin Said, who defines East in “Orientalism”, keeps it limited within the scope, as the Middle East and Muslims. Said, who has made many definitions of the concept in the frame he drew, as Orientalism, he defines it as “[i]s the generic term that I have been employing to describe the Western approach to the Orient; Orientalism is the discipline by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice” (1995, p. 73).

Said, in his study, mentions about two types of Orientalism, in which he focuses on, in the last three centuries, as the understanding of Orientalism belonging to America after II. World War and the understanding of Orientalism belonging to French and British¹⁵ in the 18th and 19th centuries. Said, who has formed the framework of the two great empires’ - taking place in the same era- experiences of East, focuses on the writers, poets, linguists, and orientalists, who have indited¹⁶ the East on the purposes of interest, collecting information like Victor Hugo, Gérard de Nerval, Silvestre de Sacy, Edward William Lane, Sir William Jones, Louis

¹⁵ Orientalism understanding of the French and the British, which Said (2013) has mentioned in his study, is called “Early Orientalism” (Kerboua, 2016) in some other studies.

¹⁶ Sometimes, though having not ever been in East, there exist writers and portrayers. For example, Gros the French painter, though he has never been in Egypt, has created samples about Eastern landscapes, costumes, and faces (Kömeçoğlu, 2011, p. 46).

Massignon, Alphonse de Lamartine and the depicting, Gustave Flaubert ; and on the politicians, travelers, like François-Rene de Chateaubriand, Lord Balfour, Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon and on their works, after 18th and 19th centuries (2013, p. 52)

The situation that brings the people, writing about East, together on a common point from different areas, is the anthology formed by British and French people. Such that, Said underlines the steps of the first important researches to be taken by British and French and later on, developed by Germans. (2013, p. 27). As a result of this, although Said mentions that West's representing East depends on the literature of classical Greek (2013, p. 77), he basis the starting date of the discipline, as he called "Orientalism", on 18th and 19th centuries. Said's (2013) starting Orientalism, especially with this historical era, arises from the relationship between the understanding of colonialism of British and French-the two great empires of the era-and Orientalism. With this point of view, although the discipline, characterized as "Orientalism" by Said, has a rooted history, it brings out the importance of why Said has dwelled on 18th and 19th centuries and taken this era as reference. Said, calling attention to the relationship between Orientalism and colonialism, mentions that Empires, in the frame of "mission civilizatrice", are unlike the other empires, being private and carrying missions like, enlightenment, civilizing, bringing order and democracy, but appeal to power when there is no other remedy, and that the intellectual staff stabilize the empires (2013, p. v-vi). Orientalists, who undertake the task of legitimation of the imperial discourse with this aspect, contribute to the formation of valid reasons for establishing dominance on East with the information created about East. Convincing the communities by means of produced information and reasons, brings out the cultural contribution of Orientalism and accordingly orientalist to political authority. It is possible to say in this context, West's, taking a

reference through itself, bringing out the shortcomings of East and working on the way of *raising them to its own level* is fed by Orientalist ideas. Thus, Said considers Napoleon's Egypt invasion in 1798 as the beginning of the processes dominating East and West's current cultural and political point of view. Because, according to Said, with Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte* (*Description of Egypt*) has paved the way for West to get information about the other Arab countries after Egypt (2013, p. 52). Hentsch, on the other hand, mentions that the thing beginning with Napoleon's Egypt expedition, is a typically French approach, an allegation of taking freedom and light (2008, p. 176) within the role of savior. Shortly, making East become incapable by means of the information produced by Orientalists, paving the way for the establishment of domination on East, a legitimate base has been prepared.

Said mentions a few things connected to each other with the concept, he called "Orientalism". Said, first of all, defining Orientalism as "something academic", labels everybody without discriminating whether they are anthropologist, sociologist, historian or philologist or people writing or giving lectures or making researches on East, as Orientalist and the work done as "Orientalism" (2013, p. 12). In the second meaning which he thinks that it has a more general signification, Said defines Orientalism as an ontological and epistemological way of thinking between 'East' (mostly) and 'West' and mentions that poets, authors, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators from different fields within the community of writers, while producing ideas, which they put forth about East, novels, descriptions, and theories, consider the difference between East and West as the beginning point. According to Said, in such a way that, this Orientalism can bring Aeschylus and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx together (2013, p. 12). The distinction between East and West at this point shows that there lies the hypothesis of East's being

'different' from West on the basis of all kinds of information produced by these writers from different fields. In other words, the inequality of what is left on the East and what is left on the West of the border, which is drawn on 'differences' between East and West, is emphasized. According to Yeğenoğlu, this distinction is provided by a marking on East's being deprived of sociological features like 'civil society', 'individuality', and 'secondary structures' which are supposed to be owned naturally by West. The societies, being Eastern-or not being Western- in the historical process, are constituted with characterization as 'primitive' or 'back' by being pushed backward. Western subject, as a result of a 'natural' and 'normal' evolution, creates a universal norm, by occupying the empty and abstract position (2003, p. 15). In other words, West, by means of its self-generated information about East, re-fictionalizes East as its opposite. At the same time, while West emphasizes the 'differences' by drawing a border between East and itself, it brings what is left on the West of the border together in a common discourse against those on East: West, having many features like "civilized, advanced, democratic, modern, superior, exceptional" and East, described with the opposite features like "undeveloped, barbarian, lecherous, savage, autocratic". Shortly, East, located against West, lacking the features that West has, is different, it is Other; it is the difference attributed to East by West, on its own act. East is the side out of every positive feature, which it attributes to itself. East in the Orientalist discourse is different from the West in every way; it is seen as a place which is in need to be rescued, underdeveloped, autocratic, exotic and attributed much more negative imagery. It needs to be organized, made a claim to, and be protected. This means East, within the idea of not being self-sufficient, has to come under the wings of West.

The East-West antagonism, formed through ontological and epistemological difference, *diversifies* Orientalism over the image of women. In Orientalist studies, alongside the East's descriptions like, barbarian, autocratic and undeveloped, Eastern sexuality is featured, as well. The approaches related to the Eastern women's sexuality and harem fantasy are often encountered in Orientalist texts, e.g in pictures. Said states that Orientalism is a masculine examining area, and that, just like the other communities of the modern era, it sees itself and the subject through sexist blinders. Especially in the texts of the travelers and novelists, Eastern women are described as an expression of lust, with their stupidity and moreover, with their being willing (2013, p. 220). The representation of Eastern women is not limited to these.¹⁷ But, because the subject of this study is not being Orientalism and sexuality oriented, there won't be a depth analysis on this subject. However, Orientalism, being "a masculine examining area" as Said has emphasized, is important, due to its housing the tips of the relationship between neo-orientalism, militarism, nationalism and first shooter games. In the third meaning, Said, with respect to the other two, gives it the meaning, which qualifies it to be more historical, more tangible:

[O]rientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in

¹⁷ For example, Yeğenoğlu examines Orientalism through the image of women. As for Yeğenoğlu (1996), 'veil' is one of the figures that provides West's infiltrating in the mysteries of East, and entering in Other's inner world on a fantasy level. The most outstanding example of the fantasy related to the fear of Other and its permeation is the obsession of the French Colonization about the veils of women in Algeria (p. 115). As it is seen the veil, getting out of being an object used in everyday life by Eastern women, becomes an icon of sexuality in the Western Orientalist discourse. In other words, the woman turns out to be an object of desire. Again, according to Yeğenoğlu; "Western eye sees the veil in all the items of the Other, sees the veil wherever it looks at." In other words, veil covers and hides every Eastern thing which the Western Subject wants to look at and own one by one; sets up a barrier in front of the western's transparency and the desire of permeation." (1996, pp. 116-117). Shortly the East, being 'here' and though being captured by being described, is still mysterious. This mystery also forms one of the reasons for 'curiosity' related to East. However, this 'curiosity' beyond being a pure and naive curiosity is a tool of the power, that moves for defining and accordingly "subjugating by taming".

short. Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (1995, p. 3).

The attention-grabbing point in this definition, as mentioned above, is the service supplied to the colonial policies by Orientalism. In the third definition of Orientalism, in order to understand what this concept is, Said refers to the “discourse” concept in which, Foucault has defined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Birth of Prison* and explains the reason of his referring to Foucault in this way: “My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively” (1995, p. 3). The bond which Said, who takes Orientalism as a ‘discourse’, has established with Foucault’s discourse concept, is the discourse of East produced by means of the information which the texts, forming Orientalism, have produced about ‘East’, and provided imperial/colonial benefit. Just like Rubin emphasizes, Said who takes “these different articles based on East as a discourse” (2010, pp. 24, 25), embraces Orientalism as a form of discourse that produces power founded on East by West. At this point, mentioning the relationship between Foucault’s (2000, p. 65) discourse, knowledge and power concepts will be more useful to understand the position of Orientalism as a discourse: Foucault explains the relationship between knowledge and power as follows:

We should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any

knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (1995, p. 27).

In the interaction between knowledge and power, it can be said that the one who has the knowledge owns the power and establishes his government, on the other hand, the one who has the power maintains its government by producing knowledge. This situation which Turner emphasizes as “To know is to subordinate” (2003, p. 21), underlines the relationship between knowledge and power. West, by means of having oriental knowledge with the mediation of Orientalists, establishes its power and by means of the power goes on reproducing its knowledge. In other words, Orientalist texts function as the texts that re-produce the language of Western power. In this context, the discourse, produced with the mediation of the texts in Orientalism plays an important role in the legitimation of the West's dominance on East. The knowledge generated by the mediation of texts, and the power that owns, produces and re-constructs it, is not independent from the notion of power. In this sense Said, who examines Orientalism in the context of text-discourse relationship, “The unity of the large ensemble of texts I analyze is due in part to the fact that they frequently refer to each other: Orientalism is after all a system for citing works and authors.” (1995, p. 23). West, being in this conceptualization, mediates the power it has established on East by means of the knowledge, produced by the mediation of texts by western writers, explorers, and politicians.

West, who constructs its power using the knowledge which is produced by these texts, reinforces the dominance it has established on East by the mediation of discourses. In other words, there is a dynamic relationship between knowledge and power that produces and reproduces each other. The more information West has about the East, the more it becomes easier for them to reinforce their imperial and cultural

dominance on East and retain it. The texts which itinerants, travelers, and politicians have produced, ensure the legitimacy of Orientalist discourse. According to Said, “[S]uch texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it” (1995, p. 94).

Based on this, every text that Said examined in *Orientalism* includes a reality fact, and it can be said that the texts, being a reference to each other through long eras, by creating a fact of reality perception, evolve into a discourse/form of discursive completeness. As it is mentioned above Said, who has reviewed the texts created by artists, orientalists, philologists and politicians of East-West dualism, dwells on, with the mediation of these texts, how Eastern knowledge and apprehension is produced. In this context, East shows itself as an intriguing place and an object that it has to be researched. With the mediation of these works,¹⁸ an East image is being created in the mind of West. According to Ali Utku, ‘text’ is not only a static carrier of ‘knowledge’ about the world, on the contrary, it is the creator, guardian, feeder, and mediator of it. At the same time, it abolishes, re-captures, rejects, re-organizes, reflects” (2011, pp. 220-221). The evaluation that Utku makes over the texts in general, when transferred to orientalist texts, it can be said that they are the sum of icons, sounds, and expressions which do not only transfer the knowledge related with East, but also create, protect, feed and transfer, and at the same time, abolish, re-capture, deny, re-organize and reflect this knowledge by the mediation of the dominating West discourse, When viewed from this point the texts, involving Orientalist discourse, move into a reality-carrier position. As it is mentioned, what is being meant by texts is

¹⁸ Works are not limited merely with travel writings, novels, poems or stories. Artists' paintings about the East should also be considered as text.

not only the written ones like, novel, poetry, and travel-writings, but also the contents like, drawing, music, and the ones in 21st. century like, cinema, television, newspaper, digital games carry a text property, one each. Said, who sees East as a supplemental part of the material civilization and culture of Europe, mentions that Orientalism and this part, being a manner of discourse on the platform of culture and ideology alongside the institutions, words, researches, icons, and disciplines, together with the colonial bureaucracy is being reflected (2013, pp. 11-12). Within this context, it is seen that Orientalism has been surrounded by many different discourse mechanisms in the center of an entire structure.

At the point, where this dominance produced with the mediation of texts and the discourse gained continuity Said refers to Gramsci's "Hegemony". Said, who mentions that Hegemony is "an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West" (1995, p. 7), indicates that the thing, which can be called the existing permanency and power saver of Orientalism, is Hegemony (2013, p. 16). Gramsci, by the concept as he called "Hegemony", dividing the superstructure into two layers as civil society and political society or state, the dominance which Hegemony established by means of the ruling class's manufacturing consent on the whole community, and the intellectuals serving this dominance, supplying the manufacturing consent, sees it as the ruling class's power and maintaining the existing order (2000, pp. 39-40). In this context, it is not wrong to put forward that the dominant 'class' -at this point, it must be emphasized that this dominant class is that of Western ruling classes- has realized the legitimating the West's dominance and tyranny on East over "hegemony".

There are similarities as much as differences in the conceptualizations aimed at power, between Foucault and Gramsci, whom Said gave place in the discussion of

Orientalism. Hall explains these similar aspects as:

For Gramsci, as for Foucault, power also involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority, as well as economic constraint and physical coercion. Both would have agreed that power cannot be captured by thinking exclusively in terms of force or coercion: power also seduces, solicits, induces, wins consent. It cannot be thought of in terms of one group having a monopoly of power, simply radiating power downwards on a subordinate group by an exercise of simple domination from above. It includes the dominant and the dominated within its circuits (2003, p. 261).

Rubin, who thinks that Foucault has given Said a tool for defining the relationship between knowledge about East and the power on East, says on the other hand that Gramsci's Hegemony concept, recruits in defining why specific ideas about East, in respect to the others, predominates over (2014, p. 25). As it is mentioned above, the power cannot create itself only by dominating, persuasion and manufacturing consent is an important part of its continuation. And the consent production becomes possible with the sum of all-purpose parts, involving many areas of a complete discourse. Beyond being defined as a simple discourse Orientalism, therefore, within the direction of relationship with the power group, can be produced by every kind of power and is continuously interbedded with it. By means of this, while West is establishing its power with Orientalism called texts and overall discourses, also reinforces its own power through the images, coded as 'East'. In short, West locates itself as a 'norm' and defines East, hardly by comparing with this norm and the existence of East and by the mediation of deficiencies of this existence, just like the construction of 'Self' being in need to an 'Other', West, in fact, needs East for defining and affirming itself. As Keyman et al. emphasize, he foremost

function of discourses like Orientalism, which brings ‘others’ to be an object of knowing and governing, is to establish West and western subject as a union of political, economic and cultural dominating *international norm and center*. (1996, pp. 9-10).

As a result of West’s defining itself as ‘norm’, the notion of ‘East’ is being structured by West. As Said emphasized, “[O]rient is not the Orient as it is, but the Orient as it has been Orientalized. An unbroken arc of knowledge and power connects the European or Western statesman and the Western Orientalists; it forms the rim of the stage containing the Orient” (1995, p. 104). The idea, which is desired to be emphasized, here, is the arrangement of the reality of Eastern descriptions. For this reason, the East has to be a kind of East, which West wants to see and to be fictionalized from the perspective of the West. More clearly, the description of East created by West, in fact, is a phantasy of East, which is created in the minds of the West more than that of East's itself. East is the East in the way West sees it; it is the image of East and Eastern which is formed and created in the minds with its imagined shape by West, and by leaving its idiosyncrasies in the background. As Hentsch (2008) indicates in the preface of his book that there is no East out of our Western minds. Even the West itself is not there. West, with its anti-term, due to the same reasons, is an idea in our midst. But we do not need to define it: It is ourselves” (2008, p. 13). Starting from this point, like being in the concept of Said’s “Imaginative Geography”, ‘East’, apart from being a geographical region, points out a mental design that draws the border between the extent belongs to ‘us’ and the extension belongs to ‘them’ beyond ‘ours’ and composes the differences (2013, p. 64).

The Orientalism understanding, belonging to British and French, transferred up to here, being in relation with colonial/post-colonial policies in the late 18th and

19th centuries, includes the Middle East's (Muslims and Arabs) apprehension. The two big colonial empires, following an expansionist policy in the frame of imperial/colonial paradigm (Kerboua, 2016, p. 10) understanding of the period, left their position to another power. As Said (2013, p. 14) mentioned, East, dominated by England and France from the beginning of 19th. century to II. World War period, passes onto American domination, after II. World War (2013, p. 14). In the American Orientalism period, the scope of the region called East has expanded, especially in the turbulent period after the 1950s, East has always been accepted as the enemy and this enemy has both been defined as traditional East and Russia (Said, 2013, p. 35). In other words, Russia has also been included in American Orientalist discourse's definition of East.

There are significant differences between the Orientalism tradition in the USA and the Classical Orientalism tradition in Europe. According to Said, one of the differences between the understanding of USA Orientalism and the Orientalism understanding of European tradition is that the USA, unlike in the tradition of Europe, does not form its basis on systematic philological research. Because of this reason, 'East' for the USA, like being in Europe, instead of being a comprehensive matter, has become a ruling matter and policy problem. Said, who has emphasized that the USA approaches to East as a social scientist and that, it is impossible to come across any literature writing, mentions that there are very many expertness writings (2013, p. 304) McAlister interprets the American Orientalism understanding as, "a new version of Orientalism, one that revitalizes, in a more subtle form, the insistence that fixed cultural differences must structure the organization of political power" (2001, p. 269). The other difference, as Kerboua expresses, is that, contrarily to European Orientalism's production of knowledge to capture East, American Orientalism is for

protecting the economic and geo-strategic benefits of USA (2016, p. 20). Classical Orientalism's description of 'East' created by scripts like novel, poetry, travel-writing, transfers its role to communication devices in American Orientalism. The means of media, like television and films in the electronicized postmodern world, the standardization of data has been started by reinforcing the clichés about East (Said, 2013, p. 35).

In the historical process, together with the colonial activities, East, from time immemorial, being taken as a knowledge and desire object and the understanding of being described continuously by West can be said that it has stayed unchanged up today and even today, this understanding can be claimed to find itself a large area of discourse. Beginning from the invention of the printing press, reproduction of books and after the industrial revolution process, the information's benefiting from the technological developments, and as a result of this, increasing its access area and the point reached in our era, the possibility of producing knowledge from specific centers and spreading them to large geographies, allow the discourses, being blended with different texts, to be transferred from a lot many channels. The texts in which, these kinds of discourses produced, form references continuously to other texts and the Orientalist discourse by being continuously re-produced, turns into reality and these discourses, with the benefits of new communication tools, pave the way for these kinds of information to be reproduced, faster and more easily. In this regard, within the scope of his study since 18th. and 19th. centuries, Said (2013) has examined the texts produced by writers, artists, travelers and politicians, and the conceptualization area which he called Orientalism, while keeping-up-to-date in 21st. century, experiencing a paradigm change due to political events, it is re-defined as the concept of Neo-Orientalism.

In this part of the study within the framework of Said's conceptualization of Orientalism in connection with colonial policies, Classical Orientalism concept has been examined and, later on, dealt with the features of American Orientalism. The hegemony of West's on East, being continued, and its being continuously produced by means of mass communication in 21st. century, the political, cultural and social effects of Orientalism, which is started to be commemorated with the prefix 'Neo' by some scientists, and the events which affected the emergence of the concept, will be examined under the next heading.

2.3 Conceptualization of Neo-Orientalism

In the conceptualization, which Edward W. Said named as "Orientalism" (2013), the Orientalism understanding of England and France in 18th and 19th centuries and that of USA has been examined under the previous heading. Said's Orientalism, as well as forming a basis for many theoretical discussion, also pioneers different Orientalism understandings.¹⁹ Although the concept of Orientalism is being used together with different prefixes or concepts, releasing of the West's imperial/colonial oppression on the East into circulation through cultural ways and the Orientalism's construction and representation of the East as a discourse- by taking factors in consideration, like variety of media texts in Classical Orientalism, reaching the masses easily by means of technology- goes on more effectively and intensively in 21st century, especially after 9/11. In this context, the concept of "Neo-Orientalism" has been started to be used by researchers (Tuastad, 2003; Ali and Behdad, 2010; Samiei, 2010; Altwaiji, 2014; Kerboua, 2016). Neo-Orientalism, which can be seen as a changeover from the imperial/colonial paradigm of Classical Orientalism and the Cold War paradigm of American Orientalism to paradigm understandings of "War on

¹⁹ For different concepts of Orientalism, see.: <http://www.orientalismstudies.com/post.php?pid=2#O>

Terror” (evolving/slipping into the paradigm of “Clash of Civilizations”) (Kerboua, 2016, p. 25), is the negative representation of the Middle East, Muslims and Arabs in various media texts (such as films, digital games, music and news, in addition to the texts of Classical Orientalism) by the domination of the West on the East and the discourse of Orientalism which supports this domination, depending upon the post 9/11 political agenda of USA. For this reason, “Global War on Terror (GWOT)” campaign which was started by Bush Government after the concurrent attacks in Pentagon and New York on 11th September 2001 is an important turning point in the emergence of Neo-Orientalism.

Although there is a consensus about the beginning of Neo-Orientalist idea being 9/11, the first use of the concept dates back to earlier. Neo-Orientalism, not being in Said’s research scope but basing its ground on Said’s concept, is used in the study “The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate” by Sadowski (1993) for the first time²⁰ in literature. Sadowski states that the theses – which form the main principle of Orientalist thought for years – about Middle Eastern nations being resistant to democratization have brought out the new orientalist generation within the 1980s, and that this generation has carried the relationship between ‘civil society’ and democratization to international debates and enabled themselves to be called by a new word (neo-orientalist). (1993, p.14). In association with this, Sadowski calls the names like Patricia Crone, Daniel Pipes, John Hall, and Ernest Gellner ‘Neo-Orientalist’ and implies that these names have described Islam with their aggressor/pushy and anarchic solidarity (1993, p.19). From this point of view, it can

²⁰ The concept of neo-orientalism was previously used by Abdel-Malek. But, as mentioned earlier, What Malek calls Neo-Orientalism, with its meaning in this study, is not a Western perspective that was initiated with reference to the events of 9/11. Malek’s approach, instead of this, though gathering the Orientalist studies under the heading of Neo-Orientalism after World War II, separates them from the traditional Orientalist studies and compare them with European colonialist Neo-Orientalism and the Socialist Block’s Neo-Orientalism.

be said that Neo-Orientalism is fed by the ontological and epistemological difference in Orientalism, namely, in contrast to the 'democratic' position of West -being specific to Islam and Muslims- East is built on the assumption of being anti-democratic. In this context, observing western think tanks' remarks has importance in assisting the base of Neo-Orientalist thought to be understood in terms of their contribution. For instance, Huntington defends a similar opinion in his study "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" in 1984. He defends the idea, "Among Islamic countries, particularly those in the Middle East, the prospects for democratic development seem low" (p.216). Pipes, whose thoughts against Islam and Muslims have taken place in the issue 1990 of National Review, also points out the following in a similar way: "Muslim countries host the most terrorists and the fewest democracies in the world" (2008). Later on, while excluding Turkey and Pakistan from this evaluation, Pipes emphasizes that East and Middle East -in terms of being specific to West and Muslim countries- is deprived of democracy understanding which West has and detects (2008) As it can be understood from Pipes' thoughts, while West is being positioned as a norm located in the center, East and the Middle East are being examined through West's values and places the idea regarding Islam's being anti-democratic against Western democracy.

The other point that affects this outlook on the Middle East and fuels the debates is Samuel P. Huntington's thesis, "The Clash of Civilizations" (1993). Huntington's thesis (Said, 2001, p. 154), based upon the article "The Roots of Muslim Rage" by Bernard Lewis in 1990, became a current issue with the article "The Clash of Civilizations?" which was published in Foreign Affairs in 1993. Huntington's thesis "Clash of Civilization" advocating the idea "The fight between civilizations will be the final stage in the evolution of the fight in the modern world" (Huntington,

2002, p.22) down below reveals more clearly:

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (1993).

Huntington argues that the main factor which will determine the world order is the culture and that civilizations, shaped in the framework of culture, will be in the decisive position. In a certain sense, Huntington states West as a whole and expresses that the communities do not have many things in common except for not being Western and that they share only a few things among themselves. (Huntington, 2002, pp. 34-35). Huntington's approach, while uniting West on common ground, ontologically categorizes the communities which stay outside through the values of West. Huntington, who states that the world had polarized ideologically during the Cold War period and that the cultural polarization is lacking, thinks that it would be more suitable to label the cultural polarization as "West and Others" instead of East-West (2002, p.35). In this context Huntington, while mentioning seven or eight civilizations such as West, Confucius, Japan, Islam, India, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin America and probably Africa (Huntington, 2002, p. 25), emphasizes that the main conflict at a macro level will take place between the side in which Muslims and Asians take place and West (1996, p.266). Therefore, as Cloud pointed out, according to the thesis Clash of Civilizations, the Clash of Civilizations is "an incontrovertible

conflict with Others, particularly Islamic Others” (2004, p.286). This approach of Huntington confronts the Western and Islamic civilizations by polarizing the world on cultural levels. According to Keyman, who brings criticism to this idea, “The thesis on the conflict between civilizations ignores the genuine lifestyle and the differentiations lived within every civilization supports not the change, but the continuity; not the possibility of living together, but the conflict; not the democratic world order, but the search of a state-centric order that acts on the basis of security phenomenon” (2011, p.20). 9/11 events *intensify* Huntington’s thesis (Kerboua, 2016, p. 25) and as a result of GWOT decisions, posit Islam against West.

The assumption regarding the basis of the Neo-Orientalist look at the Middle East, Muslims and Arabs extend to the period before 9/11 and this look is being reproduced by academia as defining ‘anti-democratic’ Islam as a contrary image of ‘democratic’ West is being produced. Likewise, Neo-Conservative belief -which is originated by Kerboua, Lewis, and Huntington- emphasizes that Neo-Orientalist images directed to Muslims are not only being in the shape of backward and inferior, but the most important thing is that they are related with the elements like violence and threatening (2016, p. 9). For this reason, the Neo-Orientalist thought, whose foundation was laid by academics towards the 2000s, comes into prominence more certainly and intensively with the 9/11 events. In this regard, Altwaiji emphasizes that the hegemony established on East was accepted in general even before the production of Neo-Orientalist discourse, but together with 9/11 attacks and later on, America’s East policy came into question and the Arab world settled in the central location of America’s global hegemony. (2014, p. 321). In this context, the names like Huntington and Pipes have been preparing the base of the Neo-Orientalist ideology towards the Middle East, Muslims, and Arabs before 9/11. In line with these ideas, the

9/11 events -more than being effective in the revival of the concept named Neo-Orientalism- are preparing the debates on Islam and Democracy, whose theoretical base was created before. After 9/11 events, it is seen that the foundations of Neo-Orientalism ideology which can be accepted as situated in the center of USA's agenda as the outlook towards Islam have been started before 9/11. Thus, there are opinions which ground the beginning of Neo-Orientalism on several developments before 9/11. Alzoby, for instance, puts forward the argument about the relations between USA and Muslim world have had a hard change and taken shape due to the cessation of the Cold War and outbreak of the Gulf War in 1991. In this setting, he argues that America's new world order, in the base of culture and Neo-Liberal policies, has switched from "America's mission by example" to "mission by intervention" and advocates that this has revived the Neo-Orientalism doctrine. Samiei, who indicates that the dissolution of SSCB and the collapse of Marxism have dragged West politically into a vacancy, emphasizes that the dualism of West and Islam is being so suitable/convenient for full filling this vacancy (Samiei, 2010, p. 1152). Nişancı, who thinks that the similar Neo-Orientalist idea has its background on the period before 9/11, while emphasizing the Middle East communities before this period wouldn't democratize because of their social infrastructure deficiencies and that the anti-democratic regimes of these communities had already been supported by Westerns, states that this has changed radically after 9/11 and that democratization of Middle East communities, by interiorizing the attitude in the opposite pole, has been turned into a problem (cited in Önal and Baykal, 2011, p.111). According to Keyman, who states that September 11 was the first physical face to face encounter of Islam which is coded as 'Other' after Cold War, this situation creates a dilemma: To consubstantiate September 11 for the USA's foreign policy, which is shaped on the

base of clash of civilizations, with Islam and the Islam with terrorism, will confront the USA with the Islamic world (Keyman, 2011, p.16). For this reason, underlining 9/11 events as an important and a precipitating factor and that it is necessary to evaluate the relationship between the concepts of GWOT and Clash of Civilizations and Neo-Orientalism. Because, together with the decisions taken by GWOT following this period, USA's foreign policy which is shaped in the axis of war after 9/11 and acts produce social results as political, economic, and cultural at the same time.

The degrading of America's political agenda, which was shaped after the attacks made towards New York and concurrently to Pentagon on 11 September 2001, to the Middle East and in this context, the concept of Neo-Orientalism which can be defined as discourses directed to Muslims and Arabs, after these events, *carried* the world order to a new *dimension* by Bush government's starting the "Global War on Terror" (GWOT) campaign. This process is a military struggle that has been started against Al-Qaeda and involving Afghanistan and Iraq wars by Bush Administration after September 11 events (Amadeo, 2019). These events, symbolized as 9/11, reveal the result of re-shaping not only the USA but also the world through economic, social, cultural and foremost political perspective. George W. Bush, who served as the President of USA, in his speech on September 20, 2001, announced their decisions on "War on Terror" in these words: "Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated" (2001). This explanation involves hints of wide-ranging political activities, which will spread to regions and years and take place both in and out of USA rather than being merely a military operation on just one region or against only one group. The global fight against terror affects not only Afghanistan and Iraq but also many countries like Pakistan, Somalia, the Philippines. Therefore, the USA,

alongside its invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, also involves other countries in the campaign of *GWOT*. In accordance with the subject of the study, the USA's decisions in the framework of *GWOT* and the acts will not be mentioned. Likewise, in this process, media has started its persuasion and consent process for USA's rationalizing its acts. While 9/11 creating the public agenda, many explanations related to the subject have been made. For example, Ann Coulter's explanation is as follows:

This is no time to be precious about locating the exact individuals directly involved in this particular terrorist attack.... We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity. We weren't punctilious about locating and punishing only Hitler and his top officers. We carpet-bombed German cities; we killed civilians. That's war. And this is war (as cited in Fair, 2001).

These words of the author contain the discourse of slaughter call and hatred, which tries to rationalize the invasion of East just like in the "civilization mission" that has been previously mentioned about, in Classical Orientalism. Lawrence Eagleburger, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs gives utterance to these words in his declaration to CNN: "There is only one way to begin to deal with people like this, and that is you have to kill some of them even if they are not immediately directly involved in this thing" (as cited in Fair, 2001). So much so that this explanation, more than targeting certain groups, shows how far reaching the definitions of 'we' and 'they' are being held and that even the ones who have no relation directly with violent acts will be affected within the sanctions.

In this process, where explanations being made for the purpose of convincing firstly its own community and later on the communities of the world and justifying

military operations by means of hegemonic discourse; the cooperation of state mechanisms and media in spreading the messages of the former forms a legitimization basis where ideological and oppressive tools concurrently act. In other words, USA provides an ideological and cultural support for the military level struggle. When this data is taken into consideration, Neo-Orientalism can be seen as the situating of Arabs and Muslims, who form the 'East' of Classical Orientalism, in the center of USA's political agenda by Western media and elites after the 9/11 events. by means of media.

Considering the approaches about the concept will bring clarity to understanding what Neo-Orientalism points out different from Orientalism. Related with this, Behdad and Williams' (2010, p.284) Neo-Orientalism is defined as "mode of representation that, while indebted to classical Orientalism, engenders new tropes of othering." In this definition made, it is stated that Neo-Orientalism relies on Orientalism. Kerboua (2016, p.8) in case, defines the concept of Neo-Orientalism as "the neoconservative construction of Islam and the Muslim world as a social and existential threat to what neoconservatives and right-wing actors call the Western world and civilization". According to Mustafa and Shah (2015, p.49), Neo-Orientalist discourse and narratives, instead of depending on a new sharpness of Islam, depends on the re-birth of traditional Orientalism aiming the confirmation of the hostile acts directed to Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, and the American Imperialism.

