THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BODY AND SPACE IN THE ROAD FILMS OF TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM

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MAY, 2021

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BY

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

DEPARTMENT OF RADIO TELEVISION AND CINEMA

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

MAY, 2021

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye sinemasındaki yol filmlerinin mekân ve beden ilişkisi üzerinden analiz edilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Çalışma; *Umut* (Yılmaz Güney, 1970), *Otobüs* (Tunç Okan, 1975), *Yol* (Yılmaz Güney & Şerif Gören, 1982), *Sarı Mercedes* (Tunç Okan, 1992), *Güneşe Yolculuk* (Yeşim Ustaoğlu, 1999), *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom* (Hüseyin Karabey, 2008), *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* (Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2011) filmlerindeki sinemasal mekânlarda yolculuk eden sinemasal bedenlerin hareketlilik koşullarını incelemektedir. Çalışmanın odak noktasında, neoliberalizmin mekânsal düzenlemelerinin yol filmlerindeki bedenler üzerindeki kısıtlayıcı etkileri vardır. Yol filmlerinde hareket hâlindeki sinemasal bedenlerin mekânla kurduğu ilişki, bedenin tikel düzeyi ile küresel kapitalizmin tümel düzeyini ekonomi-politik bağlamda bir araya getirerek inceleyen bir yaklaşım aracılığıyla analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Türkiye yol filmleri, mekân ve beden ilişkisi, neoliberalizm, ekonomi-politik, hareketlilik, sinemasal mekân, sinemasal beden, yol sineması, mekânsal beden

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the relationship of the body and space in the road films of Turkey. The study examines the mobility conditions of cinematic bodies traveling in cinematic spaces in the films *Umut* (*Hope*, Yılmaz Güney, 1970), *Otobüs* (*The Bus*, Tunç Okan, 1975), *Yol* (*The Road*, Yılmaz Güney & Şerif Gören, 1982), *Sarı Mercedes* (*Mercedes mon amour*, Tunç Okan, 1992), *Güneşe Yolculuk* (*Journey to the Sun*, Yeşim Ustaoğlu, 1999), *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom* (*My Marlon and Brando*, Hüseyin Karabey, 2008), *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* (*Once Upon a Time in Anatolia*, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2011). The focus of the study is on the restrictive effects of the spatial arrangements of neoliberalism on the bodies in road films. The relationship of cinematic bodies in motion with space in road films is analyzed through an approach that examines the particular level of the body and the universal level of global capitalism in a political economic context.

Keywords: road films of Turkey, body-space relationship, neoliberalism, political economy, mobility, cinematic space, cinematic body, road cinema, spatial body

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my endless thanks to my beautiful family, my dear wife Tuba, as always for her support and motivation from the beginning of my thesis until today, my dear son Mutlu Ege who add meaning to my life, my lovely mother Gülsen Civelek, my cinema lover father Hasan Civelek who has impressed film culture on me since my childhood, my high-minded brother Uğur Civelek who always motivated and supported me intellectually during my thesis, my lovely grandmother Güler Arifoğlu, my thoughtful aunt Serap İskender who is a cinema lover painter, my older brother in law Burak Çalışkan, my mother in law Semra Çalışkan and my father in law Alpaslan Çalışkan.

I would like to thank my supervisor Assistant Prof. Dr. Özge Erbek Kara for her guidance, encouragement and feedback. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Ayla Kanbur who introduced me to *Spaces of hope*, one of the primary inspirational works for my thesis. I would like to thank master's program other academics Prof. Dr. Defne Özonur, Associate Prof. Dr. Kaan Taşbaşı, Instructor Erkan Ünalan, Prof. Dr. Meltem Erinçmen Kânoğlu and Assistant Prof. Dr. Lale Han Öcal.

I would like to thank Assistant Prof. Dr. Hakan Aytekin, Associate Prof. Dr. Müjgan Yıldırım, Associate Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özen, Assistant Prof. Dr. Yasemin Özen, and Assistant Prof. Dr. A. Nesrin Akören for showing an interest to my study.

I would also like to thank my cinemagoer fellas: thank you my dear friend Mehmet Kaan Şirin for your motivation, appreciation and energy along the road; thank you my old dude Gökhan Algül and my dear friend Kaan Doğa Özgentürk for the motivation.

Finally, I'm grateful to my late grandfather İsmet Arifoğlu who always supported me.

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1. INTRODUCTION

> The thing you called “the road” should reach somewhere like a road does / But, we run in circles, going nowhere fast / This is a vicious circle that won’t get you anywhere / I keep circling / There is no way out at the end
>
> — Cem Karaca, *Bindik Bir Alamete, Gideyoz Kıyamete*

> I've got three miles to go / At the end of the road there's a soldier waiting for me / At the end of the road where all futures go / At the end of the road, there's blood on shore
>
> — New Order, *We All Stand*

> Even though we went to pieces on the migration routes, tomorrow the whole world is ours
>
> — Murathan Mungan, *Göç Yolları*

The road is one of the most subjective processes in relation to space. Within a predetermined or emerging route, the subject creates the topography of their own space. Thus, the mapping process of the subject's own experience comes into effect, and a particular map emerges at the end of the travel. However, the psycho-geography process shaped by the articulation of the subject with space cannot be considered independent of the historical content of control over space.

From this point of view, the concept of road can contain an opportunity that the subject seizes to create their own spatial practice. The end of the road experience, which carries the body's desire to regain space, is open to endless variety. In a world where particular experience is absorbed and contained by universal control, "going forward"

harbors the hopes hidden within itself. Due to the potential of the concept of road to create one's own space, its attractive relation with the concept of freedom is one of the factors that make the road one of the most quantitatively addressed elements in cinema, as well as in literature. Ferro's (2017) emphasis on the historical document identity of cinema (history as a counter-analysis of society as opposed to official history) as "the film is History, whether it is an image of reality or not, documentary or imaginary, a genuine intrigue or a pure invention" (p. 31) sheds light on the contemporary evaluation of the historical process of spatial struggle in films dealing with the space-body relationship in road cinema. The criterion of the path that is the subject of these films is determined in the conflict between the body and the power structure.

1.1. Purpose of the Study

If we look at the cinema of Turkey, although there are a considerable number of films with a travel in the narrative (films about migration from the countryside to the city or comedy-adventure films), the road occupies an instrumental place in most such films. *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ, 1964), *Gelin* (Ömer Lütfi Akad, 1973), *Düğün* (Ömer Lütfi Akad, 1974), *Diyet* (Ömer Lütfi Akad, 1975), *Sürü* (Zeki Ökten, 1978) are examples of "internal migration" films that focus on migration from rural to urban and include the phenomenon of travelling in their narrative. As examples of films that focus on "external migration" and include the phenomenon of travelling in their narrative, *Baba* (Yılmaz Güney, 1971), *Dönüş* (Türkan Şoray, 1972), *Almanya Acı Vatan* (Şerif Gören, 1979), *Gurbet* (Yücel Uçanoğlu, 1984), *Vatan Yolu* (Rasim Konyar & Enis Günay, 1988) can be given. The films *Ateş Böceği* (Osman Seden, 1975), *Amansız Yol* (Ömer Kavur, 1985), *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak* (Ömer Vargı, 1998), *Hokkabaz* (Ali Taner Baltacı & Cem Yılmaz, 2006), *Abimm* (Şafak Bal, 2009), *Limonata* (Ali Atay,

2015), *Kelebekler* (Tolga Karaçelik, 2018) can be given as examples of adventure and/or comedy films that include the phenomenon of travelling in their narrative. It is possible to expand the list of these films that have a travel in their narrative, but films that deal with the travelling process itself as an active space creation experience, problematize the road, and focus on the body-space interaction are in the minority. These are the primary films of Turkey that deal with the travelling process itself: *Yol* (*The Road*, Şerif Gören & Yılmaz Güney, 1982), *Sarı Mercedes* (*Mercedes mon amour*, Tunç Okan, 1992), *Güneşe Yolculuk* (*Journey to the Sun*, Yeşim Ustaoğlu, 1999), *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom* (*My Marlon and Brando*, Hüseyin Karabey, 2008), *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* (*Once Upon a Time in Anatolia*, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2011). We can also include the films *Umut* (*Hope*, Yılmaz Güney, 1970) and *Otobüs* (*The Bus*, Tunç Okan, 1975), which constitute an early example of these films in recognition of their problematization of body-space interaction. Here are the postulates why we consider these seven films as examples of road cinema: (1) The passing of the film narrative in the travel; (2) The cinematic body experiences the space through the travel phenomenon; (3) The conveying of the cinematic space through the cinematic body in travel; (4) The emergence of the spatial contradiction between the universality of space and the particularity of the body. Especially the last postulate is of critical importance for this study because based on this, a new proposition will be made on road films and the analyzes will be made according to this postulate. In this study, the road films will be conceptualized in a new style as "the mobility conditions of the spatial body" and through this conceptual framework "the mobility crisis of spatial bodies in Turkey that integrated into global capitalism" will be analyzed. The purpose of this study is to analyze the nature of the relationship between the body and space in the political-economic context by tracing the historical course of the spatial barriers (the

