Use of space in Yeşilçam Cinema in the context of symbolization of traditional-modern dilemma

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Abstract

1960-1975 period of Turkish cinema is accepted as 'Yeşilçam'. These movies have embodied the modernization process of Turkey. Generally, in media and literature, Yeşilçam Cinema has been criticized as being deprived of creativity and are considered to be weak in terms of spatial fiction. Accordingly, few studies are to be found that investigating 'the use of space in the Yeşilçam Cinema' in the related literature. The main purpose of this paper to trace spatial symbols of traditional-modern dilemma's conflicts in Yeşilçam Cinema. From this point of view, within the scope of this study, 66 movies were selected for a detailed analyse, which have strong signs about space using and traces of modernization critics. The main assertion of this study is that the use of space in Yeşilçam movies was not deprived of fiction and was not randomly selected and also spaces of them strongly represent the modernization discussions of their period.

Highlights

- Yeşilçam Cinema are considered to be weak in terms of spatial fiction and their spaces of was not deemed worthy to investigate.
- Spaces were consciously chosen to represent the modern-traditional dilemma in most films.
- The notions of 'space' and 'visual aesthetics' in the Yeşilçam Cinema are not neglected to the extent that they are thought to be.

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INTRODUCTION: ABOUT CINEMA, SPACE AND YEŞİLÇAM

The most simple and general definition of cinema is the arranging of space and time (Adiloğlu 2003, 82). Cinema produces the reality again by using the notion of space, time and motion. Cinematographic space is one of the most effective tools for transmitting the messages of a movie and the reality of fiction to the audiences. As Jacobs said, movie spaces are closely related with the fiction, and space is influenced by fiction as well as it affects the fiction (Jacobs, 1994). The mission of space is to generate the frame of the social environment and create the atmosphere of the movie. Every space in the movie has ideological, social, intellectual, decorative, aesthetic and functional messages, consciously or unconsciously. Space organization helps the visualization of tension, affections and conflicts. Events and the evolution of characters could be explained better and easier through transformation in the spaces. Architectural elements or objects in the spaces, which seem trivial, can gain meaning in the movies with the story. Each detail of space, like geometrical blocks, lines, secessions, interior borders, planes, patterns, backgrounds and figures, takes on a task to express different notions and emotions. Thereby, not only movie space shown but also the associations and intuitions created by it can contribute to the message of the movie. Symbolic meanings of spaces are conveyed to audiences as much as their pure meanings with closed messages. Different meanings could be assigned to the spaces by using the stereotypes and codes in the subconscious of audiences.

In the literature, cinema and space studies are spread over a very wide area, not only in cinema area and related visual art disciplines, but also in social sciences and architecture. Vidler (1993) states that since the late 19th century, cinema has provided a laboratory for the definition of modernism in theory and technique and also many art branches have redefined themselves in this sense; and says that architecture is the most privileged and difficult relationship with movie of all the arts. Neumann, who says that the encounter of architecture and cinema is inevitable, states that architectural space is reproduced in cinema (Neumann, 1996). As said to Dear (1994), "architecture is the secret subject of cinema".

Cinematographic spaces is created in two ways. The first of these is to use the existing space, and the second is to create the fictional space. Using the existing space is frequently preferred because it is easy, saves time and cost, and increases the credibility of the movie. However, the relationship between cinema and space is not limited to the physical-mathematical features of the space. As Bruno (2002) states, cinematic movement is an affective transference; movie images act not only through time and space or narrative, but also through immanent space. While the images show the life situations in the existing space, they find their meaning in the senses of the audience. People's

sensations are not limited to what is viewed, they are in interaction with the person's experiences and also relates to the time and events of the movie.

In this respect, the cinematic space offers many researchers a good base to reading the message of the movie. Indeed, the weight of phenomenological studies focusing on symbolization of the space is draw the attention in many studies that deal with the relationship between cinema and space from different perspectives (Videler, 1993; Dear, 1994; Adiloğlu, 2001; Yeşil, 2004; Pallasmaa, 2001; Ünver, 2021). However, these researches mostly prefer movies, that have designed or fictional spaces. There are few studies that try to analyze the movies, which are use the existing space and their symbolic meanings behind it. Accordingly, this study focuses on the symbolic connotations of spaces in the Yeşilçam period of Turkish Cinema, in which existing spaces are used rather than fictional ones.

The Turkish Cinema, which their history goes back to the early 20th century, has been affected by cultural and economic transformations of the society and has witnessed various quests over many years. The expression of 'Yeşilçam Cinema' is an epithet, which indicate the golden period of the Turkish Cinema in 1960s. The actual origin of this epithet comes from a street in Beyoğlu, İstanbul, which all movie production companies was there in these years. Although it is hard to mention about a distinct periodization of historical process of Turkish Cinema, the 1960-1975 period is accepted as 'Yeşilçam Cinema' by many researchers (Abisel 2005; Kastal Erdoğan 2009; Yağız 2009; Kaya-Mutlu 2010; Kuyucak Esen 2010).

Although Yeşilçam period in Turkish Cinema, which has been growing rapidly since the 1950s, could be criticized for different aspects, it has formed the background of the Turkish cinema and has reflected the cultural narratives of the era. Considering many different factors, it is possible to say that Yeşilçam is a hybrid production that has been collated in the cultural and economic process of Turkey in those years.

Generally, studies in the relevant literature handled Yeşilçam movies in the context of Turkish modernization process (Özonur 2006, 303; Arslan-Yeğen 2007; İnceoğlu 2008; Çelik, 2010). They read the effects of modernization process in Turkish society through the cinema of this period and many studies focused on the contradictions of this process and searched the traditional-modern dilemma in Yeşilçam movies (Yeşil 2004; Kastal Erdoğan 2009; Kaya-Mutlu 2010; Pehlivan 2011). But, Yeşilçam Cinema has been criticized as being deprived of creativity and artistic sensitivity and also accused of ignoring the space for a long time in media and literature. In this respect, it can be said that spaces of the Yeşilçam Cinema was not deemed worthy to investigate (Adanır 1994; Abisel 1995; Özön 1995; Adiloğlu 2003; Kotaman 2007; Tüzün 2008; Sözen 2009; Kastal Erdoğan 2009).