Shortly Neo-Orientalism, whose theoretical base is formed by Classical Orientalism, can be defined as the imagination of existing Other as Islam and Muslims which is produced by West in the axis of the "Global War on Terror" campaign and "Clash of Civilization" (Huntington, 1993) thesis. Despite similar

aspects, there are several differences between Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism. Comparing the similar and the different aspects of these two concepts is important in terms of showing the fact that Neo-Orientalism relies on Orientalism. Comparing the similar and the different aspects of these two concepts is important in terms of showing the fact that Neo-Orientalism relies on Orientalism. According to Behdad and Williams, who think that the changing of the existing power balance after the Cold War and the emergent gap of enemy 'Other' ensured Arabs and Muslims in Classical Orientalism to come back again, even though Neo-Orientalism is a fact mainly belonging to North America, it is not only restricted by America; it is a fact produced by Western subject (2010, p. 284). On the other hand, Altwaiji states that while Classical Orientalism serves for European colonial power, Neo-Orientalism serves for the political hegemony on target nations and neo-colonial interests of those who are aware of the need for producing a public opinion on aggression terrorism (2014, p. 321). In this way, it can be said that it produces justification for USA's acts in the Middle East by situating Islam right in its political center, in accordance with the USA's objectives. Aka and Nişancı, who have indicated the difference between the two concepts, emphasize that the difference has come out from the definition of East. As for them, though both concepts make a definition by putting West in the center, while Orientalism's East (the east of Europe) being defined through geography, Neo-Orientalism describes East in the context of identity politics - Islam, Muslims and Middle East (2015, p. 15).

The other difference between Classical Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism in the case is derived from the function of the image 'veil'.²¹ But, because the subject of

²¹ While the veil in Classical Orientalism is a harem metonymy that reflects the mystery of eroticism and sexuality and the inaccessible part of harem; it becomes a symbol of constraint and oppression,

this study does not focus on Orientalism and sexuality, there won't be a discussion in depth on the issue. Alongside the function of the image 'veil' which is created for Eastern women, images like beard-mustache and keffiyeh take place in the visual description of Eastern men, as a complement. Culcasi and Gökmen, in their study, while advocating the images like beard and mustache on man's face, similar to woman's body, being a strong area for the construction of identity and otherness, image of beard is often mentioned as to be placed in the center of the terrorism and danger discourses (2011, p. 85, 87). Therefore, the borderlines drawn for the visual images of Eastern women are also formed similarly for Eastern men. The other difference in the case is derived from the texts in Classical Orientalism and the variety of the texts in Neo-Orientalism. According to Alzoby, while Orientalism is being

deprivation of civil rights and freedom for Muslim women, after being rearranged in Neo-Orientalist discourse (Ali and Behdad, 2010, p. 285). The images regarding the Middle Eastern women, more than reflecting The West's sexual desire, are held out as a symbol of desperation and waiting for to be rescued from the weakness hidden behind veil and burqa. Also, in the films, which form a part of the cultural section of hegemony and be globally in circulation, the processes of persuasion and consent production are being reinforced by means of the representation of the 'oppression' of neo-orientalism and women in Muslim communities. The film *Good Kill* (Andrew Niccol, 2015) can be given as an example of this. In the film, *Good Kill* (Andrew Niccol, 2015), the description of 'barbarism' image in the Middle East and the image of a Middle Eastern woman waiting for to be rescued through the eyes of the hero who works as a drone operator in a military base in America. The Middle Eastern man figured as a terrorist, assaults a Middle Eastern woman in hijab in the yard of a house. While this scene is being repeated two or three times, the main hero -hence West and Western audiences- is left alone with the moral inquiry. The audience, while witnessing the events with the help of the space where and the mean by which the audience watch the film, also see them on the screen which the protagonist uses while acting as a drone operator. In the end, the scene repeated two or three times is concluded by the western protagonist responding to the incident by drone. The western soldier, even though it is forbidden to take any action without an order, rescues the Eastern woman by killing the Middle Eastern man by Drone. By symbolizing the role of the rescuer with only one person, the film, in fact, justifies the government policy. Moreover, because the protagonist watches from above by 'drone', he also refers to a tacit omniscience emphasis and a divine intervention. It shows that the image of Middle Eastern after 9/11 has been imposed in a film produced in 2015. Even so, the Middle Eastern 'terrorist' being 'barbarously' figured, West's moral values are being aggrandized and it is seen that the drone operator, who acts on his own, disobeying the orders, reflects the western moral values. At the same time, while revealing the rescuer vision of the West, it is comparing the moral values of the West and the Middle East. Yeğenoğlu, who mentions that there are too many reasons for explaining the obsession of the Western subject related with the Eastern veil, states that they are the things which 'civilize', 'modernize' and thus 'liberalize' the underdeveloped East and its women (1996, p. 138). In a similar way, in the film *American Sniper* film, the scene in which the American sniper and the Eastern child come across features the importance given to the family and the ethical values by the white Western man. Against the child's attempt to get the RPG gun and the thought of his shooting, there revives the West's role as the protector and the rescuer. Likewise, while the sniper is hesitating to shoot the child because of mercy, compassion and fatherhood feelings, the oriental family figure that leaves the child in such a situation is being questioned. Value judgments like family are featured.

formed by major literature, including philology and anthropology, the new version of Orientalism discourse is becoming a form of mass discourse spreading mostly in public forums and public communication platforms, and functioning as a moral legitimacy supplier in American/Western plan of for Islam world (2015, p.218).

While media texts are making a contribution to the production of Neo-Orientalist discourse by means of the mass communication devices, they also feature the important function of Western media as a cultural production center in spreading of these discourses. In this process, especially the American media aggrandizing the feelings like patriotism and nationalism by putting the media texts like films, news, and digital games into operation, it also provides an opportunity for justification of the campaign. As to the other point related to this subject, which Alzoby draws attention to, is that the dominant ideology of the media is formed on the triangle of Information, reality, and power. The elite like media 'experts', media 'specialists', 'academics', pundits and 'professionals' are becoming an important force in the process of knowledge, truth and power dynamics in the production of power. In this subject, media hegemonic comments/explanations produced by 'elite/experts' also function as a power supply source, which has re-authorized these comments as not only 'real claims' but also their perspectives as an objective knowledge (2015, p. 221). These elites here can be seen as media bosses or opinion leaders. The role of media in the Neo-Orientalist discourse becomes more important at this point. The sense of reality formed by the texts in Classical Orientalism by making cross-references to each other is put into circulation more comfortably by means of mass communication devices in Neo-Orientalism. Therefore, when the means of production and accordingly the ownership relations of means of mass communication, Neo-Orientalist discourse keeps being reinforced in virtue of Western media. In other

words, alongside the texts and thinkers in Classical Orientalism, while the dominant capital owners in media in Neo-Orientalism and/or opinion leaders playing an important role in the production of the outlook and discourse related with the Other, mass communication tools and new media technologies are preparing a legitimate basis. As Alzoby states, while the dependent relationships between media structures, hegemonic ideology and ‘expert-truth claims’ providing a critical perspective towards media’s building ‘objective discourses’; “media institutions authorize the expert (who supplies the truth), which provides the validation for power to create ‘objective’ knowledge and a priori convictions” (2015, p. 221). The East imagery formed by literature experts, philologists, writers and politicians in Classical Orientalism, is put in circulation more easily and intensively, especially by mass communication devices in Neo-Orientalism.

They play an important role in primarily convincing their own society and then the world society with a hegemonic discourse by molding public opinion by means of media and mass communication, and justifying military operations. In this process, the cooperation of the state's mechanisms and the media on spreading messages creates a legitimation basis where ideological and oppressive devices act concurrently. For this reason, media texts such as film, music, and news build up a discourse and reality of ‘East’ by making references to each other.

In this part of the study, the concept of Neo-Orientalism has been evaluated in the framework of the concepts of *Clash of Civilization* and *GWOT*. Under the next heading, how Muslims and Arabs are coded as Other in Neo-Orientalism will be examined by scrutinizing the relationship between Orientalism and Other.

2.4 The Constructions of the Other in Orientalism

In Said's conceptualization of Orientalism which is built on the view that 'East' is a fiction formed by West, while West defines 'itself' during this formation process it also configures Other that can also be named as 'East' from its own position. As Said stated, "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1995, pp. 1-2). With this aspect, Orientalism is a system based on dominating 'Other' and knowing what 'Other' is; it is a phenomenon that defines and generates over 'Other'. In other words, West, positioning itself as a 'norm', needs East - just like the construction of 'self' needs someone else, an 'Other'. Todorov's idea that talking about 'Other' in fact is talking about yourself (Tutal, 2011, p. 118) emphasizes the importance of 'one's need to 'other' and the interrelation between them. Thus West, fictionalizing East in fact, is defining its own identity and features. Because of this, as Yeğenoğlu underlines, the ones who examine Orientalism, while being indifferent to the establishment of the Western subject (2003, p. 10), must accept the reality that this subject has also established the object called 'East'. In this context, while examining Orientalism in the frame of East-West antagonism, it is also needed to review the approach of West as a 'self' centered subject to 'Other' and its relationship with it.

The history of the relationship between Other and Self dates back to old times. Schnapper, who thinks that the relationship with Other wasn't born together with the modern society, mentions that the ways of thinking of Other have been inherited today, from Ancient Greece. In other words, while regarding Other as different and lower based on Greek culture (Barbarians) or Other's being outside of Polis (metoikos and aliens) or their carrying another composition (women or slaves), there is a great deal of contrariety such as native-alien, Greek-Barbarian, citizen-non-citizen, free

person-slave, man-woman which provide an impression of Other and getting in touch with them (Schapper, 2005, p. 25, 36). Similarly, Said states that the West's representation of East dates back to classical Greek literature (2013, p. 77). While the history of this dialectic based on the outlook towards Other and contrarities is quite old, the definition and positioning of Other vary depending on the disciplines. While Other, considered as an epistemological phenomenon, being interpreted as 'the other person', 'the other self' in the perspective of philosophy; it is presented as asylum seekers, outlaws, marginal people and alien in sociology. According to Cultural Anthropology, while the cultural difference is being taken as the main criterion, they are defined as the ones who don't have the right to be citizens according to the law (Arar, 2009, pp. 4-5). Related with this, when looking at approaches regarding Other, it is seen that the names like G.W.F. Hegel²², Jean-Paul Sartre, Jacques Lacan, Emmanuel Levinas²³, and Jacques Derrida take place (this number can be increased). However, since the aim of the study is not to examine the approaches regarding 'Other' in different disciplines, these names will not be discussed. Instead of this; how the outlook on Other, in the framework of Orientalism and Neo-Orientalism, is represented in different media texts, including digital games, and how the

²² In his study called "Phenomenology of Spirit" (2004), G.W.F. Hegel builds up the Master-slave Dialectic, "Lordship and Bondage" (2004, p. 111) as he called, through self-consciousness. "Self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that it so exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged." (2004, p. 111). According to Hegel, one of the two consciousnesses which are opposite and unlike each other while existing independently and for itself; the other is dependent and owes its life or existence to the independent. Hegel, while placing Master or Lord independently on the pole, he places the Bondsman on the counter pole which is dependent on them. (2004, p. 115). As Sartre (2012, p. 4) emphasized by saying "To exist is for it to have consciousness of its own existence", the individual for Hegel owes its position as a subject to the Other. In this context, Hegelian subject, as Yeğenoğlu also emphasizes, builds itself through Other (2003, p. 15).

²³ It is seen that Levinas' concept of Other forefronts in the ethical framework: "In ethics, the other's right to exist has primacy over my own, a primacy epitomized in the ethical edict: you shall not kill, you shall not jeopardize the life of the other" (1984, p. 60). As for Levinas, Other as being an object, is not being positioned as a counter image. Other, instead of being abstracted and ignored as the opposite image of 'Self', is seen as the need for the Other: "My ethical relation of love for the other stems from the fact that the self cannot survive by itself alone, cannot find meaning within its own being-in-the-world, within the ontology of sameness" (1984, p. 60).

representation of the Other is changed according to the policies of the dominant powers will be discussed in the study.

As previously cited from Yeğenoğlu, the idea of those who study Orientalism cannot remain indifferent from the foundation of the Western subject (2003, p. 10), emphasizes the need for other in the constitution of the subject – namely, the dependence on the ‘Other’. In other words, the role of the East and the Eastern subjects as being a counter image is highlighted in the construction role of West. When the constitution of the subject is thought to include an identity building process, the role of other identities in this process and its relationship with these identities are important. In relation with this, Assmann’s idea “it cannot be emphasized sufficiently enough that identity presupposes other identities. Without the plural, you cannot have the one, and without otherness you cannot have individuality” (2011, p. 116-117) brings forth the idea that identity cannot exist by itself alone and that the importance of ‘others’ comes forth in the establishment of identity. By setting out from Connolly (2002, p. 64) who says, “identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty” it can be concluded that identity is both being fed by the different one, Other, and located as being an element of threatening the Other. Referring to Said's remarks on this subject will make the subject more clear:

The Construction of identity – for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, *is* finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and ‘others’ whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from ‘us’. Each age and society re-creates its ‘Others’. Far from a static thing then, identity of self or of ‘other’ is

a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies (1995, p. 332).

As it can be understood from Said's statement, the positioning of Other from 'Self's perspective and the role in the constitution of the subject, as much as the borders were drawn by 'Self' in the relationship of subject and identity come into prominence. Because 'Other' while being different from 'Self' and being a stranger, it is also the Other that *defines* me (2011, p. 87) as Arslan emphasized. Stuart Hall, who shares a similar view with Said, expresses his criticism of the relationship between identity and the Other as following: "The notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always told from the position of the Other" (2000, p. 49).

When this situation is adapted to the East and West dualism of Orientalism, it is precipitated that the western subject, positioning itself as a universal 'norm', has constituted 'Other', namely the Eastern object, through its central position. In other words, the constitution of Other as an object, namely fictionalizing East through West becomes possible by creating a 'Self/We' oriented subject and by positioning East against West. But this constitution, beyond individual subjects, involves the construction of a collective identity. Because labels such as West or Western do not include a person, a region or a phenomenon, alone. Instead of this, giving names like East and West, being connected to the production of ontological and epistemological difference on intellectual foundation, includes a wide web of imagination that brings West and East as a whole face to face. Related with this, Said criticizes the false headings like 'America', 'West' or 'Islam', as they huddle mankind and unify

numerous people different from each other under a collective identity (2013, p. xii).

West's being different from East is realized through the discursive constitution of Other. In this dualism, Other is a “discursive fiction” (Keyman, 2011, p. 22) as stated by Keyman, and it is “the act of marginalization of the different one discursively” (Keyman, 2011, p. 22). Referring to Abdel-Malek's ideas about the East and Eastern conceptions of Traditional Orientalism will clarify how Orientalism's East was handled as the Other. Abdel-Malek mentions that East and Eastern have been thought as an object of research and emphasizes that this ‘object’ is “a passive character who never involves in anything, only has a ‘historical’ subjectivity, firstly being someone who cannot make a decision about himself, not being active, and away from being autonomous” (2014, p. 46) Malek emphasizes that the East and the Eastern are alienated from themselves philosophically, and that they have a feature in which they are positioned, understood and defined (2014, p. 46) by others. In this context, the East of Orientalism, which is located on the basis of the ontological and epistemological difference, allows West to determine the universal position of West through the knowledge of ‘East’ and ‘Eastern’ produced by the West. In other words, West is fictionalized through the lack of ‘Other’.

As it is mentioned that Orientalism is a male-dominated field, it can also be mentioned that this area was created by ‘white’ identities. The identification (Mohanty, 1988, p. 81) of East as Woman/Women, ‘Other’ or being alienated and positioned against Western Man/Humanism, who located himself in the center proves the idea that Orientalism had been produced by masculine language. In addition to this the East, which is weak, passive and waiting to be rescued and coded as the Other, ends as the attribution of the role of ‘savior’ to the Western white identity. As in one of the basic examples of Rudyard Kipling’s poem called “The White Man’s

Burden”, the white race's role of civilizing and rescuing is highlighted. This situation shows how Orientalism was formed on the basis of race and ethnicity, and the service is provided for the conquest and domination of the Other.

There are factors, like environment and family, which reproduce, determine and affect the outlook on Other. However, the role of the media, in particular, on this subject should be underlined. It can be said that the media is a representation world where reality is reproduced and that values and ideas, places, events, and people are represented. But, while the question of how and in which context these elements take place in the media coming up, the differentiations like which O’Donnell emphasized “who is represented, and who is not, who speaks and who is silent, which issues are important and which ones are not” (p. 524-25) are becoming problematic. For this reason, the idea that media texts are not a ‘natural’ formation but rather being formed as a result of production (Long and Wall, 2013, p. 52) is becoming important.

Media texts have an important function in the discursive constitution of the representation of minorities, the oppressed and the ‘Other’s. In other words, media reconstructs the difference between ‘I/We’ and ‘they/Other’ in the construction of phenomena such as race, gender, ethnicity, nationality. As Uluç underlined, the screen is not only the setting in which images are reflected, but also where we define and build our own identity and reflect our fears, dreams, and wishes about the other (2009, p. 124). In short, media is the producer of meanings and thoughts and as Fürsich highlights, “create reality and normalize specific world-views or ideologies” (2010, p. 115).

The role of media appeared visibly after 9/11. In other words, in the Orientalist discourse, the images of Muslims and Arabs specific to East, which existed in West

over the years and still being present, reiterated itself together within relation to the events experienced in 9/11. In fact, these imageries have been started to be fictionalized before 9/11, but it was already mentioned before that this date is a turning point. It is possible to say that the 'enemy-Other' was redefined through those who belonged to a particular religion and ethnic group for the post-9/11 period and that this discourse was strengthened and made easier to be popularized by means of technological tools and digital media of the period. After this process, media texts play an important role in the constitution of the image of East and in the creation of the Eastern identity formation and the diffusion of stereotypical images to the Other. West's East imagination, which has been in existence for many years, has become severe in the frame of these happenings also by the effect of media. Following the events of September 11, Bush's speech, which started the process of "Global War on Terror", signaled that the process of 'othering' towards Muslims and Arabs would be intensively experienced. With the most basic example, the words that take place in Bush's speech as, "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists" ("President Bush Addresses the Nation", 2001), just like being in the ontological and epistemological differentiation of Orientalism, build up the starting point of a new discourse in which differentiation between 'us' and 'others' that aims to divide the world into two poles. It can be said that the negative representations of Muslims, Arabs, and Islam have become the focal point of the media for this period, apart from the fact that this speech reaches the whole world through the media. In other words, an approach that has been spread by Western powers and put Islam, Muslims, and Arabs at the center has intensified the media's agenda. Such that, in order to know 'Other', the increase of books about Islam and Taliban after September 11 and the illegal processes like seeing Islamic

population living in the USA as the potential offender, the prolongation of their detention periods' (Keyman, 2011, p. 15) taking place exemplify this situation. This situation shows how broadly the definitions of 'Us' and 'Them' are kept, and that even those who are not directly connected with the acts of violence will be affected by the sanctions within the process.

When looking at the agenda of the media after 9/11, it can be said that the discourses, which brought East and West face to face, took place. In this process, popular media texts such as films, toys, music, books, and digital games reinforce the differentiation of 'Us' and 'Other' and continuously reproduce them. The important thing is not only how the East and the Eastern are represented and in which discourse they are built, but also how the West and the Western, fictionalized as a counter-image through the knowledge of East, are represented. From this point of view, while media is functioning as to show the West as a victim and to rationalize the war and the acts of violence, the forefronting of patriotic and nationalist elements serve the purposes like gaining the consent of these masses and aggrandizing the Western values. In this context, the popular culture products, which reinforce the central position of the West and reproduce the outlook on Other, are being circulated. Such that, the aggregation of senior Hollywood officials and many major actors from the film and television industry, including Jack Valenti the President of Motion Picture Association of America with Bush Administration officials for discussing the issues how the film and television industry can be helpful against the subject of War on Terror in Beverly Hills in November 2001 (Stockwell and Muir, 2003; Martin and Steuter, 2010, p. 99; Andersen and Mirrlees, 2014, p. 3) proves how the entertainment industry serves the policies of dominant powers.

When one looks at the representation of the East and the Eastern people in the

popular media texts, it can be seen that Muslim and Arab identities have been otherized and hate speech have been built.

‘Other’ is being coded as an enemy and an element to be destroyed and the Middle East, Muslims, and Arabs are mentioned with labels like ‘terrorist’ and ‘evil’. The construction of East as being a ‘danger’, prepares a legitimate basis for the West's defending itself, elimination of the danger in the name of freedom and democracy. In other words, while the media functions in the process of justifying the West's actions against the East, it also disseminates the discourse that the East is a ‘danger’ which must be abolished. According to Martin and Steuter, Hollywood films dignify and justify violence against terrorists - especially Arab terrorists (2010, p. 109). Likewise, these films, while reinforcing the distinction of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, they have a place in demonstrating how ‘Other’ is represented on the base of race and ethnicity. Such that, it is seen that the non-White Other is placed against the White Western. For example, according to O'Shaughnessy, the whites in the film narratives are represented as “civilised, sophisticated, rational, scientific and good”, whereas the non-whites; “primitive, savage, irrational, magical and evil” (cited in Longhurst et al., 2008, p. 50)

Branston and Stafford's study, in which they examine the representations of Afghanistan and Iraq wars, through dichotomies²⁴ that take place in the media can be shown as another example. According to the study, there comes out the result: while West in the media is being represented by features and adjectives like “Civilisation, Modern, Democracy, Freedom, Modern ‘Clean’ Weapons (‘Surgical Weapons Strikes’), ‘Shock And Awe’ Tactics (Iraq 2003–), ‘Modern’ Cultures, Often Signified Through Women Wearing ‘Western’ Dress, Good” (2010, p. 50); East is being

²⁴They created these dichotomies in line with Claude Levi-Strauss's approach to narrative theory, which he called “binary oppositions”.

represented as “Barbarism, Feudal, Despotism, Fundamentalism, (2001) Backward ‘Dirty’ Weapons, Chaotic Terrorism, ‘Backward’ Cultures, Especially Via Women Wearing The Burka, Evil” (2010, p. 50) As this study pointed out, it is seen that East is represented as a cultural ‘Other’ against the West in the East-West dichotomy based on oppositions and constituted on an ontological and epistemological basis. Such that, Islam is being placed against Christianity in the subtext of this dualism. Western Christianity and Islam of the East are confronted through universal values. For example, when the fact that the hijab's being as one of the symbols of Islam is considered, coding is made that the Eastern woman is ‘reactionist’ through wearing hijab and the modern dressing codes of Christianity are being placed against Islam. Similarly, the Western element of freedom is being placed against the religious characteristics of the East through the relationship between Islam and Fundamentalism. If it is needed to be re-expressed, it can be said that the East-West duality is reduced to Christian and Islamic base. West's positioning, as being a universal norm, comes out through the deficiency of East.

Media texts have been shaping the perspective against Arabs, Muslims, and Islam. As a result of the media's producing and spreading stereotypical images about Arabs and Muslims, they make Islamophobia in the West one of the basic facts of 9/11. At the same time, negative representations of Islam, Muslims, and Arabs circulated by means of Western media tools reinforce the dominant and hegemonic position of West against East.

Alongside the representation of Other in popular media texts, how ‘Us’ is represented is also important. In this context, there are products that bring the masses together and put forward the patriotic feelings through consumption practices. For example, Teddy Bear's military-suit version's production and putting up for sale

(Martin and Steuter, 2010, p. 78) serve to glorify heroism and national values under consumption culture. This situation, as David L. Altheide also pointed out, has an evidential value for the thought that the means of popular culture and mass communication have contributed to the emergence of the depictions like fear, patriotism, consumption, national identity and the collective action (2004, p. 290). While the Muslims and Arabs are being continuously reproduced in media under the discourses of 'danger' and 'terror'; masses are being brought together against Other by fore-fronting the collective and nationalistic consciousness in the West.

Similarly, digital games as popular media texts form a world of representation where reality is reproduced. Digital games have been producing representations about Other through the meanings they produce and the messages they carry. As it will be discussed in detail in the next section, the use of digital games to guide and convince the masses becomes more visible, especially along with the campaign of Global War on Terror after 9/11. According to Sisler, since 9/11, the American gaming industry has been releasing games that reflect real-world conflict, especially like the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq (2014, p. 114). Similarly, Jankowski states that MFPS games, which were about military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11, have become more visible (2017, p. 10).

Orientalism is a tool that serves West, which takes place in the center, to think about other regions as a subject, to see the freedom of speaking as belonging to itself and to legitimize them by creating thought patterns. As Mutman emphasizes, Orientalism is an 'othering' process which makes the West (non-marked) a center by marking East (2007, p. 191). This marking of East is being realized through its being different from the West. Besides, the hierarchical dualities, like Self and Other, human-non human (less than-human) while being seen as a construction of Western

modernity (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts & Whatmore, 2009, p. 515), the ‘modern’ itself points out a differentiation, in fact. In other words, even ‘modern’ itself includes an ontological divergence through a non-modern construction. According to İltter, who criticized this issue, while there was no such thing as being tolerant to the different in modernism, leaving the other to itself, opening itself to the other; there is the assimilation of ‘other’, the domestication, the exclusion and annihilation of the other. For this reason, being ‘modern’ is tuning in the understanding of colonialism and the history of modernization is the history of imperialism (2006, p. 2). In this context, while the beginning of the ‘modern’ history can be taken as the beginning of the history of colonialism and imperialism, it is not a coincidence that the history of Orientalism started with colonial and colonial policies, also in this study.

After dealing with the construction of Other in Orientalism under this heading of the study, it was dwelled on who and what the other was and how it was reproduced in the Neo-Orientalist ideology related to 9/11. In the next part of the study, what the digital game as a media text is, its place in the global economy and how it serves the interests of the countries which have been positioned as a cultural power center due to the sub-meanings produced and carried by MFPS type of games will be discussed.

3 DIGITAL GAMES

3.1 Defining Game and Digital Games

A game is one of the indispensable elements of life. Games, which are played with the purpose of education, fun and spending time, have been part of life since old ages. Even alongside the games like Go and Checkers; Mangala, Mahjong, Senet, Backgammon, Petteia, Pachisi, Snake and Ladders are the games which rooted in the

first terms of mankind that can be traced²⁵, still, preserve their currency worldwide and keep-up-to-date (Rome, 2013, pp.1-10). As it is seen, the games, having a quite long-standing past, are started being used with the prefixes like ‘digital, video, computer, electronics’ in the 21st century. In order to understand today’s economic, cultural and social position of the games, it is important to have a look at the approaches related with what the game concept is, before moving onto ‘digital games’, the scope of our study. Because the games which can be defined as ‘traditional’ are the ones that build up the bases of the modern games of the digital age.

While the concept of the game is expressed in one word in Turkish, there are two words in English, having the same meaning. These two words which can be used interchangeably cause ambiguity. However, Parlett, while stating these two words basically the same and there is a grammatical difference between them (one is a noun and the other is a verb), defines these concepts as “a game is what you play, and to play is to do a game” (1999, p.1). To reveal the relationship between two concepts, it is necessary to take theorists of the concepts and their approaches into consideration.

There are studies on defining the concepts of “game” and “play” (Huizinga,1949; McLuhan, 1964; Caillois, 1998/2001; Costikyan, 2002; Juul, 2005; Zimmerman and Salen, 2004; Mayra, 2008; Wolf, 2008). Johan Huizinga, whose studies have been references to very many ludologists, Roger Caillois, and Brian Sutton-Smith are the three main ‘play’ theorists (Kerr,2006, pp. 30-31). Huizinga, who posits ‘play’ in the foundation of culture in his important study, *Homo Ludens* A

²⁵ For instance, while the game called ‘Go’ (board game) in China dates before 4000 years; having the roots emerged to the Middle East and the Far East, chess dates back to VI. Century (Rome,2013, pp. 1-2).

Study of the Play-Element in Culture defines 'play' in this way:

[A] free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious', but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means (1949, p. 13).

The other 'play' theorist Roger Caillois, (2001, pp. 9-10) collects the concept under six features such as, "free (not obligatory), separate (time and space), uncertain, unproductive, governed by rules, make-believe". As for the third theorist Brian Sutton-Smith and Elliott M. Avedon, "games are an exercise of voluntary control systems, in which there is a contest between powers, confined by rules in order to produce a disequilibrium outcome." (1971, p. 405). Within this aspect, there is a similarity between the three theorists' definitions of 'play' and that 'game' has some rules and is built on a voluntary basis. At the same time, it is observed that Huizinga and Caillois hold similar views pointing out; 'the game' takes shape within the specific time and place.

There are academics who define the word 'game' (Salen and Zimmerman, 2004; Mayra, 2008; Wolf, 2008). While Salen and Zimmerman's definition says that "a game is a system in which players engage in an artificial conflict, defined by rules, that results in a quantifiable outcome", Wolf (2008, p. 3) also has a similar approach that games consist of elements like conflict, rules, player ability, and valued outcome. The definitions of these two names are similar to those 'play' theorists mentioned

above. Within this respect, it can be seen that the concepts 'play' and 'game' have similar aspects. Salen and Zimmerman (2004, pp. 3-14), evaluating the relationship between the concepts, note that the words 'play' and 'game' have a special relationship between them, and divide this relationship into two broad types: While "games are subset of play" defines a subset, involving different kinds of fun; the statement "play is a component of games" corresponds to a complex phenomenon that involves rules, play and culture. When this information is evaluated, it is observed that the concepts are not so different from each other and that they are in close relationship with each other.

The word 'game', which has been changing and being used with different prefixes in the last twenty or thirty years period of time depending on digital technologies, got into circulation with different variations such as 'digital', 'computer', 'video', 'console; and, alongside with the scope, the content of the 'game' has also been adapted to the digital environment and changed. In other words, the cultural and the social features of the 'game' transform in concurrence with the communication technologies. If it is needed to be mentioned in more details; while the dependence of space and time disappears by means of digital technologies, the necessity of being physically together in the games also goes away. In this way, games can be reached everywhere at any time. Moreover, while traditional games do not need any special playground and game equipment (Unesco, 2013, p. 6), there comes out the dependence²⁶ of the games to an area (like game centers, cyber cafe, home) and equipment (like a computer, mobile phone, console) because of 'digitalization' of games. With this aspect, it is observed that the scope of the game

²⁶ Portable devices (smartphones, tablets, and portable game consoles) can make an exception in this situation.

has been expanded and has involved the 'digital' ones in addition to the traditional.

Using game concept with different prefixes in the digital age causes an ambiguity. While some academics, working on the literature of game studies, use the game concept with the prefix "video" (Herz, 1997; Poole, 2000; Wolf, 2001), some others prefer the word "digital" (Kerr, 2006). According to Wolf, who pointed out this situation, the portability of "video games" and "computer games" from one platform to the other -in other words, their rewritability in different computer languages and systems- expands their marketing and there comes out different modes of projection. (Wolf, 2001, p. 27) In addition to these, although there are the usages like 'electronic', 'computer', 'console' or 'mobile' games, Juul's differentiation clarifies this ambiguity. According to Juul, while the video games and console games are those that have TV connections, arcade games are the ones played in public places (and personal cubicles). Computer games, on the other hand, sometimes refer to the games played on PC (2001, p.8). From this differentiation, it is observed that the hardware features and technology are decisive in the prefixes taken by games. According to Kerr, who has used 'digital game' concept as to define the whole area beginning from the games of arcade cabinet to mobile devices, in his study named *The Business and Culture of Digital Games*, these kinds of games are produced, distributed and projected on different platforms by means of digital technologies, and correspond to the concept denoted as 'numerical representations' (2001) by Lev Manovich. This process makes it possible for the games to be ported from one platform to the other. Because of this, while PC games and console games pointing out the lower sections of Kerr's study, digital games embrace the whole area (2006, p. 4). In other words, the digitally produced contents (games) are projected in a digital way, can be ported and monitored in the same way. On the other hand, hardware like computers and game consoles are

only devices for serving games. In this context, the word “digital” is used to define the numerical system and the structure that runs continuously in the background of the digital communication²⁷ and hence the games. In this study, on the basis of Kerr’s (2006) approach, games are used with ‘digital’ prefix and embrace the whole area.²⁸

3.2 From Early Developments to Global Industry

If we consider the historical journey of digital games -which are produced, published and distributed with the latest technology, and with this very aspect akin to the other means of media (pre-production and post productions processes of movies or branding and marketing)- are not related with each other by courtesy of just one development but with whole of events which are stimulated and connected to each other. That is to say, in an occurrence of the inventions like the radio and television there lie sociological, economic and social developments and parameters. In this context; just as Malliet and De Meyer (2005, p.24) emphasized, cultural and scientific developments stimulated the development of digital games. Therefore, it is very difficult to define the beginning date of digital games depending on only one development and utter a certain date.

