

## ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CULTURE: ENTREPRENEUR REPRESENTATIONS IN TURKISH CINEMA AFTER 1990

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Entrepreneurship is an important concept in today's global capital markets, where markets are closer and competition intensifies. It is possible to solve the problems and evaluate the market opportunities by taking responsibility for civil society organizations and individuals. But in many belated capitalist societies there is distrust and doubtfulness to capitalism and institutions related to capitalism. In these societies romantic resistance is highly influential in the cultural world. In 90s Turkey society lived an intensive transformation. Globalism and influence of Neo-liberal policies in daily life created an extreme transformation of society. In this period of rapid monetarism, the relationship with money and entrepreneurship has become problematic in cinema as a cultural expression. Desire to be rich and romantic resistance towards capitalism showed a significant rise in the cinema. This study argues the cultural condition of entrepreneurship and romantic resistences by three movies; *Everything's Gonna Be Great* (1998), *Takva: A Man's Fear of God* (2006) and *Ice Cream, I Scream* (2006).

**Keywords:** Entrepreneurship, Globalism, Romanticism, Culture.

### Introduction

Entrepreneurship has emerged as an extremely important concept in today's world, when global capitalism markets are closer and competition increases. The capacity to cope with economic and social problems of states and organizations with strict bureaucratic structures are limited in rapidly changing market conditions. At this point, it is possible to solve the problems and evaluate the market opportunities by taking responsibility for the organizations and the individuals. In this context, entrepreneurship emerges as a dynamic concept that points to the culture of both individuals and organizations.

Concepts such as entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs point to a new type of person and culture. Unlike organized industrial capitalism, which is based on a strict social routine and continuity, entrepreneurship refers to a new culture in which an individual reveals by taking responsibility, has a position by evaluating risks and opportunities. This indicates a great transformation in business ethics and social structure. Breaking away from career plans based on waiting, responsibility and delays of pleasure, a new society model in which rapid rise and opportunities are demanded and possible, and work ethics are emerging.

This is a necessity in terms of societies that want to be strong in today's world where risks and opportunities are distributed globally. States are demanding that citizens take responsibility as subjects and evaluate opportunities in global competition. For this reason, entrepreneurship is being tried to be generalized into the society by placing in curricula or using different rewarding methods. However, entrepreneurship points to a different type of human being as mentioned before and is heavily influenced

by the culture of historical accumulation. In order for entrepreneurship to become established, the socio-economic conditions as well as the cultural world must be suitable for this.

In many belated capitalist societies there is intense insecurity and disturbance to capitalism and institutions related to capitalism. In these societies, which have met with capitalism by widespread wars in general, romantic resistance is highly influential in the cultural world. The resistance against capitalism in these societies, which perceive capitalism and the materialist culture it imposes as a compulsory tendency imposed by violence, is also strong at the same time. For this reason, in order to examine the entrepreneurship concept which is a development and necessity revealed by global capitalism, the cultural relation established between the society and the capitalism should be investigated.

It is possible to see resistance against capitalism in Ottoman State, Turkish Republic line in literature and cinema narrations. Cultural narrations have this resistance in varying proportions. However, after 90's, the Turkish society has become much closer and deeper with capitalism. The demolition of the Soviet Union, the feelings of neo-liberal politics in everyday life, established urbanism and the deregulations seen in communication tools have also caused a great transformation in culture. In this period of rapid monetization the relationship with money has also become problematic in cinema narrations as a cultural product. The desire to be rich, the cultural monetization and the romantic resistance towards this desire that has emerged have shown a significant rise in the cinema.

This work deals with the development and resistance of culture, money and entrepreneurship since the 90s through films such as *Everything's Gonna Be Great* (1998), *Takva: A Man's Fear of God* (2006) and *Ice Cream, I Scream* (2006). The expression relation of the stories with the concepts of money, capitalism and entrepreneurship is taken into consideration through certain themes. The study which takes approximately 20 years of the longitudinal study, reveals money in culture, capitalism and the interactions experienced in cultural relation.

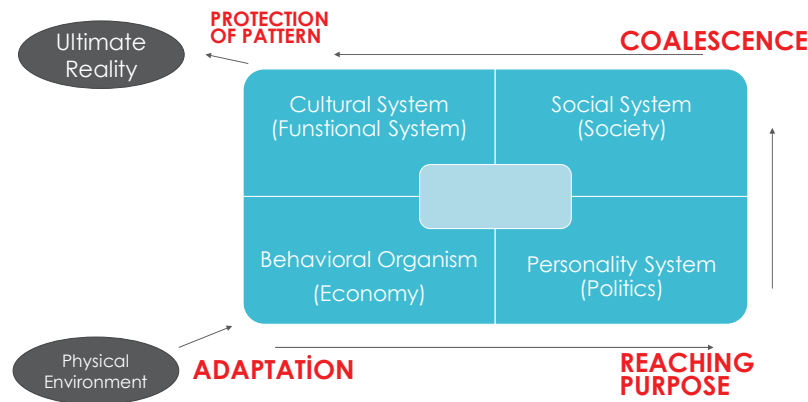
## 1. Globalization

When examining the concept of entrepreneurship, it is necessary to discuss the context that has this concept as the foreground. After World War II world capitalism has undergone a great transformation. Together with national development and restoration processes and welfare state practices, sustainability has been brought to the capitalism until 1970s. After the 1970s, capitalism has developed into a new process in which globalization is spread into daily life and visibility has increased along with the developments in communication and transportation tools.

The most important characteristic of this period was the imbalance between money-capital and the masses. While digitalized capital moves in the global arena on a legal and political level, the masses remained condemned to the strictness of the place and the continuity of the political-legal limitations prevailing in the place (Bauman, 1999). This situation has made masses and states passive in the face of capital. The patrimonial structure of classical capitalism has emerged as a form of authority regulating the care, education and living standards of the masses. In global capitalism, the form of "autonomous power," which obtains freedom over legal and political regimes does not make any commitments to the masses; making the masses, organizations and states to comply with their own demands (Sennett, 2005: 94). At this new level of power that the capital receives, the states, organizations and individuals have been faced with the obligation and opportunity to take a greater share in global capital, including increasing commercial transactions. This situation has brought about a transformation in both the concepts of the state and citizens.