contradiction between the unity of the normative map and the particular map) in the experience of topography drawn by these films and the relationship between the bodies of the main characters and the cinematic space. Analyzes will be made on the relationship between the particularity of the spatial body and the universality of global capital. Our analysis will be based on the *historical-geographical materialism* approach that Harvey uses in establishing the relationship between globalization and the body. Harvey's purpose in using this approach is to combine a discourse regime at the most macro level, such as globalization, with a discourse regime at a micro level such as the body. This approach grasps the particularity of the body through its embeddedness in socio-ecological processes (Harvey, 2011, p. 31). In this study, we will try to analyze how the relationship between space and body is revealed in the road films of Turkey by using the *historical-geographical materialism* approach used by Harvey (2011) to deal with the particular and the universal in an political-economic context based in a relational conception of dialectics and by using Lefebvre's (2014) *spatial body* conceptualization and conventional methods of film analysis and analyzing them through analogical examples. In this thesis, it will be argued that the emergence of new paradigms in the space-body relationship in the world with the spatial character of neoliberalization, which started in the late 1970s, has become prominent in the space-body interaction that occurs in the road films (dealing with the process of space-body interaction) of Turkey.

1.2. Scope of the Study

This study analyzes the space and body relationship through examples of the practice of road cinema in Turkey and spatial bodies in the films. The scope of this study is limited to the road films of Turkey between 1970 and 2011. The films that will

be examined in the study, which are the primal examples of the contemporary road films of Turkey, make the impact of the spatial fixes of global capitalism on subaltern bodies visible because they were produced in Turkey's neo-liberal period starting from 1980. Two more road films from the 1970s were added to these contemporary road films, as it is thought that they constitute early examples by making the mobility crisis of the spatial body visible. Social contradictions inherent in capitalism have always existed in the degrees of movement of the subjects, but these contradictions have intensified with neoliberal rationality after the 1970s. Poulantzas (2008) states that the notion of crisis indicates a situation in which social contradictions are concentrated; for him, crises inherent in capitalist reproduction bear the signs of the era (p. 296). From this perspective, the 1970s bear the signs of the 1980s, when the reproductive crisis of late capitalism intensified and a new paradigm would emerge to overcome the crisis. The 1970s, when the capitalist mode of reproduction went into crisis, was a time when the working class became increasingly impoverished. The 1970s, when states began to abandon Keynesian welfare state practices and capitalists restricted the rights of the working class in order to overcome the reproductive crisis, bears the signs of the neoliberal rationality that will begin in the 1980s. Therefore, the first two of the road films (*Umut* and *Otobüs*) to be examined in the study are selected from the 1970s. This study has considered these two films in the intermediate region of the old paradigm and the new paradigm as a "prologue", a "sign" of the new paradigm in which the mobility crisis that will be intensified by neoliberal rationality, and as a prototype that carries the mobility crisis in the road films of neoliberal period on themselves. Therefore, although the examples to be examined in the study are selected from the road films of neoliberal period (*Yol*, *Sarı Mercedes*, *Güneşe Yolculuk*, *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom*, *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*), two films from the 1970s (*Umut*, *Otobüs*) are

included in the study. In this study, road films of Turkey between 1970 and 2011 will be analyzed through spatial bodies in abstract space organized by the neo-liberal rationality of capital movement.

In the study, the mobility degree of cinematic bodies and its relationship with the sovereign structure in the cinema of Turkey will be discussed. The road films were chosen as samples in this study, because road cinema imagines the experiences of the cinematic body in motion and thus carries these contradictions on it. The samples were selected from the period when neoliberalism emerged and systematized to observe the effects of neoliberalism on the relationship of space and body. The historical range of the selected samples also carries out the social conditions that brings out the road films in Turkey because the neoliberalization process of Turkey has intensified contradictions in the space and body relation. It is possible to argue that the road films of Turkey emerged from the intensifying contradictions between universality of the space and particularity of the body. When looking at the bodies in relation to space in the films in question, it will be argued that the travels of the bodies are always limited by the topography controlled by the state and the value of commodity exchange. In addition, it will be argued that the will of bodies in space is constrained by administrative commodity mechanisms due to the conflict between body and space.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Since the 2010s, although the master's and doctoral thesis studies that examine the cinema of Turkey through space and body have increased, they remain in a minority in number. As an example of these thesis studies, we can cite the studies by Sebik (2008), Özer (2013), Uzunali (2015), Bayrak (2015), Çam (2016), Kilinç (2018), Kale

(2019) and Erçetingöz (2019). Sebik's (2008) study examines the socio-cultural representation forms of the body in Turkish cinema after 1990 and the socio-cultural characteristics of the space where the body lives; Özer's (2013) study examines the fundamental differences in the use of cinematic space by directors in Turkish cinema after 2000, and examines the reflection of the change in real spaces, patriarchal social structure, and rural-urban conflict on Turkish cinema's use of space; Uzunali's (2015) study examines the feelings and thoughts of characters in Zeki Demirkubuz cinema through cinematic space; Bayrak's (2015) study examines the relationship of space with color, light and characters in the films *Kış Uykusu* and *Yol*; Çam's (2016) study examines the use of space in Derviş Zaim cinema in detail by taking the cinematic space into the center in terms of form, style and content; Kilinç's (2018) study examines the effects of changing spaces and the concept of space on the narrative structure of Turkish cinema in the 2000s; Kale's (2019) study examines the differences in the use of the province as a cinematic space in New Turkish Cinema; Erçetingöz's (2019) study examines the positions of *auteur* directors in Turkish cinema after 2010 through time, space and movement elements in their films. The focal point of the analyzes in *Representations of Body: Case Study of Turkish Cinema After 1990* (Sebik, 2008) is the relation of body representation in films with power and social status, however the relationship between space and body in films is briefly mentioned in the subsection entitled "Space and Body Composition" and the space-body relationship has not been adequately studied and the political-economic context has been ignored. In *The Effect of Space in Cinematic Meaning and Use of Space in Turkish Cinema since 2000* (Özer, 2013), an examination is made on how directors such as Derviş Zaim, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Reha Erdem, Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Fatih Akın use cinematic space in their films. In this study, the analysis is made by describing how the directors created

the cinematic space through various mise-en-scènes, but the spatial analysis is limited to the description of the mise-en-scène. In the study in question, the political-economic background is mentioned while dealing with the reflection of real spaces in cinematic space, but the process of creating the space of the political-economic conditions and its effect on the characters in the film are discussed without in-depth analysis. In *Use of Space in Zeki Demirkubuz Cinema* (Uzunali, 2015), modernism was put at the center and the alienating effect of urban space on the characters in the films were examined. The study in question focused on "the use of space in the cinema of Demirkubuz and the boundaries drawn by the themes appearing in the films with the use of space around the bodies" (Uzunali, 2015), therefore the relationship between space and body is at the center of the study. In this study, the internal psychology of the characters was chosen as the focal point while analyzing the films, the relationship between the boundaries drawn by the space on the bodies with modernity and the circularity of melodrama was emphasized, but the political-economic context of these limits was not sufficiently addressed. Nevertheless, this study is one of the pioneering works of the field, as it deals with cinematic space through Lefebvre's concept of *abstract space*. In *Space Approach in Turkish Cinema: Yılmaz Güney's "Road" and Nuri Bilge Ceylan's "Winter Sleep" Spatial Analysis of The Movies* (Bayrak, 2015) the spaces in the "visually rich" scenes of the two films are examined by describing the scenes with the help of the semiotic method and the concept of myth, but excluded the political-economic context of the space and the relationship between spatial elements and corporal elements. *Derviş Zaim: Towards a Cinema of Space* (Çam, 2016) is a pioneering work focusing on the cinematic spaces of Derviş Zaim's cinema in order to examine the use of space in Derviş Zaim's cinema in terms of form, style and content. In this study, based on the proposition "themes such as limiting, organizing, controlling