One of the harshest criticisms in this sense belongs to Nijat Özön. He mentioned about the superficial and stereotyped structure of the Turkish cinema, described it underdeveloped and attributed its reasons to the strict traditions and absence of the long-standing history of art (Özön, 1995). Another critic Oskay (1996) correlated the artistic, critical and aesthetic aspects of the cinema with nonindustrializing because of the lack of capital.

Kastal-Erdoğan remarks that space are bad represented and simple elements in movies, the relationship between space and characters are abstract and insignificant: 'Characters mandatorily

stand in a space, but these spaces generally are a superficial background, devoid of perspective' (Kastal-Erdoğan 2009, 46). Moreover Tüzün said that space couldn't go beyond becoming a background that constitute the backdrop of narrative but this situation has been changed by symbolical using of space after 1980s cinema.

Yeşil (2004) is correlated this tendency to disregard the heyday of Yeşilçam with the discussions on "high" and "low" culture. She is stated that there is an insufficient number of studies on Yeşilçam melodramas, which is still labeled in pejorative terms. Really, many researcher and movie directors believe that Yeşilçam and its spaces does not deserve attention as a serious object of study.

On the other hand, some movies in the same period have been accepted as "artistic cinema" against the "popular Yeşilçam melodramas" in the history of Turkish cinema. Therefore, many studies dealing with space in the Turkish cinema focus on the movies of 1960-1980 period, called as the 'National Cinema' movement. At the same time as Yeşilçam, this group, that developed around a few directors such as Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ, Ertem Göreç, Duygu Sağıroğlu, Lütfü Akad and later carried out their work within the Cinematheque Association, handled the cinema as an art and tended to deal with traditional Turkish culture. These movies are evaluated in a different place in the cinema history of Turkey, because their matter, character, phraseology and spatial concept according to narrative were conceived profoundly[1]. Adiloğlu (2003) pointed out that in these movies, spaces were experienced in such a way as to draw up the plan of the house with various camera angles, and the permeability between spaces is exhibited skillfully.

Consequently, most studies in related literature either focus on the periodization of Turkish cinema or are only descriptive. Among these, studies dealing with space, contain either the movies of the "National Moviemakers" generation in 1960s or the post-1980 cinema. It is seen that these mostly focus on urban space (especially in Istanbul), in parallel with the themes of movies (Orhan, 2008; Kırklar, 2009; Uluç, 2009; Torun, 2017; Bülbül Bahtiyar et al., 2019). Few studies are to be found that investigating **'the use of space in the Yeşilçam Cinema'** (Gürata, 1997; Erdoğan, 1998; Adiloğlu, 2001; Adiloğlu, 2005; Süzen, 2011; Pösteki, 2011; Akyol Altun and Uzun 2012) and this is the main motivation of this study.

Every movie creates its own spaces, changes, interprets them for transmitting its message, also attributes new meanings to them, and actually reproduces spaces again. Although spatial fiction of Yeşilçam is not as strong as in 'artistic' movies, which has a great concern for space, this does not make it 'negligible'. With emphasizing the importance of space in cinema in terms of sensation and meaning, Pallasmaa (2001) states that an event handled (for example, a kiss or a murder) will take on a completely different meaning and turn into a different story depending on whether it takes place in the bedroom, bathroom, library, elevators or pergola. Every space has its own meaning, according to time, place, events, weather and sounds in the environment. According to this, the main assertion of this study, **the use of space in Yeşilçam movies was not deprived of fiction and was not randomly selected and also spaces of them represent discussions of their period,** is taken into consideration. In addition, it should not be forgotten that Yeşilçam movies

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[1] Kanun Namına (In the Name of the Law) (1952); Otobüs Yolcuları (Buss Passengers) (1961); Acı Hayat (The Bitter Life) (1962); Sevmek Zamanı (Time To Love) (1965); Kırık Hayatlar (Broken Lives) (1965); Ah Güzel İstanbul (Ah Beautiful Istanbul) (1966); My Callet, 1968; Gelin-Düğün-Diyet (Bride-Wedding-Price, Trial) (1973-1973-1974)

also have a documentary feature. Because it gives information about the city and architecture in their period and can provide important information about the destroyed structures and uses for the audience in the future.

Accordingly, the main purpose of this paper is to trace **spatial symbols of traditional-modern dilemma's conflicts in Yeşilçam Cinema.** From this point of view, within the scope of this study, 66 movies[2] were selected for a detailed analyse from this period, which have strong signs about the using of spaces and the traces of these dualities and cultural conflict of modernization. In the context of the theoretical framework above, movies which have symbolic references for reflecting the dilemmas of the modernization process in their open or closed spaces, were selected. Afterwards, analysis was made under the headings of "urban space, closed or semi-closed public spaces and houses". The main purpose is to investigate the use of space in the movies of years of 1960-1975. The movies of National Cinema Movement were left out of the scope and handled the melodramatic romantic Yeşilçam movies. Firstly, the relation of space with narrative and visual organization were scrutinised. But the main goal was to investigate the quest for cultural identity shaped by tension between being "traditional" or "modern" and how all this was embodied with spatial organizations.

TURKISH MODERNIZATION PROCESS AND EMERGING OF YEŞİLÇAM WITHIN TRADITIONAL-MODERN DILEMMA

As indicated by Jeanniere, the notion of 'modernity' express the radical disengagement from the past and suggest a new structure that differs from all preceding traditional systems before (Jeanniere 1993). So the main point of modern movement is the conflict with tradition. National identity has been a main topic that effected the cultural and artistic area and also caused queries in the axis of traditional-modern for many countries in modernization process (Larrain 1993).

There is a historical and functional connection between modernism and melodrama, which has spread all over the world from Hollywood after the Second World War (Brooks, 1976). After the Industrial Revolution, with spreading modernism and emerging capitalism, melodrama is a narrative that has occurred to interrogate social values and morality contradictions between the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. It became too emotional and hysterical for hiding social tension with exaggerated emotions, gestures, speeches and high dramatization and created an alternative reality where universal moral does really exist. The primary aim of it is to provide the permanence of communal structures of society and to lead people accommodating the system by determining the dominant ideological order. In this context, melodramas focused to women, romantic love, marriage and nuclear family (Pehlivan, 2011). Even melodrama has taken different structures and features in different countries, it always focused on the social and cultural conflict. Accordingly, it is not a coincidence that Yeşilçam Cinema has raised on the contradictions and the duality of traditional-modern in a period in which society was transformed. It has been a cultural area that reflected the strengthening modernization questioning parallel with the transformation of social field in 1960's and focused the conflicts about this questioning in repetitive themes.

