

WHAT'S GOIN' ON AT THE BACK STREETS? RECONSTRUCTION OF PATRIARCHAL AND AUTHORITARIAN MENTALITY IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH FILMS

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ABSTRACT

This essay analyses how patriarchal and authoritarian mentality is reconstructed in contemporary Turkish Films. To understand this I've chosen seven films where streets are given meaning to the story and men are at the centre of the plot. The films analyzed in this study build representations that reconstruct the patriarchal and authoritarian mentality in an unmitigated way. The main characters that act as policemen, taxi drivers, unemployed, carpenters, private security guards, car parkers, pigeoners and imams lead a life of low or middle class. All of them are heterosexual, (Sunni) Muslim and Turkish.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Authoritarian, Contemporary Turkish Film, Gender.

ARKA SOKAKLARDA NELER OLUYOR? GÜNÜMÜZ TÜRK SİNEMASINDA ATAERKİL VE OTORİTER ZİHNİYETİN YENİDEN İNŞASI

ÖZET

Bu makalede günümüz Türk sinemasında erkek egemen ve otoriter zihniyet yapısının nasıl yeniden inşa edildiği analiz edilmektedir. Bunun için yedi adet özellikle sokakların mekan olarak öne çıktığı ve hikayenin erkek karakterler üzerine kurulduğu filmler seçildi. Erkek egemen ve otoriter zihniyet yapısı bu filmlerde katıksızca inşa edilmektedir. Baş karakterler polis, taksi şöförü, işsiz, marangoz, özel güvenlik görevlisi, araba valesi, güvercinci ve imamdır, tümü alt-orta sınıf bir hayat sürer ve heteroseksüel, (Sünni) Müslüman Türk'tür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkek egemen, Otoriter, Günümüz Türk Sineması, Toplumsal Cinsiyet

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Introduction

Film as social practice, is a medium in which patriarchal and authoritarian mentality is reconstructed. In order to understand how this mentality is reconstructed in contemporary Turkish cinema, I've chosen some films of crime and criminality where streets are given meaning to the story and men are at the centre of the plot. As Süalp (2004) and Guttin (2010) argue, space is the area of power struggle, battle field of arranger and disciplinarian. Streets firstly belong to men, and have the same gender relations as the family and the state (Connel 1998: 183), while in some contemporary Turkish films ships, brothels, headquarters, caves, hotel rooms, casinos, and streets are new spaces (Ulusay 2004: 160).

In this study I'm trying to expose how patriarchal and authoritarian mentality is reconstructed in films just as **Kurtlar Vadisi-Filistin** (Zübeyr Şaşmaz/2011), **Av Mevsimi** (Yavuz Turgul/2010), **New York'da Beş Minare** (Mahsun Kırmızıgül/2010), **Çakal** (Erhan Kozan/2010), **Ejder Kapanı** (Uğur Yücel/2010), **Kara Köpekler Havlarken** (Mehmet Bahadır Er, Maryna Gorbach/2009), **Bornova Bornova** (İnan Temelkuran/2009). To achieve this I will first of all draw a map of patriarchal and authoritarian mentality, otherwise formulation of the questions to the films in my research universe and their interpretation won't be appropriate.

Patriarchal and Authoritarian Mentality

The relative domination of authoritarian mentality in the West and patriarchal mentality in the East can be mentioned within the area extending from Western Europe to India. It is seen that every society at every part of this geography integrates these two mentalities in its own way and differentiates them through creating ideological structures that will maintain itself (Lloyd 1993).

When we look at the Anatolian geography, considering also the period in which cinema came into our life, the most evident characteristic of patriarchal discourse firstly in Ottoman Empire and then in the Republic of Turkey is its dependence on an imagination of an eternal and everlasting true system and thus considering change as legitimate only if it is led by this system. System is a heterogeneous and homogenous structure in which every element occupies the place it "deserves". All kinds of change which draw away from the required system refer to corruption and degeneration.

No entity can replace another one. In this structure, there is no place for the “imaginative power” generating from the imagination of the person. There are “balances” which are believed to exist among elements of the system and are defended. In perceptions which associate patriarchy with creation, every act devoted to the violation of the balance is deemed as an intervention, a sin. Popular films analyzed in this paper- as texts immanent in Turkish society- read patriarchy from within Turkish and Sunni Islam. Any kind of change is approved only if it reinforces this situation; otherwise it is categorically false and harmful. Justice, on the other hand, implies not the resolution of conflict among individuals and groups but the protection of the ethnicity-religion in question with its private property forever. So much so that it can not break away from the discourse of “justice is the basis of property” and the Republic “will live for all eternity” (Mahçupyan 1998). And films can not break away as well. Thus hierarchical order is maintained in these films and every individual and social group are invited to establish a harmonious unity through integrating with each other and with the state (Bruzzi 2005).

Heterogeneous and hierarchical structure implies a balanced unity composed of elements which are adjusted to each other around a vertical axis. The maintenance of harmony and balance needs the existence of an authority; the legitimacy of authority depends on the maintenance of this order. The most distinctive aspect of authoritarian mentality is the predication of the relation between action and legitimacy on the success of the action, and one of the areas of its domination is the logic of the establishment of the rule while another is necessarily the nature of the relation between state and society. In other words, the absolute obedience to the state... Action is given an ontological priority. The questions as to what are the laws of the universe, which attitude and behaviors should be considered as right are understood after the action. While the purpose of coming to power is determined within the relations of interest, everyone around the power live in a state of doubt, contrivance is the most natural means of politics. Allocating the power among different individuals and groups is a sign of impotence, hence it is legitimate for the most powerful to unify other powers under its auspices. In any case, power should be centralized. In relation to this, an important communication system is created for the purpose of flow of “information” from periphery to center. Rulers have been separated from the ruled and this has become the ideal state-society relation. State is the arbitrator among

individuals and groups and it also audits them. Even though the ruler and the ruled are separated from each other with a definite hierarchy, these two categories should have homogenous structures as much as possible.