Entrepreneurship is a functional behavior and has emerged as a necessity in the context of globalization. This concept, which is generally considered on the basis of individual and organization, is related to sociological and cultural structures. According to the structural functionalist theory, each system adapts to the environment by using 4 main functions to maintain itself. A transformation in the physical environment affects and changes the behavioral organism (individual, organization or state); this transformation does the same to the personality system (the way of life explication) in which the

behavioral organism is involved; the form of interpretation of life; The transformation in the personality system affects and changes the social system that provides harmony and integration between different subjects and ultimately, affects and changes the cultural world of the subjects involved in this system. The cultural system produces norms, values and motivations that moves actors. The cultural system itself is shaped by the philosophy of “ultimate reality” which places it into a perspective and makes it meaningful by interpreting and presenting the world in which the actor lives (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014: 239-244). To summarize, the transformation in the physical environment covers a distance as in the form of economy, the personality system (politics), the integrative society, the culture and the ultimate reality, and the system and an adaptation is provided between the system and the environment. The concept of entrepreneurship, which is dealt with at the level of the economically active subject is shaped by Society, the dynamics of social meanings, and the concept of culture. This situation reveals the relationship between the concept of entrepreneurship, which is generally considered in terms of the economically active subject dimension and level, with the concept of society, the dynamics of social meaning, and the concept of culture that shapes them all.



**Figure 1.** Structural Functional Society Model (Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2014: 244-249)

According to the social model of structural functionalist theory, entrepreneur represents behavioral organism and entrepreneurship represents the personality system. The concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship operate on a ground that is affected by the cultural system in which the social system is involved. At this point, some conflicts and tensions can emerge in belated capitalist societies. Before everything, the social meaning assigned to entrepreneurship and economic gain may not be in the same perspective as the state elites who govern the society. Capitalist arguments surrounding the concept of entrepreneurship may not have been found or occurred in the cultural system in which the social system is involved or even may be a deep social objection to these arguments. At this point there is a great contradiction between the personality system that the state is trying to adapt to global capitalism and the cultural system that makes up the social system. That is, there may be a conflict between the cultural system and the state as the behavioral organism which can produce different contexts in the state and social tension.

Entrepreneurship in this framework emerges as a concept gaining importance as a social adaptation mechanism against the great transformation and complexity that global capitalism has revealed in the physical environment. However, as mentioned earlier, the relationship established with the concepts of entrepreneurship in belated capitalist societies is not one dimensional. It would be a scientific mistake and

anachronism to treat the concepts emerging in the capitalist world in the same way in a society where economic liberalism is 25 years old and all liberal economic precedents before it are established and guided by the state. For this reason, it is necessary to discuss the concept of entrepreneurship in Turkey with the concepts of capitalism and culture.

### **1.1 Modernization and Market Formation; State and Father Symbolism in Turkish Modernity**

The search for change and adaptation within the Ottoman State begins in the mid-16th century. However, after the discovery of the Umit Cape and the American continent, the financial crisis of the Ottoman Empire was not overcome and the economic problems became deepened by merging with social problems. Although problems were felt in the face of Europe, the symbolic start date of the period when capitalist European modernism began to fully feel itself in the cultural and economical sense is 1838 - British Trade Agreement (Dumludağ, 2002). The 1838 British Trade Agreement and the 1839 Imperial Edict of Gülhane were the years when the economic and bureaucratic structure of the state began to undergo a complete transformation towards modernization (Efe, 2009). The state, which is as small as possible in this period, entered the process of change and growth by entering into a legal and bureaucratic structure after this period (Parlak, 2006-2007).

Until the Tanzimat Reform Era, it was thought that the problems would be solved by preserving the social structures exactly, however, after the Tanzimat Reform Era a structural transformation was accepted. However, the process has become a reluctant modernization. There was no consensus between the capitalist European culture and the Ottoman social culture at this time, and there was a clear tension between the two cultures. The epistemological nature of European culture has become operative under the epistemological nature of traditional culture (Parla, 2009)<sup>1</sup>. The cultural tension that emerged during this period expressed itself in Tanzimat Literature and then following narratives as contradictions such as money/natural relations, body/soul, religion, symbolic order of father's authority/brothers law, city/nature.

In the Ottoman State experiencing a delayed capitalization problem, the relation between economy, society and the state has necessarily been established. The inevitable transfer of property from state authority to private ownership of land, but the inability to accumulate capital, has raised the state as a necessity of market as a constitutive and regulatory figure. For this reason, the Ottoman State and the economic policies of the Republic of Turkey have been drawn up in a tension between liberalism and statist practices (Çavdar, 1992, p. 40). The struggle for statist modernization failed to make the necessary breakthroughs, and the periods of liberal economy resulted in external debt deficits and financial crises and the related political crises.

Foreign exchange capital has always been important in all late-capitalist societies that supply intermediary and investment goods from outside (Ercan, Tanyılmaz, & Karakaş, 2008). From Turkey's

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<sup>1</sup> Parla; draws attention to the search for "FATHER" which appeared in the texts in her study about Tanzimat era literature. In many works, parallelism between the structure of the house and the order of society is established and in the absence of the father, the son, who is not guideless anymore, destroys the home. Another element that attracts attention in this period literature is the two opposing forces rather than being separate, the soul and the skin (Parla, 2009, p. 19). The tension arising from the confrontation between capitalist European culture and traditional cultures expresses itself in the opposition of Father and Skin/Desire. When the father was appointed as the guardian and founder of the symbolic order, skin is a force that can easily lead a person to the wrong path. In this symbolic opposition, the symbolic Father appears as religion, morality, traditional culture, and the guardian of the community. The capitalist European culture symbolized by the money is represented by sensuality and sin. The desire for money and money are seen as forces that will lead people to the sin and out of God's command. On the one hand, traditional culture, which regards world life as a temporary stop; on the other, capitalist European culture, which cares more about the world and the meta; Two different epistemologies express themselves with this symbolic opposition in narrative arts. On the other hand, for the traditional Ottoman society, which does not know life in a capitalist world, the Father (State) figure also appears to be a concrete necessity as well as symbolic of protective and watchful power.

liberal economic period in 1950, foreign exchange deficit is a chronic problem (Ekzen, 2008). In this whole process, the state became the main actor and director of the economic process both as the practitioner of the living economic model and as the founder of the enterprises for investment and intermediate goods.