the space, prohibiting the space to subjects, controlling the movements of the subject on the space, a phenomenon of power that controls the subject while moving from one space to another in a divided geography are seen in every film of the director", the spaces in Derviş Zaim cinema are considered as areas of geopolitical struggle. This study has not only dealt with the cinematic space in terms of power and struggle, but also examines the cinematic space in a comprehensive way through its different functions such as being a narrative platform, creating an effect of reality, actively participating in the narrative, creating desire, and therefore it stands out among other studies that examine the cinematic space. However, the study discussed the political-economic context mainly in the section entitled "The Space Creating Desire" (Çam, 2016), in which the desire created by the cinematic space towards the physical space and the relationship of this desire with capital are examined. In the section entitled "Cinema, Space, Power and Relations of Struggle: Cinema and Space as a Geopolitical Space" (Çam, 2016), in which cinematic space is examined as a geopolitical field, information on the general relationship of spatial politics and body politics with the historical process of capitalism is given, however, when analyzing relations and the effects of control mechanisms over space, the political-economic context is not mentioned. Looking at the whole of the study in question, the analysis of the relationship between cinematic space and body is limited only to this section, the focus of the study is the different aspects of the cinematic space in Derviş Zaim's cinema. In the *Use of Space in Turkish Cinema after 2000* (Kilinç, 2018), "the extent to which the technical elements (Camera, Light, Sound and Editing) in the film affect the formation of the cinematic space" is centered. In this study, the spatial analysis was mainly done through the technical elements that constitute the mise-en-scènes, the political-economic elements of the space were briefly mentioned, and the relationship between

the space and the characters was limited to the description of the mise-en-scène. In *Province as a Cinematic Spaces in The New Turkish Cinema: an Examination of Films "Once Upon Time in Anatolia", "Beyond The Hill" and "Sivas"* (Kale, 2019), the focus is on the relationship between films and the province. The study in question deals with the unique aspects of the province in terms of narration, setting, arrangement of the image and editing in each film, through three films chosen as a sample. In this study the analyzes are made in terms of narrative focus on the impact of the social and cultural background in the province on the characters rather than the spatial analysis of the province. In this study, the analyzes are made in terms of mise-en-scène, arrangement of the image and editing are outweigh. The analysis in this study focuses on the formal examination of how the province is transformed into a cinematic space and the gaze of the New Turkish Cinema at the province. In *An Analysis of Time-Space-Movement Concepts through Auteur Perspective in Turkish Cinema after 2000s* (Erçetingöz, 2019), the focus is on how time-space-movement elements are constructed by the director in the context of cinematic reality. The study in question examines this construction activity through creative processes such as script, shooting and editing. In the film analysis sections of this study, time-space-motion elements are discussed as the elements that compose the film universe. Therefore, this study analyzes how the film universe was established by auteur directors rather than making a spatial analysis. In this study, however, elements such as how the movement is realized by cinematic bodies, the relationship between cinematic bodies and space, and the political-economic context of the space are excluded.

There is no thesis study among the master's and doctoral theses that examines the road films by focusing on the road films of Turkey. The only thesis that examines the films by centering the road films is Sayıcı's (2019) study. However, this study

examined only one of the road films from Turkey (*Yol*) has been selected, while the other five films have been selected from various regions of the world. This study examines six native and foreign road films shot between 1968-2000 through Campbell's model of *the hero's endless journey*. Despite being the only thesis in Turkey that examines the road films together and focuses on the road films, it restricted the analysis to the transformation of the heroes who take a journey in films. In the study in question, "the aspects that deal with the change of the hero in road films were focused" and "the selected six road films were analyzed on the basis of the hero's endless journey model and under the framework of the genre film criticism" (Sayıcı, 2019). However, elements such as the corporal experience of the characters, the relationship between space and body in the films, the political-economic context of the relationship between space and body, and spatial analysis were excluded during the analysis. Apart from this study, it is possible to count the study of Demir (2016) analyzing the external migration films, which establishes an indirect connection with the road theme, although not directly. This study, which deals with the Turkish Emigration films through the phenomenon of “migration” and “abroad”, indirectly connects with the travel theme; it has focused on the analysis of films with the themes of *emigration* and *abroad*. "To determine the view and functioning of the films produced about migration in the context of migration sociology and visual sociology through the films about the phenomenon of migration produced by Turkish Cinema between 1971-1994; ensuring that the migration processes experienced by the migrants are understood and explained through the reflected data” (Demir, 2016), is at the center of the study. This study mainly deals with the typology and sociological situation of the migrant population with quantitative data, but excludes the corporal experience of the "traveling population" and the relationship it establishes with the space it travels. Since this study examines films with migration

themes, there are also road films such as *Otobüs* and *Sarı Mercedes*, but the study mainly focuses on the statistical analysis of data such as the socio-cultural experiences of the characters in the countries they migrated to, reasons for migration, migration types and gender. Therefore, the study focused on migration rather than travelling. This is expected because in most of these films about migration, the phenomenon of travelling occupies only an instrumental place in the cinematic narrative.

Unlike the above studies, our study you are reading examines the road films of Turkey by centering them. Another point that this study differs from the above studies is that it does in-depth analyzes of the relationship between space and body in films together with its political-economic context. In addition, this study differs from other studies as it takes the relationship between space and body at its center and analyzes this relationship through *neoliberalism*, one of the historical stages of capitalism. The focus of this study is how the cinematic space in the road films of Turkey is generated by neoliberal rationality and how the movement capacities of cinematic bodies are affected by neoliberalism. In this study, it is aimed to examine the contradictions between the universal movement of capital and the particular movement of the body through road films. Thus, a new contribution will be made to film studies in general, road cinema literature in particular, through a detailed examination of the travel of the spatial body under political-economic conditions. This study fills an important gap in the cinema studies by holistically approaching the road films of Turkey for the first time in the thesis studies, by conceptualizing road films in a new style, by examining the relationship between space and body specific to neoliberalism through films, and by employing the historical-geographical materialism while analyzing films through this relationship.

1.4. Contents of the Study

As Brown (2018) emphasized while dealing with neoliberalism, neoliberalism is a rationality that is not identical to itself and carries temporal and spatial variability and flexibility (p. 23). Therefore, the spatial bodies in each film to be examined in the thesis have a different style of relating to the social space of capitalism. On the other hand, this relationship has something in common: movement crisis of the spatial body. This crisis determines the framework of the analysis in the thesis. What is meant by the crisis in question is that the utopia of absolute governance divides space and controls corporal movement. Stavrides (2016) expresses this situation as follows: "The utopian and nightmarish new world order is based on variable control zones where checkpoints attempt to implement the globalizing rhythms of neoliberalism" (p. 50). Global capitalism regulates the movement by abstracting the space, with red zones, checkpoints, regional constraints, surveillance and fortification strategies. According to Stavrides (2016), these regulations, which embody a permanent state of emergency with security discourse, restrict the lives of new citizens (p. 51). This restriction is undoubtedly not a new phenomenon because, as Habermas (2015) and Sennett (2013) show, since the nineteenth century when capitalism matured, the public sphere and the sphere of action of the public subject have changed, the way publicness is perceived cut off the subject from the public sphere, in other words, the social space. However, the intensity of this restriction has increased with the new dynamics of capitalism in today's conditions. There are different phases that capitalism has gone through from merchant capitalism, which was the first mode of its maturity, to today's global capitalism, and this process can be summarized as follows: (1) The period that lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the capitalist mode of production was settled or primitive accumulation took place; (2) The period from the middle of the

nineteenth century to the First World War, when the widespread accumulation regime and competitive regulation style was experienced; (3) The period covering the two World Wars, where the crises and transformations of the transition from the Extensive Regime of Accumulation and the Mode of Regulatory Competition to the next were experienced; (4) Fordist period after the Second World War, in which the Intensive Regime of Accumulation and Regulated Monopoly style prevailed; (5) 1950-1970 period when Fordism was on the rise; (6) The crisis of Fordism and the post-Fordist period since 1970, when the intense accumulation crisis took place (De Vorey, as cited in Şahin, 2006, p. 14). Each of these different periods of capitalism are periods of restructuring that it uses to overcome the capital accumulation crisis inherent in the capitalist system; "After every crisis period, capitalism creates new institutions and mechanisms that will overcome the factors that create the crisis and continue on its way by reproducing itself in this process" (Şahin, 2006, p. 14). The capitalist accumulation regime tries to overcome its crises through spatial arrangements, as we will see in detail in the "Globalizing Geography" section in the second chapter. Spatial regulation and geographical expansion are such an integral part of capitalism that accumulation comes to a halt if the sphere of circulation of capital does not expand (Harvey, 2015, p. 326). The process of the emergence of the abstract space, which is the ground on which the spatial arrangement is based, will be shown in the "Abstract Space" section in the second chapter where we discuss the abstraction stages of the space. Spatial regulation and control mechanisms guided by capital accumulation continually interrupt the relationship the subject establishes with space; while capital adapts itself to the new conditions created by the crisis, it puts the subject's relationship with space into crisis. The relation of space with relations of production, capital and production as a commodity will be discussed in detail through Lefebvre's views in the "Social Space"