Guidance of patriarchal mentality is based on religion, hence it is abstract. Guiders are managing to reach unknowable divine information; in other words they do not have a measure in their hands. However, authoritarian mentality, through defining basic knowledge on the basis of matter and rendering knowledge reachable, gives a criterion to the person so that s/he can test himself/herself. Therefore, it is inevitable for the patriarchal mentality to merge with the authoritativeness. Patriarchy implies a heterogeneous social structure based on a multiple hierarchy while authoritativeness implies a homogenous structure based on a single hierarchy. These two mentalities turn into a harmonious unity within the state-society duality and “sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the nation” legitimizes this through reading it other way around. Authoritarian mentality furnishes state and society with homogenous characteristics in themselves with respect to each other, hence society has surrendered to the illusion of considering itself within the state through being accepted to the state agencies (Sennett 1993). Patriarchal mentality has legitimized the inner differentiation of ruler-ruled groups, has rationalized the existence of communities, and has paved the way for every kind of differentiation unless the state-society division is violated. Community based prestige transmitted from father to son began to be transmitted from father to daughter this way with the Republic.

While authoritarian statist mentality is associated with Turkish tradition, the one which has actualized the patriarchy has become the Sunni/Hanafi Islam which is the most inclined to sanctify the state. Therefore patriarchal and authoritarian mentalities have undergone not tension, but integration. Although this situation brought stability and peace for a while, it firstly delayed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and then it kept Turkey from undergoing a real “modern” mental transformation. Modernity is defined with implemented reforms, hence it is not a process, and it is reduced to a framework drawn by reforms. Deviation from reforms is punished with severity; politics is defined as making the society embrace reforms. Authoritarian mentality is reinforced this way. And it is reinforced with films once again.

Contemporary Turkish Films: How Patriarchal and Authoritarian Mentalities Reconstructed?

The aim of this essay is to expose how patriarchal and authoritarian mentalities are reconstructed in contemporary Turkish Film. For each film, I'll present a summary of the film first, and then analyse how this mentality is reconstructed at the back street settings of these filmic worlds.

KURLAR VADİSİ-FİLİSTİN (Valley of Wolves-Palestine): Polat Alemdar and his friends go to Palestine when the ship carrying help to Gaza is invaded by Israel. The goal is to kick down the Isralean commander Moshe who plans the invasion. Thanks to the first contacts with Palestinians, Alemdar and his friends who are close to their target are to encounter a surprise. The ruthlessness and technological potentials of Moshe obstruct their plan. Moshe devastates the villages, kills women and children and imprisons everyone who helps Polat and his friends. However, Moshe cannot protect himself through his technological potential and ruthlessness (<http://www.kv-filistin.com/kurtlar-vadisi-filistin-konusu.html>).

If tyrant has injustice then sufferer has the streets: In the film, the streets of Palestine appear first when Alemdar and his friend go to meet Palestinians. To get rid of the ruthlessness of Israeli soldiers, Ms. Simon, the American tourist guide, Polat and his friends escape. The Palestinian streets are narrow, in turmoil, crowded, neglected and dirty. People who belong to different religions, street vendors, children, women, men, old people and tourists all witness this escape. The stores, markets, electricians, copper sellers and vegetable sellers are all littered around. Some people die, some are injured. The Israeli soldiers torture the children playing on the streets and forcibly take them into their jeeps. While they escape through the narrow streets, it is understood that Simon is an American Jewish. Thereupon, it is said that the woman is an agent and she should be left on the street. However, Alemdar protects the woman.

The street appears for the second time in a rich neighbourhood. On an expensive jeep, Moshe is on his way to meet the secret administrators of Israeli government. His goal is to introduce the most recently produced bullets that he describes as a "work of art." In order to prove the high quality of the bullets, he shoots a jeep and kills the driver. It is understood through

the photos and prayer beads on the rear-view window that the driver is a Muslim who has two children. The bullet has achieved real success. These events take place with the accompaniment of a sad music. At the same time, Moshe's jeep arrives and his assistant informs him about the arrival of Polat Alemdar. He says that Alemdar has come in order to kill Moshe. Moshe bosses orders and gets on his jeep. The Turkish hunt starts on the streets.

Whereas cruel Israel state is rich and affluent, oppressed people are poor and deprived. But this situation is not structured on the basis of class contradiction. Israel as a Jewish state and its supporters are rich, everybody except them is oppressed and poor.

Thirdly, the street is viewed at night when Simon wants to leave from Abdullah's home in which he hides out. Before leaving home, it is emphasized once again that there is a Jew in front of the door. Streets are dark and uncanny, camera makes feel fear through close ups, Simon tries to find his way in the unsecured streets which remind a labyrinth in the dark of the night. There are old people, women and children in a state of fear and desperateness. Streets are narrow and neglected. The voice of a Palestinian girl who reads a heroic poem is heard, guard walks in the street in a state of fear and astonishment. Suddenly an irruption occurs and guard starts to escape to a way from which he came. He returns to home from which he left. He encounters with Israel soldiers and Palestinian police. When assistant of Moshe says that he has come because of the terrorists in the region, police says that not Israel police but they are responsible for this. Moshe comes. He responds to police who says that streets belong to Palestine: "I decide when and where belongs to whom." A battle occurs. At the same time Alemdar and his friends also go out. He promises not to leave the street before killing Moshe. Streets are the places of battle between cruel Israel army under the leadership of cruel Moshe and Palestine police and people supported by Polat Alemdar and his friends. Ruthless Israel soldiers who spread fear in the dark of the night invade homes, capture, kill, and injure all the women-children-young-old people. They spread terror. Moshe is cheerful because power is at himself in the streets, he lights up mounting a soldierly jeep. Now complication dominates the streets. Alemdar and his friends fulfil their duties; they organize resistance in the streets against the cruel. People participate in the resistance throwing the stones and being a suicide bomber. Battle ends but Moshe doesn't die but is injured. Alemdar

and his friends check the street after the battle and question why technological base of Israel is in the Palestinian side. They reveal the fact that Israel does its dirty works intentionally because when an event occurs they can not be held responsible for it because it is not in their side. As they talk about this issue in devastated streets, they capture a jeep which belongs to Israel army. Wearing soldiers' clothes, they go into military base. They make a kind of big and inexpugnable army which consists in three Turks and a Palestinian. They destroy the military base but go without finding Moshe.