Protector symbol of the traditional cultures that emerged in cultural narratives, the Father, is also the founder and leader of the economic markets. For this reason, when the economic life and cultural background of Turkey is examined, the symbolism of the Father, in which the state is positioned as a protector and forcing authority is very important, this affects the economic behavior of the individuals. The citizen is a duty man who has symbolic relationship established with the *Great Other* expressed in the *Father*. This duty man or citizen who fulfills the orders of a father who challenges, restricts and rewards fulfills the duties which are inherent in the symbolic order of the Fathers aside from the tastes and tendencies. The task of the individual who is focused on success and performance of late modernity is not fulfilling his duties. This new individual lives according to freedom, pleasure and own tendencies. He is an individual who came out under the authority of FATHER and started to live on his own. An entrepreneur is not an equerry who primarily fulfills the duties, he/she is his/her own master (Han, 2017: 36). However, the Turkish society has been living the capitalization process under the control of the state as a father figure for about 150 years in the economic and cultural sense. Today, entrepreneurial politics is expected as a function of adaptation from the behavioral organism, the relationship established between the symbolic FATHER figure with the social and cultural world must be considered.

In the neo-liberal period, even if the government's planner role on the economy is weak, the problems arising from the inequalities of the economic crises and the unequal income distribution make the relationship established by the society with the state even more compulsory, expanding and obligatory. To talk about the concept of entrepreneurship in a society where economic, political and cultural codes are heavily influenced by the state authority makes essential to review the relation established by the state and authority. Today, it is seen that efforts to create and develop entrepreneurial cultures have been carried out by the state again.

## 1.2 Globalization and The State

Countries' restructuring expenditures, welfare state implementations and Bretton Woods institutions established after the Second World War provided capitalist sustainability up to the 1970s (Önür, 2002, p. 154). However, in the face of the 1973 oil crisis and the rising Japanese competitiveness after the 60s, the US abandoned fixing the dollar and the neighboring countries had to adapt to the process (Demirer et al., 1999, p. 190). The capital based on the boundaries of national profitability has entered into search for cheap labor, logistics and raw materials, with the support of technological developments, global capitalism has been quickly accomplished.

During this period, a growing spiral has emerged. The basic and luxury consumption demands of large masses settled in cities during welfare economics period captured states (Baudrillard, 2006: 24). The state has become legitimate from the happiness of the masses (Poggi, 2014: 156). The fact that the singular demands of the consumers begin to become a public issue virtualizes the state / society distinction and the state becomes an economical instrument day by day. Consumption and welfare demands of the masses make nation states more competitive, while global competition has a more rigid style. The consolidation of global competition leads to the suppression of workers' and citizens' rights and the weakening of protective policies towards the environment. States seeking to increase their share in global competition are paradoxically suppressing the rights of their masses and their natural habitats in the direction of global capitalism (Wallerstein, 2007: 12).

While the tendency to encourage non-state businesses had been observed, especially after the 1980s, states' public incomes and expenditures in economics and the increasing roles of governments primarily as the units for share of public income by welfare mechanism, have become a more central factor in the nation-state world's people's lives than ever before (Hobsbawm, 2006: 216). In the final case, the capital



has emerged from the control of nations-states, and nations-states have entered a passive position against the capital. In other words, states have to form structure and reflex according to the capital demands (Nairn, 1993).

This speed and depth increase in global competition forces states and individuals to take a more active role, while including states as an active player in economic processes. This is an increase in competition that makes the concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship important. The capital has gained an independent position in this process over society and the state. While capital was compulsory within the national boundaries, the state was able to achieve equality of income distribution through taxation and redistribution, but in the new case it becomes increasingly difficult to tax the capital. What is important in this case is to equip masses with a character that can attract the globally moving capital by positioning them with entrepreneurial motivation. Entrepreneurship discourse can also be defined as a public relations activity which is fictionalized for unity with the citizens of the state that has been transformed into an economic discipline.

### 1.3 Globalization and Unemployment Problem

Modernity breaks down rural structures that are self-sufficient in the establishment phase and pushes towards the city. It builds a new society called the *wage society* by transforming the large crowds that come together in the city into industrial workers or service workers. Producing monotonous behaviors from the collective environmental communities has been under the supervision of Panoptic power. This ruling has produced a uniform disciplinary society from the masses by using various tools such as prison, school, factory, madhouse, clock time and architecture<sup>2</sup>. In this form of power, the units that exhibit the behaviors demanded by the center are rewarded and government takes the responsibility of the mass that it governs.

However, in globalizing world, power does not have to take on the responsibility of caring for the masses. It is enough for the capital to leave the place if the crisis or another geographical region is born with a different opportunity. Thus, the *Power* became autonomous in the face of the responsibility of the masses. The autonomous power does not approach the masses with any responsibility and commitment, on the contrary the masses and the individuals have to constantly reorganize themselves in order to comply with the demands of autonomous power. Panoptical power has used external domination tools to bring masses into a disciplinary process. The form of autonomous synoptic power against the masses apparently does not exert any force on the masses and the individuals. However, in a situation where the concept of place and right is subject to the state against the freedom of capital, violence appears to be a constant competition for individuals and masses, a never-ending and incomplete state. In the form of synoptic power, the masses have internalized the demands of power, waiting its demands (Bauman, 2000: 80). While there is no spatial constraint on monetary convertibility and global possibilities for capital, the masses have remained fixed on the premise of family, home ownership, legal and judicial restrictions (Bauman, 1999: 15).

The *wage society* is in a marked crisis. Global income distribution inequality makes the problem of production unbalanced by consumption, the inclusion of gigantic productive forces such as China and India, and the problem of mechanization, especially in the near future, the potential labor force to perform operations with unmanned instruments to increase with intelligent technologies (Krugman, 2000) (Hirst and Thompson, 2007: 149). In the near future, there will be an intense decrease in saturation and profitability in production by reaching the limits of monetization (Karatani, 2009). The victory of modernity over nature has resulted in the spread of social insecurity, rather than spreading public confidence (Giddens, 2000: 33) According to Amin (2004: 15), there is no relationship between capitalist expansion and growth to the public interest, the main problem is that capitalist expansion is meaningless and lacks a regulatory authority.

<sup>2</sup> The works of Michel Foucault and Georg Simmel can be reviewed for the forms of power mentioned here.