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[2] Please look at the Appendix-1.

The modernization process of Turkey was initiated in the 19th century in Tanzimat Period by the government of Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government intended to develop the country against to the colonialism and they adopted a conservative and defensive modernization style. "*The division between 'alaturka' which has become vulgar against 'alafranga' and the tension between the 'desire to be someone else' and the 'insistence to remain itself*'", as pointed out by Arslan-Yeğen (2007), has been the founding stalemate of the Ottoman-Turkish Modernization process all along. Hence, searching the national identity of Turkish society has been continuing for many years between 'desire to be modern/western' and ' keep their own traditional lifestyle'. This tension have formed the cultural and artistic productions of country, in different contrast notions such as eastern/western, centre/off-centre, modern/traditional, local/foreign, and authentic/imitation throughout the history.

The modernization process has been transformed to a modernization project handled by the government after the establishment of the Republic. The Kemalist modernization project aimed at evolving from a traditional Ottoman/Islamic community to a modern and secular society was radical and Jacobin (Bozdoğan, 2002). In this process, government conspicuously preferred to head for western culture to create a new "cultural identity" which was secular and was purified from religious feature. Although, almost all branch of art has transformed to a political expression tool to disseminate the ideological messages of modernity project, cinema did not considered in this situation by the government (Arslan, 2004). Therefore, it can be said that, the Turkish cinema was an area free from the interventions, and it developed spontaneously in this period (İnceoğlu, 2008).

There is not an exact document for the first Turkish movie but the documentary movie 'Ayastefanos'taki Rus Abidesi'nin Yıkılışı' (Collapsing of the Russian Monument in Ayastefanos), which was made by Fuat Uzkınay in 1914, is considered the starting point of Turkish cinema (Kuyucak Esen 2010, 8). The movies of the first years[3] (1914-1922) were documentary ones that were recorded by the army under the heavy conditions of The War of Independence. With the establishment of the first private movie company in 1922, Turkish cinema has been mobilized. Until 1939, Muhsin Ertuğrul was the only creator for the Turkish cinema, and his movies conformed to the main ideological values of the Republic and modernization project (Yağız, 2009; İnceoglu, 2008).

The first years of Republic, traditions were seen as obstacle and radically declined for the running of authoritative modernization project. However, after the 1940s, as modernization projects of Republic weakened, the westernization process started to be interrogated and conservative opinions emerged. 'The sense of being stuck' of people in between old and new values came with the traditional-modern dilemma to the agenda. Yeşilçam movies, produced in that questioning period, consciously or unconsciously reflect this conflict.

One of the important turning points of the Turkish cinema was the tax reduction in 1948 (Kuyucak Esen 2010, 46). After that, the cinema started to be a profitable business and the number of movies,

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[3] There are many practice about the periodization of Turkish cinema (i.e by Giovanni Scognomillo, A.Şerif Onaran, Agah Özgüç, Nijat Özön). The first of that, the periodization of Özön well accepted: First Years (1914-1922), Term of theatre players (1922-1939); transition term (1939-1950), term of moviemakers (1950-1970), term of opposition (1970-1980), (military) beat term (1980-…), see for details. Özön 1968, 25.

movie centres and audiences have noticeably increased, and regional firms were established all over Turkey. At 1950s, developing economic relations with the United States made a transformative effect on society. Maktav states that the dream of 'being like America' in this term corresponded to the passion of 'being like Hollywood' in Yeşilçam (Maktav 2003, 273).

Accordingly, cinema, which developed in the hands of special production companies through commercial market conditions and regional firms was shaped by 'public' desire instead of 'formal' and 'elite', became a component of popular culture combined with the cultural dynamics of 1950s and formed the Yeşilçam Cinema. The movies with high box-office receipts formed a kind of model and similar ones were shot one after another. This system generated some rules and patterns based on standardized scenarios, characters and 'star' actors and created their own narrative style and audiences[4]. The cinema became the most popular entertainment of low and middle-classes in Turkey, 3122 movies were shot and experienced the most productive period in 1960-1975 (Figure 1). The problematic aspects of Turkish modernization have always been one of the main issues in Turkish cinema (Birincioğlu 2019, 78), but especially early term Yeşilçam movies are focused on a traditional-modern dilemma much more than other periods. The traditional-modern duality and modernization experience are the subtexts of all Yeşilçam narratives. All kinds of fears, concerns and desires originating from modernisation have blended into the Yeşilçam movies.
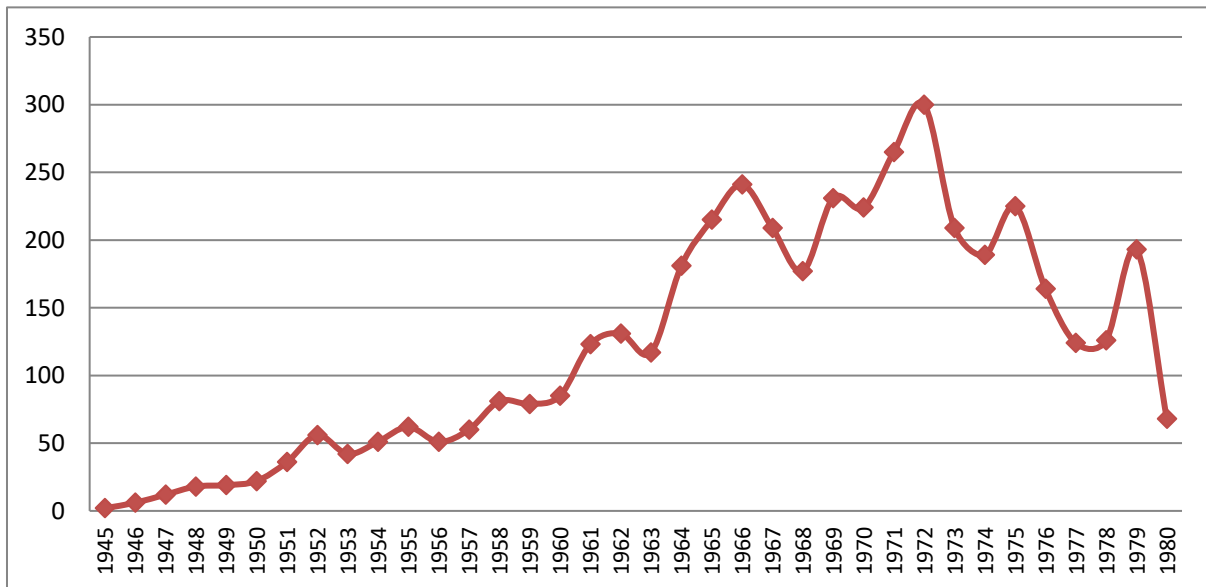