There are different opinions about when digital games first come out in the historical process. While some academics in the digital game literature (Herz, 1997, pp. 7-14; Kline, Dyer-Witthof, & De Peuter, 2003, p. 90) taking the game named Spacewar! (1962)²⁹, which is developed in Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in America by Steve Russell, as reference as the beginning date of digital

²⁷ In digital communications image, text and sound are converted to electronic signals, known as binary number system (zeros and ones) and reproduced (Campbell, Martin and Fabos, 2014, 50).

²⁸ It was previously mentioned that the game concept had been used with different prefixes by particular academics. In the continuation of the study, ‘digital game’ concept is being used in the quotes from these academics.

²⁹The first computer game was developed for military purposes by MIT.

games in chronological order, some other academics (Poole 2000, p. 36;) point out Tennis for Two which was developed by William A. Higginbotham in Brookhaven National Laboratory in America, as the first digital game (1958). According to Freyermuth, Spacewar was not the first digital game, because in the 1940s there are researches on artificial intelligence -a digital version of Chess³⁰- carried by Alan Turing and Claude Elwood (2015, p. 62) Nevertheless, whatever the beginning date is, these developments based on some inventions made beforehand, as mentioned above. According to Kent, the game named Baffle Ball, which David Gottlieb developed in 1931 and having a similarity with “pinball”, mainly underpins the industry of computer and video games, today (2001, p. 2). Within this perspective, it is seen that the developments that came out in the 1930s affects the next periods and underpin today's software and the hardware. As for Kerr, who thinks that the basis of digital games depends on some inventions, he points out that the technological components like cathode ray tube (1932), a transistor (1947) and integrated circuits are important in the development of digital games (2006, p.13).

As they are located on the other side of the borders of this study; with respect to hardware and software in digital gaming, these innovations -which are actualized depending on technological developments, scientific discoveries and cultural factors- will not be mentioned in this study.³¹ However, in this part of the study, the focus will be on the industrialization process of digital games by drawing its borders in the global economy. Because the digital games, just like the other media tools, while

³⁰The studies about chess made on paper by Alan Turing were carried on later by Claude E. Shannon (Larson, n.d.).

³¹ In the literature of digital games, there are various studies that analyze the historical processes of the games in detail (Herz, 1997; Poole, 2000; Wolf, 2001, 2008; Kent, 2001). While some of these studies examine the developments of digital games within the historical process and according to technological developments in hardware and software (Malliet and Meyer, 2005; Haddon, 1999; Campbell, R. Martin and Fabos, 2014), some others study the history of the games in compliance with the types of digital games (Herz, 1997 ; Poole, 2000; Egenfeldt-Nielsen et al.).

forming a part of the global economy with their production, publication and distribution networks, they also compose the cultural and ideological production.

In the process of historical development of digital games, there has been a lot of developments in hardware like arcade machines, consoles, computers, and hand-held consoles, and software. However, it is observed that in the 1950s and 1960s, the developments in the production of digital games were only the beginning and that the researches were being done by universities and various research organizations. Therefore, it wasn't possible for digital games to be evaluated as an industry, yet. Ahl, alongside the reasons like computers' being limited and expensive during these years, states that computer games were used for military purposes and in accordance with education rather than for fun (2008, p.31). As it is seen, the researches done on the subject of digital games in the first period were made for military purposes rather than personal use and because of the high cost, the investments were not individual but state-sponsored.

Although there had been some developments in hardware in previous years, the first developments related with 'industrialization' of digital games started accruing in the 1970s. Freyermuth points out that the digital games, which have occupied American Universities and research centers since the 1950s, abandoned their borders alongside the years in 1970s. In this period, while forming the first systematic structure involving production and distribution network by the producers of arcade machines, at the beginning of the 1980s, industrial methods that imitate Hollywood studio models were applied. The best example of this case is Atari, which was founded in 1972, generated an income of 3 million dollars in 1973, and 40 million dollars in 1975 (2015, p.69). Home video game console producer Atari is an American company. It was bought by Warner Communications in 1976, sustained its

success on console and games, and raised its gross income up to 200 million dollars in 1979 (Egenfeldt-Nielsen et. al., 2008, p. 53). Today, all this income corresponds to 738,032 million dollars³². When the development of digital games considered, this amount of income is quite remarkable. Moreover, this enterprise of Warner Communications indicates the horizontal monopolization in the entertainment industry.

It can be said that the actual transformation of the digital game world started with the 1990s. In this period, named as “Hyperrealistic Turn” (2015, p. 81) by Freyermuth, important steps have been taken in technology and accordingly in digital games. While 3D graphics and the first-person shooter type games starting to come into prominence, one of the most important developments in these years is the emergence of “World Wide Web”. This development, during which internet got involved in the technological area -and named as “digital turn” (Campbell, Martin, & Fabos, 2014?, p. 38), brought forth the structural transformation in digital games. Games have had the possibility of being played in different places at different times by means of an internet network. Freyermuth on the other hand, states that the emergence of “World Wide web” transformed the business and office computers having no internet connections into cultural devices in 1993 (2015, p.81).

Although the 1970s, during which the game world became an industry and grew depending on technology, constituted the first steps of the period in which the digital games started slowly to find a place in global economy; beginning from the early 1990s, it is seen that the industry of digital games has started to come into prominence. According to Egenfeldt-Nielsen et al., the industry has gained a more powerful, standardized and professional structure³³ for developing new products since

³² See https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm

the 1990s. In order to afford the production of games, companies have started buying each other and establishing partnerships. More powerful hardware and (ongoing) arms race between the game developers ended with larger production teams, increasing development costs, and more compelling competition (2008, p. 15).

In the 2000s, along with many developments in software (game production) and hardware like computer, console and handheld game consoles, new technologies started emerging. Alongside mobile devices, by means of technologies such as Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality, the scope of digital games has also started to expand. Likewise, it can be said that, in the 2000s, the period of industrialization of the digital games has been completed and has taken an important place in the global economy. For instance, according to Statista's global market report on the period between 2000 and 2014, the total income of the digital game industry, while being 7,98 billion dollars, reaches 19,7 billion dollars in 2009 (Statista Research Department, 2010). According to Newzoo's 2018 global market report, game revenues have 137,9 billion dollars income in total (Wijman, 2018). When these two statistics are compared, there comes out the result showing that the economic growth of digital games has been quite high in nine years. Again, according to Newzoo's report, it is assumed that market revenues of the digital game industry will reach 180,1 billion dollars in 2021 (Wijman, 2018). These statistical data can be alleged that digital games are transformed into an important 'industry' in the global economy.

When the economical revenues gained from digital games are used as a base; which countries and firms come into prominence during the distribution of this income gain importance. According to the October 2018 report prepared by Newzoo ("Top 10 Countries/Markets by Game Revenue", n.d.), who has taken the incomes of countries from digital games as a base, China comes first on the list with its 1,415

billion population, 850 million internet users and 34,400 million dollar game income. The second country on the list is the USA with its 327 million population, 265 million internet users and 31,535 million dollar income. As for the third rank, there appears Japan with 14,048 dollars. Among the hundred countries, the first ten are respectively Germany, England, Korea, France, Canada, Spain, and Italy. The most interesting point in the data is the difference between the population and internet users that China and the USA have and the income they gain from the games. Although the number of internet users is three times less in respect to China, the USA's income from the games is much higher than China's. This situation can be explained by the fact that the majority of the game companies' being in the USA. Statista's March 2017 report can produce evidence for that. According to the study (Gough, 2019); while %49 of global game development companies take part in North America, %22 take part in Asia. This data is followed by Europe with %19, Australia and Oceania with %5, Latin America with %4 and Africa with %1.

There are also some similarities between the digital game industry and the other media tools in terms of ownership. The dominant multinational companies of the global economy (e.g. Tencent, Microsoft, Sony, Intel, EA Games etc.) steer the industry. In the study, where Newzoo ("Top 25 Public Companies by Game Revenues", n.d.) demonstrates the game incomes in June 2018 by companies, Tencent (China), Sony (Japan) stand in the first two ranks. Later on, the companies that take part in the first ten are Apple (USA), Microsoft (USA), Activision Blizzard (USA), NetEase (China), Google (USA), Electronic Arts (USA), Nintendo (Japan) and Bandai Namco (Japan). The data points out the dominant position of Asia and the USA in the digital game industry. At the same time, these companies control the

processes like production, publishing, and distribution³⁴ as well. But, when the worldwide localization of distribution networks is examined, it is seen that companies mostly take place in the USA and Europe.³⁵ Besides, certain companies also take place in other sectors apart from the digital game industry. Sony Corporation (Japan) is one of the best examples which can be given to this situation named cross-monopolization. While the company is taking place actively in the entertainment industry like television, film, and music, it goes on developing digital gaming hardware and software at the same time. The company also incorporates the production and distribution network in sectors like film and music. In addition to this, it takes place in electronics and insurance sectors as well (Sony, n.d.).

Consisted on stages like hardware manufacturer, game developer, publisher, distributor, retail, consumer (Egenfeldt-Nielsen et al., 2008, p. 16), the digital game industry provides great employment especially in terms of workforce. In research done on the game sector in the USA by ESA, it is observed that there are 2,711 digital game developer locations that provide employment of software developers and publishers for 65,678 people. The sector employees earned approximately 97,000 dollars a year in 2016 and the companies' contribution to the United States' economy has been more than 11,7 billion dollars (Essential Facts, 2018, p. 14).

When the digital games' place in the economy is taken into consideration, it can be said that digital games are both in competition and collaboration with the entertainment industries like film, music, and sport. Wolf, who thinks digital games

³⁴ The distribution of digital games is done in two formats: physical and digital. According to Statista's report (Gough, 2019) that uses the USA as a base; having a percentage of %20 in 2009, sales of digital format reach %83 in 2018 with its ongoing increase during the period. As for the physical format sales, while they had a %80 rate in 2009, regresses down to %17 in 2018 with its continuous falling rate in the period. This data has the importance of pointing out how digitalization and the investment on digitals reached that point.

³⁵ See: <https://www.gamedevmap.com/index.php>

are an industry of multimillion dollars and bigger than the film industry, emphasizes that digital games sometimes use actors, stories and special effects which take place in films. (Wolf, 2008, p. 21) Comparing the income of these two industries will clarify the subject. According to Newzoo's report (Wijman, 2018), the global market income of the digital games industry, which was 121,7 billion dollars in 2017, has been 137,9 billion dollars in 2018. If the income of the cinema box office in 2017 considered, it can be seen that it has an income of 41,1 billion dollars (Motion Picture Association of America, 2018, p. 8). The other example is Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 3, which was released in 2011. The game, whose 6,5 million copy had been sold in 24 hours, gained 400 million dollars and broke the record of Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part 2 (80 million dollars in 24 hours) (Stuart, 2011). When the music industry and game industry are compared, there is quite a big difference between the two sectors, in terms of revenues. While the value of music market, being 33,87 billion dollars in 2015, expected to rise up to 43,49 dollars in 2020 (Statista Research Department, 2016) it remains at a fairly low level with respect to the revenues of the digital game industry.

Besides the fact that digital games are in competition with other entertainment industries, they are now started being considered as a sport branch. In this perspective, the transformation -which was mentioned earlier- of the traditional game to digital game acquires a new dimension with an evolution of digital game to "Electronic Sports".³⁶ With this aspect, esports builds up the new economic dimension³⁷ of digital

³⁶ Digital games have started being an official branch of 'sport'. So much so that, the act of playing the game is becoming professional and it brings out the "Electronic Sports (Esports)". This concept, which can be defined as the challenge of one or more players playing as a team against another in a tournament, is created by combining words 'electronic' and 'sports'.

³⁷ There is a big growth in the investments on E-Sports. One of the main reasons for this is the position of digital games in the global economy. Both from media and other sectors, investments are being made in this area. For example, the Russian businessman and the owner of the digital media company

games in the global market. In addition to this, the developments in software and hardware make it possible to go beyond the concept of the digital game. In other words, Wii, Guitar Hero and the games played with GPS connection (like Pokémon) are being evolved to another dimension by means of Virtual Reality devices and technologies like Augmented Reality. While the features based upon the physical activity of games are coming into prominence, the players are able to reach more realistic images in the virtual world by means of newly developed equipment and hardware, and in this way, they experience the sense of ‘reality’. So much so that, the glasses putting the players into the 3D virtual world, the equipment (weapons) conveys physical actions to games take the place of the equipment like a mouse, keyboard, and console. The games of the digital world in the 2000s -in which the physical movements of the hand, arm, and eye were restricted- are evolving into a period in which physical activities are coming into prominence. The games played by means of players, hand-eye coordination and a device have become more physical. Perhaps, it can be thought that the game industry -with this aspect- has started to enter an era which can be named as “post-digital games”. It is evolving into a more complex and complicated structure.

Under this heading of the study, it is tried to set a framework of the digital game industry’s position in the global economy. Considering the ownership relations

Mail.ru Group, Alisher Usmanov’s paying 100 million dollars for Virtus.Pro, which is the greatest team of Russia; the investment of Swedish broadcasting corporation Modern Times Group; Time Warner’s subsidiary Turner Broadcasting’s and Hollywood’s talent agency WME/IMG’s establishing a collaboration for esports; English publishers ITV with News Corporations’ SKY’s making a joint attempt for esports; a Canadian cinema owner’s spending 11,28 million dollars on organizing his stage for esports activity (kontrol et bu son maddeyi) can be indicated as examples for the investments. According to the December 2017 report of Super Data Research, the size of E-sports market is 1,5 billion dollars in total, and the 750 million dollar -which is %50 of this income- belongs to the investors. While the sponsorship and ad agencies like The Kraft Group and Mercedes-Benz are having an important effect of %35, the remaining parts are award pool with %6, commercial goods and ticket sales with %5, bets and amateur tournaments with %5 (Superdata, 2017, p.4).

of the means of production, there appears the West's dominant position in the industry of digital game. This view can be supported with the game development, publishing and distributing networks' being mostly in the USA and Europe. This situation, at the same time, leads to the result indicating that the digital games, alongside their economic power, are developed in the perspective of West, and because of this they are not independent of the West's ideological and cultural elements. Therefore, in the next heading of the study, First Person Shooter games will be analyzed and the focus will be on their cultural and ideological dimensions.

3.3 Placing Shooter Games on to Digital Games Map

Most of the game developing companies in the world have been developing games in various kinds and themes for different platforms (like a computer, console, smartphones, tablet, Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality, Wii³⁸), and these games are being presented for sale, by means of many distribution networks, as physically (boxed) and digitally. These developed games, like being in the film industry, are divided into various genres. However, how many genres of these games take place in the digital game industry is an object in issue. As there are different opinions about the beginning of the history of games, there are also different opinions about the classification of the genres of digital games. For example, while Poole (2000) is defining nine types of games like shooter (shoot-'em-up), racing game, platform game, beat-'em-up (fighting game), simulation, real-time strategy, sports game, role-playing (RPG), puzzle game; Herz (1997) defines eight types like action, adventure, fighting, puzzle, role-playing, simulations, sports and strategy.³⁹ Games, alongside

³⁸Other than these, some other platforms also take place. For details, see <http://www.mobygames.com/browse/games>

²In addition to these studies, there are ones who divides digital games into four categories (Egenfeldt-Nielsen a. l., 2008) and who divides them into 43 types (Wolf, 2008, pp. 259-275).

being personally classified, there are classifications made by popular game sites, various forums and institutions.⁴⁰ Concerning how many genres of games take place in the digital game industry, because of being outside the bounds of this study, will not be discussed in details, here.⁴¹ However, first-person shooter games, which form the main subject of this study, will be emphasized in details.

It is difficult to determine an exact number for the genres of digital games. Because, the technical and content properties of a game go into the dynamics of another game, at the same time. For instance, while boxing game takes part in the fighting category, it is also included in the sports category. In this study, the classification of game genres of ESA, being taken as a reference, the digital game types will be briefly examined under nine categories. Entertainment Software Association (ESA), in its study, examining the distribution of game-sale rates depending on genres, categorizes the games as shooter, action, role-playing game, sports, adventure, fighting, strategy, all_others and racing (2018, p. 12). ESA's classification is taken as a reference in this study, because it classifies the games within the mode of playing, namely, the way in which players interact with the game, rather than with its visual and narrative style (Campbell, Martin and Fabos, 2014, p.90).

Action games, within the genres of digital games, are the ones that take the player into the active and dynamic events, and the action scenes. These type of games

⁴⁰ For instance, Electronic Entertainment Design and Researches gather up the games in 14 categories as action, arcade, fighting, general entertainment, music & rhythm, narrative, puzzle, racing, role-playing, shooter, skill & economic simulations, sports and strategy (p. 49, 54). In a similar way, in the Statista's report, in which the sale rates by genres take place; there stand nine genres such as shooter, action, sports games, roleplaying, adventure, racing, fighting, strategy and other (Gough, 2019).

⁴¹ For various studies in digital game literature which review games' developments in the historical process see: Herz, 1997; Haddon, 1999; Poole, 2000; Wolf, 2001, 2008; Kent, 2001 Malliet and Meyer, 2005; Campbell, R. Martin, and Fabos, 2014.

include one or more than one of the mechanics like “accuracy, movement, quick decisions, reflexes, timing” (Genre Definitions, n.d.). Games like FIFA (Electronic Arts, EA Sports) series, Pro Evolution Soccer (Konami), NBA 2K19 (2K Games and 2K Sports) can be shown as an example for this genre of *sports games* which can be defined as the versions of football, basketball, tennis, ice hockey, table tennis and many other sports in virtual platforms. The genre of *Role Playing Games (RPG)* is based on the development of the characters’ abilities, owned by the players. In this genre, having subgenres like Action RPG, MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role Playing Game), Roguelikes, Tactical RPG and Sandbox RPG (Vince, 2018), the development of the character does not actualize as it does in the traditional stories, but it means that the main character(s) learns new abilities or develops its old abilities (“Genre Definitions”, n.d.). Game like World of Warcraft (Blizzard Entertainment, 2004) can be cited as an example for MMORPG genre. Adventure games are a genre that drags the player into an adventure. Players are always in interaction with the other characters and their environments in order to solve the hints, given for developing the gameplay and the story (Vince, 2018). The genre that helps the players experience racing on/in vehicles like motors and cars is mentioned as *racing games*. As it is possible to reach this genre of games through the computer, PlayStation and some other platforms; other arcade options like car and motorcycles also take place in shopping centers. In *fighting games*, the players try to be the winner by fighting against their rivals. While the famous games like Street Fighter V (Capcom, & Dimps, 2016), Mortal Kombat 11 (NetherRealm Studios, QLOC, & Shiver, 2019) falls under this genre; the games like Tekken 7 (Bandai Namco Games, Bandai Namco Studios, & Namco., 2017) and EA Sports UFC 3 (EA Canada, 2018) can be cited as an example. *Strategy Games*, in case, is a type of game, in which players move

depending on a specific strategy, tactics and a plan. As an example for these games, which can be played individually or as a team *Age of Empires II HD* (Ensemble Studios, & Hidden Path Entertainment, 2013) can be cited.

The games like *shooter* genre -which forms the scope of this study, involving action and dynamic scenes, proceeding within the direction of main and side missions by means of the arms and equipment owned by the character- can be defined as a genre, having the aim for ‘shooting’ the rivals or the targets. Shooter games can be classified by games’ camera angle as “First-Person Shooter” (FPS) and “Third-Person Shooter” (TPS).⁴² In addition to this, games are divided into subheadings by camera perspective, such as “Audio game”, “Behind view”, “Bird’s-eye view”, “Side view”, “Text-based/Spreadsheet” and “Top-down” (“Genre Definitions”, 2018).⁴³ The main point of this division is the location of the camera’s angle, that takes part in the games. Due to the scope of the study, in case, FPS games will be emphasized.

First-Person Shooter games, as being the subgenre of Shooter type, can be said that it is the game genre which contains the actions, in which the main character's aiming to shoot the existing targets with his own weapon and equipment and involve action items. The main feature of this genre is that the players see all the dynamics in the game (like three-dimensional environment, characters, tools) from the eye of the hero, namely, from the subjective perspective. Therefore, instead of the whole body of the character, only his arms and the equipment he uses (tools like weapon and binocular) take place on the screen. In this way, while the player is getting into the game world through the eyes of the hero, it allows him to experience the actions and activities one-to-one. Being in relation with this subject, Schulzke mentions that

⁴²In the continuation of the study, First-Person Shooter is used as FPS.

⁴³ For details, see: <https://www.mobygames.com/glossary/genres>

various effects are being used for the player's perceptual connection with the character in the game and explains this with examples like stupefying the character with the explosion of a hand grenade, the screen's fading out when the character is hurt and the character's losing consciousness due to blood loss (2013, 592).

Along with the developing of three-dimensional graphics in 1990's, FPS type games' beginning to come into prominence, though gaining a great acceleration together with the 2000s, the history of this genre goes back to 20-30 years. The game called *Maze War* (Gamesradar, 2017), which was developed by Steve Colley in 1974 has the feature of being the first game developed in this genre. The developing of the three-dimensional graphics in the 1990s takes place among the factors that pave the way of FPS genre. It is seen that the Id Software is the most important one among the companies that leave their marks in the term. The company called Id Software, while developing the games like *Wolfenstein 3D* (1992) and *Doom* (1993); *Doom* (1993), according to Rehak, has been the game that "started the craziness" of the FPS genre and defined it to the public (2008, p. 191). The other factor, which gives way to FPS genre to come out is the outcoming of *the World Wide Web* in 1993. This development has made it possible to play games on the internet, in different places at different times.

Point of view (POV), which is a basic feature of FPS genre, while taking the player into the game more actively, it makes it possible to see the three-dimensional environment through the eyes of the hero. However, the first use of POV has not come true with FPS games. Galloway, who has associated cinematography with the camera angle of FPS genre, mentions that this visual usage had come out in the film called *Go West* (Keaton, 1925). Additionally, he emphasizes that the FPS games, being played in the perspective of first-person or POV, are the visual children of

subjective camera technique, and that in the main measurement, the equal points of the two types to be the weapon on the right front side of the frame (2006, pp. 57-58). Yet, unlike the cinema audience's passive position, in FPS genre- as this is valid for all digital games- the audience and/or the players move into an active position. While the cinema audience cannot intervene the weapon on the screen, the player himself in FPS games acts as a weapon by passing onto an active state. As Klevjer has emphasized, the camera of FPS games, beyond being only a camera, it is a "camera-gun" that combines camera and weapon in the same visual instrument (2006, p. 2). In a similar way, Bittanti, who has mentioned that, contrary to the cinema, main character is the 'weapon' in FPS games, while pointing out that the weapon has been located in the middle of the screen all along the game, also says that this locating has had an aesthetic, ideological and phenomenological implications (2007, p. 9).

While the FPS games taking place among the most played game genres in the world, Rome (2013, p. 21) emphasizes that the FPS games are one of the greatest and the fastest growing game genres. In Statista's report, where the sale rates by game genres in the USA in 2017 take place, while sniper games taking place at the top with %25.9, action games are ranked in the second position with %21.9(Gough, 2019). In the report of ESA's in 2016, where the list of top twenty best-selling games take place, *Call of Duty: Infinite Warfare* (Activision,2016) and *Battlefield 1* (EA Digital Illusions, 2016) are taking place in the top two (Entertainment Software Association, 2017, p.12); in the following year's report of Esa's, the FPS game *Call of Duty: World War II* (Activision Blizzard and Activision, 2017) takes place at the top of the list. (Entertainment Software Association, 2018, p. 12). It is observed that FPS games are among the games which are preferred by masses. Furthermore, FPS games have an important place in the global economy. The best sample of this genre, which has a

great income in terms of market revenues, is *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 3*. Breaking the record of *Call of Duty: Black Ops* which had reached a gross of 650 million dollars in five days, *COD: Modern Warfare 3* has reached a sale of 775 million dollars on its fifth day. Besides, there was also a daily sale of 400 million dollars in the USA and England (Stuart, 2011).

FPS games, besides bringing people from different parts of the world together online, have also multiplayer and single player story mode options.⁴⁴ Single player mode of Military First-Person Shooter games, that form the subject of this study, alongside its camera angle, also comes into prominence with the cinematic (cutscene) scenes, it has. These cutscenes of the games, in which many techniques, as used in cinema, have pretty much similarities with cinema films. Besides, in these scenes, objective camera angles, getting out of the subjective angle view, are being used.

Today, considering the FPS games in the digital game industry, it is observed that most of them are being developed, published and distributed by the companies located in the USA and Europe. Of course, there are FPS games which are developed in the East, but the West and especially the USA are dominant in developing publishing and distribution networks. In fact, it is seen that most of the game developing, publishing and distributing companies are in the USA.⁴⁵ Considering the FPS war games, which have been developed in the East, it is observed that they are so few. For example, Hitchens Patrickson and Young, who point out that Japanese game industry has produced only a few FPS games while showing the *Metroid Prime* game series (RetroStudios, NintendoEAD & NintendoR&D1, 2002-2009), mentions that

⁴⁴ These options differ from each other, according to games. While some games only have online or multiplayer options, other games can only be played in single player mode. In addition to these, there are also some other game modes for the players.

⁴⁵ See <https://www.gamedesigning.org/game-development-studios/>;

these games are also being developed by USA centric studios (2014, p. 11). Although there are FPS games which are developed in a similar way in the Middle East, it is seen that they are fairly a few. Within this perspective, FPS type games -as Hitchens has underlined- is a product of Western game industry (2014, p. 11).

3.4 Military Culture and Entertainment Industry Nexus

Various societies and states made investments on defense systems and communication technologies for security and placed importance on their usage in military areas. While the developments in the industry serving military, the innovations that emerged in communication technologies are primarily used effectively in the military. Examples such as use of wireless telegram in old-time military operations, radio by American Navy for providing military security during WWI (Campbell, Martin and Fabos, 2014, p.163) and in 1960s the internet system called “ARPAnet”, developed by USA Department of Defense (ARPA) (Campbell, Martin and Fabos, 2014, p. 46), reveal the importance of communication technologies in the military. Besides, the new communication technologies and tools developed apart from these went beyond their aim in the course of time and has been started to be used by masses/civilians. One of the latest samples of this is the ‘drones’. The drones, which are developed and used for military purposes, are presented to the consumption of masses by transforming into popular culture devices.

While entertainment based popular culture, products are being used for military purposes, they also function under the element of ‘entertainment’ for directing masses. World War II-themed digital games set a good example in this subject. As cited in Power states that the date of the digital games goes back to 1940s, when USA made the investment on ‘digital devices’ for the purpose of developing the shooting calculation skills of the heavy weapons of US army and password analysis

(2007, p. 275). This information shows that digital games have served the military purpose more than personal usage during the years when they first started to emerge. According to Ahl, who points out that computers' is limited and expensive in the 1950s and 1960s had blocked the development of fun-oriented gaming software, for developing computer game software, apart from fun, more widespread reasons take place such as discovering the power of computer, developing the people's understanding skills of thinking processes, producing training tools for managers or military staff, simulating dangerous environments and providing necessary tools for discoveries (Ahl, 2008, p.31). The starting of the first games' being developed by universities and government agencies/military firms supports this idea. As it is seen in the instances above, while the digital games had the function in supplying contribution to the army, they have been started to be used by masses/civilians in the course of time. Pozo, who thinks that the digital games are an adaptation of military technologies for civilians' usage just like the internet, states that computers while being a part of "war space", has been transformed into a family technology for children in "home space" (Pozo, 2012, p.14).

Although the digital games had a transformation by emerging out of the military are and getting involved in everyday life practices, the relationship between the digital games and the army beginning from the 1950s has been continued effectively.⁴⁶ The relationship and the coordination between government, army and

⁴⁶ Government and the army have been making investments intended for many digital games. For instance, after the launch of USSR's Sputnik, DARPA (the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency), which provides high technology games to Pentagon, was established in 1958. As for the biggest support for war games, it has been provided by SIMNET (distributed simulator networking project), which is financed by DARPA, in 1982. This institution was concentrated on the computer and digital game industry by working on less costly simulations. (Power, 2007, p.272). The investments made are not limited to these. Alongside SIMNET, for easing the ongoing model of cooperation between army, military and entertainment industries, Institute for Creative Technologies was established in Southern California University in 1999 for 45 million dollars (Power, 2007, p.278).

entertainment industry entitled by the academics with the concepts like “Military-Entertainment Complex (MEC)” (Herz, 1997; Lenoir, 2000; Lenoir and Lowood, 2005), “Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network (MIME-NET)” (Derian, 2009), “Militainment” (Stahl, 2010) has been mentioned at the beginning of the study. These concepts, whose historical background based on “Military-Industrial Complex”⁴⁷, point out to the attendance of products of popular culture such as - including digital games- films, music, toys, and entertainment industry to military structure; and to the relationship which is established between the entertainment industry, army, and government. Hunteman and Payne, while defining this relation as a rapprochement between US Army, private technology firms and entertainment companies (2009, p. 21), Höglund, too, in a similar way, explains the concept of The Military-Entertainment Complex as “[i]s essentially the merger between the Military Industrial Complex and the entertainment industry, a merger that has spawned Hollywood films, television series and most recently the computer games” (2008, p.9). But the aim of this study is not the examination of the interaction in details between the army and the entertainment industry. In the continuation of the study, how ideology is put in circulation via digital games and how Other is represented will be discussed by briefly referring to the relations of 9/11, the entertainment industry and government.

While one of the main aims of the army in ICT is to reduce the costs, the simulations have also been important in terms of the army’s targets in a similar way. For a real military training, the important thing is not only to learn how to use the equipment, but it is important to teach the participants how to deal with the situation full of uncertainties and surprises they are in (Lenoir and Lowood, 2005, p.34). As it is seen, the digital games’, more than their contribution to the army in terms of cost, they have importance in creating the simulation of the situations that may be encountered in real life, and in terms of the soldiers’ being prepared for psychological effects and unexpected situations. There are many digital games that developed and serve various departments of the army, in this context (see Appendix A and B).

⁴⁷ According to Oxford online dictionary, the concept of Military Industrial Complex is the relationship between the military organization of a country and the companies producing arms and military equipment (Lexico, n.d.).

The developments that took place in the political and the social structure after 9/11 and their reflection of effects on media and society were visibly seen. In this period as Deck highlighted, while the entertainment industry entering into cooperation against perpetual war culture (2004), it has started to be supported with the popular culture products⁴⁸ which are produced with the aim of shaping social life on the axis of war and emphasize American nationalism and patriotism. As cited in Schulzke (2013, p. 586), Carruthers states that the campaign of War on Terror affects media contents related with terrorism and that countless TV programmes, films, books and documentaries which treat real or fictional terrorist attack have been produced. Also, being related to this, one of the popular culture products undertook a key role after 9/11 is the digital games. While on one side contents that describe the USA as perfect/unique are being produced, on the other side USA's acts are being justified by fictionalizing 'enemy' with negative features. With this aspect of digital games, while producing ideological meaning because of the messages they carry, as it is in the other media texts "[r]emake the world in various ways" (Lukas, 2009, p.124). In this context; who is being represented, how, where and in what manner is it represented in the games, bringing it to be questionable and reveals the importance of the games'

⁴⁸ Films, as a product of popular culture, have an important place in the USA's political agenda in 9/11. After 11 September, the studios have presented the heroic depiction of state violence to the audiences by treating America's invasion of Afghanistan and patriotic facts in the films. In 2002, alongside the films like *Black Hawk Down*, *Charlotte Gray*, and *We Were Soldiers*; *Behind Enemy Lines*, which was put on display in January 2002, was released after its test-display in November, 2001 (Stahl, 2010, pp. 9-10). The production of these films, in which nationalism and patriotism images are imposed, went on in the following years. Films related with the Iraq War, like *Home of the Brave* (2006), *The Marine* (2006), *In the Valley of Elah* (2007), *Hurt Locker* (2008), *The Messenger* (2009), and *Green Zone* (2010) have been produced (Pettegrew, 2015, pp. 48-49). The depiction of 'enemy' in the media after 9/11, has been supported not only by entertainment media but also with the news media, however, news media is not mentioned in this study because of its being out of the scope. A similar situation is also seen in the toy industry. According to Martin and Steuter, 2010, pp. 70-71), who compare Clinton's Term with Bush's, there is an increase in the number of militarist games and toys, especially by the effect of 9/11 attacks and USA's going to war against Afghanistan and Iraq during the period of Bush's government. Toys are popular culture products, which carry the aims of providing consents of the masses by means of a nationalist and patriotic factor in order to rationalize the war, that is to say, to confirm USA's actions in the Middle East. In this context, releasing Barbie doll and Teddy Bear in military clothes (Martin and Steuter, 2010, pp. 77-78) constitutes an important example.

being developed by the perspective of whom.