If we need to draw a framework, there is a discrepancy between the freedom of the capital and the lives of masses bounded to the limits of the land. The real problem today is not what to do, but the fact that the political perpetrator is not there (Bauman, 2000: 28). Against the pressure the global capital has created from above, the potentials of the masses to fight underneath become increasingly difficult. The state, while trying to establish a dialogue between capital and the mass, is struggling in favor of capital and pressuring its own mass in favor of capital. Entrepreneur and entrepreneurship concepts have become important in order to soften this depression that the wage society has involved. Rather than demanding job and right, an entrepreneur is a citizen who follows opportunities, builds his own business field and will provide employment to other people if he/she succeeds.

#### **1.4 Globalization, New Citizen Model and Entrepreneurship**

Modernity has existed on the axis of nation in the vertical axis and on the axis of class in the horizontal axis. Society has emerged as a contingent process with pressures from the upper and lower classes. Resistance against the pressure of the upper classes in their favor, trying to limit them from the lower classes, came to constitute a society by establishing a balance point (Wagner, 2003: 67). In the global world, the pressure possibilities of the lower classes, which are opposed to pressure from above are limited and are insufficient in terms of organization. World economies operate independently of political principals, while political principals are restricted to the task of modernizing the country's economies. As a result, national welfare systems have to adapt to international competition capacity (Habermas, 1996).

The concept of citizenship around the concept of nation-state has created the idea of a fateful unity and homeland brotherhood. Globalization, on the other hand, erodes the intangible community, which is manifested by the concepts of nation-state and class. At this point a paradoxical situation arises. As for the upper classes, while the state is being overcome as a device that needs to establish global standards and logistics network, it is a vital place for lower grades.

The concept of "entrepreneur", which is woven with the concept of economic gain in this frame, comes to the forefront. Instead of citizens who share and reproduce a common sociality with others, the entrepreneurial front has emerged as an active character who observes everyday life as a commercial activity. The global arena of narrowing employment, increased competition for unemployment and post-fordist production relations, flexibility, temporariness, speed, transforming the individual into an economic detachment by removing it from sociality.

#### **1.5 Romantic Resistance towards Capitalism and the Case of Turkey**

Entrepreneurship is consequently a concept related to the model of capitalist society. This situation, which is required by globalization, therefore speaks of a monetization stage of cultural and social life. It is understandable that entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial concepts gain importance in the context of the depression of the wage society on a global scale. However, the concepts referred to in society such as Turkey, where resistance and reaction to the model of capitalist society are high, cannot be handled in a straight and one-dimensional manner. For this reason, while examining the belated capitalist countries like Turkey, it is necessary to examine the reaction against cultural capitalism.

In the Ottoman State-Turkish Republic line, modernity and capitalism began in the Tanzimat era and were experienced in a reluctant manner. The state, on the other hand, has dragged society towards capitalist modernity with an upward pressure from the masses through education, urbanization policies, industrialization plans, and the creation of workers' rights. For this reason, there was a dispute between the state and society at the point of the demands of capitalist modernity. Nevertheless, the state has succeeded in integrating large masses into capitalist modernity, thanks to social state practices and development promises (Keyder, 2004 :33). The point to be underlined here is that the establishment and development of capitalism based mainly on individual enterprise was realized through the state in the

Ottoman State-Republic of Turkey line. A culture of entrepreneurship based on an individual decision-making attempt, devoid of supervision by a prominent authority, is likewise included in the curricula of education through the state, and is being widespread in society. This brings the nature of the concept of entrepreneurship to a different dimension.

First of all, it is necessary to explain the concept of resistance and romance to the model of capitalist society. Without changing the ultimate reality area, the motivation of the behavioral organism to perform an action will be low. For this reason, between traditional culture and capitalist culture, it is necessary to mention the great separation that arises from the meaning of life.

Romanticism is a current that emerges with European modernity and approaches with melancholy and doubt to the claim of modernity. The problem of “purpose” and “meaning” of communities that have been associated with a contractual life on the city surface has been the biggest goal of romance. At the same time, capitalist modernity is a highly social form of disciplinary violence.<sup>3</sup> Hourly time-based industrial life and a story that has been tailored accordingly spread routine and boredom to everyday life with discipline. This society formula, which is totally absent of meaning, has always been a place of nightmares and melancholy for romantics. The idyllic nature, inward-looking mysticism and artistic freedom have been exalted against this kind of life.

In the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic line, capitalist European modernity and the values it represents are a technical issue that has been forcibly accepted by the losses experienced in wars but never internalized. In order to overcome this contradiction, Turkish Nationalism went to cultural-civilization in the attempt to modernize and tried to reduce European civilization to a scientific issue limited to technology (Gökalp, 1976). In this context, Turkish nationalism is constructed on a romantic framework against European capitalist culture.

Until the nineties, while the cultural demands for monetization were in a fragile course, the deregulation of neo-liberal politics and the means of communication after that period opened traditional culture to discourse of monetized culture. This, of course, leads to desires, crises and opportunities. Turkish cinema as a cultural element carries these developments in various forms.

### 1.6 Romantic Resistance towards Money

Romanticism is a discourse that produces itself by negating modernity. Romanticism saw the worldview of modernity as a one-dimensional disaster and conceived of being able to get out of it (Loo and Reijen, 2003: 81). One of the most important areas in which Romanticism is resisting is that it emerges from the natural framework of human relations and is mediated through money.

Another point of resistance for the money institution is the monetization of the concept of “interest”. With Weberian definitions, it is the transformation of *value based mind* into instrumental reason and meta fetishism takes pride of human mind. In this context, the concept of success, which is meaningful to entrepreneurs conceptualized in contemporary social sciences, is meaningless destruction or development in romantic tradition. For this reason, various forms of communitarianism and solidarity, ideologies such as nationalism or socialism, which leave an autonomous space to individuals from money and capital are easier to operate than capitalism in societies experiencing belated capitalism. Because capitalism is lacking in meaningful and spiritual life, the rational and quantified utility idea has an instrumental and mechanical image (Blechman, 2007). According to romantic tradition, money is a symbol disintegrating organic communities, distributing natural *gemeinschaft* way of life; (Löwy and Sayre, 2007: 24-26), which captures life by passivating human beings and minds and is alienated to human nature.

<sup>3</sup> Civilization is the suppression of human instincts against the power of nature and the weakness of the body at the level of family, state and society (Freud, 2009: 44). Psychoanalytic resistance to European capitalism, which suppresses the self by raising resistance to civilization and planning human life including leisure time, finds itself comfortably in romance.