Figure 1 - Number of movies per years in the Yeşilçam Period (derived from Yağız 2009, 36)

Although, the desires and concerns of national identity quests appeared to be resolved for a while by Republican authority, western referenced modern values and traditional ones clashed again after 1950s. Important transformations have been experienced in the everyday life of society, family structures and man-woman relationships in the rapidly urbanizing country by migrations. All these factors caused dualities and identity conflicts to clear especially in the big cities. The dynamics of the post-1950 era and rising popular culture have generated a background for these binary

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[4] Although there aren't a certain period of Yesilcam, most people understand same cinema comprehension from this term and approximately same years, 1960-1975.

structures to contact each other. Imaginative patterns of cinematic language have encouraged these discussions. Abisel said that the contradiction between the traditional-modern constituted the main conflict axis in almost all Yeşilçam movies (Abisel 2005, 121). Çelik (2010) emphasize that the traditional-modern conflict of the Turkish society in the 1960s can be examined based on Yeşilçam movies. She correlates the passionate attachment of the audience to Yeşilçam through their conscious or intuitive participation in this conflicts, and says that it alleviated the shocks of the society.

Though changing themes, traditional-modern conflict has continued through all Yeşilçam movies as a subtext. At the beginning of the movies, the concepts of traditional and modern side in the narrative are demonstrated by using class diversity (Bayram 2002). Positive values generally have been attributed to the poor, low class, and also negative values have been loaded on the rich, upper class. Because wealthiness is identified with modernity and poorness with traditional. However, in the final of the movie a provincial person could be turned into an urbanite one or a poor one into a rich man or a provincial girl into a beautiful townswoman too. Although, the narrative has begun by defining the contrasts, it can be seen that this sharp distinction disappeared and two worlds became hybridized. There was a search for an alliance, reconciliation and integrity. Although Yeşilçam movies certainly have not resolved the conflicts; a general approach dominated that imitate the positive aspects of the West by protecting the traditional values and 'essence' or 'continuing traditional roles under the modern forms' in the movies. The relieving roles of the Yeşilçam melodramas in the social trauma about the traditional-modern conflict emerged at this point. Similarly Abisel mentioned, the Yeşilçam movies alleviated the trauma of the society's encounter with the 'new' by protecting the 'continuity of tradition' illusion either consciously or intuitively (Abisel 2005).

For creating this alternative reality, space fiction had an important role as much as characters and narrative, contribute to the representation of the traditional-modern dilemma, repeated and heightened in similar movies.

USE OF SPACE IN YEŞİLÇAM CINEMA

Yeşilcam is structured on symbolic values like as melodrama and representation and focused on the duality of traditional-modern, express the duality on some notions like rich and poor, new and old, and -as Turkish terms- *alaturka* and *alafranga*.

On the other hand, repeating stories, standard plots and events, caricaturized person types, and spaces over years have created some clichés that established the aforementioned duality[5]. These imaginative codes were also fixed by use of panoramic view, close shot angle, optical zooming with a fixed camera, poor light, facade shooting. Economic and technical possibilities were also parameters that affected spatial preferences. Scognamillo (1998) talks about a series of technical-aesthetic-economic problems that were intensely felt in Turkish cinema from the first years until

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[5] Using the typical person and same spaces have been also derived from the economic factors. Same spaces have been used by directors with their personal relationship because of the financial absence, limited equipment, to be deprived of government supporting

the 1980s in terms of the use of environment and space. Therefore, it is not possible to deny the understanding of movie production in which aesthetic concerns were in the background and commercial expectations were prominent.

Because of these, there seems to be a consensus that Yeşilçam did not have an aesthetical spatial organization and the space was no more than a secondary plane, a décor, for the dialogues to be voiced. The spaces that were disconnected from their historical and social context were used again and again in many movies, thus becoming a cliché. According to many researchers as mentioned above, the Yeşilçam moviemakers were content to use what they had in their hands and were not much concerned about arranging or shaping the space (Adanır 1994; Abisel 1995; Özön 1995; Adiloğlu 2003; Kotaman 2007; Tüzün 2008; Sözen 2009; Kastal Erdoğan 2009).

There are few studies that regard the space of the Yeşilçam movies as worthy to research. Ahmet Gürata categorized the space of Yeşilçam movies in five title: (1) Allegorical space, (2) Iconographic space, (3) Space as spectacle, (4) Psychological space, (5) Fantasy space. He said that the space in Yeşilçam may signify different meanings (Gürata 1997). Öztürk analysed the shanties in the Turkish cinema and noticed that space has an important role for the narrative and decor of movies (Öztürk 2004). Adiloğlu said that space is brought to the fore, reinforces the narrative and architectural elements are effectively used by visual in some Yeşilçam movies (Adiloğlu 2005, 60).

The space has an important role in constructing the traditional-modern conflicts on subtext in the symbolization codes of Yeşilçam movies. The main reason of recurrently using of similar spaces is that the binary in question is desired to be repeatedly emphasized through the familiar language of Yeşilçam for audience. This study proceeds from the fact that space contains symbolic connotations beyond being a background in movies. Like Pallasmaa (2001) interprets space and imagination as amplifiers of emotions, each movie space have the symbolic links of its own period and consolidate these in the audience.

According to the analysing of 66 movies in years between 1960-1975, it is seen that the traditional-modern dilemma was mostly reflected throughout the spaces. The using of spaces for symbolizing this dilemma and related notions with them were analysed under three category: Urban space, closed public spaces and houses.

Urban Space: Traditional / Luxury Neighbourhoods

As said by Suner, İstanbul always had a distinctive and central situation in the Turkish cinema from the 1950's to the end of the 1980's (Suner 2002, 178). Because it supplies a spatial unity, which is a blend of dualities like rural-urban, apartment-shanty, alaturka-alafranga, rich-poor. The city has already different kinds of population and has many dualities in its cosmopolitan structure. So, it constitutes a base for the traditional-modern conflict.