Digital war games (Military First-Person Shooters), due to their narrative structure, take on a political and an ideological task in post 9/11 USA's political agenda in the Middle East. Schulzke, who emphasizes that digital games have many different purposes in the process of War on Terror, states that some game developers produce games for "advocacy" and that these kinds of games involve powerful political messages, serving strategic purposes (Schulzke, 2013, p. 591). These games, providing support for the US Army, also transmit certain ideas and messages to masses. 9/11 and after that, the wars' (in Afghanistan and Iraq) creating a big explosion in the commercial market of war-themed games (Stahl, 2006, p. 118) highlight the ideological and cultural functions of digital games. When the number of war-themed digital games developed in the period⁴⁹ and the centers where they are being developed examined, the hegemony of the USA in the industry attract attention. Because of this, the war-themed digital games, as King and Leonard point out, "represent a powerful pedagogical vehicle, providing youth, and perhaps all users, with ideological, political, historical, and racial lessons that guide U.S. hegemony around the globe" (2009, p.135). When considering USA's dominant position in the digital game industry, USA, being the center of cultural production, by means of digital games, can be precipitated as the carrier and transmitter of the certain thoughts and messages.

It is possible to speak of a few important points related to the ideological function, undertaken by digital games. First of all, the digital games serving the USA in the subject of spreading the war culture and justifying 'war', plays an important

⁴⁹ The developed games can be categorized as FPS games which are used in the army before 9/11 and after 9/11. There listed the games which are used in various status of the army before 9/11 (see Appendix A), while the games serve to the army after 9/11 (see Appendix B).

role in spreading the militarist elements to masses. While the closeness between militarism and digital games concentrating more after 9/11 (Martin and Steuter, 2010, p. 82), games are no longer having a purpose of merely training recruited soldiers but also have a function of developing the future soldiers by providing support to civilian population synchronously for USA's expanding military power (King and Leonard, 2010, p. 141). This situation, being a cause of shaping the community around the militaristic culture, shows that the war-themed digital games, too, play an important role in this process.

At the same time, digital games have a number of differences, though they share similar features with the other media texts. In this subject, as Schulzke points out:

Videogames are unique because they inscribe the meaning of visual images in the medium itself. They are sources of contextualized visual experiences that derive context from interactive narratives, which makes them attractive to violent organizations seeking to advance their strategic interests through communication. That is to say, videogames offer the illusion of greater authorial control over meaning by making it possible to frame entire simulated worlds around the enactment of a particular set of values and practices of fighting (2017, p. 619).

With this aspect, the digital games, being different from the other media texts, invite masses to be 'active' more than being 'passive'. From Stahl's point of view, this situation is explained with the concept of "virtual citizen soldier" (2010, p. 21).

According to Stahl "virtual citizen soldier", allows the war to be experienced interactively by transiting from the consuming of war contents from a third person eye

to the first person. Unlike the citizen-audience who is not in an active position, the interactive war brings out this concept by making the war to be playable (2010, p. 21). By means of digital war games, the audience and/or the players by moving from a passive position into an active one, while having an experience of “military structure”, they also, as a citizen, live this as an active player beyond being the audience of it. In other words, while the audience/players are actively taking part in the war zone by means of digital war games, as Stahl has underlined, they shape the cultural area in the axis of militarism (Stahl, 2006, p. 113).

In addition to that, the digital games perpetuate emotions like taking ‘revenge’ over the enemy, having ‘pleasure’ over ‘violence’, and ‘satisfaction’ by offering masses the opportunity of realizing the actions which they can't experience in real life. While these games are normalizing the violence, together with the players' desensitization over killing practices, violence is being legitimated /normalized. As Martin and Steuter points out (2010, p. 72), “having seen so much simulated death, and having revealed in killing even if only in video games, young people, in particular, have become desensitized.”

Digital games, alongside the producing of militaristic discourse, also provides means to the consolidation and the production of Other, who is coded as an enemy in the subtext. As Shaw discussed in his study (2010, p.795) “war video games are often complicit in reproducing oriental representations and are thus transitional spaces in concert with wider military representations and common senses.” The war-themed digital games, especially the ones that developed after 9/11, have an important function in the USA's political agenda in the Middle East. According to Robinson and Schulzke, while dozens of war-themed games based on historical and fictional conflict forming one of the fields in which they aggrandize American values and the

military vision of American identity (2016, p.999), 'Other's coded as enemy, being factionalized over American values, are represented by features like 'weak, helpless, powerless'. As Power points out, the digital games that promise the war's visual experience, narrate stories about the USA itself, its technology and its 'Other' (2007, p. 272). In this context, digital games form one of the fields where the contrasts are being produced, the world is being polarized as good and bad, East is being represented as Other against West, and these representations are being reproduced. Reflecting the West's point of view, put the West in the center and posit the rest as 'Other'. However, Oriental images regarding the Middle East, Muslims, and Arabs which take place in digital games did not emerge with 9/11. Just as the bases of Neo-Orientalism were formed before 9/11, the games in which Muslims and Arabs fictionalized as Other emerged in the previous years. The game called *Arabian*, which released in 1983, takes place at the top of the games in which Arabs are coded as Other. In this game, there is a prince in a turban, having a flying/magic carpet, owning a weapon called 'scimitar', fighting against ships and castle with djinns and rocs, and rescuing his princess in the end. These examples can be enriched with games such as *Prince of Persia* (1989), *Talisman: Changing the Sands of Time* (1987), *Arabian Fight* (1992), *Khalaan* (1990), *Magic Carpet* (1994) (Reichmuth and Werning, 2006, p.46). Alongside the depiction of Middle East by fantastic images like 'barbaric', 'wizard', 'camel', and 'belly dancer', when evaluated in the context of war games, the games like *Commando Libya* (1986), *F-15 Strike Eagle II* (1989), *Airborne Ranger* (1987), *Back to Baghdad* (1996), *Tank Platoon II* (1998), *Apache Longbow* (1995), *F-16 Multirole Fighter* (1998) and *Hind* (1998) (Reichmuth and Werning, 2006, p.47) exemplify. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the Middle East's taking place in digital games as a narrative element revives as a result. As associated with this, Sisler states

that the Middle East has constituted the center of American “military-entertainment complex” since Cold War, and that, it is the “favorite virtual battleground” for USA’s persistent struggle against terrorism (2008, p. 208).

Although the Middle East having been seen coded as Other opposing to West before 9/11, it is being placed in the center of USA’s political agenda after 9/11 and digital games' content is being affected intensely by this process. Likewise, one of the factors which make 2000s important is that the games' having more realistic images and playability mechanics due to the emergence of newer and advanced technologies in the matter of game developing, publishing and distribution webs. These parameters make the ideological function of digital games more powerful by means of factors like narrative fiction, quality of images and factuality. Digital games, involving visual-aural representations, by means of graphics they have, become a powerful tool and the higher resolutions provide the articulation of these ideas in detail. Graphics’ being appearing more photographic, materializes the visual representations of these ideas much more (Wolf, 2008, p.284). Especially the FPS games, by means of their realistic images and narratives, are carrying the simulation of war environment to the digital environment and offering the masses the opportunity of having the war experience. In this way, the players, together with seeing the locations and geographies where they have never been to before, are able to experience the actions which they can never actualize in real life, through the mediation of the games. At this point, the MFPS games create ‘reality’ perception.

When the narrative fiction in digital games taken into consideration, it is seen that the games emphasize West’s superiority and also by means of visual effects and the quality of image, support this. So, the story is consistently presented as West’s being the side which it has always been under attack and threatened, has to be

superior and save the world, and that it feels the heavy weight of this burden on its shoulders. As Robinson emphasizes, USA underlines that its superiority is being threatened and therefore it justifies removing international rules in order to maximize its freedom of action (2015, p.460). This is why West, especially the USA, takes place in digital games as a 'norm' by distinguishing itself from the others, legitimizes the discrimination like the USA and the 'rest'. In this context, the western game developers design the war-themed games in a way that they will take place in the Others' -coded as enemies- geographies. In this way, geography's reality being pushed aside, games produce the "imaginative geography" (Said, 2013) in minds. The fiction of enemy, which is created, is being reinforced by means of digital games, just like Pötzsch underlined "the real enemy can be discursively constructed" (Pötzsch, 2017, 173). Moreover, many people from different geographies play games which reflect the West's point of view. As a result of this, players experience the representation of the political, economic, social, and cultural structure of the geography they live, from the perspective of the game producer. In other words, the ones coded as 'Other' play these games as well and this situation don't subject to the studies very much.

In the digital games that reinforce the central position USA as 'norm' superiority is being set up over technology and the uniforms, weapons, and equipment of US soldiers are being identified with USA's technological power. This situation which provides 'pleasure' to the audience and/or the player, supports a link between the usage of military technologies, weapons and technological supremacy. Furthermore, these technologies form integrity together with the masculine outlook of the main characters, and with the uniforms and the equipment (like night vision helmet), soldiers use, form the representation of Western power. As for Other which is coded as the enemy, it is represented with unmasculine, Middle Eastern, Russian

and extra-terrestrial characters in these games. Specifically, the Middle Eastern characters are depicted with the features like ‘headcover, loose clothes, and dark skin colour’ and just like the way they are depicted in other Western media texts (Sisler, 2008, p. 208) and associated with the concepts like ‘terrorist’ or ‘insurgent’. While Middle Eastern terrorists are represented by weapons like AK47 and RPG against Western technology, Chick states that Arabic terrorists are depicted as vehicle and lorry bombers, suicide bombers, hiding in tunnels and caves and carrying AK47 weapons (2003).

An important element that forefronts in these games are that the female characters' not taking place neither in the battlefield nor being as a playable character. This case reveals the idea of digital war games to be a male-dominated field. The result of the research⁵⁰, in which the game genres have been examined according to gender distribution, supports this. Especially the war games’ being a male-dominant field is explained with concepts like “hegemonic heterosexual masculinity” (Kerr, 2006, p. 100) and “militarized masculinity” (Kline et al., 2003, p. 196) by some researchers. In this context, a relationship between power and masculinity in war-themed digital games is being set up.

At the point where the militaristic factors and the narrative of Other come together, digital games are positioned as the object of violence through practices of

⁵⁰ According to Newzoo’s reports, in which the distribution of digital game genres according to gender and platforms, while the game genre which male players prefer being shooter games with %41, action/adventure games come first with %36 among female players. A similar result is also valid for console gaming platforms. Men, while preferring shooter games on consoles with %38, action/adventure games take the first place in the game genres women players prefer with %35. But on the mobile game platform these rates change. While the strategy games take the first place with %35 on the mobile platform among the male players (shooter games fall back to the third place with %26), puzzle games take the first place among the female players with %48. The other striking point in the report is that, while the shooter doesn't take place in the first three on different platforms among the women players, among the men's preference shooter games find a place on both three different platforms (Osborne, 2017).

killing the 'enemy'. This situation which can be named as "Dehumanization" reveals the necessity of eliminating 'Other's because of both their fictionalization as an object and posing an obstacle for reaching another stage and/or landing up. Although Andersen and Kurti think that "Game space demands that the enemy be 'neutralized' in order to win" (2009, p. 51), this victory/win against Other is gained through violence. For this reason, the games, just like Graham underlines, "[t]hese provide omnipotent players with realistic – and often devastated – cities (usually in the Middle East) in which they can annihilate racialized and dehumanized enemies again and again" (Graham, 2007, p.422).

As mentioned before, the outlook towards the Middle East in digital games did not emerge after 9/11. But 9/11, together with paving the way for Western media to rationalize the actions of the USA in the Middle East most especially, popular culture products take on an important task in this process. As Leonard (2004, p.5) has underlined, "war games construct radicalized meaning, thereby providing ideological sanction for America's War on Terror and its aggression in the Middle East". Thus, how Other represented in MFPS games developed after 9/11 is becoming a question mark. Just as Schulzke underlines, "the first-person viewpoint is typically one of the ways in which war games privilege a Western, usually American, perspective on conflicts, as players invariably take on the persona of a Western soldier" (2013, p.213). For this reason, the importance of the relationship between Neo-Orientalism's outlook towards Islam, especially after 9/11, and MFPS genre games come to light.

In this part of the study, by mentioning the relationship between the entertainment industry and the army, and the government, the evaluation of the period before and after 9/11 has been carried out and urged upon the role of digital games' in the process of producing ideological meanings. Especially MFPS games, though

being the producer and the carrier of the meanings and messages, as Kerr emphasized, they are “[a]n intrinsic part of contemporary global flows of cultural goods, services and images in Western societies” (2006, p. 1). For this reason, digital games are seen as an ideological tool because of carrying and conveying messages, reinforcing the dominant location of the West as being a cultural center and having a big place in the global economy. With this aspect, digital games build up a holistic structure where the economic, cultural and ideological processes intertwine.

In the other part of the study, how Neo-Orientalism has been set up visually and discursively in the games like Medal of Honor (MOH) (EA Los Angeles and Digital Illusions CE, 2010) and Medal of Honor Warfighter (EA Games, 2012) developed by Electronic Arts and how the Other is represented will be examined.

4 ANALYZING MILITARY FIRST-PERSON SHOOTER GAMES

4.1 Sample of the Study and Method

In this study, the representation of the ‘Other’ in these games is examined by emphasizing how the Neo-Orientalism images in the Military First-Person Shooter games, being a popular media text, are both discursively and visually constructed. In this context, games called Medal of Honor (MOH) published in 2010, (EA Los Angeles, 2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (MOHW) (EA Games, 2012) and Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011) were chosen as a sample of the research.

There are a few basic reasons for choosing these games: First of all, these three games were developed and published by a USA based company Electronic Arts (EA). Electronic Arts, a leading global entertainment software producer, offers games, online contents, and services for consoles, computers, mobile phones, and tablets

(“Electronic Arts”, 2019). In this context, looking at the development process of the EA company is important for understanding the company's position in the digital gaming industry.

The company which was founded in 1982 by Trip Hawkins under the name Amazin' Software and changed its name as Electronic Arts (EA) in 1983, established its own distribution network in 1984. Going out of America in 1987 and establishing offices nearby London and in countries like Japan (1992), Germany (1993), France (1993), Spain (1994), EA had bought Dreamworks Interactive from Microsoft and Dreamworks SGK in 2000 (“Electronic Arts, Inc.”, n.d). In the following years, the company has incorporated many agencies. One of the most important initiatives it has made is the buying of Sweden based company DICE (Digital Illusions Creative Entertainment), which has a share in many games developed by EA up to this point. EA, who had incorporated most of DICE in 2003, purchased it completely in 2006 (“EA Digital Illusions CE AB”, n.d.). This information shows that Electronic Arts grew up in a short period of time and is a transnational company. EA today, having studios in Redwood City, Seattle, Orlando, Baton Rouge, Austin, Sacramento, Los Angeles and New York in America; alongside these cities, also has studios in the countries as Singapore, India, Australia, Canada (Vancouver, Kitchener, Montreal and Charlottetown studios), Korea, China, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Romania and Israel (“Electronic Arts headquarters and office locations”, n.d.). The company, developing the game for PC, Mac, console and mobile platforms, manufactures sports games like ice hockey, football, basketball, motor racing, golf; and simulation, strategy, action, and war games. At the same time, the company has more than 300 million registered players, worldwide (“About EA”, n.d.).

When considering it economically, the company, while generating an income

of 3,129 billion dollars in 2005, it is seen that this income has reached 5,150 billion dollars in 2018 (Gough, 2019). In the report reflecting the data of December 2018 in which the annual revenues of 25 public companies compared, EA is ranked as the 8th after Tencent, Sony, Microsoft, Apple, Activision Blizzard, and Google with 5,294 billion dollars (“Top 25 Public Companies by Game Revenues”, n.d.). Alongside developing games, EA also has its own publishing and distribution networks. EA, who is the owner of the digital platform called Origin, is publishing the games it has developed through this platform and distributing them digitally. In this respect, EA sets an example for horizontal integration (“Electronic Arts Inc.”, n.d.).⁵¹ According to February 2019 data, the company has 9.300 employees (“Electronic Arts”, 2019).

Medal of Honor (2010), chosen as a sample of this study, was developed by EA Los Angeles (“Medal of Honor”, n.d.), and published by EA, which is company’s own digital publishing and distribution network, on October 12, 2010. In some sources, in Origin for instance (“Medal of Honor”, n.d.), the developer of the game takes place as Danger Close Games and DICE.⁵² At this point, we should embark on a digression regarding Danger Close Games. Danger Close Games is the FPS development team responsible for the Medal of Honor game at the EA Los Angeles studio. According to EA’s statement; MOHOA (2010), when compared with the other games in the series which had been going for 11 years, is the most pre-ordered game. (Pham, 2010). Similarly, the game called the Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) was also developed by Danger Close (“Medal of Honor Warfighter”, n.d.) and published by EA on October 23, 2012. Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011) was developed by DICE,

⁵¹ As mentioned before, the distribution of digital games in physical format is decreasing and the digital distribution is also showing a great increase.

⁵² The studio of EA in Sweden (Digital Illusion Creative Entertainment), developed the multiplayer mode of the game, and Danger Close Games developed the story mode of the game.

published and distributed by EA on January 25, 2011. When the sales-rates⁵³ of the games taking place in VGChartz is considered, it is seen that; while a total of 5,85 million copy of MOH (EA, 2010) was sold, a total of 2,93 million copy of MOHW's (EA, 2012) and 17,2 million copy of Battlefield 3 is sold (DICE, 2011). In respect to MOH (EA, 2010), while the sales rates of MOHW (EA, 2012) have fallen by almost half, Danger Close Games, the developer of these two games, has been closed by the EA. The sales rates of Battlefield 3 on the other hand, are more than twice the total of the other games.

Electronic Arts, which is based in the USA and has development and distribution studios in Europe and Asia, is one of the major companies in the US gaming industry. In this context, when the dominant position in the digital game industry is considered, the USA not only holds economic power but also cultural and ideological power. Because, the games reflecting the USA's point of view, have important functions regarding meaning creation and being a carrier of culture and ideology. Thus, the games spread the dominant ideology and cultural meanings from the countries being the center of cultural production, especially from the USA, to the rest of the world.

⁵³The games have different sales numbers for different platforms. 2,82 million copies of these sales (0,07 Japan; 1,28 North America; 1,04 Europe; 0,42 Others) were sold for PS3 ("Medal of Honor (PS3)", n.d.), 2,54 million copies (0,04 Japan; 1,58 North America; 0,80 Europe; 0,22 Others) were sold in total for Xbox 360 ("Medal of Honor (Xbox 360)", n.d.); and for PC, in total 0,49 million copies (0,00 Japan; 0,20 North America; 0,23 Europe; 0,06 Others) ("Medal of Honor (PC)", n.d.) were sold. As for *MOHW* (2012), for PS3 ("Medal of Honor: Warfighter (PS3)", n.d.) 1,42 million copies in total (0,06 Japan; 0,49 North America; 0,64 Europe; 0,23 Others); for Xbox 360 ("Medal of Honor: Warfighter (Xbox)", n.d.) 1,18 million copies in total (0,01 Japan; 0,61 North America; 0,46 Europe; 0,10 Others); and for PC ("Medal of Honor: Warfighter (PC)", n.d.), 0,33 million copies (0,00 Japan; 0,14 North America; 0,16 Europe; 0,03 Others) were sold in total. In total, 7,21 million copies of Battlefield for PS3 ("Battlefield 3 (PS3)", n.d.) (0,35 Japan; 2,86 North America; 2,94 Europe; 1,07 Others), 7,35 million copies for Xbox360 ("Battlefield 3 (Xbox 360)", n.d.) (0,06 Japan; 4,47 North America; 2,12 Europe; 0,69 Others); as for PC, 2,76 million copies (0,00 Japan; 0,89 North America; 1,44 Europe; 0,43 Others) ("Battlefield 3 (PC)", n.d.) were sold. Furthermore, although the games are produced for different platforms, there is no difference in single player story modes.

The second point is the symbiotic relationship between Electronic Arts and the US army. As it was mentioned in the previous heading, digital games are used for purposes such as training in different departments of the US army and recruitment. EA, which comes forefront by MFPS games it developed⁵⁴, is serving the US army with some of these games. According to the data of Defense Department in 2008 for instance (as cited in Nichols, 2009, p. 74), it is seen that there are four EA made MFPS games (see Appendix A and B) which are used in the army. The other point proving the relationship of the EA with the army is the involvement of the US army in the development of the games. For example, the American army has consulted Electronic Arts for Medal of Honor series (EA Los Angeles et al., 1999-2010) (Hitchens et al., 2013, p. 6). In these games of MOH, a special name from the US army comes into prominence. Retired Marine Captain Dale Dye, who is an actor, and has mentored more than forty films and series, like *Platoon*, *Saving Private Ryan*, *The Great Rate*, and *Band of Brothers* served as a consultant in the process of developing MOH series (dav.org). However, the ten-year agreement between MOH and Dye did not continue in the game developed in 2010 (Mirrlees, 2014, p. 90). As for the game called *Medal of Honor (2010)*, which is a sample for this study, another department of the US Army mentored. The introductory description of MOH (2010) which takes place in *Origin* shows that the mentorship has passed on to Tier 1 Operators from Dye:

The Medal of Honor single-player campaign is being developed by Danger Close in close conjunction with Tier 1 Operators from the U.S. Special Operations Community to create the most authentic modern war experience ever. The campaign has been inspired by real Tier 1 Operators and real events

⁵⁴ For these games, see: <https://www.ea.com/games/base-games>

(Description, n.d.).

In a similar way, also in the explanation that takes place in *MOHW* (2012), the other game in the series, as “written by active US Tier 1 Operators” shows that the two games have been developed by the support of Tier 1 Operators.

The third and last reason for choosing these games is that the games are associated with the “Global War on Terror” paradigm after 9/11. Also, in the process of choosing these games, alongside the manufacturer-army relationship, the parameters like the location where the game takes place, the main characters, enemies and the plot were prioritized. For this reason, Valeriano and Habel's work has been used as preliminary research. In the study made by Valeriano and Habel about the enemies in MFPS games between 2001 and 2013, it has been revealed that the games' *Medal of Honor* (EA Games, 2010) and *Medal of Honor Warfighter* (EA Games, 2012) being related with the global political agenda after 9/11, taking place in the countries in different regions of the world, and while the first enemy is being described as ‘terrorist’, their main character's being American (2016, pp. 2-3). In fact, the explanations in the introduction of the *MOH* series support the idea that the content of the games is inspired by current events. For example, in the *MOH* (EA, 2010), the description as in “Players will step into their boots and apply their new skills” (*Medal of Honor*, n.d.) shows that the description of the enemy in the past games was changed and that they're now dealing with a new enemy. Because, while most of the EA's MFPS games deal with issues such as World War I and World War II; *MOH* (2010) and *MOH Warfighter* (2012) deal with the current, global developments after 9/11. Likewise, the description “set in the rugged Afghanistan landscape” (“*Medal of Honor*”, n.d.) which takes place in *MOH* (2010) indicates that the game takes place in Afghanistan. According to Mirrlees, *MOHAA* (2010) is the

first game to bring the player together with the War on Terror battle in Afghanistan after 9/11 (2014, p. 85). In a similar way *MOHW* (2012), which is a follow up of *MOH* (2010), although dealing with the current events as a subject, it takes place in the countries like Pakistan, Yemen, Philippines, Somalia, and Dubai. Alongside *MOHW*'s explanation "Authentic Action Medal of Honor Warfighter connects dotted lines to real global terror events" (ea.com), the other explanation which takes place under the heading, "Go Global. Hunt Terror Where It Hides" is as follows:

[I]nspired by real world threats, Medal of Honor™ Warfighter delivers an aggressive, gritty, and authentic experience that puts gamers in the boots of today's most precise and disciplined warrior. Medal of Honor™ Warfighter is an up close and personal look at today's battlefield and the fight against the ongoing global terror threat. Following on the heels of 2010's Medal of Honor that took the game series out of World War II and introduced players to today's most elite U.S. warriors, Medal of Honor™ Warfighter takes players out of Afghanistan to continue to experience gameplay missions with a dotted line to real world incursions ("Description, n.d.).

On the other hand, in the official trailer of the game, while the explanation "based on actual events in the War on Terror" (Gamespot, 2012) supporting the game's being based on real events, also emphasizes that the game will provide an authentic experience.

In *Battlefield 3* (DICE, 2011), as for the games mentioned before, while the main characters are being defined as American and the first enemy as 'Rogue CIA' (with Middle Eastern Terrorists), it is seen that the game is based on the narrative of future terrorist and that it takes place in Iraq (2016, pp. 2-3). For this reason, though

focusing on the positioning of these games which were developed after 9/11 in Neo-Orientalist narrative, this study aims to reveal how the games, under the shadow of war and conflict phenomenon, serve to impose and legitimizing the Neo-Orientalist discourse, and the relationship between them. Likewise, this information has a place in showing that MFPS games provide an opportunity for reinforcing the war culture and discourse under the 'reality' experience of MFPS games. All this information shows that there is a strong relationship between Electronic Arts, the US government and the army, and builds up evidence for the function of the entertainment industry in the processes of creating ideological meaning. For this reason, EA reflects the current sample of the concepts like, "Military-Entertainment Complex (MEC)" (Herz, 1997; Lenoir, 2000; Lenoir and Loowod, 2003), "Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network (MIME-NET)" (Derian, 2009), "Militainment" (Stahl, 2010), all of which define the relationship and cooperation, which are discussed under the previous heading, between the government, army and entertainment industry. In this respect, the US-based Electronic Arts is an example where economic, cultural and ideological processes are intertwined.

Shortly, the games MOHOA (EA, 2010) and MOHW (EA, 2012) and Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011) are chosen as a sample of this research because of the reasons such as being developed by USA centered EA, the density of the relations between EA and US Government and the support of the army in development of games, the games' being related with the political agendas like Global War on Terror and the invasion of Afghanistan, the plot of all three games' taking place in the regions called 'East' and games' being taken into consideration in the perspective of West. In relation to this, it is important to examine these games in order to show who and what the 'Other', through the discourses about 'Other', is and their reproducing,

according to dominant powers' political agendas.

The games that forms the working universe and called Medal of Honor (EA Games, 2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (MOHW) (2012), and Battlefield 3 (DICE, 2011) have been examined by using qualitative research method in order to bring out how Neo-Orientalism has been constructed both discursively and visually. Therefore, the use of the three-stage structure/schema that John Fiske created with a semiotic perspective in his study called "Television Culture" (2001) has been preferred. Establishing a relationship between television and culture, Fiske sees television as a cultural agent that triggers/provokes and distributes/circulates meanings (2001, p. 1). Focusing on how meanings are produced and highlighting the role of television in this, Fiske proposes to start with a traditional semiotic expression, focusing on how television creates or attempts to create meanings that serve dominant interests in society and circulate it among various social groups. In this context, he aims to demonstrate critical methodology by applying the three-stage structure he has defined for television over the series *Hart to Hart* (2001, pp. 1-2) and focuses on the functions of the codes on televisions in meaning creation processes. Fiske, defining the code as "a rule-governed system of signs, whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meanings in and for that culture" (2001, p. 3) emphasizes that the codes are the linkage between the producer, text and the viewer (2001, p. 3).

In this context, Fiske categorizes the basic codes of television under three main categories: Reality, Representation, and Ideology. Reality, being the stage one and involving the elements like "appearance, dress, make-up, environment, behavior, speech, gesture, expression, sound, etc." has already been produced by social codes. Fiske explains this as, "reality" is already encoded, or rather the only way we can

perceive and make sense of reality is by the codes of our culture” (2001, p. 4) and draws attention to its relationship with the social code and/or its role in the construction of the social codes. Fiske explains this through the example of tree. In such a way that he says the trees on the lakeside, even before being photographed, encode a romantic narrative (2001, p. 5). In short, these codes have already been culturally produced.

Social codes belonging to “Reality” on the other hand bring out the “Representation” as the second stage, being converted by technical codes like “Camera, lighting, editing, music, sound”. Fiske, explains these codes as the examples like Villain/ess and Hero/ine through the series *Hart to Hart*. According to this, while the camera providing closeness to Hero/ine by moving away from Villain/ess, using soft and yellow light for heroes and hard and white light for bad characters, he exemplifies the hero’s having more time than the bad character. These technical codes which Fiske defines under the category of “Representation” transmit the conventional representational codes like narrative, conflict, character, action, dialogue and setting (2001, p. 4).

He explains these with the examples like the hero’s being more successful and attractive than the bad character; female and male heroes’ cooperating well with each other, while bad male and female characters do not have the same physical proximity; while male and female heroes communicating warmly, bad female and male characters come to the fore with disagreements and treacherous plans (2001, pp. 5-11). In short, the social codes existing in the culture are transmitted to the audience by technical codes of the medium, and as Fiske states, they are turned into a cultural text suitable for the audience (2001, p. 4). This is accomplished through genre-specific conventions such as narrative, conflict, and characters of the text.

A separate parenthesis is required for the narrative. The narrative concept, defined as how the story is told, how materials are selected and arranged to evoke a certain effect on the audience (Branston and Stafford, 2010, p. 51), is one of the basic elements that written and visual media texts as television, film, magazine, newspaper and digital game have. Fiske explains the narrative as “[F]ollows the basic laws of cause and effect, and that every element is there for the purpose of helping to make sense: nothing is extraneous or accidental” (2001, p. 23) In this context, the narrative can be summarized as constructing the story in a certain causality. In his study, Fiske examines the approaches to the narrative and the names like Roland Barthes, Claude Levi-Strauss, Vladimir Propp and Tzvetan Todorov who have structural approach to narrative (2001, pp. 130-141). Fiske, who calls Levi-Strauss and Barthes’ approaches “mythic narrative” (2001, p. 130), exemplifies the series *Hart to Hart* through Levi-Strauss' concept of “binary oppositions”. According to this, a few examples for binary oppositions that take place in the series such as “hero - villain, good - evil, attractive – unattractive, American middle class - non-American lower class, close couples – separated couples, close up – extreme close up” can be given (Fiske, 2001, p. 131) As it is seen, the concept of binary oppositions, which can be understood by its name, refers to concepts, phenomena or categories that have opposite meanings. Levi-Strauss concentrates his approach to binary oppositions around these thoughts:

If, as we believe to be the case, the unconscious activity of the mind consists in imposing forms upon content, and if these forms are fundamentally the same for all minds— ancient and modern, primitive and civilized (as the study of the symbolic function, expressed in language, so strikingly indicates)— it is necessary and sufficient to grasp the unconscious structure underlying each institution and each custom, in order to obtain a principle of interpretation valid

for other institutions and other customs, provided of course that the analysis is carried far enough (1963, p. 21).

In relation to this, the narrative of the selected games as samples is examined through Levi-Strauss's binary oppositions. Because the basis of the concept of Orientalism is also based on a dualism. For this reason, the narrative of the game is examined through the Strauss approach in order to show how East and West are produced and represented in contrast.