Moshe learns that Abdullah is a collaborator after he questions his face found in the camera records in the invasion to military base in the identity records in the computer. Therefore Moshe and his supporters invade Palestinian Abdullah's home in which Alemdar and his friends hide out and they forcibly make women and children go out of home. Israeli soldiers use violence to women group which consists in Abdullah's wife, mother, sister and Simon and children. Simon wears muslim Palestinian clothes and shouts that they can not use violence to women. Then Moshe says "what kind of Jew you are". Therefore Jews consist in two: the one who should be cruel to Muslim and human to Muslim. Movie is on the side of the human one. Moshe asks where the Abdullah is. When he is not responded, he destroys their house with bulldozer. Abdullah's son, Ahmet, who became disabled in a battle is in the house. Camera views the happenings through fast movements, barbarity occurs fastly. Ahmet stays under the house which destroys and dies. His grandmother tries to reach his grandson in the ruins but there is nothing to do. He begs "Don't cry my Ahmed, there is God beside you." When Moshe says "How desperate you are dying in this land, you will make dirty the lands promised to us", Alemdar says "I do not know where is promised to you but I promise you its under." Streets belong to the oppressed. The oppressed is a Muslim man (and Turk).

In the first street scene, Abdullah is in his destroyed house. Children, babies, old-young women and men are miserables. A Palestinian woman gives food to Simon. Because Simon is not her enemy, the enemy is only who oppresses Muslims. Polat and his friends give the guns which they take from military base to fighters. A battle occurs between Israeli soldiers prepared by superior guns and Palestinian people who have primitive guns. This is the war of latest tank car and guns against stone and stick. The soldiers under Moshe attack without pity, streets become hell. Views are very good;

they are like a Hollywood film and scenes which we know from TV news for years. However, the camera is not on the side of powerful as in these kinds of news, but on the side of oppressed. Alemdar and his friends fight without fear. With the support of music, struggle against powerful Israel army becomes heroical. Streets turn into ruin, it is as if an earthquake has taken place. Alemdar shoots Moshe, Moshe takes hostage the guard at the last instance, but he can not escape, he is shot from his head. The victors of the streets are Alemdar and his friends, that is, Muslim Turk men. All buildings are destroyed, there is nothing left.

In the third cinema version of the Tv series named Kurtlar Vadisi after Kurtlar Vadisi Iraq and Kurtlar Vadisi Gladio, Kurtlar Vadisi-Palestine, leading role named Polat Alemdar becomes an influential role model in the Turkish society, most men imitate his clothes and attitudes. Necati řařmaz, who played Alemdar, also plays in the advertisements of UKRA, the building society which is the sponsor of the film. The movie ends with the scenes of Palestinian streets which should be constructed again.

AV MEVSİMİ (Hunting Season): The Inspector Ferman (řener řen) who deserved his nickname Hunter thanks to his experience in homicide cases and İdris (Cem Yılmaz), notorious as a mad man are two policemen close to each other just like a father and son. Hasan (Okan Yalabık), an idyllic disciple graduated from anthropology, joins them. The three men are charged with the duty of finding the murderer of the young woman Pamuk. This duty forces them to come across the drug trafficker Asit, one of the richest men in Turkey, Battal řolakzade (řetin Tekindor), the murdered woman's brothers Abbas and Vakkas and various other men. The murder changes the lives of Ferman who has devoted his life to his wife Müzeyyen and struggle for her illness, İdris who passionately loves his ex-wife Asiye (Melisa Sözen) and Hasan who is a new graduate and stranger to this world. (<http://www.avmevsimifilm.com/#/yapim/sinopsis>).

Istanbul's 'dead-end' streets are ruled by white Turks: A street appears in the film for the first time when the camera is used to monitor the restaurant where people are having a farewell dinner for their retired colleague. The camera tilting toward the restaurant for a while returns to the street leaving behind İdris who entertains his friends singing a Laz song. In

the last frame, the camera is on the street and picture frames and the portrait of Atatürk on the walls draw attention while İdris, sitting on a chair, sings and drinks with his colleagues.

The background is always the streets. This can be seen in the previous films, as well. While they go to interrogate the gay barman in his house, there is a street behind the apartment door. And while they are interrogating him in his house, life flows outside on the streets.

Secondly, it is dark and the three men wait for Asit, Pamuk's boyfriend in front of the bar where the gay barman works. He is to let them know Asit's arrival. They have to wait patiently for this. Obsessed with anthropology, İdris constantly chats with Hasan at the back. He asks him what anthropology is. Hasan tries to explain with an example of "flipping someone off" that compares the USA to Turkey. The camera is outside, on the windscreen of the car. Hasan and İdris sit in the front while Ferman is at the back. Hasan's mobile rings, he asks for permission and gets out of the car. Now, he is on the street. The person who calls is his fiancée, Yasemin. The camera gets out and is turned toward Hasan. When it views back the car, Ferman talks to İdris. The gay man calls and they leave the car to go to the bar. Hasan is told to stay out, watch the door and follow if anyone escapes.

Afterwards, Asit escapes from the bar and gets on his car. Ferman, İdris and Hasan follow them in their civil car with a police siren on the top of it. We witness a forceful chase through the narrow and back doors of Istanbul. İdris who is driving the car is busy talking to Hasan on anthropology although Ferman is sitting just next to him. During the chase through the narrow streets, a car coming from the opposite direction leads to congestion. İdris starts quarrelling with the driver and İdris screams in total madness. He gets off the car, shows his identity card and asks: "Can't you hear the siren?" The man gets a fright and makes way. They lose trace of Asit. While slowly looking for him, they pass the streets of Istanbul throughout mobile food vendors, people on the streets and prostitutes. The camera seeks together with them. Because Ferman is a "hunter," he notices the parked car from far away. They park their own car and get off wearing their steel vests. They are in a dangerous neighbourhood. They go past Asit's car. The street is very narrow and so is the camera's angle, which fans the excitement. They see Asit in front of a door talking to someone. Ferman prefers to ask for support; however, İdris claims that they should not wait. They

break into the house taking shelter behind the rice vendor. The disciple is to stand outside again. Yasemin calls. She wants to postpone the meeting on Sunday to Monday, yet Hasan has no time to think over this. Inside, the conflict goes on. Asit runs away. However, he is caught by Hasan who waits outside. All of a sudden, he is shot by a friend of Asit. İdris shoots the shooter. Hasan thinks he is dead, but he escapes death thanks to his steel vest. Asit is arrested. The streets are under the possession of the police. The Turkish police captures and knows his rights by heart. Hasan witnesses the death of the drug dealer shot by Hasan. This is his first experience in that sense. The support forces have just arrived.