On the other hand, there is a sensual aspect of money. Skin is a great enemy that will combine with the sense of lust and destroy the eternal *Gemeinschaft* ideal with immorality. The capitalist European civilization expresses itself fully in the urban space. The city is symbolic space for sin and crime in terms of romantic tradition as a place where money and free body images are united. Money, city, thought and life bring the body closer. The body is a decaying entity, mortal. So money; which is decomposed by the separation of matter and soul is a subordinate entity. In addition, the body is unreliable and open to heresy (Buruma and Margalit, 2009: 86). For this reason, it is located in the body and money that point to city and urban freedom and in romantic rhetoric that points to crime, heresy and sin.

In the Turkish society, which has reluctantly connected with capitalist European modernity, the ultimate reality area remains its long-term preservation; Culture and society have resisted monetization. For this reason, it has been used extensively in accounts of romantic tradition. In this context, concepts that are closely related to the concept of “money” such as initiatives and entrepreneurs have also been made positive in the post-1990 period in the culture, by removing the negative meaning of the “bourgeois” word. Nevertheless, it is early to say that society is approaching concepts such as city and money as autonomous individuals, with a one-dimensional and positive outlook.

## 2. Methods

Cinema is an industrial art that is intensively in relation with society. Individuals act according to the code system of the group they belong to and the social system. Therefore, the artist also acts within the code system of the society he lives in (Adanır, 2003: 29). Codes are the range of meaning distributed by the cultures produced by the society (Fiske, 2015: 153). For this reason, the transformation that takes place on culture involves a transformation on codes. Societies can experience revolution in economical, legal and political sense, while the culture category is subject to a slower and evolutionary transformation (Acun, 2016). For this reason, the longitudinal analysis of cultural codes in narrative arts includes the content of cultural transformation. The cinema film takes place within a network of social factors and can be seen as the object of sociological research (Diken and Laustsen, 2016: 25).

Here, the films after 1990 that prioritize the social codes in which the money and entrepreneur categories are related and develop the narration above them have been chosen as objective sampling. The study of qualitative theme analysis of the romantic modernization against the monetization of “the father, the money and the skin” was used. Selected films for the sampling group are; *Everything’s Gonna Be Great* (Vargi, 1998), *Takva: A Man’s Fear of God* (Kızıltan, 2006), *Ice Cream, I Scream* (Aksu, 2006).

## 3. Examination

### 3.1 *Everything’s Gonna Be Great*

It is based on the hope of a new life to be understood from the film name. The year of the film was shot is important in many respects. After adapting to a rapidly monetizing market life after 1990, unstable market movements and increasing unemployment have led to a social downturn. On the other hand, towards the end of the 90s, concepts such as monetization and enrichment have become part of everyday life, settled in popular culture by the influence of the culture industry. New forms of business have emerged in this framework and it has broken into an understanding of traditional ways of working.

The film is based on two brothers named Nuri and Altan. The two brothers who do not meet for a long time come together by chance in a fight scene at the beginning of the movie and the story starts like this. The two brothers are completely different from each other in characteristics, and this signifies the differentiated culture of the period. Nuri works in charge of a drug store. He has a very ordinary life and a way of working entirely on a routine basis. The biggest fun of the Nuri character is the album he made by sticking his own photographs into the luxury automobile photographs. Nuri has an organizational

capitalism work ethics based on the postponement of the pleasure, climbing the steps of the bureaucratic pyramid. However, under the conditions of late capitalism, the emphasis has shifted to instant satisfaction, flexibility and creativity (Sennett, 2011), and the ethics of the profession and lifestyle have been shaken based on protestant ethics (Weber, 2009: 147-148) on waiting, limitation of consumption and deferment of pleasure.

Altan character is unemployed and idle type. The idea of working in a bureaucratic ordinary job is even strange to him. He built his dream of a bar that he plans to open his whole life someday, but he has neither a capital nor a rational plan to open a bar. He treats life as a game, instead of making plans, he lives by producing instant solutions. He is warned constantly not to play around with objects by people around, he is overly curious person. In the barber shop he goes to, in the taxi he gets on, at his brother's drugstore, he always tamper something. The story also evolves over this curiosity and player mood.

The two brothers' difference are evident in their relationship with the figure of "Father". Although Altan is unemployed, he does not call his father, he has not seen him for about 2 years. Nuri, despite intense work pace, visits his father twice a week and spends time with him. This symbolic difference is also reflected functionally in their professional life. Nuri can not break his relationship with father authority, his approval and rejection is important for Nuri character. For Nuri, it is reasonable to live in the business world with the duties and prizes given by the authority under an authority figure. Altan could not keep up with his father and interrupted his relationship. He does not need the approval of the authority or the support. In the middle of the movie, Altan is appealing to his father's constant insults during his visit, Nuri wants him to stop silently from his brother. This difference in the face of the father and the figure of authority shapes the life philosophies of siblings. This situation also points to a new culture that has begun to sprout in the Turkish society which has lived with the figure of *Authority/State/Father* until the 90s.

The film opens with a dark and uncertain view of Istanbul. The two brothers who came together by chance travel to the drug store where Nuri works. Having problems in marriage, Altan character wants to reach a new life by opening a bar which he wants to open but can not open for a long time to correct his marriage. Nuri is not married and has no plans or demands to change his life. Altan plans to steal prescription medicines from drug store and to sell to mafia. This plan, which Nuri is unaware of, includes Nuri with a luxurious car that has been stolen by Altan from a bar. In another city, medicines are taken out of hand, but the drugs in the storage are already controlled by the mafia and fall into the position of stealing the mafia's drug pills. One of the gangs pours gas over them to kill two brothers, while the other gang is destroyed by their members. The two brothers who escaped from there, light up their clothes while lighting their cigarettes, and the money in the clothes is burned. Two brothers returning to Istanbul learn that their father is dead. Then two brothers go to Altan's house. Here, Altan catches his wife with a close friend. At the end of movie, 2 brothers walk in a dark Istanbul street and Nuri tells his brother Altan the idea of opening a Chinese restaurant. A new life-demanding film is also reflected in the use of place. In general, the film has been shot in dark and narrow places. The light and the spacious space are almost absent in the film. Nuri talks about establishing his own business after the death of his *father*, by getting out from the order of the authority figure. The idea of a Chinese restaurant is about a Chinese woman he has met at a disco.