The third stage "Ideology" is the ideological code that includes the codes "individualism, patriarchy, race, class, materials, capitalism, etc." (2001, p. 4). Fiske exemplifies the ideology in the series Hart to Hart through the relationship between men and women. Accordingly, he interprets the women's lack of knowledge which men has as the ideological code showing patriarchy, and the theft of personal property as the ideology of capitalism (2001, p. 5).

The codes of Reality, Representation and Ideology are in relation with each other and as Fiske mentions, they are constituted in hierarchical order and that they proceed on a slippery surface (2001, p. 3). Therefore, the codes in the table created by Fiske are not fixed in a single category. In other words, the codes in Reality, Representation and Ideology proceed in an interwoven manner. Therefore, it is not possible to distinguish these codes clearly from each other, and these codes should be considered as spiral. For example, an item taking place in social codes may also be included in representation and conventional representation codes at the same time. In this context, while Fiske defines casting as the code of conventional representation, he defines the appearance as social code. He states that people's appearances have already been coded 'in real life' and that these appearances have also shaped

conventional codes in our culture. He underlines that the casting director uses these codes more consciously, more conventionally, that is to say stereotypically. He gives speech and dialogue as another example. Fiske, who states that he has defined speech as social code and dialogue (i.e. scripted speech) as technical code, says that both of them are almost indistinguishable practically (2001, p. 3).

Fiske's framework, which he created for television, is adapted to MFPS games in this study. Because digital games, like other media texts, are made up of visual, auditory and written codes and by means of these codes they produce meaning and carry messages. The use of many techniques, which are also used in other media tools (such as editing, camera angles, visual effects, sound), in digital games also proves this situation. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that media texts are not a 'natural' formation, but rather being something produced as results of production and therefore the concept of 'construction' is used for the texts (Long and Wall, 2013, p. 39). In this context, MFPS games together with reflecting the producer's point of view, they become the producer of meanings, the carrier of culture and ideologies. In this aspect, as in other media texts, the situations like "who is represented, and who is not, who speaks and who is silent, which issues are important and which ones are not" (Ken Smith et. Al., p. 524-25) are becoming questionable. In other words; from whose point of view the texts are produced, who is inside, who is left out, who and by what is done in drawing these boundaries gain importance. As a result of this, it is seen that MOFPS games as a media text are also not 'neutral'.

In this study, the main reason for the selection of the research method which is formed by using semiotic approach by Fiske is its consideration of the elements such as appearance, costumes, space and technical codes which belong to medium while examining the role of media texts in the process of meaning creation thoroughly. In

other words, the analysis method offers the opportunity to evaluate visual, auditory, cultural and ideological parameters together. Therefore, in this study, it is aimed to show the social and technical codes of MFPS games and to reveal the relationship of the meanings carried by these codes with ideologies such as Neo-Orientalism and militarism.

In this thesis, although Fiske's three-stage visual analysis method is examined separately with analytical concerns, the relationship between them will be established in the conclusion part. While evaluation is being made in this context, the story modes (single campaign mode) of the games are played, monitored and examined by taking notes. While applying the schema created by Fiske, some codes are combined and others are excluded from the analytical approach. In this context, the codes take place under Reality such as characters' appearance, clothes and behavior, and the actions and dialogues of characters under Representation are handled together. Under the Representation heading, environment and written codes are added to the narrative, conflict and setting codes. The texts in the opening and closing sequences and the task names and/or definitions in the menu are examined in written codes. In the last category, ideology, the relationship between social and technical codes and processes of creating ideological meaning is examined.

4.2 Medal of Honor

Before proceeding to the analysis of MOH, a brief description about the game is required. The Medal of Honor (EA, 2010) deals with the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 in the frame of US' struggle against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. The story of the game focuses on the main character Rabbit, Mother, Preacher, and Voodoo, and takes place in different parts of Afghanistan. Single-player campaign mode consists of ten missions in total as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 *Mission and Menu Descriptions in Medal of Honor (EA, 2010)*

Missions in Medal of Honor (EA, 2010)	
Missions	Missions Menu Descriptions
First In	You must infiltrate the Taliban-held town of Gardez and locate Tariq, a local elder who has valuable intel on High-Value targets and enemy positions in the surrounding area.
Breaking Bagram	With the enemy located, the key to defeating them begins with securing a former Soviet airbase as your T.O.C.(Tactical Operations Center). Alongside AFO Neptune and Tariq's local militia, you must penetrate the Taliban's defenses and seize the control tower.
Running with Wolves...	Infiltrate the rugged mountains surrounding the Shahikot Valley on stealthed-out ATVs. You will encounter enemy outposts and villages along the way to O.P. (Observation Point) Clementine. It's there where you will rain down tactical airstrikes on enemy positions.
Dorothy's a Bitch	Push into the snow-capped peaks of the Shahikot on foot, take out Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters in close quarters battle, eliminate AAA positions with the support of AC-130 gunship Reaper 3-1 all the way to Dorothy, your final O.P. (Observation Point).
Belly of the Beast	Inserted into the Shahikot in heavy lift helicopters, you and your platoon must fight your way to the high ground and eliminate the enemies firing positions. It's what you do, you're Rangers!
Gunfighters	You're the front seater of an AH-64D Apache on mission with your companion aircraft, Gunfighter 11. Together you will go 'switches

	hot' on Taliban mortar teams, Al-Qaeda RPG gunners and AAA positions with the Apache's deadly arsenal of high-tech weaponry.
Friends from Afar	The previous night's airstrikes were a success, now you and Dusty move higher to hunt dug-in Al-Qaeda fighters. Conceal your movement and watch your noise discipline, or the hunter will become the hunted.
Compromised	In the southern end of the Shahikot, Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters take the bait and walk into your irons as you draw them closer with tactical fall back maneuvers.
Neptune's Nest	Two of Neptune's team members are left on the mountain. You ignore the order to return to base and reinsert at night on top of Takur Ghar to get your men back.
Rescue the Rescuers	The TOC (Tactical Operations Center) has lost contact with Neptune and Wolfpack is three mountains away. With time running out, there is only one option--send in the QRF (Quick Reaction Force). You once again step into the boots of Ranger SPC (Specialist) Dante Adams and are inserted on top of Takur Ghar to find Neptune.

In these missions, the game is played from the perspective of different characters. Under the next heading, the physical appearance of the characters in the game, dress codes and equipment used will be evaluated.

4.2.1 Construction of Characters in Medal Of Honor

In this title, the appearances of the characters in the game, costumes and the military equipment (weapons, equipment, helicopter, tank, etc.) they used are being

examined. The characters in the game are classified by titles such as the American soldiers who are actively in the battle, the characters in the secondary role (non-fighting), the allies and the enemies.

As shown in Table 2, there are basically four teams in the game. Rabbit, Deuce, Spc. While Dante Adams and Captain Brad “Hawk” Hawkins are playable characters, the rest are non-playable characters.

Table 2 *Units and Members in MOH (EA, 2012)*

Characters in Medal of Honor (EA, 2010)		
Team/Units/Forces	Members	
Pratagonists	AFO (Advance Force Operations) Neptune	Mother, Voodoo, Preacher, Rabbit (Playable)
	AFO Wolfpack	Panther, Vegas, Dusty, Deuce (Playable)
	75th Ranger Regiment	Corporal Hernandez, Sergeant Ybarra, Sergeant Jim Patterson, Specialist Dante Adams (Playable)
	1st Battalion, 2nd Aviation Regiment	Captain Brad “Hawk” Hawkins (Playable), Gunfighters 1-1 (Woman Pilot)
	Civilians or OGA	Colonel R. Drucker, General Flagg, Woman in Flagg’s Office, Jimmy, Ajab
	Allience	Tariq, ANA (Afghan National Army)
Enemy	Chechens, Taliban, El Qaeda	

While evaluating the appearance and dress codes of the characters in the game, it is emphasized on how the existing conventional representation codes from the East

and West are being reproduced and reinforced. Therefore, instead of evaluating the appearance of characters and dress codes in detail, all characters are examined individually and how they are reconstructed within the framework of existing representation codes. In this context, the skin colors of the Western and Eastern characters, hair-beard characteristics, physical characteristics (masculine-feminine) and the characters' dress code that draws attention to the images (objects, pouch, hats) are emphasized. In other words, the main characters and the distinguishing features of the enemy are evaluated.

In AFO Neptune team in the game, Mother, Voodoo, and Preacher are in Afghan-style outfits in dark tones⁵⁵ at the start of the game, and in the following missions, they wear full combat gear⁵⁶ American army uniform. Similarly, characters from the Wolfpack team Panther, Vegas, and Dusty are also dressed in dark Afghan clothes. These characters whose names are mentioned take part actively in the battlefield. These white-skinned and intensely bearded characters in general are constructed as 'superior' soldiers with high tactical skills, strong, intelligent and athletic qualities. Some of these characters have to be enclosed in parentheses, and some of their features need to be mentioned in more detail. For example, the fact that the Mother code-named character took responsibility towards the end of the game against the order to return to the base in order to save the teammates taken hostage by the enemy shows that he cares more about team members and friends than himself. Constantly guiding and alerting the members of the team on the radio also brings his leadership to the fore. This probably explains why the character is given the code

⁵⁵While these daily clothes are being earth-toned, the character Mother has a brown cap on his head, a light brown shemagh around her neck; Voodoo has a light blue shemagh; Preacher has a brown cap and a khaki shemagh that covers his neck and head.

⁵⁶ This uniform consists of a khaki military camouflage and a helmet. And the equipment are the gloves, knee pads, elbow pads, leg rigs, holster, ammo pouch, combat vest, bags and weapons. A night vision optics is placed on the helmet.

name Mother. Furthermore, at this point, the heroic stories seem to be intertwined, and the presence of a 'savior' allows the player to identify himself as a Western soldier. Assigning the role of the savior to the unplayable character here shows that Mother is given a glorified role. On the other hand, players perform the missions mostly from the perspective of the character 'Rabbit'. Therefore, Rabbit can be mentioned as the leading role in the game. In addition, there is a rabbit leg icon on the character to bring luck. Even though the Rabbit carries a lucky charm, it is the only character to be killed among the other playable ones. Dusty, that takes place on the demo cover of the game can be shown as another example. In the trailer of the game, in which the song "The Catalyst" prepared for the game by the music band Linkin Park take place, Dusty is portrayed by a real actor in the trailer. The "FDNY" written on his hat is the abbreviation of "Fire Department New York" and there is a reference to honor the struggle they gave at 9/11. In other words, while saluting heroic stories, the reason why they are in Afghanistan is being rationalized and based on a justified motive by establishing a symbolic connotation.

Similarly, although the members of the 75th Rangers unit are white-skinned and appear to be in full combat gear American military uniforms, they are depicted as beardless, unlike the AFO team. In relation to this, considering the close relationship of the war genre with the masculine language, the fact that US soldiers' daily clothes and military uniforms are in dark tones proves their masculine structures. Apart from these, black characters in the US military (only one black soldier has been identified in the active role on the battlefield) are less often seen on the battlefield but are often represented around the role of service. In this context, Colonel Drucker and some employees at the head of Tactical Operations Center (T.O.C.) serve as an example for this situation. This provides an example of the race-based approach within the army,

supporting the fact that the game is seen from the point of view of the ‘white’ characters, and that these characters are identified with this. In addition, although the AFO teams⁵⁷ were ‘like’ in Afghan-style garments (outfit) at the beginning of the game, it is noteworthy that they were not able to stand out from Western dress codes. Even when constructing the image of the US soldier in the Middle East through the costume, he points out that the West does not come out much more than the casual dress code. These outfits dominated by dark colour are supported by accessories like shemagh. This is one of the main objects which leads to the fictionalization of the Middle Eastern identity as Other from the Western eye.

Alongside this, even though all of these characters are thought to be male characters, it is seen that there are also two female characters in the game. However, the positioning of these women in the game indicates that their social gender roles are built around stereotypical patterns. In such a way that, one of the female characters in the game, Gunfighter 1-1 call-coded female pilot is positioned as Captain Hawkings’ co-pilot, but her presence does not appear to be physically visible and she is only heard through radio. After rescuing a small number of Rangers by air support and the soldiers’ waving hands meaning to say, “Don’t go”, the female pilot says; “Happens every time. Those boys were ten seconds from meeting their maker and still ...” Hawkings answers, “You just don’t understand the brain of a warrior” . The female pilot responds as “Brain?”. The conversation between the female pilot and Hawkings in the sub-text reproduces social gender roles. It can be said that the woman in the military struggle is located in the secondary position. Although the soldiers are seen as ‘warriors’, an impression regarding that being on the battlefield/battleground is

⁵⁷Since some of the tasks of the game are played from the point of views of the characters Rabbit and Deuce, who take place in these teams, there is no clear information about their appearance.

very different from being in the warplane as a woman is created. It means that the warrior's mind works very differently, and that the female pilot cannot understand it because she is not actively armed on the battlefield. In short, the masculine language of war and the presence of women in the war environment and/or the war and struggle's being the men's work take place in the sub-text. The members of this team, while getting in touch with each other, use the acronym "WILCO" (message received and will comply) continuously. On the other hand, the female character, whose name is not mentioned and who is located as a secretary attending General Flagg, although represented visually in a masculine manner but having no speech draws attention. This situation reinforces the patriarchal society structure. In other words, although the female pilot is actively involved in the battlefield, her not being seen in the military uniform; and the female secretary's serving in the military department instead of being in the 'power' oriented military struggle proves that the masculine language of the war is reproduced within relation to gender roles.

Tariq and ANA (Afghan National Army) take place as Allies. Tariq is a former Taliban member of medium height, brunette, with black intense beard. He wears white baggy trousers, a white blouse, a brown vest and has slippers on his feet. It is seen that the physical characteristics and dress codes of the character are constructed within the discourse of 'Eastern male'. In addition, Tariq is represented in the narrative as aggrieved, desperate, in need of Western military power, and waiting to be saved. What Tariq, represented as Ally, said to USA soldiers confirms this : "This is the Taliban. They have spies everywhere. They took everything and left only hurt. Please. You... you must find them. Find them and kill them all". These words prove that America's savior role is legitimized, and that the Neo-Orientalist discourse is embedded in the 'local' language. In other words, even the character encoded as the

Other makes a reading from the perspective that the West sees itself. In addition, Tariq, in order to eliminate the problem of trust that US soldiers are experiencing, tries to convince them with the following statements: "Please... I have a daughter. I want her to go to school. I want her to be a person, have a life... do you not understand?" Tariq's suggestion of this idea indicates a few points. Primarily, it shows the position of girls in the society in Afghanistan, and accordingly in Middle Eastern societies. This situation coincides with the opinion that the girls in Middle Eastern societies do not go or they are not sent to schools. However, it is seen that Tariq wants to send his daughter to school, and by striving from his social values, he approaches to Western values and wants to convince the soldiers in this way. This shows that Afghanistan, and accordingly the Middle East, is coded as 'despotic' and/or 'anti-democratic' in the face of Western democracy.

On the other hand, while there is no Oriental female character in Afghanistan, the female image on the billboard at the beginning of the game gives signs of the social, cultural and ideological position of women in the Middle East.

The woman in formal clothes and wearing a headscarf is seen speaking with a microphone in front of the lectern. The woman with the speech bubble in her head is located in both the speech bubble and the scribbled face. At this point, the game anonymously establishes woman with stereotypical representation of the Middle Eastern woman. This has subtexts such as the absence of women's right to speak, silence and faintness, the dominant position of men in society and the abstraction of women. This barrier imposed on women in society shows that women in the Middle East are encoded by stereotypic images.

The enemy characters in the game are Chechens, Taliban and Al Qaeda. Chechen characters are white-skinned, black-bearded, and strongly built. The

characters have military camouflages and military equipment. Taliban and Al-Qaeda members are seen in several different forms. But there are visual and dress codes that bring these characters together in common. While these characters are generally built around visual discourse with dark skin, black dense beard and weaker than American soldiers, this discourse is reinforced with accessories such as shemagh and balaclava. In particular, the fact that the balaclava and shemagh are worn to cover the face except the eyes makes the impression that the enemy used them as means of concealment, on the other hand, it refers to the danger and threat behind the mask. In addition, negative statements such as ‘tangos’ and ‘bad guys’ and from time to time ‘assholes’ and ‘stupid’ are often used about the enemy by the US soldiers. However, the enemy is shown to be in crowded groups, but without tactical knowledge and far from technology.

Table 3 *Weapons and Equipments in MOH (EA, 2010)*

Weapons and Equipments in Medal of Honor		
An Protagonist	Weapons & Other Equipments	M4 CQBR, M4, M4 with Suppressor, M14 EBR, 870 MCS, M60, PKM, P226, combat knife, Tomahawk (axe) MP7A1, M110, M82, G19 pistol, M67, M249, M1014, M9, M67 grenade, minigun, M240 weapons; aim-point CompM2 (optic) C4 demolition charge, M67 grenade, improvised explosive device, SOFLAM (Special Operations Forces Laser Marker), radio.
	Vehicles	Hilux Truck, AH-6 Little Bird, Rigid-hulled Inflatable Boat (RHIB), CH-47 Chinook, AH-64 Apache, ATV terrain type motor
An	Weapons	AK-47, AK-74s, AKS-74U, AK-103, M60, G3A3, PKM,

		AKM, SVD, RPG, RPG-7, PKP, Glock23, Mortar, DSh weapons; radio
	Vehicles	Technical Truck, T55 Tank

As shown in Table 3, the diversity of weapons, equipment, and vehicles used by US soldiers emphasizes the technological superiority of US soldiers. In other words, the military technology and power of the USA are emphasized. This situation shows that the USA is constructed as ‘technological superiority/advancement’. In the face of this technological power, the enemy is highlighted lacking technological opportunities and/or having limited equipment. In this context, the Middle East is represented by weapons and equipment containing stereotype images such as the AK47, RPG and the heavy-duty technical truck behind it. In addition, they are objectified through the technological superiority of Western soldiers and their practice of killing Other by means of weapons. At the same time, the situation normalizing the war and violence reveals the requirement of eliminating Other through violence in order to win and reach the end.

According to this information, when looking at the positioning of the characters in the game, it is seen that the game is mainly based on hero-villain. Social and cultural experiences and values come into prominence in the selection and creation (both physically and emotionally) of these heroes and bad villains. In this context, American soldiers are portrayed in a superior way both visually and discursively. The heroic characters, following 9/11, have motivations for Western soldiers such as ‘preventing the threatening insurgents’, ‘eliminating the enemy’, ‘preventing threats’ and ‘bringing about peace’. Therefore, the actions of the characters are based on the prevention and the elimination of the enemy through

violence. In fact, these actions seem to be a part of a design to justify the presence of the US military in Afghanistan and to justify violence against groups and individuals coded as ‘enemies’.

On the other hand, the enemy is fictionalized as ‘different’ from American soldiers. In other words, the enemy is being reconstructed around the stereotype images as Other. Considering that there are no civilians in Afghanistan (as will be mentioned later), it is generalized that Afghanistan is a place of Al Qaeda and Taliban members and Chechens. It is seen that people from different nationalities having ethnic identities, women, children, old or young population are ignored and constructed with the discourse of ‘terror’. The enemy in the game is coded as Other under the discourse of ‘terror’, ignoring the beliefs and values such as race, religion, language and sect. In other words, the Afghan identity, being associated with the image of a ‘terrorist’ is generalized. Because the Other is being terrorist and dangerous, any action against him is based on legitimate grounds. In short, the selection and creation of heroes and bad characters in the game (both physically and emotionally) and the creation of actions show that social and cultural experiences and values are highlighted. For this reason, American soldiers are portrayed as heroes and encoded with stereotype images.

4.2.2 The Use of Technical Codes in MOH

Under this heading, it is emphasized how conventional representational codes, such as narrative, conflict, settings, and written codes are established culturally, socially and ideologically from a Western perspective, and in this direction, how the East and the West are constructed with dual contrasts within the narrative. In addition, it is evaluated how the region called ‘East’ is represented in the narrative and in which context it is handled. Likewise, the relationship between technical codes such as

camera, music, sound and light and meaning making processes in the narrative is emphasized.

The narrative structure of the game is based on flashback and after the opening sequence it starts going back to 6 months earlier. The main conflict in the narrative is experienced between man and man. In other words, the main conflict is between US soldiers and Al-Qaeda and Taliban insurgents, who are enemies. Another indirect conflict is the struggle of American soldiers in the difficult and dangerous geographical conditions of Afghanistan.

Some important points in the narrative draw attention. As a beginning, it can be said that only US soldiers can be played in the game, and that the narrative of the game has ended up in their victory. Despite the victory gained against the enemy, the death of the character Rabbit at the end of the game cast a slur on this victory. The death of this character, which can be considered and played as the leading role, can be seen as a convention of the genre of war. However, the point that should be underlined here is the loss of the main character's leaving the joy of victory sentimentally aside and creating an image of soldier who sacrifices himself for his homeland. So much so that the scene where the Rabbit died actually proves that the character is *immortalized* as a hero. A symbolic message is being given that the character who died near the top of the mountain will go to heaven. Because the sub-text of the mountain and the peak can be interpreted as closeness to God. In the continuation of the scene, meaning creation is reinforced by positioning the camera in the helicopter. The camera inside the helicopter is positioned to give the meaning of a tunnel, a cave, or a gateway to a location.⁵⁸ The body of Rabbit, lying between the

⁵⁸ In fact, it resembles Stanley Kubrick's 'one point perspective' composition.

soldiers sitting on the right and left, is positioned with the peak of a snowy mountain and a cloudy blue sky in the background, and it is seen that the character is given a symbolic meaning that he will go to heaven. At the same time, the use of music and light on the stage attracts attention. Music emphasizes emotionality in this scene, reinforces heroic and patriotic images, and increases the dramatic effect of the scene. At the same time, the music creates a feeling that the Rabbit is at peace. On the other hand, while the music points to the final, Mother, by saying “This isn’t how this ends” to Preacher, points out that the series will continue and that the characters are motivated by a sense of revenge.

The central position of American soldiers, and hence the American identity, against the Eastern enemy is also realized through national and patriotic images. One of the main examples of this is clearly expressed in the opening and closing sequences of the game. The opening sequence of the game begins with a white font on a black background, quoting from Laurence Binyon's poem “For the Fallen” (1914): “They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old: Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning. We will remember them”. The poem was written for the British soldiers who died in World War I. The heroism and sacrifice of the soldiers who fought on behalf of America and put their lives to their homeland are emphasized and the national and patriotic values of the United States are reinforced. Similarly, in the closing sequence of the game, national values under images such as brotherhood, heroism, and patriotism are emphasized:

To our brothers past and present - This is a dedication to America's servicemen.
 A dedication to the debt we owe to **Warriors** lost, and to all of our military
 forces who continue to **defend freedom around the world**. Men and women
 who have **honorably** served throughout our nation's history - who stood and

continue to stand fast in the face of a determined enemy and defeat them with unwavering discipline (EA, 2010).⁵⁹

American soldiers are being constructed as defenders of peace and freedom, and it is emphasized that American actions on earth are carried out in the name of bringing 'freedom'. This situation, while pointing out America's imperial policies in East, can be explained as the mission bringing 'freedom' to Afghanistan and the Middle East, which is coded as the 'Other' of Neo-Orientalism. In the following sequence of the text above includes:

Most Americans do not know what our Special Operations Forces community experience. They do not know what these **Warriors** endure in combat, nor do they understand the selflessness and love of the **brothers** beside them. Men within this community bring the fight to the enemy, engage aggressively, and stand their ground (EA, 2010).⁶⁰

While these statements encode the American soldier as a warrior who experiences difficulties and overcomes them, on the other hand, they emphasize that this community is a 'male-dominated' field and refers to the masculine language of war. The use of military and patriotic keywords such as 'warrior', 'hero', 'brotherhood', 'honor', 'sacrifice', and 'great nation' comes into prominence in the continuation of the text.

These texts, which glorify the US soldier and American cultural, social and national values, are supported by music that highlights the dramatic elements. This music, which has the characteristic of an anthem, reinforces the national feelings. In

⁵⁹ The emphasis in the text belong to me (g.k.).

⁶⁰ The emphasis in the text belong to me (g.k.).

fact, the music used at this point is called “Heroes Aboard”. When the meaning in the subtext of these written codes and the role of music in reinforcing the meaning and the narrative of the game are taken into consideration, it can be said that ‘us’ consciousness is regenerated by emphasizing the collective identity at this point. This understanding calls for coexistence against ‘Others’ and constitutes the coexistence as a positive value.

The other remarkable point about the written codes can be seen in the game names. For example, “Dorothy’s a Bitch”, “Belly of the Beast”, and “Rescue the Rescuers” are remarkable. While Dorothy’s a Bitch involves a gendered discourse, Belly of the Beast positions the enemy as a monster. In Rescue the Rescuers, the name of the mission to save the Mother and Rabbit, who were taken hostage by the enemy, and therefore American soldiers, and America are positioned as the savior. In other words, this emphasizes the idea that it is the US military who will ensure peace in the region and assume the role of a savior.

How the setting and environment is established and represented in the narrative plays an important role. In this context, it is seen that Afghanistan is portrayed as an underdeveloped, non-technological, chaotic environment and a dangerous place. The game takes place in Gardez, Afghanistan and Shaikot Valley, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 *Missions and Locations in MOH (EA, 2010)*

Missions of Medal of Honor	
Missions	Locations
First In	Gardez, Afghanistan
Breaking Bagram	Bagram Airfield, Afghanistan

Running with Wolves...	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Dorothy's a Bitch	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Belly of the Beast	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Gunfighters	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Friends from Afar	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Compromised	Shaikot Valley, Afghanistan
Neptune's Nest	Takur Ghar, Shahikot Valley, Afghanistan
Rescue the Rescuers	Takur Ghar, Shahikot Valley, Afghanistan

The story of the game takes place in different regions of Afghanistan in different time zones. Likewise, the story does not take place steadily in a single region of the location, but goes on in different parts of the city, town, and/or mountain.

In the light of all this information, it is seen that the game, which takes place in different parts of Afghanistan in Middle East, where silence prevails is represented in an isolated way from civil life. Among the motifs which can often be encountered in Afghanistan, there are kerosene lamps, fire (some on the streets, some in barrels), carpets hanging on the walls of houses, scrap vehicles, trucks and caves. Of these aforementioned props, carpet indicates an oriental image and the kerosene lamp indicates backwardness. There are ruinous and broken down buildings in the city which has narrow streets like labyrinths where the houses are connected to each other. In the streets, scrap cars, burning barrels and fires are encountered. This situation carries a connotation that the city is surrounded by images like danger and lack of civilization. Because, the city is controlled by insurgents and/or 'terrorists' instead of state forces and authorities such as police and soldiers. In narrow and maze-like streets, it is seen that there is an environment of intimidation, danger and fear, which

is intimidating and threatening (the feeling that an enemy will emerge from a narrow street at any moment). On one hand, while the city is fictionalized in a desolated, gloomy way, it is also portrayed as primitive, far from technology and undeveloped. The valley and the mountainous region, on the other hand, are fictionalized as a place where is barren and had narrow passages, the cave (spider hole) and the headquarters of the enemy.

In short, Afghanistan appears to have been created within the context of war, where violence and chaos prevailed, degenerated, devastated, and conceived as a place of abandonment. This situation shows that the geography of the Other is shaped around negative features in the Neo-Orientalist discourse.

Conventional representation codes such as narrative, setting/environment, character, action, dialogue/speech and player selection are transmitted to the viewer by technical codes. Therefore, the relationship between the creation of characters in the narrative, codes of dialogue, settings and conflict, and technical codes such as camera, light and music, and how the meanings are created through them is an important factor. Since the game carries FPS feature, the camera is presented from a subjective point of view. However, in cinematic videos (cutscenes), besides the subjective point of view, objective point of view is also used and the use of different camera angles comes into prominence.

The sequence after the opening scene (opening title sequence) of the game starts with outer space. The camera continues with the 'track' movement to the right and right side in the space and the earth becomes visible. In the meantime, Arabic speeches are heard from the radio. While the western side of the earth is bright with the sun, darkness begins to collapse as we move to the eastern side, and the scene

continues with the bird's eye view of Afghanistan through the dark clouds. At first glance, while this situation seems to be a day-long natural process of the earth around the sun, it actually has other meanings in its subtext. This scene, showing the two poles of the earth, the West and the East, presents the East as a darkness opposite to the side where the sun illuminates the US. In other words, dark clouds appear as you go to the East, causing them to be associated with phenomena such as obscurity, danger and darkness. In addition, when the Biblical meaning of the sun is considered, it expresses that the sun illuminates the darkness and the evil and the power of light on them. Therefore, it can be said that the sun above the USA has a secondary meaning. Continuing the scene, the camera stands on Afghanistan and approaches to the ground from a bird's-eye angle. Going down through the dark clouds, the transition into the drone is made and Afghanistan is seen through the drone camera. In this scene, the game also includes information about the attacks that took place in 9/11 and quotes from the announcements of female and male reporters are used. In addition, it is heard that the music used on the stage contains Middle Eastern melodies (oriental).

Bird-eye/Aerial shot is often used in the game. Especially the drone and helicopter images show the power and authority of the US soldier on the enemy. The meaning of positioning the camera from the top angle in the sub-text carries the meaning of power and authority. In other words, because the camera sees from above in these scenes, it refers to an implicit omniscience emphasis and heavenly intervention. At the same time, helicopter and drone images normalize the destruction and violence. For example, the top angle seen from the cockpit of the helicopter in the mission called *Gunfighters* reinforces the hegemony over the enemy. At the same time, the use of upbeat rock music called "Enemy Down" in the background increases

the adrenaline and is used as an element that reinforces violence.

Technical codes, such as camera angles and the use of light, allow the Other's to be trivialized and facilitated his being killed. Drone and helicopter scenes can be given as examples for this. The enemy's being seen small causes the loss of empathy and emotional ties with the enemy and the easy application of violence. In other words, the enemy's not being seen closely while being alienated through killing practices -even if it is shown- is depicted within the framework of certain stereotypes, facilitates the violence committed and rationalizes the action. However, this situation brings with it the question of ethical rules. In addition, the re-playability of the same task, chapter or map, even if the main characters are killed, is another element that justifies and reinforces violence; the soldiers may die, but the mission continues; and as this is the mission, the same 'game' will be repeated until the absolute victory is achieved. The enemy's being portrayed as evil allows the rationalization of any acts of violence against him.

Of course the codes in a scene of the game do not revive alone, but with the combination of the use of the codes like narrative, camera angle, decor, characters and dialogues together forming completeness. This situation can be exemplified by the scene of Rabbit and his comrades in the helicopter at the end of the game.

The use of music and light in the game contributes to meaning-creation processes. As mentioned before, music is used in some parts of the game to increase action and tension and in other parts, it is used to highlight national emotions and emphasize the dramatic effect. The use of music in the game first appears in the game's menu. The song "From Here" highlights the Middle Eastern melodies. The music, which is dominated by percussion and string instruments, evokes images such

as obscurity and danger. Similarly, the music “The Time is Upon You” which takes place in the game contains Middle Eastern tunes.

Table 5 *Music and Soundtracks in MOH (EA, 2010)*

Sountracks in MOH (2010)	
Keywords to define music	Middle Eastern Style, Rhythm High-paced, Action, Thriller
Name of Music	From Here, The Time Is Upon U, Watch Your Corners, Streets Of Gardez, Hunter-Killer, Taking The Field, Thirty Seconds Out, Paint 'Em Up, Send In The Rangers, WFO
Keywords to define music	Middle Eastern Style, Soft, Slow
Name of Music	Tariq's Plea, H-Hour, Falling Away
Keywords to define music	Dramatic, Classic, Soft, Low Rhythm, Emphasizing national feelings
Name of Music	Heroes Abroad, All Rounds Expended, High Ground, The Summit, Final Extraction, Wiyar
Keywords to define music	Rock, Action, Adrenalin
Name of Music	Enemy Down

It is seen that Middle Eastern tunes are often dominant in the music of the games. This use refers to the Middle East convention and suggests images such as desert, the Sahara, desolation, heat, and sand.