On another street scene, the three men park the car on the street where Pamuk's family lives. On the streets, boys play football while girls play hopscotch and jump rope. They unload wood from a pick-up truck. This is a low-middle class street full of neglected, fair-face brick buildings.

Thirdly, we see Asiye, İdris's ex-wife on the street. He is still in pursuit of her. Asiye sees the courteous man leaving the apartment at night. İdris's piercing gaze is focused by the camera.

In the next street scene, the three men leave the house of Battal olakzade, one of the richest men in Turkey. The poor girl's family works in this house. They go toward the office by car. In the daytime shooting, the camera is located on the windscreen of the car. They are on a street in a rich neighbourhood. They pass through ultra luxurious estates and villas. These houses in the middle of nowhere are surrounded and secured by high walls. The person they talk about in the car is the little girl İdris saw in that huge house. The poor girl was sleeping helplessly connected to machines. İdris claims that Battal is uncanny.

For the fifth time, İdris is seen driving and talking to Asiye on the phone. He hopefully asks Asiye to meet face to face. After their meeting, we see İdris walking furiously and fast on the street. This is a street full of cafes and he walks crashing into people. Asiye refuses to reunite with İdris. İdris goes into a bar to drink. He is a pathetic loser.

In the following street scene, Ferman and Hasan are in the car. İdris has died. Hasan repeats his quotation from Shakespeare, "a murder will be unravelled although it is covered by all the earth." Ferman replies "would you like to read a murder novel in which the murderer is not arrested?" The film is directed to itself and the murderer is to be caught soon or late.

They visit Pamuk's family. After the visit, they drive around the streets and note that they have taken blood samples from Pamuk, her family and all the workers of Çolakzade. They go to the previous doctor's house. There is again a street background behind the apartment.

Pamuk has been sacrificed for Battal's daughter suffering from kidney failure. A murder has been solved and streets have been left. The merciless and rich Kurdish Landlord has been overcome by the merciful bureaucrat Turkish policeman, "hunter" Ferman.

NEW YORK'TA BEŞ MİNARE (Five Minarets in New York): The leader of an organization which is wanted with a red notice, the criminal with a code name Deccal, is arrested in America. The two most successful names of the organization, Acar and Firat go to America in order to take the guilty. After this seems to be easy but nothing is as it seems. Whereas the story happened in the triangle of Istanbul, New York and Bitlis questions our Turkey in present day, it also underlies the America after 11 September and world's paranoia with Islam. (<http://www.sinemalar.com/film/47521/new-yorkta-bes-minare>).

Streets have the global meaning of slander: In the first street scene of the film, we see that a red station wagon goes in the street. There are five people in the car, the driver, bearded police with a cassock-Acar- and three veiled women. Camera goes into car; after it views from outside. It is a sunny summer day. The veiled women and men with cassocks show that it is a conservative place. Station wagon goes near the grocers, cars on the both side of the road and fruit sellers. After camera's bird eye view, the car parks. Driver gets off from the car. Someone behind a high wall pries them. It is as if there is restlessness in the street. The one who pries goes inside and shouts as "police!" The camera is near the two men with cassocks who pry the street from home, it sees the driver and three veiled women who get off the car. At this instance, driver commands that operation starts. Camera again goes to street, veiled women get off car, suddenly tanks and armed forces invade the street. Islamic terrorist group starts first fire and shoot the car with a bazooka. Three women is actually three men from armed forces. They join the battle at once. They shoot with their uzis. A violent battle starts, the shops are bombed. Some people die. Helicopter comes. Police

is in the street with his most secured and powerful forces. They invade the building on target. Camera also goes to building.

For the second and third times, the camera screens the streets of New York from a helicopter. The huge buildings, the richness and luxuriousness of the USA, skyscrapers, attracting terraces are parts that portray life in New York.

In the next scene, a village in South East Anatolia is screened. Fırat calls his grandfather from an abandoned building across the Bosphorous Bridge to let him know that he is going to the USA. He is in a terrace viewing the Bosphorous and his grandfather is on the street in the village. When their talking is over, the camera begins to screen New York with all its magnificence and allurements. Although they sit at the back of a luxurious car, Acar and Fırat are on the streets of New York. Acar tells that he previously came here for his education. The camera is outside and inside the car. It follows the car throughout the New York streets. It stops in front of the FBI and the Turkish policeman enters the building.

In the fifth scene, two Turks and Hacıgümüş-Deccal arrested by FBI go into the New York streets by an armoured car. The American policemen following the armoured car crash into a bicycle and have to stop. They call 911. However, this is a conspiracy and after they show their cars to the man they collided with, this man riding the bicycle calls someone by telephone. The camera screens Acar, Fırat and Hacıgümüş behind the armoured car. Hacıgümüş prays in whisper and this makes Turkish policemen angry. Just at this instant, the armoured car collides into another car and the car is tossed by the impetus of the collision. It turns upside down. The armed and masked men getting off the cars surrounding the street take Hacıgümüş from the armoured car and go away.

In the next street scene, FBI and Turkish policemen are on a street where there is a Turkish small market in New York. They go into the market to look for Hacıgümüş. The FBI and Turkish policemen leave the market to go to the Turkish Embassy.

In the seventh street, Acar and Fırat who watch the Turkish market participate into the film space. It is dark in the evening. Timur talks to Hacıgümüş on the phone and leaves the market. He mentions the two Turkish policemen, takes a taxi and leaves. Acar and Fırat start to follow them by a taxi. The camera goes around the glittering streets of New York. The colourful advertisement billboards, cosmopolitan crowds of people, luxurious cars and hundreds of

cars cover the New York streets. The taxi in the front stops, Timur and his girlfriend get off and enter into the apartment. Acar and Fırat follow them.

In the next scene, Acar and Fırat get off the taxi. They go pass the grocery's and arrive at an abandoned factory where there are street gangs. It is cold and rainy.

The FBI agents, David and Jim are on their car in a calm and sunny New York morning. David tells Jim that his sister Brian sleeps under the ruins of that tower. Brian does not even have a tomb. To Jim, it is wrong to consider that all Muslims are terrorists. David admits that he has gone too far. They get off their parked car and go to a house to interrogate Jasmin, Hacıgümüş's daughter.