Altan points to his wife Ayla for the whole thing then the money he has burned. He tells his brother that he loves Ayla and that he has entered this risky game to get her back. Father figure against to woman, body, lust and approach against money established in Tanzimat Era literature is also restored in this story. The risky money game for a woman results in the death of many people and the separation of the family. At the end of the movie, Ayla character, who cheats on her husband, Altan, is positioned as a cause of materialistic, monetary play which causes all the sin with sensuality.

This film reflects differentiation experienced and the desire to become rich in the post-1990 period which is spread in the popular culture, while preserving the narrative of the story of the romantic tradition with this state of story.

#### 4.2 Takva: A Man's Fear of God<sup>4</sup>

The film directly expresses the conflict that the character named Muharrem<sup>5</sup>, who has abandoned traditional patterns of life, confronts with capitalist modernity and the final interpretation of reality. Muharrem works in a shop that produces sack as an apprentice in a business center that preserves the structure of traditional craftsmanship. His life passed between the business center and Islamic monastery where he pursues Dhikr rituals. Muharrem has never married and lives alone. In his life between Dhikr and his work he has not established much relation with capitalist modernity and has maintained his life which is dominated by traditional aspects. One day the duty of collection of the rental income of the goods belonging to the foundation of the Islamic monastery is given to Muharrem. With this new task, Muharrem, who comes out of the boundaries of traditional life, has constant cognitive conflicts while collecting the rental income of the foundation of the Islamic monastery. Muharrem, who can not keep up with these conflicts over time, loses his mental well-being after a hysteria that he has suffered and continues to live his life in need of care. The film is based directly on the conflict between Islamic culture and capitalist modernity. However, it is not only this conflict that forces Muharrem. The most important thing for Muharrem is the relationship he established with Father authority and the inability to reach the authority which he ultimately seeks in the film.

The context of the film is immediately identified at the beginning with a verse from Quran; the verse of Quran directly targets the materialist mind of capitalist European modernity. The verse says “The unchanging reality came, the falsified and inconsistent one is collapsed. The falsified and inconsistent one will definitely be collapsed sooner or later”. The film thus begins by pointing to the basic conflict that modern culture and traditional culture have faced in interpreting reality. The conflict between the tool and the goal has always felt in modernity (Harvey, 2012, p. 27). European modernity and rationality can reveal the relationship between facts, but there is no upper value and meaning to make sense of them. This is where romanticism towards European capitalism and basic resistance of non-European civilizations emerge. For this reason, romantic rhetoric can easily penetrate non-European cultures.

This suspicious approach to rationality is re-expressed in the opening sequence of the film. When Sheik says to his deputy Fuad that he chooses Muharrem for the duty of collection of goods, Fuad approaches with suspicion and Sheik replies: “*Muharrem's faith is a good, but his knowledge is weak. Devil gets into the works done with open mind, that's why, some works must be done with heartedness.*” Rationalism and mysticism are positioned in such a way that spiritualism will create opposition.

In the following scene a ritual of congregation is displayed. In the scene immediately following this scene, the character Muharrem wakes up from his sleep by seeing a nightmare with sexual content and performs full ablution<sup>6</sup> and sleeps again. Throughout the film, the contrast between ritual, worship and sexual lust is given together. As Muharrem's spiritual conflicts increase, his sexual nightmares will also increase. This is due to the fact that the civilization of European capitalism, symbolized on the city, money and body, has been in opposition to spiritual life. As Muharrem enters to the capitalist relationships, the lust increases in his dreams, and in the later parts of the film, the woman in his dreams is seen with a lot of paper in her hand. Thus the analogy of sinfulness of the lustful female body and money is fully utilized and the body / money and spiritual dualism that has existed since the Tanzimat era is reproduced.

When Muharrem leaves his home and settles in the Islamic monastery to do the works of foundation, high-valued gifts are given to him. The gifts given are wrist watch, a pen, a mobile phone and a car. For Muharrem, who regulates his daily life according to the morning prayer and evening prayer in the traditional order, time is something to be managed and when the gifts are given, the importance of the

<sup>4</sup> Taqwa; By fear of God, it means to worship and to stay away from the things that religion forbids by fear of God.

<sup>5</sup> Muharrem; The root of the word is forbidden. In Hijri calendar, it is the name of the first month when war is forbidden.

<sup>6</sup> Individuals who reach sexual desire must perform full ablution. Otherwise they will be considered as unclean. Performing many actions in everyday life is not appropriate or it is forbidden.

time is emphasized with the wrist watch given. The pen is necessary to manage accounting affairs and economic relations. The mobile phone is necessary for Muharrem, who will work mobile in Istanbul, to be accessible at all times and from anywhere, pointing to the new mode of globalization. The car is again an important symbol of conquering the space and mobile mode of operation. When the car was given to Muharrem; the importance of time is underlined and it is dictated him to go to the places with car, because his time is very precious and should not be wasted. Besides these iconic goods, a suit is given as a gift to wear. Thus, Muharrem, who has been brought out of traditional time and space order, is equipped as a new employee of this capitalist system and is put into a new way of life.

Muharrem, who has started collecting the monthly rents of the foundation, enters into a growing cognitive conflict. There are pictures and clothes of erotic women in one of the shops of the foundation. Another shop is under the mosque building and is operated as a supermarket. Although Muharrem sees these practices as contradictory he doesn't lay emphasis on it. However, one of the shops is used as a car repair shop and Muharrem sees that someone drinks alcohol when he goes there. He doesn't like this situation and talks about it with someone in the Islamic Monastery. The guy says that those who drink alcohol pays the rent regularly, and this situation is something that needs to be decided by God. In another scene, Muharrem tells to the people in the Islamic Monastery that he thinks that a family who is desperate and unable to pay for rent in a house belonging to the foundation should live without paying rent for a while. The Sheikh says that if the family wants to live there without paying rent, it can be permitted, but a student has to sent to the Monastery, because the rental income is lowered; and he tells Muharrem that this responsibility is on him, and he lets Muharrem to make a decision about it. The assistant of the Sheikh underlines the economic conflict that Muharrem faces by saying "*You dismiss the people who pay the rent regularly just because of they drink alcohol, but you let the family to stay there without paying rent, because they are religious.*" After this, Muharrem's hysteria seizures become more frequent.