In the early period, Istanbul was represented as a fabulous city promising happiness. The migration phenomenon wasn't seen in the city and each person living in it was İstanbulite in that times. **Goodness was consubstantiated with traditional neighbourhoods, 'mahalle'**. Good leading actors generally belonged to lower or middle class and lived in these districts. The friendship, cooperating, solidarity, cosiness and sincerity environment of the people of the 'mahalle' were often

displayed in movies (Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri, 1967; Halk Çocuğu, 1964; Tamirci Parçası, 1965). These neighbourhoods were presented as spaces where unobtrusive, contented, happy people live in. The small and adjacent houses of traditional neighbourhood symbolize the warm relationships and people that help each other.

In contrast, people with high incomes who have degenerate relationships and bad habits live in big luxury houses in the expensive districts of the city. Their lives in detached houses, villas or apartment flats isolated from each other, symbolize the frosty and distant relationships and also modern life. The urban pattern, which includes apartment buildings, has been used as a symbol of modernity in few movies in this period (Güllü, 1971; Vefasız, 1972; Yalancı Yarim, 1973). These were the newly rising multi-storey residential blocks in the city at that time. However, the apartment, which was accepted as culturally modern in this period, will emerge as a negative symbol in the city after 1980's.

In a later period, peasant-citizen opposition was added to class conflicts with the migration process that has left its mark on the city. Thus, urbanite and rich persons reflect the corrupt side through modernization and pure and clean people who emigrated from the village constitute the traditional side, under the effects of corruption. Istanbul inevitably was captured by western values, moral pollution and erosion under the hegemony of the money. Apartments were the main construction typology to reflect the modern. On the otherside friendly relationships, which were identified with 'mahalle' life previously period, found an expression in the patchy patterns of rural space in these movies. Villages, seaside towns in natural or rural sites were far from the degenerative modern culture in the city. These two different cultural forms were continuously emphasized with two different spatial organizations.

When considered the urban pattern in all 66 movies, 52% old neighbourhoods of Istanbul and 26% rural-village/countryside, were displayed for symbolizing the 'traditional'. Modern districts constituted by detached houses 20% and apartments 12% was represented for symbolizing the 'modern'. Although it is seen that shanty areas represent traditional (8%) in some movies, the slam phenomenon will find a deep interest especially in the social movies of the 1980s. In addition to this, it is seen that urban open spaces such as funfairs and circuses are the living spaces for the traditional side (9% of the sample). Figure 2 shows the representation percent of traditional and modern on open spaces and urban pattern.

It can be said that green areas such as forests, countryside, parks, seaside, beach or mountains, and also Uludağ snow landscapes are open areas that were frequently viewed in relation to the romantic love theme. Among these, it is seen that beach entertainment was used with an emphasis on modernity and picnic activity was associated with traditional and intimate ones.
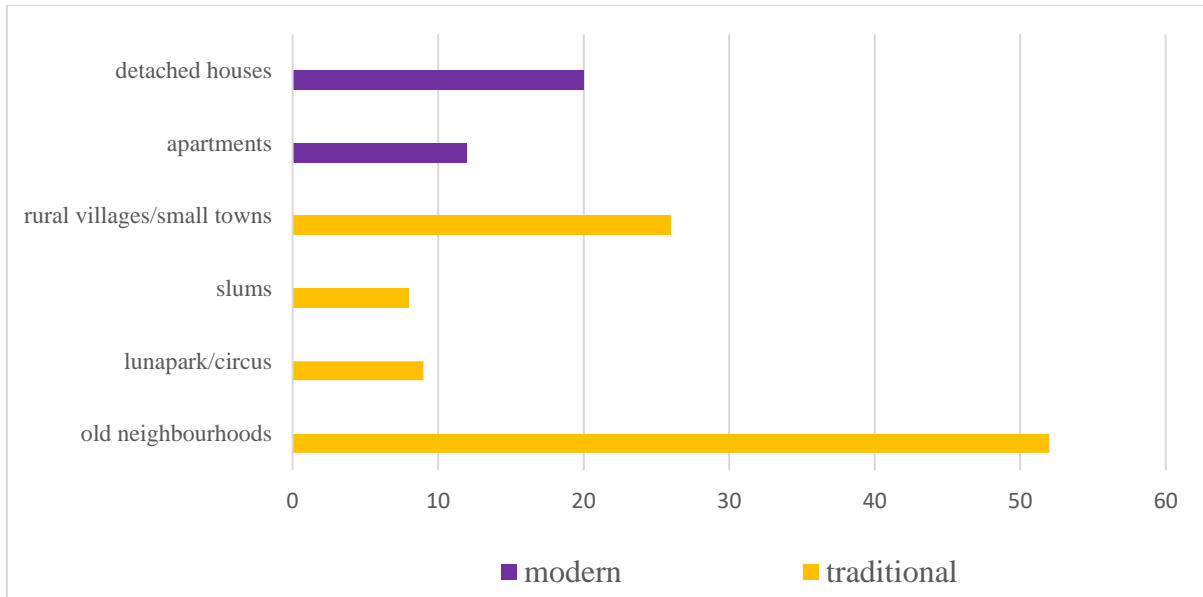
Figure 2 - Displaying percent of the urban space using (from author's archive)

Closed or Semi-closed Public Spaces: Clubs / Tavern

The symbols of the same dilemma are confronted with closed public spaces too. The 'pavyon' -is a type of nightclub or bar- was the entertainment space, where the tension has escalated and the fight scene has been displayed. It represented the degeneration and insincerity brought by modernity. In contrast, the 'kahvehane' (coffehouses) and the 'meyhane' (patchy musical tavern) were the spaces where sincerity still continues. The 'çay bahçesi' (tea-gardens) were used for same gains as a semi-closed public space, too. In other words, the 'pavyon' was the space of western-type entertainment and dance, but 'kahvehane'/'çay bahçesi' and 'meyhane' were the spaces of friendship, cooperation and communication (Figure 3).

In 30% of the sample, 'meyhane' and in 24% of them, 'kahvehane' and 'çay bahçesi' were used to express the traditionality; in 45% of the movies a 'pavyon', 'bar' or a 'gece kulübü' were presented as a symbol of modern life (Figure 3).

Figure 3 - Displaying percent of the semi-closed and closed public spaces (from author's archive)

Besides, Haydarpaşa railway station symbolized the arrival of the traditional side to the city and Yeşilköy airport symbolized the arrival of the modern side in the movies. Additively, bazaars and nundination were presented in relation to traditional; but the administrative offices of the factories, offices of lawyers, architects or doctors, occasionally casinos were used associated with the modern side.