In the light of this information, it can be concluded that the narrative of the

game is based on binary oppositions. When all this information is evaluated, the narrative of the game highlights emotions such as excitement, fear, sadness, anger, and pleasure, and contains many contradictions. When the narrative of the game is examined through the binary structure of Levi Strauss, the following results appear: West-East, Christianity-Islam, Us-Them, hero-villain, good-evil, civilized-savage, civilized-barbarian, strong-weak, first world-third world, superior-inferior, light-dark, victory-defeat, order-anarchy, urban-rural, unique-ordinary, helpers-hinders, life-death, superior soldier-inferior insurgent, teamwork/coordination-individuality, freedom-captivity, ally/friend-enemy, sane-insane, savior-frustrated, unity-separation, diversity-uniform, equality-inequality, courage-coward, technological superiority-technological backwardness, order-chaos/turmoil, tactical ambush, collective-individuality, merciful-merciless, benevolent, true-false.

4.2.3 Construction of Ideology

In the previous chapter, the contradictions in the narrative and how the conflict was established were observed, and it was emphasized how the environment was represented and in which context it was handled. Under this heading, considering the information above, the relationship between these codes and ideology is evaluated.

Ideological codes such as militarism, Military-Entertainment-Complex (MEC), patriarchy, Neo-orientalism and nationalism come into prominence in the game. As a beginning, the production of the game by the US-based company reveals the necessity that the game should not be considered independent from cultural, social, economical and ideological values and beliefs of USA. The narrative structure based on contrasts confronts the West and the East on an ontological and epistemological basis and highlights the differences. This distinction is seen beginning from the opening scene of the play and emerging in the construction of the

characters in the narrative.

Neo-Orientalist discourse in the game, as it was examined under the heading of narrative before, emphasizes the superiority of the West and it is seen that the West reinforces its central position against negative representations produced about the East. It should be underlined that the superiority established by the Western masculine white man over the Eastern has been realized with the knowledge of the East produced. Therefore, while the game shows how Western social, cultural and ideological values are, it draws a frame on the opposite side to show how East and Eastern societies are or should be. One of the main examples of this throughout the game is that the game ends with the victory of US soldiers. The story ends up with a single conclusion and the characters on the US side can be played throughout the game. While there is no possibility of winning by the enemy, the playability of enemy characters is not possible. The enemy must be eliminated and the enemy is not given a chance to win.

When considering militarism as a phenomenon placed masculine language in center, it can be said that the game reproduces masculine language and social gender roles. It is seen that male characters take place almost in all the game whereas a female character (except female announcers in the opening scene) does not, except the secretary working with General Flagg and the Eastern female silhouette on the billboard and that the women are isolated from the battlefield. In fact, this situation reveals two issues together: The US perspective of Eastern women and the US perspective of women in Western society within the framework of their cultural values. The first one refers to the positioning of the East against the West through the invisibility of women, and the second to the positioning of women in terms of social, cultural and ideological values within the West itself. While the Western woman is

represented as a free and representative person in business life (even here, it is important to remember that the woman is positioned in a secondary way in the game and that the right to representation is not equal and there is no right to speak), the Eastern woman has no representation right beyond an oriental image on the wall and silenced. This is important in terms of showing the perspective of Middle Eastern women, gender roles and sexist stereotypes of the hegemonic view that the creators of the game, and hence the creators speak through. On the other hand, the hierarchy between General Flagg and his secretary also reveals the perspective of women in Western societies. The situation of Western women shows the positioning of gender roles in itself. While the white American state man takes place in the upper echelon and can make war decisions, the Western woman is represented as being isolated from the war environment and interested in paperwork. In other words, the Western man is represented as the side holding power and the authority in the face of Western woman. In this aspect, the game provides information about what the idealized images of Western white men and women and Eastern men and women should be. It shows how the social gender roles are portrayed in the West and East. Likewise, this situation shows that war and war gamed are a male-dominated field.

All these images show that Afghanistan is portrayed within the framework of images of war and terror. But this situation is related with how the West sees the Middle Eastern people rather than reflecting their lifestyles. Afghanistan is represented as a complex, war zone, chaos, and a bad place, and discourses are being built in this direction. Afghanistan and Afghans, coded as Other and generalized as a dangerous country and people that need to be eliminated or coded as individuals who need to reach the highest level of civilization and that they can only reach this position by cooperating with dominant forces. The Afghan identity is being associated

with the concepts of 'terror' and 'danger' and an Eastern identity is being built. Afghanistan, hence the Middle East, is described as dangerous, chaotic, and a place of terrorists. There are no Middle Eastern women or children. Afghanistan is represented as being limited with men who are the members of Taliban and Al Qaeda. It is not taken into consideration that these people are not the only ones in Middle East, there are people from different nationalities and religions and languages, and their appearance and dress codes are different. It is observed that Afghanistan is stereotyped by making generalizations on the enemy which is produced. All this is realized under the phenomenon of war in relation to militarist discourse. While the ideology of militarism is being pumped, the perspective of the Other is reinforced and reproduced. Likewise, the superior position of the West, which is produced through the negative knowledge of the Other, shows itself also with nationalist facts. Values such as brotherhood, homeland and heroism are glorified in the game.

Based on all these discussions, it can be said that Medal of Honor (EA, 2010) is an example of military-entertainment complex. The support provided by Tier 1 Operators of the US Army during the development of the game proves the relationship between the army and the entertainment industry. At the same time, the fact that many people play these games in different parts of the world causes culture to be reproduced under the militarist discourse under the purpose of entertainment. The composition of the song "The Catalyst" by the band Linkin Park is another example of the intertwined structure of the music and game industry and the army. Beyond these, while the game aggrandizes the American identity and shows it as a Hero, it constructs the enemy 'Other' as images of 'terror', 'danger', and 'chaos', and produces the Neo-Orientalist discourse, and in fact continues to reproduce it, each time the game is played.

4.3 Medal of Honor Warfighter

The story of Medal of Honor: Warfighter (2012) (MOHW), being the continuation of Medal of Honor (2010), focuses on Mother and Preacher, who have been the unplayable characters of the previous game, and by going out of Afghanistan, handles the struggles with “global terror network” in different locations such as Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, Spain, Philippines, Dubai and Arabian Waters. The game consists of thirteen tasks, as shown in the table below and the descriptions of the tasks in the game menu are as follows:

Table 6 *Missions and Menu Descriptions in MOHW (EA, 2012)*

Missions in Medal of Honor: Warfighter	
Missions	Missions Menu Descriptions
Unintended Consequences	A simple detonation of a small cargo container goes wrong, and sets in motion a race to stop a global terror network.
Through the Eyes of Evil	Somewhere in Yemen, an undercover OGA asset trains with new terrorist recruits.
Shore Leave	TF Mako and the Marines of TF Grizzly assault a camp of heavily armed and highly trained Al-Shabaab pirates.
Hot Pursuit	Shortly after the incident at the port, Mako returns to the scene of the crime to find out who was shipping the explosives.
Changing Tides	While following the P.E.T.N. lead to the flood ravaged Philippines, TF Mako must now contend with ASG terrorists who have taken civilians hostage.
Rip Current	A bad call by local authorities forces an emergency assault on the ASG compound. Mako must act quickly if the hostages are to be saved.

Hat Trick	The remaining members of TF Mako put their sharpshooting skills to the test in order to rescue the captain of a merchant vessel being held for ransom by Somali Pirates.
Finding Faraz	The events of the Philippines now behind them, Mother and Preacher form TF Blackbird and pursue the P.E.T.N. threat under their own R.O.E..
Connect the Dots	The picture comes to into focus and TF Mako is sent to raid a terrorist training facility deep in the mountains of Yemen.
Hello and Dubai	Following the money, Mother and Preacher head to the modern city of Dubai to find a banker with dirty connections.
Old Friends	The P.E.T.N. source has been located and TF Mako is sent to Sarajevo to look up a few old friends who may be of help.
Bump in the Night	One shipment of P.E.T.N. is currently en route to Pakistan. TF Mako must Board, Search and Seize the crew and cargo before it reaches port.
Shut it Down	With all the pieces of the puzzle now in place, it's a race against the clock to raid The Cleric's compound deep inside the Chitral region of Pakistan.

4.3.1 Construction of Characters in Medal of Honor Warfighter

In this title, the appearances of the characters in the game, costumes and the military equipment (weapons, equipment, helicopter, tank, etc.) they used are being examined. The characters in the game are classified by titles such as the American soldiers who are actively in the battle, the characters in the secondary role (non-fighting), the allies and the enemies.

As it is seen in Table 2, there are essentially four teams in the game. The names like Mother, Preacher, Voodoo and Dusty, who take place in these teams, are also involved in the previous game of the series, Medal of Honor (EA, 2012). While Preacher, Stump, and Argyrus are playable characters, the rest are non-playable.

Table 7 *Units and Members of MOHW*

Characters of Medal of Honor: Warfighter		
Team/Units/Forces	Members	
Pratagonists	Task Force Mako	Mother, Preacher (Playable), Stump (Playable), Voodoo, Dingo, Tick
	Task Force Blackbird	Mother, Preacher (Playable), Ajab
	Task Force Atlas	Greko, Maniek, Kaska, Diabel, Zuku, Szczuply
	Taske Force Grizzly	Wright, Sgt. Xaysana, LCpl. Tran
	OGA	Dusty, Argyrus (Only Playable Character in OGA), Ajab
	Civilians	Lena, Mother's Wife, Isabella
Enemy	The Cleric, Sad Al Din, Marwan al-Kalifa, Faraz, Stovan Botic	

While evaluating the appearance and dress codes of the characters in the game, it is emphasized on how the existing conventional representation codes from the East and West are being reproduced and reinforced. Therefore, instead of evaluating the appearance of characters and dress codes in detail, all characters are examined individually and how they are reconstructed within the framework of existing representation codes. In this context, the skin colors of the Western and Eastern characters, hair-beard characteristics, physical characteristics (masculine-feminine) and the characters' dress code that draws attention to the images (objects, shemagh, hats) are emphasized. In other words, the main characters and the distinguishing

features of the enemy are evaluated.

While Mother, Preacher, and Voodoo, Stump, Dingo, and Tiger 12 from the team called “Task Force Mako” are in full combat gear⁶¹ American military uniforms, Mother has a shemagh around her neck. While Mother, Preacher and Voodoo have a white-skinned and bearded look, as in the previous game, they are in masculine structure. At the same time, it is seen that these characters are strong, intelligent, athletic and of highly tactical knowledge. Parentheses are required for Mother and Preacher. Mother has a reassuring structure and shows his loyalty to his teammates by not stepping back during the interrogation even though he is being held hostage by the enemy. In addition, Mother and his team, who act under the leadership of Philippine soldiers in the mission of rescuing the hostages called “Rip Current”, assume responsibility for the failure of the Philippine soldiers to manage the operation. While the words of his, “We go in and get those hostages. They’re dead if we don’t move now. From this point on, I have controlled of this” highlighting the US soldiers’ ‘savior mission’, they also involve the subtext that US soldiers will not work under the order of some other soldiers and that they are ‘unique’. Preacher, on the other hand, is a family father who has problems with his wife. Although he cares about his wife and children, he has problems with his wife in civil life, because he cannot get rid of the psychology of war. This situation can also be explained as creating a dilemma between the family and the sense of national duty and service. Stump, the other playable character in the game, is white-skinned and beardless. In addition to this, the dialogue between Stump and Dingo is an indication of masculine discourse and patriarchal society structure. Dingo’s discourse, addressing Stump before starting

⁶¹ This uniform consists of a khaki-colored military camouflage and a helmet (Mother and Preacher have buckethead boonie). As for the equipment, there are gloves, knee pads, elbow pads, leg rigs, holster, ammo pouch, combat vest, bags, and weapons.

the operation, as, “Hey Stump, if I don’t make it. Give this to my ex-wife (makes a hand gesture). That’s all she gets. She’s already got everything” shows that the woman is negatively positioned and represented against man.

In addition to this, Mother, in his future duty, though being in a dark Middle Eastern form with daily clothes, he has a hat on his head and a shemagh on his neck. Similarly Preacher, being in the American style daily clothes (green t-shirt and blue jeans) in the cutscenes, takes place in daily outfits, having Middle eastern form in the duty called “Hat Trick” and he has a hat on which a shemagh is wrapped just like it was in the previous game. Although Mother and Preacher are ‘like’ in the Middle Eastern garment forms (outfit), it is noteworthy that they cannot actually get away from Western dress codes. This points out that, even when constructing the image of Middle East through the costume, the US soldier does not go beyond the casual dress codes of West much. These outfits, dominated by dark colors, are supported by accessories such as shemaghs. This is one of the main objects with which the Middle Eastern identity is fictionalized as the Other from the Western eye.

As it is seen in Table 2, the names other than these characters are generally the ones which are usually reinforcements/support teams (for example, Task Force Grizzly and Task Force Atlas) and have almost no dialogue⁶². These characters, as mentioned in the previous heading, are also dressed in full combat gear military uniform. In addition, these characters can be said to be prone to teamwork, helpful and have high tactical knowledge. These characters, which do not have many active roles, are not considered in detail.

On the other hand, characters like Dusty, Ajab and Argyrus take place in Other

⁶²Even if there is a dialogue, it is not used because it is not deemed necessary to be included in the research findings.

Government Agency (OGA). As in the previous game, Dusty is a strongly built masculine with long beard and wearing black glasses. The character takes place in American-style everyday clothes at the beginning, and uses his hat on which FDNY is written and which he wore in the previous game. This hat is the abbreviation of “Fire Department New York” as in the previous game, and there is a reference to honor their struggle on 9/11. In other words, while saluting heroic stories, the reasons of their being in Afghanistan is rationalized and justified by establishing a symbolic connotation. Ajab, can be added to the allied category. The Pakistani character is densely bearded and is in a Middle Eastern dress form. Argyrus, a local asset, is dark-skinned and has colorful eyes. The character's head and face are wrapped around by shemagh in such way that only his eyes can be seen. In the game, he is a member of the secret OGA (Other Government Agency) who is trained within the enemy. The main feature of this character is that it is the only character that can be played on the enemy side and has terrorist training. At first glance, it seems to be a training that gives clues about the basic dynamics of the game, but as the name implies, it reveals the training process of a US enemy through the Western eye. In fact, the game has an ambiguity at this point. Dusty’s talking about Argyrus in the cutscene and saying “We had a guy, code name Argyrus” makes the impression that the character is an agent on the USA side. But the fact that the name of the mission is “Through the Eyes of Evil” creates uncertainty about the character’s being on the US or the enemy side.

In other words, it is unclear whether the game is literally seen through the eyes of a ‘terrorist’ or through the eyes of an agent infiltrating the enemy. On the other hand, the Argyrus code-named character’s being playable allows the characters other than the white ones in the game to be identified with. But when identifying with a different character, it is emphasized how a terrorist is trained rather than the savior role of

white identity. Another noteworthy point here is that the enemy side can only be controlled during training, except that the Argyrus codenamed character is no longer encountered throughout the game. At the same time, while none of the conventions reflecting Middle Eastern 'terrorist' acts (such as bombing) were included in the narrative of the game, only the plane theme could be considered to be related to terrorist acts. In other words, it is seen that the enemy's education is simplified and transferred through the Western eye. In addition to this, it is observed that there are no civilians in the field of training.

When observing the civilians in the game, Preacher's wife Lena and daughter Belle, and Mother's wife can be seen. All the female characters are white-skinned and they take place in daily outfits. These characters are positioned as the wives of the heroes and as being a mother. More specifically, female characters are represented as the ones longing for their husbands who take part in the war. So much so that, Tom's wife Lena cannot remain indifferent to her husband's being away and separated from her child, and therefore she constantly argues with Tom. While approaching the final tasks of the game, what Mother's wife tells Lena is an example for the construction of women's social gender roles: "I've been married to that man for 22 years, and one of the things I have learned that some of other wives didn't...is that it's better to have them happy, than to have them safe" (Medal of Honor Warfighter, 2012). At this point, the woman is presented as a passive and male-dependent side that should endure the existing pain and get used to the situation. This situation reflects the patriarchal social structure and shows that the male-dominated discourse is reinforced. On the other hand, female characters are only Westerners, and no female characters are encountered in the Eastern locations. The American female characters in the game have roles that support these heroes and reinforce the male's dominant position.

Unlike Western female characters, it is also noteworthy that no Eastern female characters are encountered.

There are enemies such as Abu Sayyaf Group, Al-Shabab, Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), and Al-Qaeda in the game. The Cleric, the archenemy in the game, is a wealthy Arab banker whose real name is Hassan Rasheed working in Dubai. The character is a medium-height, middle-aged man with white hair and short white beard. The character has a white shemagh, wrapped on his head and wears a shaded gray and white shirt, pants, vest and glasses. When he was kidnapped by Mother and Preacher in the mission called “Hello and Dubai”, he was in a suit. The Cleric appears to have been dressed in dress codes, resembling a clergyman. The Arab character is in the position of an elderly leader. Although his real name is Hassan Rasheed, the fact that he appears under the code name “The Cleric” (monk, priest) confirms that he is a religious leader. The authoritarian and scholarly attitude of the character in the cutscene where he appears is reinforced by his putting his hands behind his body and the glasses he wears. At the same time, The Cleric often uses the word “infidels”. For example, some of the character's dialogues are: “What is important is the infidels are at our door, and have taken from us”..... “Some of you may be selected for advanced training to carry the jihad to the infidel lands. Now is the time to show your quality”.⁶³ (Medal of Honor: Warfighter, 2012). At this point, it is seen that the character is represented as extreme Islamist and jihadist. On the other hand, the character takes place as a business person in formal clothes in Dubai. At the end of the game, he is trying to detonate the bomb attached to his back in a mosque. This situation is consistent with the ‘terror’ convention of Middle East. Sad Al Din, whose his real name is Ibrahim al-Najdi, is one of the other main enemies in

⁶³ The character says this in Arabic and English subtitles take place.

the game. The character is light brown skinned, medium height and slightly bald. He is wearing shirts and trousers, and has a holster. The other enemy, Sad Al Din , also appears with the code name, although his real name is Ibrahim Najdi. Sad Al Din has a ruthless and furious character. His executing Mother, because of being insulted during the interrogation has an evidential value for this. Likewise, the character serves The Cleric and rescues him from Mother and Preacher in Dubai. Marwan al-Kalifa, committed a suicide by detonating the bomb he is carrying on a train in Madrid. The character's performing such an action in an area of civilians is associated with the actions of the enemy which is brutally and badly coded. Marwan al-Kalifa is a medium-height, middle-aged and a bearded character wearing a dark jacket and carrying a backpack. The character detonates the bomb on him on the train in Madrid. The character who carried out the suicide bombing is an example of the convention belongs to Middle East. Stovan Botic, being in the enemy category, is a medium-height Bosnian character with no beard, and barely bald. This character is aggressive and furious. Besides these, there are enemies such as the Abu Sayyaf Group, Al-Shabab, Inter-Services Intelligence, and Al-Qaeda, against whom the main characters fight. Abu Sayyaf Group is Philippine, Al-Shabab is Somalian and Inter-Services Intelligence is Pakistani. The common characteristics of these enemies are that they have dark skin, some have dense beards, shemaghs, hats or they use veils which leave only their eyes to be seen. Their clothes are shabby and dirty and they often wear slippers.

There are a number of forms of representation that unite the enemy in common. For example, although the enemy is in different geographies (such as the Philippines, Somalia, Pakistan, Yemen), the unifying images in common are the skin color's being not white, the use of dress and appearance codes as shemaghs, masks on

the faces of some, dense beard, together with the weapons like Ak-47 and RPG (as shown in Table 3). Therefore, it can be said that the clothing of the enemy characters reflects the Middle East conventions. At the same time, this enemy is depicted as weak and powerless, lacking tactical and technical knowledge.

They are sometimes called as ‘tangos’, ‘assholes’, and ‘pirates’ by US soldiers. In addition, while none of the Western characters’ faces is covered with mask, some of the Eastern characters’ are. The American characters, even in the Middle Eastern form (mimetic), prefer to cover only their heads and put shemaghs around their necks. The faces of the Eastern characters, by being hidden only with their eyes visible, are associated with negative images such as danger, mystery and obscurity. The enemy is reconstructed around his ‘terrorist’ identity and discourse. At the same time, many weapons, equipment and/or ammunition are used in the game.

There are different kinds of weapons and ammunitions that are used in the game. As it is seen in Table.3, the equipment, weapons and/or props used by the main characters and the enemy differ.

Table 8 *Weapons and Equipments in MOHW*

Weapons and Equipments in Medal of Honor: Warfighter		
Protagonist	Weapons & Other Equipments	Glock 23, M1911, SIG Sauer P226, HK 45CT, HK416, LaRue OBR 7.62, FN SCAR, MP7A1, DD MK18, MK16 PDW, HK MG4, M240, AA-12, 870 MCS, MacMillan Tac-300, M40A3, MacMillan CS5, Flashbang, Mk19 Grenade Launcher, M134 Minigun; MUSA Robot, SOFLAM (Special Operations Forces Laser Acquisition Marker),
	Vehicles	AH-6 Little Bird, Rigid-hulled Inflatable Boat (RHIB), CH-

		47 Chinook, AH-64 Apache
Enemy	Weapons	Glock 23, AKS-74U, AKM, RPG, AK-103, M60, PKP,
	Vehicles	White Truck

As can be seen in Table.3, the weapons and the equipment which US soldiers used, and the vehicles having varieties emphasize the technological superiority of US soldiers. In other words, the military technology and power of the USA are highlighted. This shows that the USA is fictionalized as ‘technological superiority / advancement’. In the opposite of this technological power, the enemy’s lacking technological opportunities and/or its equipment being limited is highlighted. In this context, the Middle East is represented by weapons and equipment containing stereotype images such as AK47, RPG and heavy-duty white truck behind it. Likewise, they are objectified through the technological superiority of Western soldiers and other killing practices by means of weapons. At the same time, this situation, which normalizes war and violence, necessitates the abolition of the Other by violence in order to win and reach an end.

When the positioning of the characters in the game is examined in accordance with this information, it is seen that the game is mainly based on hero-villain characters. Within this framework, it is seen that American soldiers are portrayed as heroes, encoded with stereotype images, and on the other hand, the enemy is negatively represented. In other words, while US soldiers are constructed with positive features and discourses, the enemy is depicted in the opposite way. Being in relation with this, the variety of technological equipment the US soldiers have, their full combat gear uniforms, and their ability to proceed tactically and their portrayal as ‘heroes’ can be given as examples. In addition to these, although Mother and Preacher

were attempted to be created within the framework of Oriental dress codes, it was seen that West could not go beyond the basic dress codes, and only provided this simply with dark colors, shemaghs and hats. On the other hand, enemies in the game are built around negative images and discourses. These negative images are supported by the actions, rhetoric of the characters and the equipment and weapons they use. Therefore, the weapons and equipment in Table.3 are also references to the backwardness and variety of the technology that the enemy has. As mentioned before, the actions of these characters were also created within the framework of typical Oriental characteristics. The suicide of a suicide bomber on the subway and the placement of a bomb on The Cleric in the final can be given as examples to this subject. Likewise, the enemy is represented as ruthless. This action of Sad Al Din, who executed Mother for insulting him, reinforces the negative images against the Easterner. In this context, social and cultural experiences and values come into prominence in the selection and creation of heroes and bad characters (both physically and emotionally/feelings). In this context, American soldiers are portrayed as both visually and discursively superior. Hero characters have motivations for preventing global terrorism in different parts of the world. Because of this, the actions/acts of the characters are based on the prevention/elimination of the enemy through violence. In short, the game unites the people of different religions, languages and ethnic groups under the discourse of ‘terror’, and legitimizes the acts of violence against them at these points in order to put an end to ‘terror’.

4.3.2 The Use of Technical Codes in MOHW

The narrative under this heading focuses on how conventional representational codes, such as narrative, conflict, setting, and written codes, are constructed culturally, socially and ideologically from a Western perspective, and in

this direction how East and West are constructed with dual oppositions. In addition to this, how the region called 'East' is represented in the narrative and in which context it is handled is being evaluated. Likewise, meaning creation processes relation to the technical codes such as camera, music, sound and light in the narrative is emphasized.

The narrative structure of the game is based on *flashback* and it starts with going back to 8 weeks before, after the opening sequence. The main conflict in the narrative is being experienced between man and man. In other words, the main conflict takes place between the US soldiers and the 'terrorist' groups (insurgents), being the enemy, such as The Cleric, Sad Al Din, Marwan al-Kalifa, Faraz and Stovan Botic. Another indirect conflict is the struggle of American soldiers in the difficult and dangerous geographical conditions of Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, the Philippines, Dubai and the Arabian Waters.

Some important points in the narrative draw attention. As for the beginning, the game can also be played from the eyes of Argyrus as well as the US soldiers. While this situation shows that US troops have an ally within the enemy, the contents of Western war genre exemplify the basic narrative convention, at the same time. Likewise, the story of the game reaches a single conclusion: The victory of US soldiers. But this victory is overshadowed by the death of the character called Mother. But despite the victory over the enemy, the execution of Mother towards the end of the game casts a shadow on this victory. The death of this character, which can be regarded as a leading role, can be seen as a convention of the war genre. What draws attention here is that, as a result of the loss of the main character, the joy of victory is replaced by sentiment, and the image of a soldier who sacrifices himself for his homeland is being drawn. So much so that, national sentiments are being emphasized during the official ceremony held by US troops at the time of Mother's burial.

In this scene, it is seen that, while the flag, patriotic and national values are being brought to the fore, the identity of the deceased American soldier is glorified. These scenes are supported by music that emphasizes the dramatic effect and national feelings. Highlighting the national values, especially in the opening and final sequences of the game is seen to come to the fore. These positive features attributed to the Western soldiers are manifested in the opening sequence of the game. The opening sequence of the game begins with a white font on a black background with a quote from John F. Kennedy: “A Nation reveal itself not only by the men it produces but also by the man it honors, the men it remembers”. While national feelings such as heroism and patriotism are emphasized here, similar discourses are also constructed at the closing of the game in a similar way:

Real life **super heroes** exist; they walk among us every day, ready to defend **our great nation** and its citizens in a moment’s notice. They are **husbands, fathers, brothers,** and **sons** capable of staring death in face, and still come home to rock their newborn infant to sleep in the same day (EA, 2012)⁶⁴

The striking point in these verses is that American soldiers are built around a true heroic discourse and the supremacy of the American nation is being emphasized. These words, which reinforce the ‘us’ awareness, also reproduce the masculine language of war and the patriarchal society structure. As can be seen in the verses, the heroism of men fighting for the American nation is highlighted. The verses take place in the next sequence as follows :

This kind of **warrior** cannot be manufactured or purchased. They are born

⁶⁴ The emphasis in the text belong to me (g.k.).

into this life, **blessed with** a higher sense of purpose, and the understanding of exactly what their **fate** may hold. We choose to share this life with them, because we would rather love an **extraordinary man** for a brief moment, than spend a lifetime with a man far more ordinary (EA, 2012).⁶⁵

It can be said that being a soldier, being an American soldier, is a blessed duty, and that Christian values are brought to the forefront at this point of blessing. The verses in the next sequence are in a reference to the soldiers' wives:

You can never be prepared for certain events of life, they change you, and their consequences turn your world upside down. Meeting your **husband's casket** as he makes his final journey home. The prospect of raising your children alone. Living the rest of your days without one person that loved you unconditionally and never let you down. In truth, these men never let anyone down, which is why they are no longer here today (EA, 2012).⁶⁶

As it can be understood from these verses, it is emphasized that the woman should make sacrifice as the wife of the soldier, and raise her child with the awareness of the duty and the sacrifice his father made for his homeland. The woman is represented in a way that she is waiting again and longing for her husband. In other words, the woman has to act around the social values imposed on her. By acting as a mother, she must raise her child with her father's heroism.

While elements such as nation, patriotism and heroism are highlighted in the text, the patriarchal language of war is also emphasized. While the US soldiers, coded as warrior, are positioned as a 'man' away from home, defending their homeland

⁶⁵ The emphasis in the text belong to me (g.k.).

⁶⁶ The emphasis in the text belong to me (g.k.).

under all circumstances; the duty of the woman is to raise her child with her father's 'heroism' stories. In addition to this, the soldiers' also being blessed with a sense of duty underlines that the military duty is a 'sacred' rank. Military and 'patriotic' discourses are supported by the music playing in the background and highlighting the national feelings.

How the setting and environment is established and represented in the narrative plays an important role. In this context, it is seen that Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen and the Philippines are portrayed as backward, far from technology, dominated by chaotic environment and dangerous places. Dubai, on the contrary, is represented as a luxurious and tidy place. As it is seen in Table.4, the game takes place in different regions and locations, such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Table 9 *Missions and Locations in MOHW (EA, 2012)*

Missions and Locations in MOHW	
Missions	Locations
Unintended Consequences	Karachi, Pakistan
Through the Eyes of Evil	Somewhere in Yemen South-West
Shore Leave	Near Mogadishu, Somalia (Inspired by Actual Events).
Hot Pursuit	Karachi, Pakistan (Inspired by Actual Events).
Changing Tides	Isabela City, Philippines (Inspired by Actual Events)
Rip Current	Isabela City, Philippines (Inspired by Actual Events)
Hat Trick	Arabian Sea
Finding Faraz	Darra Adamkhel, Pakistan
Connect the Dots	Abayan Porvince, Yemen (Inspired by Actual Events)

Hello and Dubai	Dubai
Old Friends	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Bump in the Night	Arabian Sea
Shut it Down	Chitral, Pakistan

The story of the game takes place in different time zones in places like Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, Philippines, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dubai. Likewise, the story does not take place consistently in a single region of the locations, and proceeds to different parts of the city, town, and/or mountain.

From this point on, it is seen that countries like Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen and the Philippines are represented as dangerous and gloomy places with narrow streets consisting ruinous buildings and chaotic environment. It is observed that some countries (for example, the Philippines, Somalia, and Yemen) are being represented abstractly from civilian life. In contrast to these locations, there are skyscrapers, business centers, detached houses, and luxury cars in Dubai where the civilians take place in the streets as well. This city is called ‘modern city’ in the description of the mission, and unlike other ‘non-modern’ locations, it is seen that the modern understanding determined by Westerners is associated with the images such as luxury life, consumption, and wealth.

Likewise, parentheses are required for Somewhere in Yemen - South-West in Table.4. This is the makeshift ‘terrorist’ training center made of wood in the Abayan Province of Yemen. In this space, there are obstacles of different levels and target boards; the red ones highlighting the enemy and the blue ones, highlighting the friend. At the same time, there are posters hanging on the wall and two swords (this can be their logos). There are also sword paintings and banners on which Arabic writings and

AK47 weapons take place on the walls. Likewise, one of the obstacles consists of an aircraft scenario. This training simulation with airplane seats ends with hitting the target board, which consists of two pilots. First of all, this training simulation shows how a terrorist training center from a Western eye is represented by a Western perspective. In such a way that, the use of aircraft theme and inactivating the pilots towards the end of training refer to the relationship between aircraft and terrorist acts. The dialogues between the US soldiers like, “It’s a pretty serious training facility”, “Yeah, no shit, Terrorist University. Yemen Campus”, “A fucking plane? ... These guys are starting to worry me” reinforce the negative discourses about the enemy.

Although not included in Table.4, Tom (Preacher) and Lena’s house, appearing in the cutscenes, can also be added to the locations where the game takes place. While Tom and Lena’s house appears to be simple and clean, there are frames with family pictures on the wall of the house. The house looks like a modern Western family home, and the family paintings on the walls represent strong family ties.

In short, the game is built in a similar way, although it takes place in different locations. While Madrid and Dubai resemble a European city of luxury, modernity, and civilians, the countries such as Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, and the Philippines, on the other hand, are described as non-modern cities which have been desolated (in some of them some civilians can be seen), dominated by chaos and terror, and full of demolished buildings. The objects encountered in some of these cities are the burning barrels and gas lamps. These objects show both backwardness and at the same time, they are the reminiscent of sin and are used as an illumination tool for the enemy.

Bird-eye/Aerial shot is often used in the game. Especially the drone and helicopter images show the power and authority that the US soldier established on the

enemy (Figure.27). The meaning of positioning the camera from the top angle in the sub-text has the meaning of power and authority. In other words, the camera in these scenes also refers to an implicit omniscience emphasis and divine/heavenly intervention, as it sees from above. In addition, the enemy is shown with extreme close-up shots from time to time. For example, the scene with the Cleric (Image 10). In the following sequence, the camera is positioned to see The Cleric from the top, and shows Cleric as worthless and insignificant. In particular, the positioning of the archenemy Cleric in the final scene of the game contains several technical codes.