section of the second chapter. The new opportunities to the spatial arrangement of global capitalism which had been brought by neoliberalism, the process of emergence of neoliberalism in the world and in Turkey will be described in the "New Dynamics of Globalization and Neoliberalism" section of the second chapter. In the neoliberal rationality of contemporary capitalism, social space is divided into classes, and as Bauman's (2012) emphasized, mobility has become hierarchical. As will be examined in detail in the section "Mobility and the Spatial Body" in the second chapter, at the bottom of this hierarchy are the bodies of insecure subjects (immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, discriminated lower classes, precarious middle classes, poor people, precarious workers). The process of the emergence of road films through the sphere of resistance that is constituted by the modern cinema against the disconnection and mobility crisis experienced by the body with the social space and the characteristics of road cinema documenting the mobility hierarchy will be examined in detail in the “Symptoms of the De-Bodilized Space in Cinema” and “Road Films as the Spatial Body in Movement” sections of the second chapter. In the section entitled "Road Films as a Transnational Cinema Practice" of the second chapter, transnational examples of road cinema will be examined, and the dynamic structure and historicity of road films that change from geography to geography will be shown through these examples. Based on this, we will argue that road cinema is a dynamic, historical and flexible phenomenon as a genre, it is of great importance as it focuses on space and enables the study of the spatial body in motion within historical conditions. In the section entitled "Viewing Road Films as Conditions of the Spatial Body's Mobility" of the second chapter, we will put together and develop the proposition we made about the relationship of road films with the movement of the spatial body and the proposition we made about the dynamic and historical phenomenon of road cinema, and put forward a

conceptualization on road cinema as: The road cinema has the potential to enable us to describe the conditions of the spatial body through the notion of mobility. Based on this proposition, we will explain why we examine road films in this study: The road cinema is a fertile ground for analyzing the effects of neoliberal capitalism on the spatial body, as it contains the chronotope of the road that confronts the geographical reality, makes the relationship between abstract space and body visible by reflecting the spatial body in motion.

The dynamic nature of road cinema that allows for randomness and encounters will allow us to analyze the different styles of relationship between cinematic bodies and cinematic space and the various aspects of the mobility crisis that bear the signs of neoliberalism. While analyzing the primary road films of Turkey in this study, the characteristics of spatial body and space taken into account as well that differ in each film. In the third chapter, the relationship between the "labor-producing bodies" and "abstract labor space" in the films *Umut* and *Otobüs* will be examined; in the fourth chapter, the relationship between the "captive bodies" and the "spaces of punishment" in the film *Yol* will be examined; in the fifth chapter, the relationship between the "machine-body" and the "competitive and anonymizing space" in the film *Sarı Mercedes* will be examined; in the sixth chapter, the relationship between the "witnessing body" and the "closed and excluded space" in the film *Güneşe Yolculuk* will be examined; in the seventh chapter, the relationship between the "waiting body" and the "fragmented and unstable space" in the film *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom* will be examined; in the eighth chapter, the relationship between the "political body" and the "mythological space" in the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* will be examined.

The emergence of the discipline of geography and the emergence of a radical geography understanding that emphasizes the space-society relationship will be

discussed in the "Radical Geography" section in the second chapter, while the emergence of historical-geographical materialism at the intersection of radical geography and social sciences will be discussed in the next section entitled "Geographical Impact in Social Sciences". This logic is closely related to Lefebvre's concept of the *spatial body*. According to this concept, which will be discussed in the section of "Mobility and Spatial Body" in the Second Chapter, the body establishes a dialectical relationship with the space as it is the product and production of space, acquires determinations from space, and is open to the effects of space. Lefebvre therefore sees the body as the element in the focus of the social space and conceptualizes it as a "spatial body" (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 210). The historical-geographical materialism approach used by Harvey (2011) in his geography studies (p. 30) and Lefebvre's concept of the spatial body will enable us to observe the relationship between the particular (body) and the universal (neoliberalism) through the cinematic space.

In this study, the particularity of the spatial bodies in the road films will be described in detail in the second chapter, through their relationship with the universal changes in global geography affecting the social space (capital's ability to dominate space more; geographically dispersed proletariat and disorganization; immigration gaining worldwide significance; the nation-state disciplined by finance and reduced to the institution of creating a business environment, but on the other hand, expanding its sphere of influence in society by becoming more intrusive in order to put neoliberalism into operation; the penetration of the global market everywhere) emphasized by Harvey. In this study, it will be tried to show that the spatial effects of administrative mechanisms and the effects on the movement capacity of bodies in the road cinema of Turkey make visible the homogenizing effect of abstract space, the restriction of the

spatial fixes of global capitalism on bodies and the antagonism between social space and body, rather than the corporal resistance against abstract space.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SPACE AND BODY IN CINEMA

2.1. The Space and Society

2.1.1. Abstract Space

Space has been a difficult concept to conceptualize throughout history due to its inclusive nature and its ambiguities. This stems from the contradictory nature of space; it is both an empty frame and full enough to contain everything. The concept of space has become quite different both within the historical process and within different disciplines. Smith (2017) states that the increasing abstraction of space from matter marks the history of the concept of space (p. 112). According to Smith (2017), in early societies, space did not differ from matter, so in this phase people experienced place, not space (p. 113). Similarly, Giddens (1994) emphasizes that place / region and space coincide in pre-modern societies because, according to him, the spatial dimensions of social life in these societies are determined through social activities (p. 24). According to Smith (2017), the development phase of the concept of space first started with philosophy and met with the origins of conceptual thought (p. 113). Stating that although the first Greek philosophers like Pythagoras continued to confuse space with matter, they could also look at space from an abstract conceptual framework, Smith states that when it comes to Aristotle and Plato, space becomes even more separated from matter and started to be seen as something more independent. According to Smith (2017), the common notion in Aristotle and Plato is the interconnection of space and matter through an abstraction such as geometry. As for Newton, physical space was completely abstracted from matter and this change encouraged the possibility of defining other types of space separately from physical space; when the physical space became absolute, it left behind a conceptual space that could be filled with concepts such as “social space” (Smith, 2017, p. 114). Newtonian mechanics, based on the spatial

axioms (homogeneous, universal, ordered space) of Euclidean geometry with the Aristotelian understanding of space, handles spatial differences and variations by reducing them, since it grasps space and motion through its own rational principles rather than empirical observations (Grosz, 1995, pp. 94-95). With the advent of non-Euclidean geometries such as the hyperbolic geometry developed by Reid, Gauss, Bolyai and Lobachevsky in the eighteenth century and the Reimann geometry, which theorized n-dimensional spaces in the nineteenth century, the superiority of Euclidean geometry in spatial representation was shaken (Grosz, 1995, p. 95). Thus, geometry turned its face to the empirical surface of nature and began to reintegrate with matter. After non-Euclidean geometries, when it comes to Einstein's theory of general relativity, space has completely combined with matter through the understanding of relative space, but physical space has left its place to the understanding of n-dimensional mathematical space. According to Smith (2017), while the concept of physical space retains its relevance to practical human experience (such as Euclidean geometry deriving from practical needs such as ground studies), mathematical space is a complete abstraction (pp. 115-118). The abstraction of space into a concept separated from practice is closely linked to the emergence of commodity exchange. As emphasized by Smith (2017), Marx also saw spatial qualities as part of use value (p. 129). The abstraction from the benefit inherent in exchange and from the material nature of the commodity opened the door to the abstraction of space from immediate material existence (Sohn-Rethel, as cited in Smith, 2017, p. 118). The process of abstraction of space is linked to the emergence of commodity exchange as well as to the effect of modernity on space. According to Giddens (1994), the abstraction process of space is directly related to modernity. In the conditions of modernity, where spaces are shaped by distant social influences, space and place are separated from each other

(Giddens, 1994, p. 24). Since modernity also develops relations between "people who are not there" who are far from face-to-face interaction, "it is not only what is happening in sight, which structures the space; the ‘visible form’ of the space hides by covering the estranged relations that determine its nature" (Giddens, 1994, p. 24). Castells (2014) also stated that the spatial organization of developed capitalism reduces the importance of the physical environment in determining the functional and social relations system (p. 53).

The break of space from the locality has also transformed the relationship between space and body. Bauman (2012) emphasizes that before modernity, distance was measured by human bodies and human relationships. Until the advent of modernity, throughout history, people have measured the world with their bodies, their products with their own objects, and their fields with their activities, but in modernity, the body has lost its function of being the measure of space with the “objective” measurement of space (Bauman, 2012, p. 34). As a result of commodity exchange's abstraction of space from social practice, the homogenization of space by detaching it from the locality under modernity conditions, and the experience of space through objective measurements, space has become increasingly abstract. This process of abstraction was clearly embodied in the spatial experience of early modernity in the nineteenth century and modernity in the twentieth century. The hallmark of nineteenth-century urbanism is the boulevard that enables social collisions and encounters, while the distinctive space of twentieth-century urbanism, which has been systematically designed and organized to avoid such collisions and encounters, is the highway (Berman, 2013, pp. 223-224). The scientific space concepts that developed in such a modernity process have greatly influenced our general social space concepts, but the social space concepts of our age do not have any similarity with the n-dimensional

abstract space of mathematical physics (Smith, 2017, p. 119). Social space is quite different from scientific space, which does not take social activity and phenomena into account.