Houses: Old Wooden House / Modern Villa

The traditional-modern duality was especially expressed in housing spaces. Location, size and gardens of houses were indicative criterias.

Modernity generally embodied in a historical mansion (konak, köşk, yalı), a modern villa or a modern flat in the elite district of the city. House of Muammer Karaca in Yeşilyurt, Suat Sadıkoğlu House in Ortaköy, Kani Nazım Dilman House in Caddebostan, Twin House in Kanlıca, House with Roses in Üsküdar and The House of Laz in Beylerbeyi were used frequently in Yeşilçam (Soykan 2002). The houses were selected according to the status of the family (Figure 2). While an aristocratic family based on the roots of the Ottomans is represented by a historical mansion (Bulunmaz Uşak, 1963), a bourgeois house is a modern villa designed by the architectural trends of the era (Yaralı Kalp, 1969). Corresponding of the modern lifestyle was a modern villa in 61% of the sample and was a historical mansion in 42% of them.

The main theme of the story usually developed in the rich house. The house of the rich always had maids, servants and a cook, and the door was always opened by a servant. The interior of the houses was decorated in a heavy neo-classical style or in modern trends. Entrances and 'salon-salamanje' (living room with dining room) were placed on the ground floor and bedrooms were on the upper floor. The living room acted as the public space of the rich house and symbolized aristocracy, or bourgeoisie, in other words, it was the 'apparent face of the modern'. This space was placed in the centre of the house, both spatially and cinematographically. Important dialogues occured in the living room. It was the welcoming space for guests and the sovereignty place of the host. Typically, furnitures, paintings, fresh flowers, art objects, swanky things and the piano represented the exclusiveness and modernity in the living room, like the fireplace and mirrors, which were indicators of luxury. The living rooms generally presented a deep and wealthy space concept visually with their specialized sitting and dining niches. It was also integrated with staircases, which was one of the important visual focuses.

On the other side, traditional values were symbolized with modest low storey houses. The old wooden Turkish house with bay window in the traditional neighbourhood pattern or farm village in country or a shanty house at the periphery of the city have been used to identify traditional lifestyle and poverty. The main characteristic of poor houses was the lack of decorative and luxury objects distinctly from the rich houses. In these spaces, crowded poor families or people living in a friendly way represented a tearful but honourable, warm-hearted, sacrificing and familiar world image. These houses had simple, pure and pastel coloured decorating with cheap and handmade goods like 'basma' (a fabric type) curtains, couch coverings, traditional kitchen materials, sofas and a wireframe hutch (a small kitchen cupboard whose sides are made of wire) substituted for a 'modern' canapé and cupboard. Furnitures were far from vanity and incompatible with each other.

Religious writing or pictures of the eldest of the family were placed on the wall. These were certainly clean and tidy in spite of the fact that they were old and neglected, and they were also a special expression of the 'poor but proud and good person' stereotype. The purpose was to emphasize the spiritual values that were the foreground in Turkish traditions. Accordingly, nested and common life places were seen in the poor houses with the 'communitarian' life style but also the rich houses had functional zoning and decomposed rooms because of 'individualistic' comprehension.

In 55% of the sample, the traditional life style was symbolized by an old, wooden house with bay window. However, in 21% of them, country house or provincial house; in 15% of them, slums; in 8% of them, farm house was used to represent the traditional (Figure 4). The interior decoration and goods served the visual conveyance of lifestyles, not only exterior appearance. It would not be wrong to say that the interior of the house was the most frequently space that seen in the movies. Modernity in 83% of the sample and traditionality in 60% of them were represented with both interior and exterior spaces of houses.
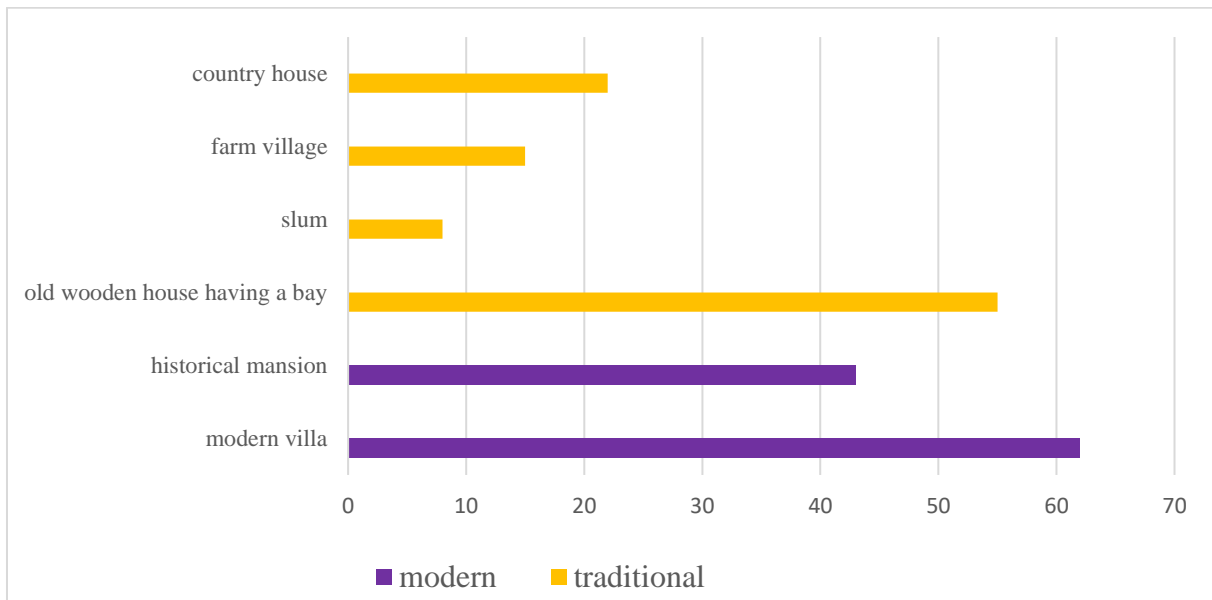

Figure 4 - Displaying percent of the housing types (from author's archive)

Stairs were one of the important elements of the rich house. They were spaces of vital scenes where curiosity and tension rise. Stairs were especially used for presentation of young modernized girl to the public. The transformed and modernized poor or country girl slowly walked down the stairs displaying her new image and was watched in admiration (Güllü, 1971; Ateş Parçası, 1971; Rüyalar Gerçek Olsa, 1972). Sometimes they were ascending and descending spaces and had a role in the scenario (Figure 5). (Bebek Gibi Maşallah, 1971). In poor homes, the staircase was the area where friendly squabbles occured and was a symbol of solidarity (Oyun Bitti, 1971). In %23 of the sample the staircase were used thus.