As the cognitive crisis of the Muharrem deepens and becomes hysterical, the music, sound, camera and effects also change in such a way as to give this mood. The actual cognitive crisis of Muharrem begins due to the lack of a commanding authority. Muharrem generally takes a comment from the Sheikh after his cognitive crises and overcomes his cognitive crisis with the comments of this authority. However, after his last lustful nightmare, he finds out that the Sheikh entered the seclusion<sup>7</sup> when he went to the Monastery for help. Being deprived of the supervision and interpretation of the authority, the hysteria seizures of Muharrem starts to deepen and comes out of control. Hysteria is a disease different from depression and schizophrenia. Hysteria is a disease about the pattern of discipline. It correlates with unconscious, negative repressions and rejections. The impulses of a person in his unconscious mind but preserving their existence emerge in the form of obvious physical symptoms (Han, 2017). Muharrem, who has difficulty in interpreting life in the absence of his *Father/Sheik/Authority*, also loses the power of suppression against forbidden and lust, and it raises the violence of hysteria seizures. At last, after the hysteria seizure, he is caught in a resultant cognitive dilemma, losing his mental health. Thus, movie rises on the clash of two different civilizations for interpretation of reality and ends with a cognitive crisis. This is a contradiction that the traditional culture constantly feels after meeting with European capitalism. The tension of this contradiction rises during periods of liberal practice and increasing monetization in everyday life. However, as already mentioned before, the main challenging factor for Muharrem is the situation against the Father authority and the possibility to reach this authority.

The narrative that the movie opens with a verse from the Quran closes with a poem by Nazım Hikmet Ran. The story that began with the verse of Quran ending with a poem of a communist poet close to mysticism may seem like a paradoxical situation, but as it was said earlier; Romanticism and socialism, which creates an area to individuals against the "money", appear as a more humane and acceptable discourse and penetrate into critical discourse in the non-European modernities. The poem at the end of movie is;

<sup>7</sup> Entering seclusion means to stay in a room alone, away from everyday life and possessions with an intrinsic journey purpose. It is a sufistic practice.

*“Many signs appeared  
 Time is complete.  
 Wrong became halal  
 Halal is forbidden.  
 We compete by ourselves, my dear.  
 Either we take life to dead stars,  
 Or death will fall on our world.”*

### 4.3 Ice-Cream, I Scream

The film named “Ice-Cream, I Scream” (2006) is out of the cinematic narrative and production forms of the mainstream and it narrates by the codes of Italian Neo-realism. Further, it can be suggested that the narrative of the film bring to mind story of the film named Vittorio De Sica’s *Bicycle Thieves* (1948). In addition, all the actors except the leading actor of the film are amateurs, and the locals take place in the film. Although the film is quite different in terms of form and genre, it approaches to the traditional romantic imagination by means of the things it narrates and codes it uses, and transforms it into a social municipality.

The film focuses on the classical capitalism expanding to the periphery and eliminating peasants and artisans by making them nonfunctional. Capitalism has headed to people in the countryside and artisans and has made them laborers, and thus produced a mass society gathered in the cities. On the other hand, global capitalism and neo-liberalism spread in this environment and consequently, eliminating peasant and artisans spreads in global extent. Global brands spread all over the world and monetize all living spaces, pushing surrounding societies and citizens towards capitalist market conditions. Entrepreneurship is seen as a protective and adaptive lever in this environment. In this context, the film is based entirely on this linearity of capitalism.

Ali Usta, traditionally engaged in ice cream in a village in Muğla, is trying to cope with industrial ice cream companies entering the market and changing people’s preferences. Ali Usta, who is forced to make an enterprise, develops a new business model against industrial ice cream brands. Ali Usta will sell the ice cream to the villagers by the ice cream car he wraps behind the motor. At this time an advertisement is filmed and broadcast on local TV. In the commercial film, it is emphasized that the local ice cream is made from natural materials and the industrial ice cream is made from synthetic materials. The film story is based on a day in which Ali Usta’s ice cream motor is stolen by the children of the village of Ali Usta, while he is making sale. In this context, the film is based on capitalism, dysfunction, entrepreneurship and the situation of the citizen.

As mentioned before, the film is not based on the romantic tradition of the discourse that constitutes the main stream of Turkish cinema; but when it comes to the relationship that the culture has established with capitalism, it can be suggested that the story is consist of money, skin, religion and tradition. In the film, these concepts form narrative by interrelating with each other. First of all, the character “Ali Usta” is not a filmographic pattern; in accordance with the structure of the film, he is a contradictory, self-interested, desperate and fearful character, meaning that he is not perfect. Ali Usta is a character whose traditional profession is threatened and who is trying to overcome with this problem with an alternative business model. He doesn’t reject the reality of “money”, instead money is very important for Ali Usta. Ali Usta is not a romantic character symbolizing traditional culture. He is a real character shaped by the relationship between traditional culture and reality of daily life; he desires both money and wealth. Ali Usta criticizes global ice cream companies for investing in advertising and selling image to people rather than products. While doing so, he says that the female body is used in advertisements. However, when Ali Usta is having a dream at the beginning of film, the pleasure he has while being washed with milk by young girls, his joy while seeing naked girls having sunbath in the beach and his sexual desire to his wife



are always displayed positively. In this context, Ali Usta looks at both money and sexuality positively. Even he claims just the opposite, he lives in peace with these concepts.

There is a struggle of power behind Ali Usta's entrepreneurship struggle. Ali Usta appears as a character who cannot be in power at home and who is not an authority for his wife and daughter. The only escape way for Ali Usta, who is an object of derision in his family and surroundings due to his story of entrepreneurship is being successful. At this time, Ali Usta, whose icecream motor is stolen by the children, will lose his hopes of regaining the power and will commit suicide, which is a decisive act in the story.