2.1.2. Radical Geography

The understanding of social space is based on the modern discipline of geography. As a modern social science discipline, geography has emerged with the interaction of human and surrounding space and the study of the spatial processes and structure created by it (Pınarcıoğlu, 1994, p. 90). There are two research programs in human geography until the 1970s: *idiographic* approach and *nomothetic* approach. The idiographic (singular geographical) tradition, which empirically defines the physical and social situation of places on the basis of *areal differentiation* and focuses on the *uniqueness of place*, has rejected the general understanding of rules seen in other sciences (Pınarcıoğlu, 1994, pp. 90-91). This exceptionalist methodology of geography was shaken by the general rule of positivism that gained strength after the Second World War and by the globalization created by the development in transportation technology in daily life, and thus the positivist nomothetic understanding became dominant in the geography (Pınarcıoğlu, 1994, p. 91). While the empiricist-idiographic geography limited itself to the transfer of facts, geography became a social science together with the positivist-nomothetic geography, but as a result of the search for generalized spatial causality, it made the mistake of considering the effect of space autonomously from social relations by exaggerating it (Pınarcıoğlu, 1994, p. 91). In the 1970s, the understanding of *radical geography* that tried to overcome these two approaches became dominant. In fact, the foundations of radical geography were laid at the end of the nineteenth century with the radical geography texts written by Reclus and Kropotkin with an anarchist perspective, but in the 1970s, radical geography

became synonymous with Marxian analysis due to the articles of Marxist geographers such as Harvey and Folke that began to be influential in academia (Springer, 2016, p. 70). Pınarcıoğlu (1994) summarizes the impact of Marxism on geography as follows: "In geography, which is the last social science affected by Marxism, the research program of positivism focused solely on spatial processes has left its place to the research of general social processes on space in a historical materialist perspective" (p. 92). Harvey pointed out the fundamental difference between positivism and Marxism as "positivism wanting to understand the world and Marxism to change it" (Harvey, as cited in Holt-Jensen, 2017, p. 211). Positivism has taken into account the "what a thing is" in relation to the senses and scientific inquiry, but avoided the normative matters which are concerned with "what ought to happen", because of its fundamental thesis that science should only deal with *empirical* (i.e. factual content) problems, not *normative* (i.e. values or what should be) (Holt-Jensen, 2017, pp. 172-173). The spatial science school, which embraced logical positivism, limited itself to the importance of hypothetical-deductive method and hard data, trivializing the value judgments of the researcher, thus gaining a technocratic character supported by capitalism (Holt-Jensen, 2017, p. 193). As emphasized by Bauman (2012), the abstracting effect of spatial science, whose technocratic character and value judgments have become insignificant, has always been suitable for the control of modern state forces. Replacing the various spatial measures and distinctions that arise with the contingency of human activity a single and universally binding reference point also means to replace all local and dispersed practices with the administrative practices of the state (Bauman, 2012, p. 35). On the other hand, the radical geography, which rejects a positivist understanding of geography and technocratic spatial science, which cannot make a judgment on what should be based on the current situation, adopted a structural Marxism approach rather

than positivism because it requires revolutionary theories and practices (Holt-Jensen, 2017, pp. 193-208). Expressing that spatial structures have a decisive causal effect, radical geography rejected approaches that regard spatial structures as autonomous from the social, examined how these structures are produced by social relations, and thus, led to the formation of the concept of spatial justice in geography (Pinarcioglu, 1994, p. 92). Radical geography, which emphasizes the space-society relationship, has led to brand new trends in human geography such as the *theory of structuration*, *realism*, *post-structuralism*, *postmodernism* and *feminist geography* approaches (Holt-Jesnen, 2017, p. 213).

2.1.3. Geographic Impact in Social Sciences

Social scientists reveal that the discipline of geography and the concept of space, which is the main research object of this discipline, is at the center of social sciences with the importance it has gained (Işık, 1994, p. 8). Before this change, the concept of time was at the center of social thought until the end of the twentieth century, when space became the focus of social sciences and critical thinking. In modern scientific thought, space has been pushed to a passive position, its role and influence overshadowed by the concept of time. However, with the large-scale changes created by globalization in our spatial experiences and the fact that our social lives are more connected and co-process with the changes in different geographies, space has started to come to the fore in social theory (Kaygalak, 2020, pp. 1-2). As Soja (1995) emphasized, towards the end of the twentieth century, historicism that ignored space was shaken with the dramatic change in the material and intellectual context of modern critical sociology (p. 11). Criticizing that space is seen as dead, fixed and unchangeable while time is equated with fertility, dialectics, and wealth, Foucault emphasized that the main obsession of nineteenth century thought was history, and stated that the age

we are in is a space age (as cited in Soja, 1995, p. 10). Describing this space age with spatial concepts, Foucault emphasized that this age is the age of laterality, simultaneity, distance and closeness (as cited in Soja, 1995, p. 10).

Geographers, whose research subjects are space, questioned the understanding of the modernist understanding of history that separates time from space and the discipline of history from geography, and attempted to comprehend social phenomena through space (Işık, 1994, p. 12). Social sciences, which do not give importance to space as much as time, gained a spatial perspective with the contributions of geographers, thus questioning their own conceptual tools (Işık, 1994, p. 9). As a result, psychology, sociology, economics, cultural studies, political science and other social sciences have all increased the emphasis on space, which is the subject of research in disciplines such as geography, architecture, planning, and geopolitics (Kaygalak, 2020, p. 2). In contemporary and critical theory, discussions have arisen on different ways of dealing with time and space, and the interaction of geography and history (Soja, 1995, p. 11). From this creative fusion, the possibilities of historical and geographical materialism and the triple dialectic of space, time and social existence have been born (Soja, 1995, p. 12).

Stating that the hegemony of historicism in social theory began to crack at the end of the 1960s and space began to gain weight, Soja (1995) emphasized that spatiality started to attract attention in social sciences, especially with Lefebvre's theorizing of the social production of space (p. 16). Indeed, Massey (1995) emphasizes that sociology and economics conceived the world as a “pinhead” before the 1960s because of their spatial blindness, and with the collapse of this blindness in the 1970s, the social and the spatial began to be considered together (p. 51). Kaygalak (2020) expresses this change in social sciences that started in the 1970s and became more evident in the 1990s with

the concept of spatial turn. What is meant by this concept is the inclusion of space in the theoretical framework of social sciences (Kaygalak, 2020, p. 2).

2.1.4. Social Space

Lefebvre, who handles space through its social dimension, argued that space is not a neutral and passive geometry (Urry, 1999, p. 42). As Lefebvre (2014) emphasized, the space, which is difficult to express precisely except for physics-mathematics in the conceptual field, has practically gone in the other direction. Even though the information field is loaded with paradoxes, inconsistencies, different opinions and fragmented information, the situation is different when it comes to practice. Authorities and technocrats invented spatial planning, shaped and formalized the space rationally, and in the 1970s, with wild urbanization, which had no other strategy than maximizing profits, space became a product devoid of even a rationality (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 22). However, according to Lefebvre (2014), the appearance of space as a passive, empty thing and thinking it as something that has no meaning other than mutual exchange, being exhausted and disappearing like a product also reduces the space to stagnation and ignores its productive power. However, space becomes involved in production relations and productive forces by providing the organization of productive labor, transportation, raw material and energy flow, product sharing networks (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 24). According to Lefebvre, the reproduction of social production relations takes place in space (Smith, 2017, p. 140). Space, which intervenes in production through action or reaction, cannot remain static and becomes dialectical: the product-producer space is the basis of economic and social relations (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 24). Space is therefore seen sometimes in labor, sometimes in relations of domination, sometimes in the functioning of superstructures (institutions). Hence, the boundary between the concept of (social) space and space itself is ambiguous. Moreover, (social)

space is historical in that it changes with the mode of production (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 25). While the mode of production is realized by organizing and producing its own space together with some social relations, it reflects both social relations to the field and affects these relations (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 28). The capitalist mode of production has also created a new space on a world scale in the 20th century. The production of this space, which has not been completed yet, continues, the new production style embraces the space and arranges it according to its purpose. Lefebvre (2014) conveys the connection between the transformation of the space and the mode of production through means of transportation as follows:

> It is certain that railways play a dominant role in industrial capitalism, in the organization of its national (and international) space. But, at the same time, trams, subways, buses served the same function on the urban scale. When we look around the world, on the other hand, air transportation… The previous organization was fragmented and the mode of production included the results. This dual process, seen in our countryside and cities for decades, together with the help of recent techniques. It spreads from the centers towards the periphery. (p. 28)

The space created by the capitalist mode of production is included in the spatial order conceptualized by Lefebvre (2014) as an *abstract space*. Abstract space is political because it is the product of violence and war, and institutional because it is established by a state. One of the first striking features of abstract space is that it looks homogeneous. It is a space that is a tool for the forces that destroy differences. Lefebvre (2014) likened the homogeneity of abstract space to a carpenter's grater, a bulldozer, a chariot, drawing attention to its crushing effect (p. 292). However, Lefebvre (2014) points out that abstract space itself is not homogeneous, its purpose is homogeneity and

it imposes homogeneity. The seemingly homogeneous abstract space is actually multi-unit. Within it constitutive dualities emerge: It is both produced and productive, it is a field of practical action and a set of images, it is both an expression of practice and the basis of practice, it is both encouraging and restrictive. Thus, the same abstract space can serve profit, highlight some places by organizing the hierarchy of places, stipulating discrimination for some and inclusiveness for others. There are those who benefit from space, as well as those who are excluded from space. The ability of abstraction to cover reality to this degree is due to the violence inherent in its practical (social) use. Abstraction moves with destruction and devastation. It has a fatal side that comes about by its forced inclusion into nature (Lefebvre, 2014, pp. 295-296).