Figure 5 - Staircases in the Yeşilçam movies (from author's archive)

In 'degenerated' modern houses, the kitchen was the single place where familiar and friendly relationships could be kept. Despite the glory of the house, the kitchen had a relatively unpretentious and simple appearance and symbolized the traditions as a service space that stayed out of the living space of the residents. It was the private space of the poor employees of the house. The shoved country girl resistsed the degenerated life of the house by her relationships with the servant in the kitchen (Kezban Paris'te, 1971; Barut Fıçısı, 1963). To sum up, the kitchen was the only space where collectivism was valid against to individualistic modernity in rich houses (Figure 6). In %15 of the sample the kitchen was used in this direction.

Figure 6 - Kitchens in the Yeşilçam movies (from author's archive)

Conclusively Figure 7 is shown that how spaces were used to represent traditional and modern in all three categories.

Figure 7 - Traditional-Modern Duality in Yeşilçam m (from author's archive)

Traditional-Modern Dilemma and Space Fiction along Narrative

In general all Yeşilçam movies, to emphasize the contradiction, the story begins in a traditional place as a safe ground. To define the 'poor side', the spatial background can be traditional neighbourhoods, shabby taverns, car repair garages, coffeehouses, stone paved and narrow roads, two storey wooden houses and also a bar, a circus or a 'lunapark' (funfair). The leading character is represented as an abusive, vulgar, rough, uneducated, poor person and has a lewd job unsuitable for the rich. However, s/he has very important merits like chastity and moral, despite all his nasty habits and negative qualities.

Traditional spaces are glorified at every opportunity. Even the characters living in huts are idyllic and satisfied. Even if they are in sorrow, they are cheerful people with generous hearts, who do not worry about the qualities of their space. In this direction; it is possible to say that urban pattern consisting of old wooden neighbourhoods is more preferred to represent the traditional.

However, for the representation of modernity, the exterior and interior space of rich house were more utilized than urban pattern. Party scenes in the garden, the living room or the waterside of the rich house are the most appealed method for defining the 'rich side'. A desirable world is symbolized throughout snob men surrounded with tempting blonde women, music and dancing pictures a crazy but lacking love and spirit. Sometimes, the frenzy of young takes part in automobile races (Kezban Paris'te, 1971) or in seaside entertainment with bikini girls (Ateş Parçası, 1971). Hence, the degeneration coming with hard westernization is concretized through claustrophobic bourgeois house, luxury goods and products and western living habits. %58 of the sample were found to have such parties.

In many movies, the leading girl character looks at the house from afar, gets the guts and knocks on the door; or she is brought by the old house owner. The contradictions are strongly emphasized in this first confronting of the poor and the rich side; both sides carry the most distinctive symbols of values they represent. For instance, in a crazy party at the rich house, the country girl has come in with her strange and timid glance and incompatible dress; on the other hand the snobbish young man has been dancing with his lover (Kezban, 1968; Kınalı Yapıncak, 1969; Sana Dönmeyeceğim, 1969). The restless and nervous waiting at the door of the rich house and the timidity felt indoors symbolizes the state of being on the verge of a new life.

On the other hand, even though the narrative begins by constructing contradictions, the sharp distinction is seen to have been removed and two sides hybridized by being inextricably intertwined along movie. The poor man gets his revenge by becoming rich and powerful. The poor woman learns of the western culture, improves her manners and enriched by a twist of fate. In either, the richness of space, where the character is located, increases ; has owned a good luxury house but continues to suffer from lack of love and spiritual values. Because luxury and comfort that come along with westernization and wealth are an unrest reasons and a threat to the unity of the family and happiness.

At the end of the movies, the poor side leaves behind the provinciality, lack of education, unmannerliness and dowdiness and takes the positive features of western values. She is modernized and has become compatible with the space that has frightened her at the beginning, and also she

might be its owner. Probably she is not poor anymore and is equated with the rich side; there is not any disparity to union of lovers. However, the rich one generally leaves all her/ his wealth behind and selects the traditional way: a poor but happy house, living in a friendly neighbourhood (Kadın Değil Baş Belası, 1968; Gelin Çiçeği, 1971; Cambazhane Gülü, 1971; Yalancı Yarim, 1973; Emine, 1971; Mavi Boncuk, 1974). Accordingly, the finale carries the emphasis on traditional values and movies end in a traditional space again. Lovers find each other in a shabby tavern (Şöförün Kızı, 1965), a coffeehouse at the seaside (Vefasız, 1971) or they go back to the poor house (Bir İçim Su, 1964), or they reunite under the tree or at the seaside (Oyun Bitti, 1971).

The movie of Yaralı Kalp is a good example of the contrast between all these, it took place in a completely high-income environment. The female character from a family of aristocratic descent represented the bad aspects of modernity; its spatial equivalent was an old mansion. The male character from rural origin whom has earned money by his professional background represented the traditional; its spatial equivalent was a modern villa. While the interior of the mansion was presented as modern with parties and fashion ceremonies; the backyard of the modern villa was contradistinctively traditionalised with a traditional dancing, 'halay', in a party. Praise was given to male character, because even though he modernized, did not lose his essence.

Representation of space in Yeşilçam cinema also profit by such cinematic elements as camera movement, framing, montage and sound. Generally, we can see that the movements of the camera such as zooming in, zooming out, scrolling, together with music are often used for emphasizing. According to Adanır (1994), the camera movement is closely related in Yeşilçam to the dramatic fiction, which contained the space and the words spoken and the behavior of the personality. On the other hand as mentioned, the deficiencies in the shooting script, the quick-fixes on the set at the time of shooting, the closing of the errors through montage, were strengthened the criticism about that the visual elements were neglected. At this point, montage was seen as a savior. Bass (1997) mentions that montage in cinema can adjust the distance between symbolic spaces as it wishes. In Yeşilçam films, montage helps to present a panorama that focuses on the message to be conveyed, leaving out the unwanted, just like the animated postcards. Thus, it can be said that montage, as well as camera movements and selected music, was an important factor that strengthened the transmission of the desired message with the space using.