Ali Usta's relationship with the interests and religious institutions is pragmatic. While capitalizing, there is no normative contradiction. However, the conflict between religion and capitalism and the relationship of religion with commerce in everyday life are indirectly contradictory. In order to examine it, the film passes between 3 people; Ali Usta, his apprentice, Kamil, and Kamil's elder brother, Kerem. There is a symbolic relationship that resembles Cain and Abel the sons of Prophet Adam, between Kerem and Kamil. Kamil is successful in his classes at school. During the summer vacation Kamil, who has been successful in the Koran course, is also praised by his teacher. A girl in the Qoran course is not looking at Kerem's face while smiling at Kamil. The positions of Kamil and Kerem at home are also different in accordance with this. Kamil is always praised by his father and he is always close to the big earnings and power directed to women; but Kerem always feels jealous for it, and this opposition constitutes the story of the film. Thus, the film establishes itself with the opposition that symbolizes the relationship of gain, power, approval of authority and violation in the holy writ. While Kerem does not conform to any authority order, Kamil receives approval and praise from all the authorities. In this context, Kamil appears to be a perfect duty man and is seen as a successful apprentice of Ali Usta. Kerem, with all his failures, wanders around on the streets and steals different fruits from the fields. The attitudes of the two characters against the economic situation will constitute the story. One day, Kerem asks his brother to give some free ice cream to him and his friends, but Kamil rejects this offer for economic necessities, saying that God sees him. In the following scene, sect leader of the village is having a dialog with Ali Usta in the ice cream shop and talks about the concept of "a small share of food given to satisfy an onlooker"<sup>8</sup>, which has an important place in Islamic religion. The sect leader states that if he does not give some ice cream to a child who passes in front of the shop and has no money, he will steal it, and Ali Usta will also be guilty for this since he doesn't give any ice cream to satisfy the child. Ali Usta doesn't like this statement. At this point, interpretation of crime, rights and ultimate reality is diverging and the audience is forced to look at the situation with a cultural point of view.

One day, when Ali Usta goes to another village with his ice cream motor, some children who are stealing watermelon in a field, steal the ice cream motor of Ali Usta, and eat all of the ice cream. But Ali Usta thinks that those who stole the ice cream are global companies who are afraid of his entrepreneurship. First, he goes to police station and then to county seat, and complains about industrial ice cream companies and fights with the representatives. This period of time when the ice cream motor disappeared is the section where religion emerged in the story. At the very beginning of the episode, Ali Usta, who wakes up when he is seeing the model girls in the commercial film, has erection, and this is how the day begins. Ali Usta, who thinks that this is the cause of bad things that he faced performs full ablution in the river. Ali Usta, who returned home without finding the motor, commits suicide at night. Thereupon, an old man puts forward religious arguments while he is inculcating to Ali Usta. The old man tells Ali Usta that the body is not his property and that he is entitled to all the society and nature, and that he can not commit suicide as he wishes. He also indicates that death is precise, while life is a possibility; and therefore he should choose the possibility. Ali Usta, who calms down with these suggestions goes to dawn prayer with the old man. Ali Usta begins to pray loudly, and the people in the mosque are surprised. Ali Usta says "My motor! My Motor! My motor!" while he is praying. In this context, the phenomenon of

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<sup>8</sup> A small share of food given to satisfy an onlooker: In Islamic culture it expresses that a person who owns a property should share a small amount of it with the ones who don't have that property, to satisfy them and take the edge of their desires.

religion turns into a pragmatic association that is refrained from depression and loss. As mentioned before, Ali Usta is a character who has pragmatic relationships with institutions and people. As a result, concepts of crime, rights, forbidden and guilty differ according to cultural interpretation. At first glance, children who steal Ali Usta's ice cream are guilty of economic and legal sense. However, according to Islamic values, the owner of the property, who does not give his property to the people to satisfy them, is guilty of crimes committed by these people. On the other hand, Ali Usta is passive as a character struggling to maintain his traditional life, threatened by his family and the environment in terms of his power, rationalized, and forced to economic benefits. The film deals with economic and cultural interactions in this context and transforms it into a comic story through an entrepreneurial story.

## Conclusion

When the films are examined, monetization, the transformation of the existing economic situation and the presence of a new socio-economic structure are drawing attention. This situation can happen voluntarily as it is in the film "Everything's Gonna Be Great", it can happen necessarily voluntarily due to economic processes as it is in the film "Ice Cream, I Scream", or just necessarily as it is in the film "Takva: A Man's Fear of God". However, a common theme can emerge as a tension between the economic transformation and, cognitive and cultural harmony.

Symbolic expressions pointing to tension are thematically present in the film story. While capitalism in the film "Takva: A Man's Fear of God" leads to a cognitive hysteria, depriving of adaptation opportunity brings depression and suicide in the film "Ice-Cream, I Scream". At the end of the film "Everything's Gonna Be Great", the deception scene together with an unsuccessful entrepreneurship causes a neo-rhetorical crisis. The character named Altan chops daisy flowers, which symbolize happiness and marriage, with a bread knife, and tilt them on his wife and his lover.

The metaphorical patterns of romantic tradition continue in the films examined. The mutual positioning of the symbolic order of the Father's authority and of money, of skin and of lust is preserved in the stories. As long as characters appeal to money pattern and the money gets close to the culture, investment to desire and sexual cases increase, while the authority of Father decreases. On the other hand, money-and-sexuality-oriented investments do not bring happiness and the order is balanced with a symbol of Father, or it ends up in a crisis without reaching a balance. In the film "Ice-Cream, I Scream", the desire to earthly things and money causes depression including suicide, and the religion emerges as a protective tool. The character Muharrem in the film "Takva: A Man's Fear of God", has crises in his ethical code system and needs the leading power of Sheikh; and when he can't find him, Muharrem gets into a hysterical crisis. Finally, in the film "Everything's Gonna Be Great", the story doesn't end with a return to Father, and the consciousness levels and cultural desires of two brothers whose father has died turns into a consensus.

It can be seen that behaviors of individuals are revolutionized by the characters and self-control against the Father and authority, as figurative allusion. The characters that constitute the story and create the dynamic by deranging, are the characters that opposes and objects the authority of Father in the films "Everything's Gonna Be Great" and "Ice-Cream, I Scream". On the other hand, even if the narratives constitute characters that distort the symbolic order of the father authority, the characters living within the boundaries of Authority in the narratives are positively positioned and approved.

In this context, it can be seen that the stories have the chance and risk of enrichment, which is becoming more and more established in culture. However, the characters who act as is directed in the figurative layout of the father are approved, while the ones who ruin the established order cannot create a new and successful context. It can be observed that the society who experiences the process of development and capitalization under the control of the government demands the figurative power of the government in the neo-liberal period after nineties. The conflict that emerges in the scope of ultimate reality as the capitalist culture approaches constitutes the main frame of the stories.

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