2.2. Space in Global Capitalism

2.2.1. Globalizing Geography

Marxist geographer Harvey (2011), who is one of the important representatives of radical geography, expressed the destruction and unequal conditions inherent to abstract space with the concept of *spatial fix* in capitalism (p. 40). The engine that strengthens growth in the capitalist mode of production is accumulation. The capitalist system is therefore very dynamic and inevitably tends to spread. However, capitalist economic growth, as Marx emphasized, is a process of internal contradictions in which crises often break out (Harvey, 2015, p. 296). Chronic unemployment, underemployment, capital surplus, lack of investment opportunities, falling profit rates, and lack of effective demand in the market, which are different manifestations of crisis in the capitalist system, lie in the tendency to over-accumulate (Harvey, 2015, p. 298). Capitalism, which manifests as an excessive accumulation of capital in a particular region, uses the *spatial fix* to overcome its internal contradictions. Capitalism can

overcome crisis periods by reorganizing time and space and establish the foundations of a new accumulation period (Urry, 1999, p. 39). Spatial arrangement and geographic spread are integral parts of capitalism. If the circulation of capital does not expand, accumulation comes to a halt (Harvey, 2015, p. 326). Therefore, in capitalism, the spatial fix works constantly. It both creates and destroys the geographical foundations of its activities while building a world in line with its own image. It produces a geography (spatial relations, spatial arrangements) suitable for the dynamics of its own accumulation process at a particular historical moment, and at a later date, it demolishes and reconstructs this geography (Harvey, 2011, p. 81). By doing this, it tries to increase the turnover time of capital and to accelerate the circulation of capital. Harvey (2011) has compiled different aspects of this process as follows: (1) The emergence of technological inventions that reduce the time and cost of movement in space, and save the movement of people and commodities from friction caused by distance; highways, canals, railways, electric power, automobile, passenger or jet aircraft; (2) As a result of fixed physical infrastructure investments that facilitate movement and support production, exchange, distribution and consumption activities, capital is embedded in space as capital tied to the ground and creates a "second nature". However, as the geography of capitalism is increasingly ossified, capitalism is in great contradiction with its increased freedom of movement. As a result of the gaining importance of space-based institutions, the transformation of the attachment to the space into an important factor determining political action and the further clarification of the contradiction; (3) The creation of states to regulate money, law and politics, and to monopolize the means of sanction and violence within the borders of the country (sometimes beyond) in accordance with a sovereign will. On the other hand, the capitalist system, which constructs organizations tied to the land, can easily resolve these organizations; the

formation of the processes of attachment to the land, disproportionate and resettlement throughout the historical geography of capitalism (pp. 81-82). In these contradictory processes emphasized by Harvey, capitalism unequally adds different regions and social formations to the capitalist world market. The historical geography of global capital accumulation has been created in this way.

2.2.2. New Dynamics of Globalization and Neoliberalism

Since the 1970s, globalization has taken on a new face. The remarkable new transformations in the dynamics of globalization are as follows: (1) The collapse of the Bretton Woods international exchange and trade system due to the formation of stagnation and inflation in the domestic market, and the uncontrolled growth in the Euro dollar market in foreign markets. As a result, between 1979-1985, the abolition of the controls in the financial sector and the transition to a global system coordinated by the markets and making the financial conditions of capitalism very risky; (2) With the change in the rate at which technology transfer and imitation spreads to different parts of the world economy, the rate at which new technologies and products are spread all over the world; (3) Creating a "cyberspace" that is deemed to be free of materiality and realizing financial and speculative transactions there. Right-wing politics behind information technology uses this new technology to dislodge all the institutions of industrial society - government management of the economy, the welfare state, collective institutions with collective bargaining power; (4) Providing capitalism with the opportunity to change production, consumption and the settlements of people very rapidly by removing the spatial barriers to various activities (Harvey, 2011, pp. 83-85). These new transformations in globalization, whose effects have continued until today, are not separate from each other, on the contrary, they are in constant interaction with each other. These transformations have brought about some important formations: (1)

Due to the low costs of commodity and information movements, it has become possible for international capital to dominate the space much more. This situation made singular spaces much more vulnerable to them. Global commodities (cars, etc.) have become a part of political and economic life; (2) The proletariat is geographically dispersed and organization under the labor movement has become difficult; (3) With the movement of the global population, migration has gained importance worldwide; (4) The status of the states connected to the land has changed, and capital and finance have had a disciplinary effect in the functioning of the state. Welfare practices for the poor have been abandoned and public subsidies have been introduced instead. The state, which has turned into the implementer of structural reform and austerity policies, has been reduced to an institution that finds the appropriate business environment. On the other hand, the nation-state was not empty, and for the wave of neoliberalism to function, the state had to penetrate even deeper into political and economic life and be more interventionist in many ways; (5) There is almost nowhere left where the global market has not penetrated (Harvey, 2011, pp. 86-90). These formations that emerged as a result of dynamic changes in the global geography affected the social space. Because the social space itself is a dynamic structure and the spatial cannot be separated from the social. As Urry (1999) emphasized: “Different areas, towns, agricultural regions, new trade areas, shopping malls, main transportation routes, etc. are not merely elements of a particular spatial structure and external determinants of human activity. Rather, they are themselves social, socially generated, and socially reproduced” (p. 97).

The changes and formations mentioned above are closely related to the set of political economy practices that neoliberalism has become the basic principle of economic thought and management. As Oğuz (2012) stated, since the integration of capital markets at the global level and the contradictions created by the regulations

regarding the monetary system have become very complex since the 1970s, it has been possible to produce policies that will satisfy all segments of capital only with the authoritarian state form in which the power is gathered in the executive apparatus of the technocrats (p. 4). However, since this mechanism is not enough for the state to resolve the contradictions of the process of international capital accumulation, the state has no other choice than to attack labor as the only political tool that will satisfy all segments of capital (Oğuz, 2012, p. 6). According to Oğuz (2012), this is the reason why globalization can only progress within the political context of neoliberalism (p. 6). Brown (2018) also states with a similar approach that neoliberalism is both a global and a systematic phenomenon as an economic policy, governance style and order (pp. 21-22). Gambetti (2009) also emphasized the global and systematic aspect of neoliberalism, defining it as "an unity of idea and practices that overcome the blockage in the accumulation of capital, that eliminates the obstacles such as the welfare state one by one and imposes itself to the world through both international institutions and national states" (p. 148). Neoliberal policies also enter through different gates, through different agents: as an "experiment" imposed on Chile by Pinochet and Chilean economists known as the "Chicago Boys" after Allende's fall in 1973; imposed on the Global South under the concept of "structural adjustment" by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the next twenty years; it has entered the Euro-Atlantic nations more insidiously, through a democratic vocabulary and governance techniques that usurp social consciousness and replace it with economic ones (Brown, 2018, p. 22). Introduction of neoliberal policies in Turkey showed parallels to the above examples. It has entered into force both with a coup like in Chile, with the "structural adjustment" program imposed by the IMF and the World Bank, as in Africa, and through a democratic vocabulary as in the Euro-Atlantic nations. Because of the adventure of

neoliberal policies in Turkey differs in some ways from core capitalist countries and encountering social resistance, these policies came to the fore step by step, however these policies have been the dominant political vision in recent history and continues to be (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 125). Since the 1980s, in line with the new orientation of the capitalism in Turkey towards the articulation of world capitalism, the capitalist state in Turkey has undergone structural changes (Oğuz, 2012, p. 2). Boratav (2019) described the process of complementary and sustained transition to neoliberalism in Turkey between 1980-1988 as "neo-liberal economy under the military regime (1981-1983)" and "years of ANAP (the Motherland Party) (1984-1988)" (p. 166). Transition to neoliberalism which is expressed by Boratav as *the capital's counter-attack*, actually began in Turkey with September 12, 1980 coup d'état that the capital disciplined the labor market against union resistance by military methods that are non-economic. The structural adjustment program, which was prepared and presented on January 24, 1979 by the capital circles advocating neoliberal policies in response to the 1977-79 crisis and the rising labor movement, and later referred to as the January 24 decisions, was implemented through the military regime (Boratav, 2019, p. 166). This application style is specific to the neoliberal order, because the neo-liberal structural reforms implemented in Turkey constitues a pattern in social and political violence by creating effects very similar to those in the US, Peru, South Africa (Gambetti, 2009, p. 146). During the ANAP government, which followed the martial law, when neoliberalism flourished by the violence of the coup environment, terms serving economic governance techniques were also added to the structural adjustment programs. The reflection of these slogans, which became widespread in the neoliberal world in the 1980s and had no scientific side, on Turkey are like: "free market economy", "free enterprise", "striking it rich", "a country's success and development is measured by its