While Cleric's body and face are used with harsh light so that one side is bright, and this light, provided by the fire in the mosque, draws attention. At the same time, the burning of the region in the background of Cleric causes the character to be related with flames and to be associated with images such as sin, threat, and danger.

Likewise, the positioning of the camera from the top angle as a result of his kneeling in the last scene renders Cleric worthless. All this is experienced with a slow motion camera movement. In this way, the effect of the scene is increased.

Slow motion technique is used in many scenes of the game. This technique is used especially at the points where the US soldiers raided the enemy by breaking the door. In these scenes, the enemies are deactivated by the main characters, and this situation increases the effect of the scene.

Some missions of the game take place during the day, and some others during the night. While natural light is being used during the day, there is a misty atmosphere at night -as a war genre convention. However, the use of light, especially in the scenes where burning barrels and the enemy take place comes to the forefront. The lightening of the enemy, watching the burning barrel at the beginning of the game (Figure 1) is an example of using harsh light. Likewise the fire, being the reason of building a

relationship with the enemy evokes the danger and sin, and in some scenes involving enemies or allies, for example in the first scene of the game, the fire is seen as a mean of illumination, while in its subtext it reminds sin and danger. As mentioned in the setting before, the gas lamp and burning barrels are used as an object (prop) in the in-game space, and also serve as lightening. Similarly, in the rescue scene of the hostage from the ship (Figure 56), the enemy's face is constructed with the use of harsh light, leaving one side dark. Cleric's use of light in the final mission (Figure 110) is another example.

The use of music and light in the game contributes to the process of creating meaning. Music is used in some parts of the game to increase the action and tension, in other places, it is used to emphasize national emotions and emphasize the dramatic effect. In such a way that, the music called "Deploy", which is very similar to "Heroes Aboard" that took place among the music of the previous game, is used in the game menu. Music begins with Middle Eastern melodies and highlights images such as tension and uneasiness. The music, in which percussion and stringed instruments are used, then changes dramatically and emphasizes the national feelings.

Table 10 *Music and Soundtracks in MOH: Warfighter*

Sountracks in MOH: Warfighter (2012)	
Keywords to define music	Middle Eastern Style, Ritmi Yüksek-Tempolu, Gerilim
Name of Music	Deploy; NOC Out; Kit Up; Restless Natives; Blackbird on a Wire; Bridge the Gap; Saa'iq; The Raid; Force Multiplier; Old Friend New Foe; Victory at Sea; Resolve; Green Light; Buzz in the Air; Medal Run; H.A.H.O.

Keywords to define music	Dramatic, Classic, Soft, Düşük Ritimli, Milli Duyguları Öne Çıkaran
Name of Music	With Honos; For Rabbit; For Mother; Lena's Theme; Lena's Dream

As can be seen in Table.5, the music, in which Middle Eastern melodies and percussion instruments take place, is generally used in the game. While the rhythm of the music increases in high-tension, action-packed scenes, the music, having the meaning of relaxation and reaching the end is used in the victory scenes of the US soldiers.

In the light of this information, it can be concluded that the narrative of the game is based on binary oppositions. When all this information is evaluated, the narrative of the game highlights emotions such as excitement, fear, sadness, anger, and pleasure, and contains many contradictions. When the narrative of the game is examined through the binary structure of Levi Strauss, the following results appear: West-East, Christianity-Islam, democracy-despotism, Us-Them, hero-villain, good-evil, civilized-savage, civilized-barbarian, strong-weak, first world-third world, superior-inferior, light-dark, victory-defeat, order-anarchy, urban-rural, unique-ordinary, helpers-hinders, life-death, superior soldier-inferior insurgent, teamwork / coordination-individuality, freedom-captivity, ally/friend-enemy, sane-insane, savior-frustrated, unity-separation, diversity-uniform, equality-inequality, courage-coward, technological superiority-technological backwardness, order-chaos/turmoil, tactical ambush, collective-individuality, merciful-merciless, benevolent, true-false.

4.3.3 Construction of Ideology

Ideological codes such as militarism, patriarchy, Neo-orientalism and nationalism come into prominence in the game. As a beginning, the production of the

game by the US-based company reveals the necessity that the game should not be considered independent of cultural, social, economic and ideological values and beliefs of US. The narrative structure based on contrasts confronts the West and the East on an ontological and epistemological basis and highlights the differences. This distinction comes out in the narrative structure, in the construction of characters and settings, together with technical codes as camera angles and light.

The enemy in the game is reproduced with 'terrorist' discourse and is positioned as an Other of the US. While the enemy generally has a tan complexion, his face being wrapped around with his shemagh, only leaving his eyes visible, makes the shemagh one of the main objects building the Other. Likewise, the enemy is represented as having weak tactical knowledge and insufficient technological means. Philippine, Somalian, Pakistani and Yemeni enemies are united under a fictitious 'East' discourse and are constantly reproduced with concepts such as 'terror' and 'danger'. In other words, it is seen that the East of Neo-Orientalism is not only the Middle East, but the image of 'terror' encompasses a wide Eastern geography. In relation to this, there are many points that reinforce the discourse of terror in the game where Islam, Arab and Muslims are coded as Other. The examples like the attack by a suicide bomber in Madrid's subway, The Cleric's emphasis on jihad and his calling those who do not think like him 'infidels', and again The Cleric's desire to explode the bomb he is carrying in the last scene, can be interpreted as the main conventions of the Middle East. At the same time, The Cleric and other enemies are coded as extreme Islamists, and the 'reactionism' of Islam is placed in the center of the Neo-Orientalist discourse. In addition to this, terrorism, subway and bombing are associated with the Middle East in the narrative, showing that the West (Madrid in the game) is endangered and threatened. Bombing and the damage given to civilians

show the enemy as a murderer, and justify any action against him.

Being in contrast to the enemy, US soldiers are coded as heroes, and with their tactical and technical knowledge, as well as their masculine characteristics, they show how 'superior soldiers' should be. For this reason, it is seen that the discourses like 'hero' and 'warrior' about US soldiers are produced in many parts of the game. Starting with the quote from Kennedy, the texts in the first scene of the play and the last scenes rebuild the discourses such as sacrifice, heroism and nation. Therefore, while Neo-Orientalist discourse is produced in the game, 'us' is emphasized against Other and national feelings are highlighted. In addition to this, the final scene in which Mother is buried reinforces US national values.

While the narrative of the game produces Neo-Orientalist discourse, it also rebuilds the militarist discourse. The enemy, coded as the Other, is positioned as the object of violence, and the 'Other' must be eliminated in order to reach the end of the game. They provide this with the latest technological weapons and the vehicles of marine, air and land owned by the United States. In addition to the enemy, also the cities where the game takes place highlight the violence and destruction. Except for one region, the locations of the game can be seen in the geography called East. In the light of all this information, the common point for these regions is the dominance of the imageries like silence, the representation of civilian life in isolation, chaos and destruction.

In relation to militarist discourse, the relationship between the game and the masculine language needs to be mentioned. Since the game has FPS features, while the weapon positioned on the screen is an indication of masculine rhetoric, only three female characters' taking place throughout the game proves the masculine language

of war. Also the positioning of these women as being passive, sending her husband to war, longing for him and having to take care of their children reflects the patriarchal society structure. All of this information, while showing how the East is coded as the Other in the narrative of Neo-Orientalism, is exemplifying how Western values are glorified through the negative representations of the Other. It turns out that the characters in the game are shaped around stereotypical images. The game establishes the identity of the Other as a 'terrorist', and by pushing many identities such as different influences, religions and languages in the Middle East to the background, depriving them of civil life, positions it as a dangerous, chaos-dominating center of the 'terrorists'. Likewise, the game is an example of military-entertainment complex. Because the support given by the US military's Tier 1 Operators during the development of the game proves the relationship between the army and the entertainment sector, and shows the interaction between the entertainment-oriented game sector and the army.

4.4 Battlefield 3

Before proceeding with the analysis of Battlefield 3 (2012), a brief information about the game has to be given. The story of Battlefield 3 (2012) focuses on Sergeant Henry Blackburn, an US Marine. The game is based on the story of the detonation of three nuclear-warhead weapons in Paris and New York, and takes place in different parts of the world, but mostly in Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Iraq. As it is seen in Table 1, the game consists of twelve missions.

Table 11 *Missions in Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011)*⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Unlike the other two games, Battlefield 3's pre-game menu does not contain information about the mission.

Missions	Semper Fidelis - Operation Swordbreaker – Uprising - Going Hunting - Operation Guillotine – Comrades - Thunder Run - Fear No Evil - Night Shift - Rock and Hard Place – Kaffarov - The Great Destroyer
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In these missions, the game is played from the perspective of different characters. Under the next heading, the physical appearance of the characters in the game, dress codes and equipment used will be evaluated.

4.4.1 Construction of Characters in Battlefield

In this title, the appearances of the characters in the game, costumes and the military equipment (weapons, equipment, helicopter, tank, etc.) they used are being examined. The characters in the game are classified by titles such as the American soldiers who are actively in the battle, the characters in the secondary role (non-fighting), the allies and the enemies.

As it is seen in Table 2, there are basically two teams in the game. While the characters in these teams like Sgt. Herry Blackburn and Jennifer Hawkings are playable, the others are not.

Table 12 *Units and Members of Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011)*

Characters of Battlefield 3		
Team/Units/Forces		Members
Protagonists	US Marine Corps	1st Marine Division: 1ST Recon Marines Sgt. Herry Blackburn (Playable), David Montes, Christian Matkovic, Steve Campo, Quinton Cole, Jack Chaffin
		1st Tank Battalion: Jonathan Miller
	US Navy	Lieutenant Jennifer Hawkings (Playable)

	CIA Agents	Gordon, Whistler
	Russian Spetsnaz GRU	Dimitri 'Dima' Mayakovsky (Playable), Viladimir Kamarivsky, Kiril
	French	French National Police, National Gendarmerie Intervention Group (GIGN)
Enemy	Iran	Islamic Republic of Iran Army, People's Liberation and Resistance (PLR) led by Faruk Al-Bashir
		Solomon (Lebanon), Amir Kaffarov (Russian)

While evaluating the appearance and dress codes of the characters in the game, it is emphasized on how the existing conventional representation codes from the East and West are being reproduced and reinforced. Therefore, instead of evaluating the appearance of characters and dress codes in detail, all characters are examined individually and how they are reconstructed within the framework of existing representation codes. In this context, the skin colors of the Western and Eastern characters, hair-beard characteristics, physical characteristics (masculine-feminine) and the characters' dress code that draws attention to the images (objects, pouch, hats) are emphasized. In other words, the main characters and the distinguishing features of the enemy are evaluated.

The characters in the game such as Blackburn, David Montes, Christian Matkovic, Steve Campo, Captain Quinton Cole, and Jack Chaffin are in full combat gear American military uniform⁶⁸. Similarly, there are characters such as Ingham

⁶⁸ This uniform consists of khaki military camouflage and helmet. The equipment consists of gloves, knee pads, elbow pads, leg rigs, holster, ammo pouch, combat vest, bags, and weapons. On top of the helmet, there is a night vision optics.

and Jonathan Miller Lieutenant on the 1st Tank Battallion team of the game and Jennifer Hawkings from the US Navy corps. One of these characters, Ingham, is in a full combat gear military uniform. Since the game is played from the point of views of Jonathan Miller Lieutenant and Jennifer Hawkings in some missions, it is seen that they are in military uniforms, although there is no clear information about their appearance. These aforementioned characters -except Jennifer Hawkings- are active on the battlefield. In other words, they engage in armed conflict and close contact with the enemy. These American characters, generally white-skinned and having no beard, are constructed as brave, superior soldiers, having high tactical knowledge and features as being strong, intelligent and athletic. But Captain Quinton Cole, the leader of the Misfit unit, is black, unlike the other characters. The character has a khaki shemagh, wrapped around his neck. Some of these characters need parentheses, and some of their features have to be mentioned in more detail. For example, Sgt. Henry Blackburn, by making alliance with the Russian soldier Dimitri "Dima" Mayakovsky to protect the world from nuclear threat, goes against his superior Captain Quinton Cole and kills him, although it seems like the character abuses the mission, it can be explained with his considering this mission as if it's up to him to save the world as an American. Another point that draws attention here is that, the mission ends if Captain Cole is not shot. In other words, the character, who is positioned as being black, must be killed so that the game could go on. On the other hand, the murder of Captain Quinton Cole, the black character, by Blackburn brings the question why the soldier who has to be sacrificed for the sake of American nation should be white but black. This is an indication of a race-based perspective. Because, there is a sub-text regarding the character that must be sacrificed first in the game should be black. Likewise, considering that the soldiers of the US army were mostly whites, it was

concluded that there's an identification with white identities. Miller, the other playable character, is positioned as a father of a boy. "You'll be back in time for his birthday" says the teammate to Miller, who wants to keep up with his child's birthday and carries his present, a toy dinosaur. However, the character with a sack on his head is videotaped by Solomon and Al-Bashir while being executed. The positioning of the American white man as a figure of family father emphasizes the importance given to the family and the family values.

Apart from these, there are white-skinned characters in secondary roles such as the CIA agents, Lazslo Kovic (Whistler) and Agent Gordon, wearing formal clothing.

The only playable Russian character Dimitri "Dima" Mayakovsky, who is one of the agents of Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU) and his teammates Vladimir Kamarivsky and Cyril take place in the game. These characters are white-skinned, short-haired Russians. They have military equipment on. Although the Russians are positioned as enemies in the game, it is seen that their main aim is to be a partner with America, namely to prevent nuclear weapons. The reason for this is to prevent the crime from being left to Russia together with the possibility of detonating the three nuclear weapons, stolen from Russia by Amir Kaffarov.

Even if all of the above mentioned characters are thought to be male, it is seen that there is also one female character who takes part in the game. However, the positioning of this female character in the game points out that social gender roles are built around stereotypical patterns. Lieutenant Jennifer Hawkings the pilot, being the only playable female character, is the only female character in the game. So much so that the female pilot, Jennifer Hawkings, although being positioned as a co-pilot, is not physically visible (only her arms are visible) and her dialogues can only be heard

from the radio. Although the game was played through the eyes of the female character during the mission process, it was seen that no other characters were found throughout the game. At the same time, it should be underlined that, although the female pilot actively took place in the battlefield, she was not seen in military uniform. While this situation is seen as a reflection of the masculine language of war in the game, it also causes the patriarchal point of view to be reinforced. Because, there is huge difference between the rate of the male characters and the female ones. Therefore, it can be said that the woman in the military struggle is placed in the secondary position.

In the game, the enemy characters are Solomon, Faruk Al-Bashir and Amir Kaffarov. Solomon, one of the main enemies, is a Lebanese character of medium height, with short white hair and no beard. The character, a former CIA agent, is dressed in daily clothes. The character is irritable and aggressive. Faruk is the person behind the coup in Iran by supporting Al-Bashir. The character aims to lead the world into a global war by exploding the Russian nuclear weapons in Paris and New York. Solomon has a ruthless character. So much so that, he says, “None of them are innocent” about the civilians in the subway, in the first scene of the game. In addition to this, he causes the American soldier, Miller, who has a child, to be executed. While this situation shows that the character was built as ruthless, it also shows that this character represented as a man who would bring death to many people by doing the acts through which nuclear weapons threaten the European countries. Faruk Al-Bashir, the other enemy, is a tall, slightly brunette, with short black hair and beardless character. He has a light brown uniform and a shemagh/scarf around his neck. Al-Bashir is the leader of People’s Liberation and Resistance (PLR). Faruk Al-Bashir speaks English with his Middle Eastern accent. Before Miller’s execution, the

character says: “Shame. You come to our country to murder us. Yet we are the terrorist when we try to protect our nation and our people. This is the price you pay”. These words, even when questioning ‘US’ actions from the eyes of the Middle Eastern character, shape the actions of the Eastern character around the element of ‘violence’ and the execution act, which is the convention of the Middle East, and cause all kinds of actions against him to be based on legitimate ground. At the same time, this act identifies the Middle Eastern character with the jihadist understanding. Because, the character is actively involved in the execution of an innocent American father, encoded in a savior role. This situation also reveals the idea that the American soldier has family values which the enemy does not and is deprived of them. The third enemy, Amir Kaffarov, is a Russian arms dealer. The character is light brunette, with short black hair and is in formal clothes. The character is represented in way that he is rich and has a luxurious life. Other than these, there are the enemies against whom the main characters struggle. The common features of these characters are that they are usually light-brunette, wearing balaclava and shemagh around their necks. In addition to these, the reason why French National Police and National Gendarmerie Intervention Group (GIGN) take place is that they are seen as enemies from the Russians’ perspective in the mission where the players control the Russians in Paris. In other words, Russians play an active role in the struggle against these characters, not American soldiers.

On the other hand, while no Eastern female characters are encountered in Iran and Iraq, the female visuals on the walls of Iranian buildings in Teheran in the game give indications about the social, cultural and ideological position of women in Middle East. The positioning of the woman with black veil and burqa, leaving only her eyes visible, points out the Orientalist outlook. The woman's face behind the veil

evokes curiosity and mystery. Likewise, this shows that the Middle Eastern women are standardized from a Western perspective.

It is seen that there are stereotypical patterns in the creation of characters in the game. While these characters are built around visual discourse which is weaker when compared to American soldiers, this discourse is reinforced by shemagh and accessories such as balaclavas. In particular, while the images of balaclava and shemagh identify with the enemy, the fact that these cloths only leave the eyes visible makes the impression that the enemy uses it as a mean of concealment, on the other hand, it refers to danger and threat behind the mask. The arch enemies are represented by characteristic features such as evil, ruthless and irritable. In other words, the enemy is represented as an 'evil' who can do all sorts of evil and atrocities -as mentioned above, by executing a father who has a child and broadcasting the video of this incident on the internet. One of the most striking features of the enemy is that it is being an element that threatens the US and Europe. The bombings planned by Solomon in European and American countries such as in Paris and New York are indicative of the Middle East convention. In short, the enemy is portrayed as an insurgent with all negative characteristics. In addition, the enemy, called 'tangos', 'terrorist', and 'bandits' by US soldiers, is represented in a way far from teamwork, and doomed to be defeated, despite their outnumbering. Stereotypical images of the enemy are not limited with these.

Many weapons, equipment and/or ammunition are used in the game. As it is seen in Table 3, the equipment, weapons and/or props used by the main characters and the enemy differ.

Tablo 13 *Weapons and Equipments in Battlefield 3 (EA, 2012)*

Weapons and Equipments in Battlefield 3		
Protagonist	Weapons & Other Equipments	M16A3/M16A4, M416, M4A1, A-91, M1911, RPK-74M, M249 SAW, MP-412 REX, M240B, SR-25, PP-2000, M82A3, M82A3, M40A5, AS Val, MK3A1, Mk11 Mod 0, 870 MCS; M136 AT4, Gas Mask, RF Jammer, Machete, Flashbangs
	Vehicles	Growler ITV, HMMWV, M220 TOW Launcher, VDV Buggy, GAZ-3937 Vodnik, Logistics Vehicle System, Oliver Hazard Perry-Class Frigate, Arleigh Burke-Class Destroyer, Henry J. Kaiser-Class Oiler, Centurion C-RAM, Range Rover L322, USS George H.W. Bush (CVN-77), Los Angeles Class Submarine, F/A-18F Super Hornet, LAV-25, A-10 Thunderbolt II, AAV-7A1, B-1B Lancer, BPM-2M, T-90A, Type 82Z, 9K22 Tunguska-M, F35, AC-130 Gunship, BM-23, AH-6J Little Bird, KA-60, AH-1Z Viper, Mi-28N, Mi-24, Z-11W
Enemy	Weapons	AK-47, RPK-74M, AK-74M, AEK-971, F2000, G3A3, KH2002, AKS-74u, SCAR-H, G36C, SG553, M9, MP443, G17C, .44 Magnum, M60E4, Type 88 LMG, PDW-R, P90, MP7, M1014, Saiga 12K, USAS-12, DAO-12, 870 MCS, UMP-45,
	Vehicles	Technical, Police Car, Iveco Daily, Star 1466, Range Rover L322, BPM-2M, Su-35BM Flanker-E, T-72, BM-23, Eurocopter AS350

As it is seen in Table 3, while the number of weapons used by US soldiers and the number of weapons used by the enemy is almost equal, the superiority of the US is seen in the vehicles used. So much so that, bringing the use of vehicles such as fighter jets and tanks into the forefront and eliminating the enemy by means of them during the game emphasizes the technological power of the United States. In other words, the military technology and power of the USA are being highlighted. This situation shows that the USA is fictionalized as 'technological superiority / advancement'. In the face of this technological power, even if the enemy cannot be said to lack technological means (in terms of weapons), they are ineffective against the American soldier. At the same time, the enemy is represented by stereotypical weapons such as AK-47 and white pickup vehicles with heavy hatching weapons behind it. This situation points out to a convention of Middle East. The game highlights the technological power of the American army in land, air and sea. Likewise, they are objectified through the technological superiority of Western soldiers and Other killing practices by means of weapons. At the same time, this situation, which normalizes war and violence, reveals the necessity of eliminating Other by violence in order to win and reach an end.

Based on this information, when observing the positioning of the characters in the game, it is seen that the game is mainly based on hero-villain. Social and cultural experiences and values come into prominence in the selection and creation of these heroes and bad characters (both physically and emotionally). In this context, American soldiers are portrayed in a superior way both visually and discursively. For example, US soldiers are portrayed with positive features. The US soldiers, being helpful, team-prone, having high tactical understanding and watching over each other are also joking among themselves. Practical, agile and intelligent characters are

saving the world from nuclear danger and possible global warfare. The US soldiers are represented as the ones having an effective navy, power, and technology in air, land and sea. Full combat gear clothing codes of US soldiers are also a part of these positive characteristics. Heroic characters have motivations to save the world, especially West, from nuclear threats, such as preventing the enemy in parts of Middle East, such as Iran and Iraq. Therefore, the actions of the characters are based on the prevention/elimination of the enemy through violence.

On the other hand, the enemy is fictionalized 'different' from American soldiers. In other words, the enemy is being rebuilt and reconstructed around the stereotypical images as Other. Considering that no civilians are encountered (as will be mentioned later) in Iran and Iraq, discourses like 'danger' and 'terrorist' are being built about the people of these regions. These are coded as an element of threat to West by integrating them with the actions of the characters (the execution of the American soldier, the attempted bombing in Paris and New York). In short, it shows that social and cultural experiences and values stand out in the selection and formation of heroes and bad characters (both physically and emotionally) and the formation of their actions.

4.4.2 The Use of Technical Codes in Battlefield 3

Under this heading, it is emphasized how conventional representational codes, such as narrative, conflict, settings, and written codes are established culturally, socially and ideologically from a Western perspective, and in this direction, how the East and the West are constructed with dual contrasts within the narrative. In addition, it is evaluated how the region called 'East' is represented in the narrative and in which context it is handled. Likewise, the relationship between technical codes such as camera, music, sound and light and meaning making processes in the narrative is

emphasized.

The story of the game is set in 2014 and the narrative structure is based on *flashback*. Sgt. Henry Blackburn's interrogation scenes are continuously being flashbaked and the story begins going back to 9 months before. The main conflict in the narrative is between man and man. In other words, the main conflict is between the US soldiers and Solomon, Faruk Al-Bashir, and Amir Kaffarov, who take place as the enemies. Another indirect conflict is the American soldiers' struggle with the difficult and dangerous geographical conditions of Iraq, Iran and nature.

Some important points in the narrative draw attention. As a beginning, the game can also be played from the eyes of Russians as well as the US soldiers. While there is no possibility for the enemy's victory, the playability of the enemy characters is not possible. The enemy must be eliminated and no chance is given to him for winning. But the majority of the missions in the story are played from Sgt. Henry Blackburn's perspective. At this point, it is seen that the narrative is identified with the white characters. At the same time, the narrative comes to a single conclusion: The victory of the USA. Thanks to the American character Blackburn's struggle and the risks he takes, America and Western countries are being liberated from nuclear threats.

How the setting and environment is established and represented in the narrative plays an important role. The game takes place in America, Iran, Iraq and France, as it is shown in Table 4. Furthermore, the story does not take place consistently in a single region of the location, and proceeds to different parts of the city, town, and/or mountain.

Tabl3 14 *Missions and Locations in Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011)*

Missions of Battlefield 3	
Missions	Locations
Semper Fidelis	New York City (The Great Destroyer, final mission again)
Operation Swordbreaker	Al Suleymaniah, Iraq
Uprising	Al Suleymaniah, Iraq
Going Hunting	Persian Gulf
Operation Guilletone	Tehran, Iran
Comrades	Paris, France
Thunder Run	Near Tehran, Iran
Night Shift	Tehran, Iran
Rock and Hard Place	Araz Valley, Iran
Kaffarov	Araz Valley, Azerbaijan
The Great Destroyer	Long Island, USA

As it is seen in Table 4, the game takes place mostly in the Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran and Iraq. Apart from this, it also takes place in the cities like New York and Paris. From this point on, it can be said that Iraq and Iran are represented as being chaotic and dangerous. For example, Iraqi Suleymaniah is represented as a place with ruinous buildings, narrow streets, burning and scrap cars. Similarly, Teheran in Iran is also represented as a place where there are ruinous buildings and chaos-dominated environment. In short, Middle East is represented as a dangerous place, dominated by 'terror' and chaos, backward, and being far away from

technology. On the other hand, in contrast to these regions, Paris and New York are described as 'modern' and 'developed', and as places where there are civilians. However, in Paris, there is chaos in the streets due to the conflicts in the last mission, and there take place the burning and scrapped vehicles on the streets. New York, where the final mission of the game takes place, is brought to forefront with dazzling lights, billboards, taxis and tall buildings, and the streets seem to have many civilians. In this mission, where Solomon was stopped by Blackburn, the city was not constructed within the context of war. In other words, a car chase scene ends in a traffic accident and the two characters engage in physical struggle. For this reason, it can be said that West and East are depicted in the context of contrasting features. In this context, it is seen that the Middle East was built in the context of war, and that New York and Paris were the places threatened by Middle Eastern insurgents. In short, two different worlds are being depicted.

Conventional representation codes such as narrative, setting/environment, character, action, dialogue/speech and player selection are transmitted to the viewer by technical codes. Therefore, the relationship between the creation of characters in the narrative, codes of dialogue, settings and conflict, and technical codes such as camera, light and music, and how the meanings are created through them is an important factor. Since the game carries FPS feature, the camera is presented from a subjective point of view. However, in cinematic videos (cutscenes), besides the subjective point of view, objective point of view is also used and the use of different camera angles comes into prominence. Unlike the other games, in Battlefield 3, a quick-time event takes place with the enemy, which allows the player to take an active role by using the keys specified in the battle. This allows the players who

control the American soldier to identify themselves more with the character in one-to-one fight against the enemy, while giving the player the pleasure of eliminating the enemy by being in contact with him. Therefore, the player faces the reality of violence and the enemy in these scenes.

Technical codes, such as camera angles and light usage, allow Other to be trivialized and killed easily. For this, drone and helicopter scenes can be given as examples. The belittling of the enemy causes the disappearance of empathy and emotional ties with him and the easy application of violence. Bird-eye/Aerial shot is often used in the game. Especially the helicopter footages show the power and authority that the US soldier has established over the enemy. The subtext of the positioning of the camera from the top angle is has the meanings of power and authority. In other words, the camera in these scenes also refers to an implicit omniscience emphasis and divine/heavenly intervention as it sees from above. The points where this is often encountered are the radar images in black and white. These scenes, where the target point is marked and bombed, normalize destruction and violence. In other words, the fact that the enemy is not seen closely while being alienated through killing practices, and when it is shown, its depiction within the framework of certain stereotypes facilitates the violence that is being inflicted, and rationalizes the action. However, this situation brings with it the questioning of ethical rules. In addition, the re-playability of the same mission, chapter or map, even if the main characters are killed, is another element that justifies and reinforces violence; the soldiers may die, but the mission continues, and the same 'game' will be repeated until the absolute victory is achieved, because what really matters is the mission. The portrayal of the enemy as evil allows the rationalization of any act of violence against him.

While the demonstration of the scene in which Miller was executed from a subjective point of view highlights the subjective camera angle's being immersive, the audience/actor witnesses the brutal execution of the enemy coded as a murderer by the American soldier. In other words, the brutality of the enemy is reinforced by the subjective camera angle.

The use of music and light in the game contributes to the process of meaning creation. As mentioned before, music is used in some parts of the game to increase action and tension, and in other parts it is used to emphasize the dramatic effect of the scene. There are various music and effects such as ambulance, helicopter, clash and radio sounds used in the game. As another example of the use of music, the first mission of the game can be given. When the American soldiers enter the mosque, the music being used has the Middle Eastern tunes. The scene where Captain Cole was shot by Blackburn can be given as an example for the use of music that highlights the dramatic effect. The other music used is the electronic music which is brisk, has high rhythm and emphasizes tension. In general, high rhythmmed, brisk, upbeat, electronic music which brings tension forth is used. There is no lyrics in any of the music. Since there are no significant analytical findings, it is not preferable to show the music of game by a table.

In the light of this information, it can be concluded that the narrative of the game is based on binary oppositions. When all this information is evaluated, the narrative of the game highlights emotions such as excitement, fear, sadness, anger, and pleasure, and contains many contradictions. When the narrative of the game is examined through the binary structure of Levi Strauss, the following results appear: West-East, Christianity-Islam, Us-Them, democracy-despotism, hero-villain, good-evil, civilized-savage, civilized-barbarian, strong-weak, first world-third world,

superior-inferior, light-dark, victory-defeat, order-anarchy, urban-rural, unique-ordinary, helpers-hinders, life-death, superior soldier-inferior insurgent, teamwork/coordination-individuality, freedom-captivity, ally/friend-enemy, sane-insane, savior-frustrated, unity-separation, diversity-uniform, equality-inequality, courage-coward, technological superiority-technological backwardness, order-chaos/turmoil, tactical ambush, collective-individuality, merciful-merciless, benevolent, true-false.

4.4.3 Construction of Ideology

In the previous chapter, the contradictions within the narrative, how the conflict was established; how the main characters, the enemy and the environment were represented, and the context in which they were discussed have been emphasized. Under this heading, considering the aforementioned information, the relationship between these codes and ideology is evaluated.

Ideological codes such as militarism, patriarchy, neo-orientalism and nationalism come into prominence in the game. As a beginning, the production of the game by the US-based company reveals the necessity that the game should not be considered independent of cultural, social, economic and ideological values and beliefs. The narrative structure based on contrasts confronts West and East on an ontological and epistemological basis and highlights the differences. This distinction emerges in the narrative structure, in the construction of characters and settings, together with technical codes such as camera angles and light. This distinction is seen throughout the game and emerges in the elements such as the construction of characters and the representation of locations within the narrative. Such that, the enemy, having negative features, is united under the discourses of being dangerous and terrorist, and is also constructed visually in a similar way. This situation reflects

the Neo-Orientalist discourse. Because the negative discourses which America has produced regarding Middle East and Middle Eastern people related with the facts like 9/11 and Global War on Terror are also being produced in this game. Through these negativities, the strong and masculine position of the US soldier and therefore the images of 'savior' and 'hero' are being produced. Because the West, New York and Paris, being the cities are threatened by Middle East in the game, and the person who undertakes the protection of these places on behalf of the world is a US soldier. In relation to this, it should be underlined that the superiority established by the white Western masculine male over East and Easterner is realized by the produced knowledge of East.

It must be emphasized that there is only one female character in the game, and that the war, and therefore the war game, is a part of the masculine language that reinforces the patriarchal order. Such that, while the physical characteristics of the American female pilot are in no way involved, and that only her dialogues exist, Eastern women are only seen on billboards. Middle Eastern woman, portrayed as veiled, and being under the auspices of man is constructed as being anti-democratic and reactionary. The relationship between this and the Neo-Orientalist ideology emerges at this point. In other words, the question of why any Middle Eastern woman does not take part in the game but takes place in the billboards indicates a questionable process.