Jasmin's house is listened. An armoured car is parked opposite the house and the speeches in the house are listened. Next morning, Jasmin and her boyfriend, Thomas go pass the street. They run toward freedom. The morning sun is full of hope. They are going to get married that day.

In the 11th scene, David and Jim talk on the phone in the listening car. David drives a car on the street and Jim is in the parked car in front of the church. They talk about Turkish policemen. They have the wedding ceremony of Thomas and Jasmin in the church. The listening car watches those who leave the church.

The car Timur drives is parked on the street. Timur, Hacıgümüş's wife Maria and Timur's girlfriend arrive in the building where Hacı hides himself. Timur understand that they are followed. FBI follows them. All of a sudden, the street is full of New York policemen. A harsh chase is started. The two Turkish policemen and Hacı go up the terrace and we see the New York streets from above once more.

In the 13th street scene, Fırat is in Ortaköy, Istanbul. He talks on the phone to his grandfather who walks on the street. His grandfather says that he is looking forward to seeing him. The street is deserted and a few people go past the old man. The moonlight enlightens the street. The mosque in south east and the Ortaköy mosque are in a sort of a dialogue.

In the next street scene, Hacı, Maria and Fırat are on the streets of Bitlis. They go past coffee houses, local stores, restaurants and copper sellers by car. They go into a narrow street. Children play on the street. They run after the car to catch it. The camera follows them. The children walking on the street walk among the women who carry their babies. Hacı shot Fırat's

father many years ago. Through many lies, Fırat brings Hacı to the place where he killed his father. The assumption that the Deccal who is sought is actually Hacı is a total lie. The revenge feud goes on for years.

In the last street scene, they are back in 1973. Hacı's elder brother who leaves the mosque takes Hacı with him and they lay an ambush for İsmail, Fırat's father. We witness a murder on the narrow streets. The person who kills İsmail is not Hacı, but İsmail. Hacı undertakes the murder because his brother forces him to do so.

ÇAKAL (The Jackal): Akın (İsmail Hacıođlu)'s life changes upon the death of his mother living in the suburbs of Istanbul. While he plans to make a new life for himself through the money he steals from Master Nuran (Cüneyt Türel) working in a carpenter shop, his girlfriend Deniz (Damla Sönmez) finds this plan silly and leaves him. Thus, Akın accepts his friend, İdris's (Çetin Altay) offer. This offer provides him a new beginning. He is to be an errand boy for the mafia group of Fahrettin (Uđur Polat) and Celahir (Erkan Can). Akın who has nothing to lose attracts the attention of big bugs due to his reckless and fearless behaviours. While Akın wins his boss's favour thanks to some small receipts, he makes a new enemy called Mecit (Naci Tařdöđen). While all these happen around him, the only thing Akın wants is to buy an aquarium in the Hayat Billard Hall, where he himself works. (<http://www.cakalfilmi.com/>)

Streets are what on your mind is: Akın is chosen for a duty of murder in a rival place while he tries to settle his new life. Akın undertakes this duty just like he did previously. When Akın finds out that this rival place belongs to Mecit, it becomes more meaningful for him to carry out the duty since he has an account to settle with Mecit. However, this fight is the beginning of an end for Akın.

The street first appears when Akın meets with his "dirty" friends and smokes weed upon the death of her mother. He questions his existence with an inner voice on his way back to home.

Next morning, we see a perspective view of the street. In the opposite direction, a Turkish flag waves. The balcony of the building is full of antennas. There are parked cars on the left and right sides of the road. It is a hazy morning in Istanbul.

Akın steals Master Nuran's money and strolls around the streets. The streets are crowded and suffocating. He tries to settle accounts with his inner voice. He is not a thief. He has swallowed saw dust since his childhood. He goes to a buffet, buys something to drink. It is cold and hazy.

In the fourth street scene, Akın meets his girlfriend Deniz by the seaside and asks her to leave Istanbul. Deniz does not accept this. Akın gets furious and screams out. When Deniz gets scared and leaves him there, he makes fun of her saying "bitch, you have slim jeans on your ass and a headscarf on your head." Leaving the crowd and human traffic behind, Akın meets the drug dealer on the corner of the street. With an inner voice, he questions himself, his life, friends and family. The film takes place within the physical and social places set by Akın in his mind. With his friends living on streets, they go to see İdris in the Hayat Billard Hall.

Akın starts to work in the billard house owned by Fahrettin. In the next street scene, we see him walking showily in his black suit and white shirts together with İdris.

For the sixth time, the street appears following Akın's friends from a bird's eye view. At the junction, each of the three friends goes into three different streets. The night awaits surprises and something dangerous is about to happen. Akın is in the beer house, he is quite drunk. He has his usual inner self-criticisms.

Akın's request to build an aquarium in the billard hall is accepted. When he leaves the aquarium seller, he comes across his father. Now, his father has a long beard and wears a cap. We watch their battle of words from a close perspective. Akın asks "You seem to have wrapped yourself. Will you have your own tomb soon?" His father replies "I am not a thief like you." In return, Akın says he will pay back Master Nuran's money, but he will not be a father to him no matter what he does." He shoulders his father and disappears into the opposite direction.

As a gunman of Fahrettin, Akın kills Mecit on the street in the parking lot. In his last breath, Mecit kills Akın. İdris who involved Akın in this danger kills his wounded friend in a forest under the command of Fahrettin. Just before he dies, Akın recalls their first walking on the street in their black suits. However, İdris does not kill him. He comes back to the billard hall and kills Fahrettin and Celahir. Akın waits in the car wounded. İdris accomplishes his duty and gets back to the car. He looks behind at his wounded

friend, Akın. The camera moves in the direction of İdris's gaze. Akın asks "where are we going? We need to take the aquarium with us."

EJDER KAPANI (Dragon Trap): In the film which questions the concept of justice in pursuit of a murderer of child sexual abusers, two experienced detectives 'Çerkez' Abbas (Uğur Yücel) and 'Akrep' Celal (Kenan İmirzaliođlu) look for a serial killer. The victims of the murderer are pedophiles that are released thanks to amnesty. The clues point at Ensar (Nejat İşler) who has just returned from the army. Ensar who did his military service in the South East is a death machine. While he does his military service, his sister, 12 years old, is raped. When he returns, he learns that the young girl hanged herself. He starts to commit murders in the town. The interrogation is carried out by Abbas, Celal and trainee police officer Ezo (Berrak Tüzünataç). The only dream of Abbas who undertakes his last duty before his retirement is to go far away with his beloved, Cavidan (Ceyda Düvenci). (<http://www.ejderkapani.com/>).