level of creditworthiness", "Privatization of State Economic Enterprises (KİT) will spread the ownership to the public", etc (Boratav, 2019, pp. 172-173). This vocabulary has been quickly accepted by influential circles, professional groups, and the academic community, while on the other hand, the capital circles have ensured that these views are settled into the public opinion through chambers, associations and foundations. Media organs, which are increasingly under the influence and control of the capital, carried these new discourses to daily life. "This discourse that carries a 'liberal' image in economic matters, begin to flourish in one of Turkey's political history's most repressive period is certainly not a coincidence" (Boratav, 2019, p. 173). It is not coincidence, because the sustainability of neoliberalism, a control logic that envisages the flexibility of crime and criminal categories, depends on the continuity of social conflicts and crises; moreover, the mode of operation of the small but powerful ideal of the state advocated by neoliberal thought invokes violence inevitably (Gambetti, 2009, pp. 146-147). Through the neoliberal structural changes that started in the 1980s and continued with the current AKP (the Justice and Development Party) government, the executive became autonomous and empowered step by step, thus an authoritarian state form in which the number of decree laws increased rapidly and the independence of the judiciary disappeared (Oğuz, 2012, p. 2). The neoliberalization process, which gradually aggravates the economic and social problems of the people of Turkey instead of alleviating them, brought these problems to the agenda and brought to the fore the difficult devices of the state and anti-democratic practices against the social opposition of all colors (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 128). Therefore, it can be said that the violence and rationality of the neoliberal order constitute the two sides of the same coin. Brown (2018) states that rationalities are born and function through discourses (p. 135). Moreover, political rationalities such as neoliberalism rule us omnipresent, even though

there are discourses that are surrounded by or not under the control of this rationality (Brown, 2018, p. 135). Neoliberalism's becoming political rationality is closely related to the term “governance”. Governance is not specific to neoliberalism, "but as it matured and combined with neoliberalism, it became the primary government of neoliberalism, the political mode that enables it to create environments, create boundaries and incentives, thus governing subjects" (Brown, 2018, p. 141). Governance, which plays a vital role in ensuring the "economization" of every sphere of life, "signifies a specific management style in which agents are thrown out, institutionalized in processes, norms and practices" (Brown, 2018, p. 144). The issue of neoliberalism extends beyond creating a free space for the market within any political society, because the essence of neoliberalism is to consider how to adapt the general exercise of political power to the principles of the market economy (Foucault, 2015, p. 111). Neoliberalism has tried to solve this issue globally through the pressure tools in the direction of structural transformation such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), G8, Davos summits, IMF, World Bank (WBG), which were laid out in the 1970s and began to institutionalize in the 1980s (Gambetti, 2009, p. 147). As Harvey (2015) emphasizes, advocates of neoliberalism from the 1970s to the present have a significant influence in education, media, corporate boards, international institutions such as the IMF, WBG, World Trade Organization (WTO) that regulate global finance and trade value (p. 10). All this shows that neoliberalism is not a "trend" inherent in the market, on the contrary, it has been established as a result of a conscious and planned mobilization (Gambetti, 2009, p. 147). According to the neoliberal theory, the best way to increase human well-being is through releasing individual enterprise within an institutional framework based on strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2015, p. 10). However, as a result of the economic definition of the field

of freedom, the performance of freedom in the social and political sphere is seriously reduced (Brown, 2018, p. 126). As a matter of fact, unlike liberalism, what is at stake in neoliberalism is to reflect the basic principles of the market economy to the general art of management rather than liberating an empty area for the market (Foucault, 2015, p. 111). While neoliberalism takes place in the name of freedom, it dismantles the foundations of freedom for subjects that lie in sovereignty. Subjects, enshrined in the norms and commands of market behavior, are integrated with the goals of the firm, industry, region, nation, or post-national cluster to which they depend for survival (Brown, 2018, p. 127). Moreover, even this integration does not mean that subjects are literally free from dangers, unemployment, bankruptcy, poverty, hunger, homelessness, because there is no guarantee that subjects will not be affected by the crises and policies of capitalism; on the contrary, the system can only create "winners" by producing "losers" and "human waste" (Coşkun, 2019, p. 224).

2.2.3. Mobility and the Spatial Body

Throughout the historical geography of capitalism mentioned above, capital was freed from space with the formation of the processes of attachment to the land, deterritorialization and resettlement, and those that were discarded from the subjects within the market norms of neoliberal governance were made vulnerable to spatial crises. Bauman (2012) suggests that under these conditions, a stratification takes effect over the *mobility degrees of the subjects*; first world (those at the above) and second world (those at the below) (p. 90). The first world where those who can move globally are exempt from the restrictive qualities of space, and the second world of those who are compelled to passively bear the burden of any change that will be imposed on their local spaces because their movement is restricted (Bauman, 2012, p. 91). According to Bauman (2012), who examines the hierarchical differences between the two worlds, the

movement differences between "those at the above" and "those at the below" are as follows: (1) The former have the power to leave behind; those who can afford it can leave the filthy and desolate areas where those who get stuck; (2) The former have the freedom to wander around and choose their destination, while the latter are repeatedly dismantled from where they prefer to sit. Even if the latter do not move, the land beneath their feet recedes and must head to a place that is the choice of others, not their own; (3) The former enjoy freedom of action without documents, while the latter are displaced for the same reason; (4) There is an elusive gap between the former and the latter's experience of movement; the former are at the top of the freedom measurement chart, the latter at the bottom; (5) The shrinkage of space stops the flow of time for the former and makes time controllable. The latter are crushed under the burden of time; (6) Space is not important for the former; every distance is instantaneous. That's why they live in time. The first experience space as hyperreal. Virtual and real cannot be separated from each other because “objectivity”, “externality”, “punitive power”, which are signs of reality, are ineffective. The latter live in space, where space seizes time and keeps it out of the control of its inhabitants. The time that loses its materiality and becomes meaningless against the real space in which the latter is locked has no power; (7) Due to the abolition of borders for capital, commodity flow and finance, state borders for the former have been shattered. The latter grapple with immigration control, residence permit laws, exclusionary walls, and the increasing barriers that separate them from their desired places; (8) The former travel whenever they want, enjoy their travel and are warmly welcomed to their destination. The latter can only travel secretly and often illegally. Under bad conditions and at the end of their dangerous journey, they are met with reaction; if they don't get lucky, they will be arrested and deported (Bauman, 2012, p. 90-93). The stratification and hierarchy

created by these degrees of mobility shows us that it is the bodies of the insecure subjects (immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, lower classes who are exposed to discrimination, precarious middle classes, poor workers) who have lost their spatial mobility of those who are most affected by the dynamic structure of abstract space and the space to which the creative destruction of capital is directed. These bodies, which are most exposed to the effects of space, also bear the traces of the abstract space and its conflict with the bodies. There is the body at the origin and destination of social space (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 209). On the other hand, Lefebvre (2014) attempts to question which body this is:

> Which body will we take as the starting point or take it again, find or re-find it? Is it according to Plato, or according to Saint Tomasso, the body carrying an *intellectus* or a *habitus*? Victorious body or miserable body? Is it the disassembled body represented by the images, the words, the details of which are discussed? Should we start from discourse on the body? How can we escape the traumatic abstraction of discourse? If we start from an abstraction, how can we limit it and transcend these limits? (p. 210)