CONCLUSION: THE SYMBOLIC SPACES OF YEŞİLÇAM

This study reveals that the traces of duality of the modernization process could be clearly seen in Yeşilçam Cinema. Spaces were selected to express the cultural representation of traditional-modern dilemma in Yeşilçam and have had an important role in constructing the duality by being consubstantiating with certain notions.

Although they seem to be purged from any ideology or critical aspect, they reflect the conflicts of reality of the community. Searching for a conciliation platform have represented the general desire of the public: Developing and improving by taking the positive features of the West, but retaining their own essence.

Accordingly, Yeşilçam Cinema hasn't been clearly "critical", but it has a characteristic 'reflective' on the surface and 'critical' deep down. From this point of view, it would be wrong to think that their space unorganized and unconsidered and was only an element benefited from.

In her study of the cinema and architecture, Kaçmaz classified the use of space in three group: (1) space as a background that filled the residual voices behind the movement, (2) space as a tool for visualization of the narrative and transmission of the message of movie, (3) space as a form that turned to the main target from being the tool, and this creates the narrative and is analyzed. Similarly the space using styles can be grouped in three chategory: (1) space as background, (2) space as symbol, (3) space as actor. Yeşilçam Cinema certainly doesn't establish its narrative on space and also space has never been an 'actor'. But it can be said that the space in Yeşilçam has gone beyond being a background and has been a tool for symbolizing and visualizing the narrative. Spaces were consciously chosen to representing the modern-traditional dilemma in most movies. Even though space has not directed or dragged the narrative, it has enriched it and represent the cultural and social life of their period. In this context, each space is a document that reflects the conflicts of the Turkish modernity process.

In conclusion, the basic judgement that has been reached is that the notions of 'space' and 'visual aesthetics' in the Yeşilçam Cinema are not neglected to the extent that they are thought to be. Contrary to the common preconception of randomization attributed to the use of space in the Yeşilçam Cinema, it can be seen that movie spaces are in integrity with the narrative, organised to reflect the main theme and nourish the general character of the movie. This organisation form has been reinforced by repetition over a period of 15 years and has taken a place in social memory with stereotyped spatial symbols are paired with certain concepts. If considered that these symbolic patterns are still being used in Turkish domestic television series, with same spatial tactics for representing the traditional-modern dilemma; the ability of Yeşilçam in using the space becomes apparent once more.

APPENDIX-1: THE LIST OF MOVIES USED AS EXAMPLES IN THE ARTICLE, IN CHRONOLOGICAL

Lüküs Hayat (Luxury Life) (1950), Mahalleye Gelen Gelin (Bride That Comes to the Neighbourhood) (1961), Tatlı Günah (Sweet Sin) (1961), Zorlu Damat (Hard Groom) (1962), Beyaz Güvercin (White Pigeon) (1963), Bir Hizmetçi Kızın Günlüğü (Diary of A Maid) (1963), Bulunmaz Uşak (Unique Servant) (1963), Zoraki Milyoner (Forced Millionaire) (1963), Asfalt Rıza (Asphalt Rıza) (1964), Halk Çocuğu(Folk Boy)(1964), Şoförler Kralı (King of Drivers) (1964), Taşralı Kız (Country Girl) (1964), Tığ Gibi Delikanlı (Tall Boy) (1964), Fakir Gencin Romanı (Novel of Poor Man) (1965), Serseri Aşık (Tykish Lover) (1965), Sevinç Gözyaşları (Happy Tears) (1965), Tamirci Parçası (Misarable Repairmen) (1965), Siyah Gül (Black Rose) (1966), Şoförün Kızı (Daughter of the Driver) (1966), Bir Dağ Masalı (A Mountain Fairytale) (1967), Bir Şoförün Gizli Defteri (A Secret Notebook of a Driver) (1967), Yıkılan Gurur (Shattered Pride) (1967), Ayşem (My Ayşe) (1968), Bülbül Yuvası (Nightingale Nest) (1968), İstanbul Tatili (İstanbul Holiday) (1968), Kadın Değil Baş Belası (Not a Woman, Troublemaker) (1968), Kezban (1968), Kınalı Yapıncak (Hennaed Grape) (1968), Sabah Yıldızı (Morning Star) (1968), Sarmaşık Gülleri (Ivy Roses) (1968), Buruk Acı (Acrid Pain) (1969), Cilveli Kız (Coquettish Girl) (1969), Sana Dönmeyeceğim (I Will Not Return To You) (1969), Seninle Ölmek İstiyorum (I Would Like To Die With You) (1969), Şahane İntikam (Great Revenge) (1969), Yaralı Kalp (Wounded Heart) (1969), Yuvanın Bekçileri (Guard of the Home) (1969), Birleşen Yollar (Connecting Roads) (1970), Karagözlüm (My black-eyed) (1970), Kezban Roma'da (Kezban in Rome) (1970), Sevenler Ölmez (Lovers Don't Die) (1970), Yuvasız Kuşlar (Homeless Birds) (1970), Ateş Parçası (Part of Fire) (1971), Cambazhane Gülü (Rose of Circus)(1971), Feride (1971), Kalp Hırsızı (Heart Thief) (1971), Gelin Çiçeği (Bride Flower) (1971), Oyun Bitti (Game Over) (1971), Güllü (1971), Kezban Paris'te (Kezban in Paris) (1971), Satın Alınan Koca (Purchased Husband) (1971), Beyoğlu Güzeli (Beyoğlu Beauty) (1972), Rüyalar Gerçek Olsa (If Dreams Come True) (1972), Sev Kardeşim (Love My Brother) (1972), Tanrı Misafiri (God Guest) (1972), Tatlı Dillim (My Sweet Tongue) (1972), Vefasız (Unfaithful) (1972), Zehra (1972), Bebek Gibi Maşallah (Like a Baby Maşallah) (1973), Bir Demet Menekşe (A Bunch of Violets) (1973), Güllü Geliyor Güllü (Güllü is Coming!) (1973), Yaban (Wild Man) (1973), Yalancı Yarim (My Liar Darling) (1973), Çam Sakızı (Mastic) (1974), Evcilik Oyunu (Playing House) (1975), Mavi Boncuk (Blue Bead) (1975)

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