Circassian catches south eastern dragon at Istanbul streets: The film is so much like *Av Mevsimi*. Three friends solve the case. There is again a police officer about to get retired. One of the three men is again mad, the trainee is female. The difference between Abbas and Ferman is that Abbas has a girlfriend, not a family. He is not a bureaucrat wearing a tie like Ferman. He is a crazy policeman of nights.

The street first appears with Abbas waiting in his car in the back streets of Istanbul for his girlfriend who is a pavilion singer. A drug dealer crosses their path. The back streets are unsafe. They are full of danger and filth. Cavidan just hardly throws herself into Abbas's car. Abbas furiously gets out of the car. He invites the three men bothering his woman and the fight starts. We witness a Tarantino or Richie style fight that can be seen in independent American films. Such filmographic attractions can be encountered in the film in different ways. When Abbas blacks one of the men's cheeks, the image is frozen for a second. The blood hangs in the air. One of the other men is thrown into air with a single fist of Abbas. He is frozen there and falls onto a mobile trolley. The camera is extremely mobile and active. It pulls the viewer into the action. The cobblestone streets witness a unique fight scene. Abbas has taken Cavidan's revenge and got rid of his anger.

In the next street scene, Abbas and Celal go to Celal's house with their umbrellas in the rain at night. The camera is at the top and follows both men in parallel line with the roofs in the narrow and wet street. Once more, Abbas is seen leaving Celal's house to go to his hotel room with his umbrella.

For the third time, streets appear on the screen with chase after Selçuk Demirci, the murderer who is claimed to have killed rapers and pedophiles released thanks to amnesty. It is dark and rain strikes on the ground like a whip. The camera follows the murderer in the back streets full of closed markets. Abbas is in pursuit of Selçuk. However, Selçuk is killed and his murderer cannot be found.

Streets become a ground for the film for the fourth time when the special team invades Ensar's house. Ensar whose sister has been raped in the suburbs is the biggest murderer Abbas and his colleagues chase after. At night, the suburb streets are narrower, dirtier and more dangerous.

In the news bulletin, Abbas watches the interviews with people on the streets about the murderer of pedophiles. For the fifth time, streets are screened on an intertextual level. The murderer targeting at the rapists and pedophiles do what passes through everyone's mind but no one dares to do. People thank him. Abbas is called and the policemen dive into the back streets again. The murderer kills one more pedophile. They see the murderer in the house of the murdered man and chase after him. This is a Tarantino like chase between gloomy streets. Abbas captures the murderer in the yard of a mosque and informs his team via a transmitter. However, he gets so tired at the end of the chase that he has a heart stroke and is taken to the hospital by an ambulance.

Abbas disentangles the knot. The murderer is Celal. We see the streets for the sixth time when Abbas drives a car greedily. He turns the traffic upside down with his police car and the camera goes mad together with him. He drives toward Celal's house at maximum speed. Ezo is with Celal. However, Celal escapes. Abbas chases after him. He has an accident and the car turns upside down. Fearlessly, he stands up, gets a taxi and goes on to follow him. Abbas is as determined to catch the murderer as Celal is to kill pedophiles. They pass through the streets, bridges and subways of Istanbul. He catches Celal in an abandoned factory.

The murderer of the rapists and pedophiles released from the prison thanks to amnesty is Kurd Celal. He carries out the murders like the dragon

in South East. He is fair and just in his accounts because his sister was raped when she was just a child. Celal just leaves behind some clues in order to be arrested by erkez Abbas. Abbas reads this as a story in which a father captures his son.

The only solution for the son, (Kurd) Cemal is to commit suicide. The lonely father, Abbas dives into the streets of Istanbul. The azan is recited. The camera following Abbas whirls around him crazily. Abbas goes to the mosque.

KARA KÖPEKLER HAVLARKEN (Black Dogs Barking): Güvercinci Selim (Cemal Toktař) and aa Celal (Volga Sorgu), the two showy youngsters of the neighbourhood live in a neighbourhood where lower-class people live. They operate the parking lot of a man called Master (Erkan Can) who lives in the upper-middle class neighbourhood just on the other side of the road. Selim makes marriage plans with Ayře (Ayfer Dönmez), his beloved. His and aa’s biggest dream is to have a parking lot of their own. They accept Mehmet’s offer to purchase the security tender of a shopping mall. Mehmet (Murat Daltaban) is a fellow of theirs from the tavern of pigeons. When the security manager Sait (Ergun Kuyucu) learns about their plan, Selim and aa’s lives change too fast for them to resist in a few days. (<http://www.karakopeklerhavlarken.com/>).

What if streets talk and say they are not safe: In the film, we first see the streets when Selim goes into his house after he feeds his pigeons. The chapmen, poor kids riding bikes and playing football, women wearing a head scarf, ruinous buildings and brick houses underpin that it is a lower-class neighbourhood. The roads are neglected and the electricity poles are dangerous. A funeral coach goes past a child who is trying to fly a kite. The coffin is covered by Turkish flag. The camera observes the streets through the streets passed by the coffin. The coffin is buried in the graveyard. Celal comes to the graveyard by his car, he is late to the burial. Selim takes his fiancée, Ayře and they turn back to the poor streets. However, the poor streets and skyscrapers are side by side and intertwined. It is a chaotic scenery. He drops Ayře at the kindergarten school where she works. Before she says goodbye, Ayře reminds Selim that it is the last day to pay the mortgage pay. Selim tells her not to worry and that the payment is ready. Selim is in front

of the garden door, on the street. He leaves and Ayşe returns to the school. The camera dives into the street behind Selim. He meets Celal. They make jokes with friends. Selim leaves Celal on the street. Celal gives advice to Selim who goes to a job interview. Selim gets on the car and goes to the shopping mall.

In the next street scene, Selim and Celal go to the pigeon club to see Mehmet. Just as they enter the club on a narrow street, they get stuck in the middle of a farewell convoy for soldiers. The cars with Turkish flags scream “ours is the biggest soldier” and loudly toot their horns.