It is possible to say that the Middle East, which is the center of America's political agenda after 9/11, is portrayed as a war zone and chaos environment, especially when it is thought that the game takes place in countries such as Iran and Iraq. For this reason, the invasion of countries like Iran and Iraq by the US, on behalf of preventing the nuclear threat, is a reflection of the American imperial/colonial

policies in the Middle East. Such that, these countries are being integrated with negative imagery and it is seen that there is no positive representation. For this reason, the game places Iran and Iraq on the basis of terror, conflict and war under the element of entertainment and reinforces the Neo-Orientalist discourse. The game, under the name of entertainment, emphasizes the technological superiority of the US in air, land and sea and be the cause of producing the militarist discourse through the use of various vehicles and weapons. For this reason, while the game reproduces the militarist discourse again and again under the phenomenon of entertainment, it also makes the killing of Other a part of this entertainment.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Under this heading, the findings of the games of Medal of Honor (EA, 2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (EA, 2012), and Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011), which were selected as the sample of the study, are being evaluated within the framework of Neo-Orientalism, Militarism and Military-Entertainment Complex, and dwelled on how 'East' and the Eastern are represented as being the Other.

To start with, it can be said that, together with the fact that all three games have been developed by the US based global company Electronic Arts, they have also been published and distributed by this company. In this context, West and Western perspectives, being the political authority together with the economic and technological power, reflect on the content of digital games as a media text, and these games are shaped around the political, social, cultural and ideological structure of West. For this reason, the necessity of considering the US based perspective in the games comes into prominence. However, the question of why 'East -especially Middle East' is in the center of Western popular media texts, beyond the discussion of the 'truth' of the discourses and the cultural, ideological, social and economic representations that take place in the games. As mentioned before, the knowledge produced by Orientalism about 'East' both allows West to position itself as a universal 'norm', though being on the opposite side, and also, justifies all kinds of imperialism/colonial actions towards East by means of unfavorable knowledge of 'East'. This "civilization mission" of Orientalism can be seen as its reflection in Neo-Orientalism and can be explained by the imperial/colonial policies and 9/11 events that the US has realized under the name of 'democratization' or 'bringing freedom' to

the region. In connection with this, considering the fact that the imperial and colonial dominance established by West over East and the cultural and ideological means, enabling the imagination of 'East' has gained diversity compared to previous periods, the concept of Orientalism is reiterated as Neo-Orientalism depending on the conditions of the period, it is seen that the paradigm has changed. Such that, as mentioned in the first part of the research, the negative discourses about Arabs, Muslims and Islam, which date back to the previous years, revealed the Neo-Orientalist ideology on the basis of 9/11 events. As a result of this, as Mustafa underlined, "the Neo Orientalists thought Islam and its movements as a main end and evaluated Islam as a global danger to western civilization" (2015, p. 7) .

In the first part of the study, the relationship between popular media texts such as film, music and toys with Neo-Orientalist discourse is emphasized and it is mentioned that digital games are not independent of meaning creation processes. In other words, the West reconstructs its military and political domination over East, culturally and socially, and constitutes the definition of 'West' and 'East' by drawing a boundary, based on 'differences' between East and the features attributed to East by West. In this context, digital games, having a cultural and ideological function after 9/11 produce a discourse of 'East' and 'West' based on differences. Such that, this distinction first arises in the representation of Western and Eastern characters in terms of their physical and characteristic features and dress codes in the narrative. The point of interest in all three games is that, Western characters are generally white-skinned American soldiers. While this situation reflects the idea that emphasizes the supremacy of the white race in Neo-Orientalism, as in Orientalism, causes players to identify themselves with white characters. The common points of these characters are that they are masculine and athletic; having high tactical knowledge; being capable,

intelligent, patriotic and while regarding brotherhood feelings, protecting each other. The coding of American soldiers as ‘superior soldiers’ is supported not only discursively but also by visual elements. The fact that the characters are in a fully combat gear military uniform highlights their masculine structures and the USA’s military power. All these images provide evidence that US soldiers were constructed with discourses like ‘hero’ and ‘warrior’. This situation is highlighted even when the American characters are killed. In other words, it is seen that the character is actually *immortalized* as a hero through his death. This finding is especially emphasized in Medal of Honor and Medal of Honor Warfighter games. In addition to this, it should be emphasized that the characters are represented as a ‘savior’. Because, while the characters have the motivation to protect their homeland and the world from ‘terror’ and ‘danger’ against the ‘Eastern’ enemies, they feel the responsibility of it. This emphasis on the American savior role indicates that imperial/colonial thought is based on a legitimate basis in the Neo-Orientalist discourse.

In the games, it is seen that even the ‘Eastern’ characters need the military power of the USA. In this respect, while Medal of Honor includes a representation of Easterner waiting to be rescued; there are Eastern hostages in Medal of Honor Warfighter waiting to be rescued. In other words, while East and the Easterner are coded in a weak, passive, and awaiting manner, it is seen that the role of ‘salvation’ is attributed to the Western white identity. In other words, while the civilizing and savior role of the white race in the games is emphasized, this is realized through the conquest and ruling the ‘Other’. The East’s subordination to West is also being placed in the language of the locals, and even the character coded as the Others interpret life from the perspective that West places itself.

The controllability of the white Western savior in the games and the majority

of the main characters being white Americans, allow the players to identify themselves with the white American identity. Actually, victims and those who are waiting to be saved are not the only ones who live in East. At this point, it can be said that West defines itself through the imagery of East. In other words, threatening elements such as nuclear threat that spreading all around the world from East and bombing attacks on the subway show America and West, being threatened and vulnerable. In this regard, Robinson underlines that the representation of America as being threatened in the world provides America the freedom of movement by abolishing the international rules (2015, p. 462). Therefore, the USA's presence, which is under threat, is only possible by eliminating those who threaten it. In this context, American actions in East, especially in Middle East, are legitimized. In other words, the representation of 'East' as an underdeveloped and wicked place, and the reconstruction of Eastern people by means of discourses like 'danger' and 'terror' become an element that threatens West and legitimize any military, political and economic action towards East. If it is discussed in detail, it is seen that the enemies in the games consist of 'Eastern' characters and they have many negative features.

In this study, how MFPS games such as Medal of Honor (EA, 2010), Medal of Honor Warfighter (EA, 2012), and Battlefield 3 (EA, 2011) as media texts are fictionalized in the Neo-Orientalist narrative is scrutinized. For this purpose, in the first part, the concept of Orientalism and Edward W. Said's definition of Orientalism are discussed, which the latter constitutes the theoretical basis of the study. Later on, the transition from Orientalism to Neo-Orientalism was discussed and how the Other was represented in popular media texts was examined. The second part focused on the historical, economic and cultural positioning of digital games as popular media texts, and the relationship between MFPS games and Neo-Orientalism is examined. In order

to reveal the relationship between Neo-Orientalism and MFPS games, Fiske's semiotic approach consisting of the phases called Reality, Representation and Ideology was applied. In this way, the role of visual, auditory, technical and written codes in the games in meaning making processes is examined and aimed to reveal the intricate relationship between visual and technical elements and ideologies.

In all three games, while the enemies are associated with the images of 'terror', 'danger' and 'backwardness', they are mostly being Middle Eastern or Eastern people, and they are Arab and Muslim. Therefore, images such as 'terror', 'evil' and 'terrorist' are integrated with Muslim, Arab and Islam. In the games, they are portrayed, in relation to the discourses of threat, as being 'fundamentalist', 'anti-freedom', 'backward', 'dangerous' and 'terrorist' depending on the 9/11 and American political agenda. In addition to this, the Eastern enemy is not limited with the Middle East alone, and it is seen that this construction expands to Asia. While The Medal of Honor Warfighter is being an example of this, it shows how broad the definitions of 'us' and 'them' are kept, and that the images of East and terror are not limited with the Middle East. From this point on, it can be said that in the narration of Neo-Orientalism and the Other, the identity construction of American soldiers is nurtured from the different and built up through Other. This discursive construction is supported by visual elements, and the enemies in the games are built around certain visual patterns. For example, the characters are generally dark-skinned (not all dark-skinned), have dense beards (some do not have beards), use objects such as shemaghs and masks (some of them hide their faces, leaving their eyes visible only), and wear dark-colored clothing. As opposed to the characteristics of American soldiers being masculine and superior, enemies are portrayed as weak, frail, lacking tactical and technical knowledge, posing a threat to West, and as they must be eliminated. In

particular, while the fact that the mask and shemagh are tied to leave the eyes visible only makes the impression that the enemy use them as a mean of concealment, it refers to the danger and threat behind the mask. While this situation validates the features that Sisler has defined as the visual elements of Eastern characters, like “headcover, loose clothes and dark skin colour” (Sisler, 2008, p. 208); their acts in the narrative, on the other hand, support their representation as the car, truck and suicide bombers and the ones concealed in tunnels, caves and carrying AK47 (Chick, 2003). As it is seen, the enemy has certain stereotypical images and even the enemies in different geographies are standardized. While this negative representation of the enemy against the US and West shows that the US and West have built the universal values over the East; the USA’s post 9/11 political policies are being based on the legitimate basis. In this way, the actions to be taken towards the East are justified. Because, according to Said (2013), who uses Foucault's concept of discourse in his study and treats Orientalism as a discourse, it can be said that the discourses produced about the East support the imperial/colonial policies of Western powers. In this context, games reproduce the ontological and epistemological difference between East and West. Therefore, as it is seen in the games, the representation of Eastern characters with negative images justifies any action to be taken against them.

The construction of East as a ‘danger’ provides a legitimate basis for the defense of West and elimination of this threat, and for the sake of freedom and democracy. In this respect, the games, as Leonard emphasized, provide support for American imperialism and the War on Terror (2004, p. 1). Following the idea of Martin and Steuter regarding the fact that Hollywood films aggrandize and justify the violence against the terrorists -especially the Arabic ones- (2010, p.109), it can be said that the digital games support this function and consolidate Neo- Orientalist discourse.

In other words, while the games consolidate the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘Others’, they show how the Other is represented on a racial and ethnic basis. Such that, East-West dualism is formed by placing the non-white Other against the white Western. Likewise, these findings align with the view of Fiske regarding the heroes being close to each other and having good relations. By following the analysis method of Fiske, it can be said that the main characters are built within the framework of positive characteristics and the bad characters have opposite characteristics. Therefore, it should be underlined that East-West antagonism is built on the representation of characters.

On the other hand, it is seen that in Medal of Honor and Medal of Honor Warfighter, unlike Battlefield 3, some of the main characters are bearded and appear to be in ‘Eastern’ dress codes. Even when the US soldier’s Middle East image is constructed through costumes, it is noteworthy that West does not come out much from the casual dress code. While these dark-colored outfits are supported by accessories like shemagh, ‘shemagh’ stands out as being one of the basic images defining the East. For this reason, shemagh is one of the main objects that causes the identity of Middle Easterner to be fictionalized as Other from the Western eye.

Alongside this, the majority of these characters are men. While an American female secretary and a female pilot take place in The Medal of Honor, MOHW includes two soldiers’ wives, a little girl and a female pilot. In Battlefield 3, it is seen that there is only one female pilot. While female Eastern characters are not encountered in any of the games, MOH and Battlefield 3 have images of Middle Eastern women on the street and on the billboard on the exterior side of the building. Almost all of the characters in the games being men indicate that the games reflect patriarchal ideology. While this situation proves the relationship between the power,

masculinity and masculine language of war-themed digital games and that these games are a male-dominated domain, it identifies itself with Kerr's "hegemonic heterosexual masculinity" (2006, p. 100) and Kline's et al.'s "militarized masculinity" (2003, p. 196) concepts. Likewise, women's representations in the games have a close relationship with Neo-Orientalist discourse. Although the Eastern female character is not actively involved, the female visuals on the billboards reflect the forms of representation about Middle Eastern women and include the construction of an identity. These Eastern women representations in Medal of Honor and Battlefield 3 associate women with dress codes such as veils and sheets, position the Eastern 'non-modern' women against the Western 'modern' women. Likewise, although Western women have played various roles in the games, the fact that any Eastern woman is not active in the games reflects the cultural and ideological values of the Western and Eastern societies. The games portray Western women 'as' an individual who has the right to work and be 'free'. The Western woman, who positioned as a secretary in MOH, providing service in the military department instead of taking part in the 'power' oriented military struggle that emphasizes physical characteristics; the representation of women in the MOHW as being a military wife, longing for her husband; the female pilot's, in MOHW and Battlefield 3, not being in the military uniform though being involved in the battlefield proves that the masculine language of war is reproduced in relation to gender roles. These findings indicate that gender roles are built around the stereotypical patterns in relation with the Neo-Orientalist discourse.

This information shows that social and cultural experiences and values come to the forefront in the positioning of characters in the games (both physically and emotionally). In this context, it can be said that the game is mainly based on hero-

villain and reinforces the East-West dualism.

The contrast between the Eastern and Western characters comes into prominence also in the technological equipment and weapons. So much so that, the technological superiority of American soldiers over the enemy is remarkable in the games. In all three games, while the US soldiers are equipped with full combat gear uniforms, weapons and equipment, the US military power in land, air, and sea is highlighted. As opposed to that the Eastern enemy is portrayed as deprived of the technology that the USA has. As an exception to this, only in Battlefield 3, the enemy has more technological means than they have in the other two games.

By means of the technological weapons and equipment they possess, American soldiers reproduce the militarist discourse continuously. The fact that this technology can be applied to the enemy, objectifies Other through violence. Another point that stands out in relation to the violence in those three games is the possibility of replaying the existing scenes and/or missions. The protagonists may die, but the mission continues, and the main thing is that the same 'game' will be repeated until the absolute victory is gained, because it is the mission. At the point where the militarist elements and narrative of Other meet, these games position the 'enemy' as the object of violence through the practices of killing. Therefore, MOH, MOHW and Battlefield 3 games, as a field in which the concept of dehumanization is produced, both formulate 'Other' as an object and present it as an obstacle that must be eliminated in order to reach the another level and/or a result. As mentioned before, West's positioning of 'Others' through its own values by positioning itself as the universal norm, causes everyone being outside the Western identity to be coded as an Other. In other words, the East is different than the West, it is the Other, which lacks the features that West has. This situation is related to the fact that the Other is seen as

an easy target and that violence is applicable. Being related with the subject, as Schwartz underlines, “video games centered on aggressive human conflict emphasize the role of dehumanization in justifying war and violence” (2003, p.323) Therefore, violence in the games is normalized through Other. In other words, as being opposed to the ‘heroic’ death of American soldiers, the enemy is trivialized and presented as an obstacle to be eliminated. American soldiers, opposing the enemy that has been made into an easy target, have been gaining the successes of ‘victory’ and ‘winning’. At the same time, while these games are normalizing the violence under the element of entertainment, they reproduce the negative discourses about the ‘Other’. While these games based on violence build American soldiers around universal values - which are ‘Western’ values- everyone excluded from these values falls into the ‘enemy’ category and is presented as an element that must be prevented by violence.

Alongside the games spreading the militarist culture, the intricate relationship of the entertainment-centered industries with the army and the government stands out. As mentioned before, this relationship and collaboration between the government, the army, and the entertainment industry is entitled by academics with the concepts such as, “Military-Entertainment Complex (MEC)” (Herz, 1997; Lenoir, 2000; Lenoir and Lowood, 2005), “Military-Industrial Media-Entertainment Network (MIMENET)” (Derian, 2009), “Militainment” (Stahl, 2010).

Especially the games MOH and MOHW are the examples of the close relationship between the entertainment-centered industry and the army. Such that, the support of the US Army in the development of the two games proves Electronic Arts' close relationship with the US Army. This collaboration is used as a marketing element in the sale of the games and advertises the proximity of the games to reality. Being related with this subject, as Power has mentioned, “digital war games put a

friendly, hospitable face on the military, manufacturing consent and complicity among consumers for military programmes, missions and weapons” (2007, 278). These games are intertwined not only with the army and the government, but also with other entertainment-oriented industries. For example, in the official trailer of Medal of Honor published by EA, the song “The Catalyst” by the American band Linkin Park shows the interaction between the game and the music industry.

The intricate relationship between the army, the government and the entertainment industry also includes a bond with Other. Because, these entertainment-oriented games are offered to the consumption of the masses in the locations, coded as Other, and they can be played by the players there. The “Easterners” whose outlook having developed by Western perspective by the image of East which is produced by West, confronts their own but reproduced version of their images even playing the games which are “leisure time activities”. This study also implicates that the geography surrounding the researcher alters the ways such media texts are analyzed. The researcher is coerced to read a Western text ‘in between’ the tensions of being a so-called Easterner whose upbringing is the combination of Eastern cultural values and Western education system. It is clear that what Western researchers will look into regarding such texts will be different than that of Easterners. While for the western researcher the text will present a ‘picture’ of the East, for the eastern researcher there will always be a conflict in between the reality and the imagery of the East. In this context, as Mirrlees points out, Electronic Arts, by responding to the worry and curiosity of the USA’s post-9/11 war, carries the war from “over there” to “over here” for the consumers (2014, p.89). Therefore, these games bring the geographies of Other closer.

It is seen that East-West dualism is also produced through locations. Medal of

Honor (2010) in Afghanistan; Medal of Honor Warfighter (2012) in Pakistan, Philippines, Somalia, Yemen, Madrid; and Battlefield 3 (2011) takes place in locations like Iraq, Iran, Paris and New York. As it is seen, most of the locations, where the games take place, are in the geographies, so-called East. First of all, this finding proves that the enemy is not limited only to the Middle East geography, but also how wide Other's scope is. When the representation of these locations are observed, there stand out chaos, gloom, backwardness, narrow streets and destroyed buildings and abandonment. The locations in Western countries, on the other hand, are represented as 'developed' and 'modern' in contrast to them. Beyond the representation of the locations in this way, the three games take place in the geography called as East reveals a questionable situation. It must be reiterated that, as in Orientalism, the West creates itself through the East, that is, through an opposite pole. The USA's foreign policy in the extend of 9/11 and Global War on Terror positions the Middle East at the center of its political agenda in accordance with the imperial and colonial purposes. Such that, the three games' dealing with the so-called East regions -especially the Middle East- as Sisler emphasized before, causes Middle East to be constructed as a "favorite virtual battleground" in the lasting struggle of the USA against terror(2008, p. 8). Therefore, while the games encode Other geographies as a war zone within the Neo-Orientalist narrative, they produce negative discourses such as 'danger', 'terror' and 'chaos' about these regions. Related with this subject, as Michel Longan underlined, "video games not only incorporate representations of landscapes, they are themselves a form of landscape representation that communicates ideas about how the world is and how it should be" (2008, p. 23). This idea emphasizes the importance of the representation of the environment in the game and the locations, as how West and East should be. When considering Longan's idea,

games can be thought to produce knowledge of East -beyond the accuracy or inaccuracy of the information- and reflect East in the way West wants to reflect it. Such a negative representation of East in the Neo-Orientalist narrative provides a legitimate basis for the application of American imperial and colonial policies in East. Related with this subject, as Graham underlines, Arabic cities -by being represented as structureless, dark, exotic and being a labyrinth by the Western power for a long time- provide an opportunity for their being invasion by West's superior, scientific and planned military technologies, in the name of providing an "order" (Graham, 2006, pp. 256-257). Similarly, as Power pointed out, the games "legitimize and justify US military interventions or are implicated in the production of geopolitical discourses of war and security" (2007, p. 274). This situation settles the fantastic and barbaric representation of East in the center of West's political agenda with Neo-Orientalism's images of 'terror' and 'danger', and formalizes the Middle East around the axis of "perpetual war" (2008, p. 13) as Höglund emphasized. The fact that one of the games is named as Battlefield and the selection of Eastern countries as a battlefield can also be seen as a reflection of the Western perspective on the games. The locations in the games should be seen as a Western imagery rather than reality. From this point of view, the knowledge that the East is ontologically and epistemologically different from the West shows itself also in the description of the locations where the games take place. When being viewed through the binary oppositions, on the other hand, the American and the European countries, being the opposite of the Middle East and East, where the games took place, are being constructed as the ones which are threatened by the East, 'modern' and 'developed'.

It is also worthwhile to mention about the subject of the characters, locations and environment and the camera angle of the game. The fact that all three games have

a subjective camera angle allows the players to identify themselves with the characters. Considering that the main characters are white American, it can be thought that the players internalized the Western perspective. Because, these characters can be the main characters of the game as well as the characters that the players identify with themselves. Players are obliged to block Others, who are positioned as ‘enemy’ from the perspective of these heroes. According to Longan, the aim of the FPS games “[i]s to bring order and control to a chaotic landscape overrun with enemy soldiers or monsters” (2008, p. 24). This mission, on the other hand, is attributed to the Western soldier, the hero of the game. On the other hand, subjective camera angle brings immersiveness and reality into the forefront. The chaotic representation of the regions and cities in the East causes players to perceive these regions as ‘reality’ in the game. In other words, the players overlook the representation of locations in the East is being an image created in the minds. In this context, games cause a ‘Western’ individual who is not present in those geographies to perceive those regions with the reality provided by the games. In this context, it can be said that the games having a subjective perspective plays an important role. The production, development and distribution of the three games by US-based Electronic Arts company indicate the US-based perspective of the games. As mentioned in the previous section, the dominant position of the US in the digital gaming industry manifests itself in FPS-genre games. As Schulzke emphasized in this subject, the first-person perspective is typically one of the ways in which the West, the USA in particular, is privileged, and the player takes on the personality of the Western soldier (2013, p. 213).

The other point that should be mentioned about the subjective camera angle is the helicopter and drone scenes in the games. These scenes, which include the subjective camera in the games, mean power and authority by positioning the camera

on the enemy. The elimination of the enemy from a long distance, especially with advanced weapons such as drones and helicopters, while showing the omniscience position of the West on the enemy, causes the enemy to be positioned as an ‘object’ rather than a human being due to the distance placed with the enemy. As Dora Apel pointed out, “the video screens and black-and-white images, in particular, serve to derealize the flesh and blood corporeality of the human ‘targets’” (2012, p. 176). War culture and contest of images). Therefore, it can be said that frequently used drone and helicopter scenes reinforce this perception and make the enemy insignificant. At the same time, though this situation brings a sense of pleasure to the player with the use of technology, it also puts forward an ethical question.

Further, there is also a direct relationship between the subjective camera angle and the patriarchal ideology in these games. According to Bittanti, FPS games provide more pleasure than cinematic weapon firing. Because, the FPS gives the player the opportunity to integrate with the weapon (2007, p. 15). The fact that this weapon with which the player is integrated being located in the center of the screen is another point that reinforces the relationship between the camera angle in these games and the masculinity. When the relationship between the weapon and masculine language is considered, it can be said that all three games reinforce the patriarchal ideology.

When the technical codes in the games are considered, it is seen that the written codes come to the fore. Especially in MOH and MOHW games, national values are emphasized through written codes and the uniqueness of American values is underlined. As a beginning, when it is thought that the two games are called “Medal of Honor” and the white American characters are portrayed as heroes in the games, the American soldier’s chance of having the highest ‘degree of honor’ is highlighted. Therefore, the players are being identified with the white American

soldier through the character they control, and while they are fighting against the enemies of America, a perception of carrying out the military duty is being created. Of course, these written codes are not supported alone, but by the music that brings national values into the forefront. In the MOH and MOHW games, while this situation comes to the forefront, national unity and solidarity is being built against the enemy. Highlighting the patriotic and nationalist elements, on the other hand, serves to gain the consent of these masses and to glorify the Western values. At this point, it is seen that the 'Other' is placed in the opposition of awareness of 'us' and that it establishes the American identity in a superior way in the Neo-Orientalist narrative. Thus, the games, by placing the collective and national consciousness to the forefront in the West, bring the masses together on a common ground against Other. However, in Battlefield 3, there is no evidence of music creating meaning that highlights national values.

When looking at the use of music as the other technical code in the games, it is seen that music is used effectively in MOH and MOHW and it is associated with Orientalist and Neo-Orientalist discourse. Such that, while the music involves oriental melodies and mystical elements, it is also used for highlighting the danger at some points.

One of the main indicators in the games, on the other hand, is the establishment of the narrative. Although the narrative of the games reflects the cultural and ideological values of the United States, they all come to a single conclusion: The victory of the American soldier. Although this victory is gained by identification with the white American male characters, non-American characters are also controlled in MOHW and Battlefield 3. But even if different characters can be controlled, no imagery that contradicts American universal values is encountered.

Such that, Medal of Honor Warfighter is an example on this subject. In the episode called “Through the Eyes of Evil”, the second mission of the game, there takes place a complexity of the players whether to control an enemy or an ally of the American soldier. In addition to this, there is no possibility for the enemy to win in any way.

Some elements in the narrative are quite similar to the narrative elements in the other popular media texts. After 9/11, the contribution of popular media texts such as films, music and toys in spreading the war culture and producing discourses in line with the political agenda of the USA has been mentioned before. In this context, these games are also very similar to the discourses in other media texts. For example, in the film American Sniper, Chris Kyle's difficulty in adapting to post-war psychology and civil life is very similar to Preacher's psychological state in the Medal of Honor: Warfighter. Similarly, the scene in the home of Connie James, the wife of the US soldier Jeremy James, the main character in the film Hurt Locker, is very similar to the scene where Preacher's wife received a phone call. While these findings show that digital games are very similar to other entertainment-oriented industries, they constitute an example for the Military-Entertainment Complex. After 9/11, they formed a public opinion by means of media and mass media, and played an important role in the post-event hegemonic discourse in order to persuade their own society and then the world's societies and to justify their military operations. In this process, the cooperation of the state mechanisms and the media in spreading the messages creates a ground for legitimization of ideological devices and oppressive devices simultaneously. For this reason, media texts such as movies, music and news refer to each other and constitute a discourse of East and reality. For this reason, popular media texts such as digital games, films, and music emerge as a result of strengthening the US hegemony and functioning as part of the US' political agenda.

As it can be seen in the findings, the narratives of the three games include many binary oppositions, constructing the central position of the West on the basis of negative knowledge of East, and strengthening it. In other words, the 'us' centered 'superior' point of view of West is reinforced through the East where negative information such as bad, ignorant, terrorist, anti-democratic and insurgent is produced and generalized within the narrative of the games. This situation is carried out by positioning the characters in the game in terms of their physical, visual and character trait, and by many codes such as the representation of locations and game space and the use of music. The narrative of the games is based on East-West contrast and reinforces the central position of West through negative knowledge of East.

When the findings of the research are taken into consideration, it is seen that the games chosen as samples allow the reinforcement of the war culture and its discourse. The attempt to eliminate and prevent Other by using violent elements in the games, and the fact that it can be done again and again, proves that the war-themed digital games reinforce the military culture. These games also reinforce the element of violence and militarist elements, causing culture to be shaped around military discourse. In doing so, they also objectify the Other through the practice of killing. Another element which supports this, when considering the connection of 'war' with the masculine language, is that almost all the characters in the game being masculine ones. Thus, the female characters in the game are represented in a passive or secondary position, and reproduce the patriarchal social structure. The other factor related to this is the connection between the 'first person' perspective of the games and the masculine language. In other words, weapons positioned in the center of the screen due to the angle provided by the camera indicate masculine discourse.

At the same time, these games serve to impose and legitimize the Neo-

Orientalist discourse in the shadow of the phenomenon of war and conflict in digital games. Because, these games developed after 9/11, by placing the countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, the Philippines, Pakistan and Yemen at the center of their narrative, portray them as terror and war zones. At the same time, by making generalizations about the Eastern people living here, Other, within the narrative of the games is established as dangerous, terrorist, and backward, and these discourses are supported by visual elements. By means of this, the US' imperial and colonial policies are based on a legitimate ground. The games reveal how broad the perspective of Other is held, and how Other changes depending on the political agendas of the period. In other words, the games point out that there is a 'danger' spreading from the Middle East to the world alongside integrating terror with the Middle East. For this reason, the American soldiers in the games, taking the responsibility of West, being under threat, become a savior and fight against the global terrorism in order to prevent it. The games, which reflect the Western perspective, result in a single way. Namely, the games are based on the US side, winning by defeating Other. Shortly, it can be said that the games reinforce the superiority of West.

As a result of this study, it is concluded that these games, developed by EA, are the producers and carriers of Neo-Orientalist ideology. There is an intricate relationship between these games, especially the MFPS genre, though not being independent of the political and cultural agendas of the countries, have a complex relationship with Neo-Orientalist thought. These games produced by the EA serve as a cultural agent of the United States. These games prove to be an imaginary formation outside the geographical meanings of the so-called East regions. Because, the labels like West/Western and East/Eastern do not involve a person, a region or a phenomenon all by themselves. Instead of this, namings such as West and the East

involve a broad network of imagery that confronts West and the East as a whole, based on the generation of ontological and epistemological difference on the intellectual ground. That is to say, the concepts of East and West, beyond being a real geographical region, are also a construction that involves cultural, social, economic and ideological meanings. In this construction, the negative discourses like terror, backwardness, anti-democratization and violence are attributed to the word 'East'. In other words, the East is uniformized and by overcoming its geographical meaning, it becomes an imagery, created at the end of a construction and fiction process. At this point, America, with the negative Eastern knowledge produced by itself, positions itself again as a universal norm. In this context, the games seem to produce a discourse that puts West, especially the US, at the center regarding cultural, ideological, social and economic criteria, and it is seen that the games reflect the US' perspective. The games that constitute the sample of the research, together with the War on Terror campaign in West after 9/11 are an example of the spread of the effects of military culture and Other's being reflected on digital games through Neo-Orientalism.

In short, as being the center of cultural production, Western media has an important function in spreading the discourses it produces about the East. In particular, the digital games, which are a part of the scope of this study, while glorifying the feelings such as homeland and nationalism, be the cause of fictionalizing the East. These examined games, as the texts in Orientalism constitute the reality by referring to each other, the digital war games also perform similar functions and constitute an discourse of 'East'. Because, these three games, as being a media text that produces information about the East reinforce the discourses about the East. How the mass media uses this, as it happened in the past, to influence the

thoughts of the audience today through the fictional texts in a narrative structure, digital games are also influenced by the period and conditions in which they are, and reflect the Neo-Orientalist ideology. In this context, the three games which we analyzed, serve as a cultural tool in America's political agenda and produce the representation of Other.



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Appendix A: Military Shooter Games Used in Military Training in the US Army Before 9/11

Games	Branch in US Military	Developer and/or Publisher
Flight Simulator (1982)	Air Force	Navy Microsoft
Falcon 4.0 (1998)	Air Force	MicroProse
Saving Sergeant Pbletti (1998)	Army	Will Interactive
Starcraft (1998)	Air Force	Blizzard
Jane's Fleet Command (1999)	Navy	Electronic Arts
Medal of Honor (1999)	Marines	Electronic Arts

Appendix B: Military Shooter Games Used in Military Training in US Army

After 9/11

Games	Branch in US Military	Developer and/or Publisher
Battle Command 2100 (2000)	Army	MaK Technologies
Harpoon2 (2000)	Navy	Strategic Simulations, Inc
Soldier of Fortune (2000)	Marines	Raven/Activision
Operation Flashpoint (2001)	Army/Air Force	Bohemia Interactive/Codemasters
Air Force: Delta Storm (2001)	Air Force	Konami
Sun Command (2001)	Navy	Electronic Arts
America's Army (2002)	Army	MOVES Institute
Battlefield 1942 (2002)	Army	Digital Illusions CE/Electronic Arts
SOCOM: U.S. Navy Seals (2002)	Navy	Zipper Interactive/Sony
Full Spectrum Command (2003)	Army	University of Southern California, Institute for Creative Technologies
Full Spectrum Warrior (2004)	Army	University of Southern California, Institute for Creative Technologies
Full Spectrum Leader (2005)	Army	University of Southern California, Institute for Creative Technologies
Close Combat: First to Fight (2005)	Navy/Marines	2K Games
Battle Stations 21 (2005)	Navy	IDEAS
America's Army: Rise of a Soldier (2005)	Army	Ubisoft
24Blue (2006)	Navy	Breakaway, Ltd.
America's Army: True Soldiers (2007)	Army	Red Storm Entertainment