In the third street scene, Celal waits for Selim in the back street of the kindergarten. Selim gives the money to Ayşe. He also presents a solitaire ring to her. He meets Celal who waits for him on the street. They quickly go to see the Master for whom they run the parking lot. The summer sun is the source of hope. However, the garden they use as a garden is an indication of the complicated days upcoming. They finally arrive and the master punishes one of his workers by squeezing his hand between the doors of the car since he is angry with him. The master is angry because he has taken opiate drugs. They talk about work and the fight at the club. The master tells him to be careful and not to argue with anyone. The camera is mobile at the eye level; this creates a feeling that it is one of them. The camera is directed toward those working on the streets, the bully, quarrelsome, Muslim, heterosexual Turkish men. The master gets on the car. He has a bodyguard and a driver. He sits behind and there are men who open the door for him. The camera focuses on the Turkish flag sticker on the car. Selim leaves Cemal on the street and steps on the gas.

While they want to join the tender for the security of the shopping mall, Sait who is still responsible for the security threatens them. Throughout all these proceedings, the background is always the streets where danger, threat and masculinity are reproduced. While they argue with each other, they buy bird feed and get on their car parked beside the feed shop on the street. The car is an orange Doğan. On it is written “my orange angel.” The car is sort of the room of the street house where they live. The upper voice is that of Selim’s who sings an arabesque song on the boys playing on the street. “Think, life resembles a dream just for once. I know those hard times I experienced very well. Realities cannot be hidden. On the last days of my life, I still love life.” The upper voice comes from the roof where there are

pigeons. We go into the roof through cut-off fiction. The streets and the roofs are the only places of living for Selim. The chief calls Selim and Celal into the street, their friend Taylan is to join the army.

In the next scene, we witness a male entertainment when they see off the prospective soldier. There is a Turkish flag on the back of Taylan. The camera strolls among them. It is just like one of these men. They dance with a flourish of trumpets. They throw up and hold back Taylan. On the other side, Celal examines a luxurious car. Another sign of masculinity is passion for cars. The convoy starts the farewell; the cars are covered by Turkish flags. The frenzy and noise of “ours is the biggest soldier” dominate the streets of Istanbul. Then, all the men play streetball. The entertainment goes on at its full speed. They are complained to the police. The police come and interfere. While Celal wants to get rid of the gun in his back, it gets fired. They escape from the police through the narrow streets framed by the walls protecting the villas in the rich neighbourhood. However, the police have arrested the Chief. They get a taxi. Meanwhile, Ayşe, Selim’s girlfriend is lost. They visit the Chief at night so that he can help them to find Ayşe. They find the Chief in the roof of a squatter building. Ayşe has been abducted by the security mafia, Sait. They die since they are attacked by Sait’s doberman dogs. One of Sait’s workers who Celal beats in the club dies, as well.

This film ends with a funeral prayer in the mosque. There are three coffins in the mosque. Two pigeons fly in the sky for Celal and Selim. The film starting with the burial scene ends with the funeral prayer in the courtyard of the mosque. In the last scene, a pigeon is being eaten by a sea gull.

The tender has been won by Mehmet who cooperates with Sait.

BORNOVA BORNOVA: Salih and Hakan (Fahri) who spend their days in front of the local store saying “wish life smiled at us one day” are like brothers. Hakan has recently returned from the army and his career plans to become a footballer has died on the vine, so he is unqualified, unemployed and idle. He waits to be a taxi driver. Salih, the neighbourhood psychopath, is the only person who listens to him and gives him advices. Salih who has a good and educated family has got involved in many illegal affairs. Everyone around is afraid of him. A high school student, Özlem who Hakan is “mad about” but cannot talk to is also afraid of Salih. Murat who is a doctoral

student and writes erotic fantasies to make a living is Salih's childhood friend. He tells Hakan about something erotic between Salih and Özlem. Hakan is disappointed. Since he is confused, he walks toward Özlem's house in order to learn everything. Özlem gets frightened when she sees him. However, nothing is as it has been told. The course of events unfolds hereafter. (<http://www.bornovabornovafilmi.com/Sinopsis>).

Not Izmir's but Bornova's' girls are really dangerous and are lords of the streets: The film opens with two boys riding a bicycle fast through the street. The camera shoots the exciting amusement of the children closely. We see a mature man, smoking and pushing his motorbike, gazes at the street passed by those guys.

On the back from the graveyard, İhsan drops Hakan at the beginning of the street. The film has started.

In the third street scene, we see Salih and Hakan repairing a motorbike in front of the local store at the corner of the street. Hakan sees Özlem among the parked minibuses, private cars and taxis. He tells about it to Salih excitedly. They get into an argument on women. Salih chases the girl and snipes her. Hakan is excited to death. He passionately loves Özlem, though from a distance. He is mad about her. Yet, he does not have any money. His only hope is to be a taxi driver. Salih works on the motor but fails. The camera monitors them from far away. It follows what goes on on the street. Customers go into and out of the local store and cars pass through the street. It is a hot summer day. The camera approaches Hakan and Salih. Sitting on the walls of the garden surrounding the building, they talk about the football match. Hakan has not been accepted to the Altay stadium. Salih asks him to question why he has not been admitted although he played in the team for five years. Hakan has been too seriously injured to play football again. To Salih, he has confronted by various deceptions, which brought his career to an end. Yet, he has not claimed his own rights. It is medically not possible for him to recover, as well. He is a good hearted man, which is the reason why he has gone through so many problems. However, this should not go on like this. He needs a strike, as well. He tells about what happened to him the previous day. He was buying sunflower from a vendor, but he fought with someone who refused this. Just at that moment, the policeman comes to ask what goes on. Salih slides over saying that they are just friends. He

does this in order not to get disrupted, but it is already disrupted. Salih and the others play with what has remained. They start to talk about the girl Hakan likes, again. Salih tries to ride his broken motorbike. They push it. Hakan gets off the wall to go to the local store.

In the store, Hakan and his two friends start to talk about Salih who is one of the “stupid” bullies in the neighbourhood. While they are talking about one of Salih’s cases, a bubble of images appears and Salih is seen swinging a knife on his motorbike.

In another street scene, Hakan reads newspaper on the wall beside the store. Murat comes. He asks about Salih. Salih has left nothing behind for Murat. Hakan does not interfere in such affairs. He is happy that Hakan is going to be a taxi driver. Yet, it is a difficult job. Still, Hakan is going to do this job, otherwise they will not let them get married. Then, Murat asks for Özlem. He adds that he should not listen to Salih about such love affairs. Hakan defends Salih. However, Murat knows Salih better. He is his childhood friend and they have many common memories. Murat sits next to Hakan and tells about these memories. Murat who writes erotic fantasies to make a living is Salih’s childhood friend. He tells Hakan about something between Salih and Özlem, which he later uses as an erotic fantasy. This happens in Özlem’s house, above the tireman. Hakan gets so sad and furious. He leaves. He seeks refuge on roads, parks, streets and bazaars.

In the sixth street scene, we see Özlem walking furiously although his boyfriend is just behind her. The boy tries to tease her, but Özlem does not hear anything since she is so angry. The subjective camera follows both and underlines the tension moving together with them. Salih bullies this boy in a billard hall, which leads to a fight between him and Özlem. To Özlem, boys from the Anatolian high school draw close to the girls in Bornova only to amuse themselves. She furiously kicks the boy’s sexual organ and walks away.

In the next street scene, Hakan is monitored strolling around the streets. Özlem tells her about the reality. Salih tries to rape her, but he cannot manage due to his sexual impotence. This is not like the fantasy romanced by Murat. Yet, he threatens Özlem to use drug. Now, Özlem asks Hakan to kill Salih. Thereupon, Hakan is again on the streets, in abandoned houses, on fields and in parks. He is struggling against an internal feud.

In the seventh scene, Murat and Salih sit on the wall and chat and drink beer. They talk about sweet nothings and themselves. Salih tells about a

fantasy that Murat can use. The camera shoots on the waist line. Salih lives off his parents' money. He has been jailed for as many years as he has lived. However, he notes that someone must carry out the illegal affairs of the rich. The only thing he wants is to be protected when he goes through bad patches. His goal is to go to Holland or Germany. There, life is much more beautiful as far as his friends have told. Everybody wears leather jacket, there. They play for high stakes. They do not sell drugs to three or five students. There, you are a Turk and different while here you are nothing. Meanwhile, Hakan approaches from behind. He joins them. It is twilight and gets dark in the evening. Salih makes fun of Hakan as a prospective taxi driver. Murat notes that it is a virtue to be able to work. Salih gives Hakan a knife. He gives it adding that driving a taxi is dangerous. He mentions an event that took place two years ago. While driving a taxi two years ago, he is assaulted by two drunkards. These guys who create social unrest on the streets get on his car and ask for day rate. They set off and Salih does not want to get into hot waters. He catches one of the drunkard's eyes with which he gets angry. Then, Salih speeds up. A quarrel takes place in the car. The drunkard and his friends speak in Kurdish. Salih knows how to defend himself with his knife. He cuts the drunkard on the back of his neck and chases him. Perhaps, he is dead. The knife he uses that day is this knife that he gives Fahri. He gives it in case anything dangerous takes place. Just as Murat decides to leave, Fahri says that he has a fantasy and he wants to tell about it to them. Murat refuses, but Salih wonders and insists that he listens to Fahri's fantasy together with him. His fantasy is about a woman, 45 years old, who seduces him under the colour of asking for help in the market. The woman has a sexual intercourse with her son, yet the son cannot endure and escapes. Murat notes that this is so Oedipal. The woman is Salih's mother, aunt Gülseren. Salih attacks Fahri. Fahri kills Salih with his knife. Fahri disappears into the darkness of the street. With his crippled leg, he runs towards the camera and smiles.

Conclusion

The films analyzed in this study build representations that reconstruct the patriarchal and authoritarian mentality in an unmitigated way. The main characters that act as policemen, taxi drivers, unemployed, carpenters, private security guards, car parkers, pigeoners and imams lead a life of low or middle class. All of them are heterosexual, (Sunni) Muslim and Turkish.

While the streets are a realm of pursuit, infliction of violence, confrontation and punishment, being a Turk is always appreciated. This mentality is unraveled in all films at the same time. Authority as a bond between not equal to each other is clearly fictionalized in the films *Av Mevsimi* and *Bornova Bornova*. The social structure in which Muslim Turks are bonded to each other with blood ties manifests itself within patriarchy. This situation is more clearly built in such films as *Çakal*, *Ejder Kapanı*, *Kara Köpekler Havlarken*, *Kurtlar Vadisi-Filistin* and *New York'ta Beş Minare*.

The patriarchal and authoritarian mentality in the films are in an interaction with the codes of gender. Trust, the superior power to judge others, the ability to discipline and the capacity to inflict fear are intrinsic to the authoritarian characters in films. The target of having authority turns patriarchal hegemony into images of power. For example, the policeman İdris acting in *Av Mevsimi* always shows his identity card when it is not understood that he is a policeman during a chase. In *Bornova Bornova*, the power provided by the Turkish identity abroad is underlined. In *Ejder Kapanı*, the police officer (Kurd) Celal tries to settle his account with the government due to its unfairness against the powerless; however, this is stressed out to be a childish attempt in the film. His superior, (Circassian) Abbas reads this as father-son story. At the end of the film, while Celal commits suicide, Abbas goes to the mosque. In the film *Kara Köpekler Havlarken*, the passion for cars is coded as an image of power for patriarchy. The image of power is associated with richness and welfare and thus negated when Israel is a matter of fact as a Jewish state. The streets are Muslims' as people who are exposed to violence (*Kurtlar Vadisi-Filistin*). In *New York'ta Beş Minare*, the most distracting cinematography is that the camera moves so fast in New York, relatively more slowly in Istanbul and with a flash-back in Bitlis.

The back and narrow streets of Istanbul, mobile vendors, prostitutes, the abandoned buildings of Izmir, fields, parks, men who question their existence, imams, the danger, filth and narrowness of the suburbs, male children playing balls and riding bikes, female children playing hopscotch, farewell ceremonies for soldiers, the crowded and neglected streets of Palestine, the rich and well-kept streets of New York, the murders committed mercilessly reproduce the patriarchal and authoritarian mentality again and again. This is the projection of dominant culture in Turkey today.

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