After this questioning Lefebvre (2014) concludes that; since the body is the product and production of space, it is “spatial corporeality” (p. 210). Spatial body acquires determinations from space. Moreover, the materiality of the body is in a dialectical relationship with space, as it stems from the energy used and radiated from space; it is a *binary* machine with interactions (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 211). Therefore, we cannot separate the body from the historicity of the space mentioned above. The history of social space or the history of abstract space is also a history of the interaction of space with the body, and this history is full of conflicts. Bauman (2012) examines the historical course of the control over space in the process called "Space Wars" and

divides it into two parts as "pre-modern" and "post-modern" (pp. 33-59). Stating that the body is the measure of distance in the pre-modern period, Bauman (2012) emphasizes that the relationship that human establishes with space is through their own body and their own activity. Pre-modern administrative structures that wanted to establish their dominance over the space could not absoluteize their power against the diversity of "anthropomorphic" (corporal) and "praxeomorphic" (activity) criterion and could not treat the subjects under their administration the same (Bauman, 2012, p. 34). Thus, in line with the political economic interests of the power (collecting taxes, collecting soldiers, extortion), the process of uniformizing various criterion and linking them to a standard parameter was initiated. In order to make their audits absolute, administrative structures reduced the local criterion to the standard measurement system they built, converting them to an absolute bindingness (Bauman, 2012, p. 34). The absolute criterion that took their form in land registry and cadastre offices started to map the space. Referring to the own practices of local communities and serving as a shield against invaders, various criterion have been made permeable, visible and controlled on behalf of the political economic control of administrative structures. The space, which can be read perfectly by the state officials, has become a structure completely closed to the interpretation of the communities that are the main users of that space (Bauman, 2012, pp. 36-37). Bauman (2012) calls this process of space, which falls under the jurisprudence of administrative practices, as "mapping space". After the harmonization of the corporal criterion of the space, the second historical process, "spatialization of maps" is passed (Bauman, 2012, p. 41). The spatial control and organization of things are now formed by filtering through the "objective" criterion of the administrative map. Any interaction that the subject establishes with the space is made dependent on the objectivized normative topography determined by the ruler of

power. The hierarchy of rigid images, which invalidates the infinite variety of maps of the space created by everyone, under its hegemony, controls the relationship the person establishes with the space through an "objectivity" that is "purified from personalities". One's savings on space is now driven by a transcendent mechanism outside of themselves. Sennett (2014) expresses the transformation of the historical relationship of the body with the city and the domination of the body's non-corporal measure with an etymological anecdote as follows: "… Indeed, Rule came from the ruler of the geometrician…" (p. 78)

The dominance of abstract space over bodies continues today in social space arranged according to the turnover rate of capital, but the war between body and abstract space has been made invisible under "civil peace". Foucault (2018) emphasizes that the mechanism of power has two main characteristics: oppression and war (p. 31). Foucault (2018), analyzing the mechanism of power in terms of warfare, emphasizes that this is a war waged by other means. Reversing Clausewitz's famous "war is nothing but the continuation of politics by other means," he states that the policy of power is the continuation of war by other means (Foucault, 2018, p. 31). Reversing the aphorism of Clausewitz, Foucault (2018) first concludes that the anchor point of power relations is mainly in and through war, with a certain power relationship established at a historically determinable moment. Later, the political power attempted to prevail peace in civil society, but did not do so to suspend the effects of the war or to eliminate the imbalance that arose in the last battle; on the contrary, Foucault (2018) concludes that political power does it to re-establish the power relationship through silent war and relocate it into institutions, economic inequalities, and language all the way down to human bodies (pp. 31-32). These inferences of Foucault on the mechanism of political power explain

how the conditions of destruction and inequality inherent in abstract space are reproduced by the power mechanism.

> Social space is divided according to classes and social planning reproduces the class structure. This arises either on the basis of the allocation of space mostly to the rich and very little to the poor, or because of the uneven development in the quality of places, or mainly because of both. (Elden, 2019, p. 15)

The power of abstract space was established by fighting nature and body, and in the neoliberal rationality of contemporary capitalism, it continues to reestablish this hegemony through the bodies of subaltern subjects through a silent war. Being aware of this, Lefebvre saw the movement of the body within the power mechanism in the space as a field of resistance and stated that the de-bodilized space is a manifestation of alienation (Elden, 2019, p. 21). Within the framework of the modern logic that separates time and space from each other and the body and draws subjectivity to an abstract level from its worldly relations, the space itself is positioned outside the body, just as the subject is positioned outside the space. The spatial dimensions of social life have been completely separated from social activities.

2.3. Cinematic Body On The Road

2.3.1. Symptoms of the De-Bodilized Space in Cinema

Some examples of modern cinema, as in Lefebvre's approach, treat de-bodilized space as a view of alienation. Berardi (2012) states that the cinematic space seen in films in the critical cinema language of the 1960s indicates alienation. In an environment where relations between people were diluted in the industrial cities of the sixties and the only understandable voice was the voice of the machine, the space of

communication was fading away and this situation found its counterpart in the cinema (Berardi, 2012, p. 98). The reflection of the disconnection of communication in the de-bodilized space in cinema was revealed in Antonioni and Bergman films. Berardi (2012) particularly draws attention to the films that are Antonioni's *Il deserto rosso* (*Red Desert*, 1964) and Bergman's *Persona* (1966) (p. 101). Both films stand at the threshold between the peak of the industrial age and the era of postindustrial age. The collective action to be brought about by the 1968 movement has not yet begun, but the alienation crisis that will lead to the 68 movement is visible in the spatial and corporal elements of the films in question. The ruined industrial exteriors or the cold interiors of bourgeois houses decorated with pop art furniture of *Il deserto rosso* point to the fading of the warmth and non-mediation of human relations. *Persona* likewise used a coastal town in the north as a metaphor for the irrepressible distance between muted and lonely bodies (Berardi, 2012, pp. 101-102). In the industrial period, individuals perceived their bodies as something external to them in the conditions of alienation that manifested itself as "reification" as a result of the commodification of labor power and commodity fetishism. In the post-industrial period, this symptom was evolving into de-realization (*de-realizzazione*); a feeling of anguish and frustration associated with the deprivation of the capacity to maintain a happy relationship with the other and therefore with themselves, and the inaccessibility of the other's body (Berardi, 2012, p. 100). Antonioni and Bergman drew attention to these symptoms with the rupture between space and body. It is possible to argue that the "road cinema" genre, which started to give its most important examples in the same period, tried to solve these symptoms on a spatial and corporal scale as the equivalent of 68 movement in cinema.

2.3.2. Road Films as the Spatial Body in Movement

In this section and in the next section, how road cinema handles the movement of the body against the de-bodilized space as a field of resistance, how it tries to give back its spatial freedom to the body, similar to Lefebvre's approach, will be examined through various examples and in this sense, it will be emphasized that road cinema has political elements. In this section, basic elements and films that bring about road cinema will be emphasized. In the next section, dynamic and historical features of road cinema will be pointed out through the changes these elements have experienced in transnational road cinema.

Road cinema tries to break the power of abstract space over bodies by recalling the anthropomorphic and praxeomorphic period, in which the body and corporal activity are the measure of everything. In this sense, it is no coincidence that road cinema was inspired by the works and practices of the periods when corporal measures and activities dominated or were partially valid. The source of inspiration of the road cinema includes Homer's *Odyssey* saga (8th century BC), pilgrimages, Cervantes' *Don Quijote* (1605-1615), Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and the epic journeys such as of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855-1892) (Laderman, 2020). Road cinema makes use of another reference that is anthropomorphic and praxeomorphic in addition to these references; western films. The travels of nomadic bodies (cowboys, Indians, outlaws) who rode their own routes, discover new lands, cross borders in the vast absolute space of the American continent before global capitalism (vast plains, canyons, deserts), have deeply affected the iconography of road cinema. Director Wenders, known for his road films, goes further back and finds the origins of road films in the cave drawings, which depict the passage of prehistoric immigrants on earth. Cave paintings in Lascaux and Altamira are, according to Wenders, the first depictions of life

in motion (Salles, 2007). In addition, road cinema has added two contemporary literary poles to these references, where anthropomorphic and praxeomorphic criterion are dominant or partially dominant. Steinbeck (1902-1968) and Kerouac (1922-1969), who dealt with the movement of the body as a field of resistance. Although both writers consider starting out and hitting the road from different poles, they intersect at the point of attributing a corporal resistance to the travelling. In *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), Steinbeck depicted the people who had to hit the road due to hunger and misery during the "Great Depression" period that affected the whole world in the 1930s, and presented a panorama of America in which survival is only possible by travel. In this context, it is no coincidence that among the first films on the road is the adaptation of the book with the same name; *The Grapes of Wrath* (John Ford, 1940). Other examples of the first films about the road that started to sprout in the 1930s can be listed as follows: *It Happened One Night* (Frank Capra, 1934), *Stagecoach* (John Ford, 1939), *The Wizard of Oz* (Victor Fleming, 1939) ("Road Films", 2020). Kerouac's novel *On the Road* (1957), which is the other literary pole fed the road films, approached travelling as a rebellious revolt, a method of eradicating conservative social norms and self-discovery. While Steinbeck addressed a period in which the destructive crisis brought on by industrial capitalism pulled the ground beneath the bodies and prompted them to travel, Kerouac stood on the brink of industrial capitalism and post-industrial capitalism, recalling the body fixed by social norms to the space and trying to bring it to other bodies. Kerouac's novel, written continuously on a typewriter roll resembling a road lane, inspired *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), one of the first examples of contemporary road films, and the name of the novel gave its name to the road film genre (Zengin and Zengin, 2013, p. 121). Road films not only create a field of resistance by activating the body, but also try to break the hierarchy and stratification created by

degrees of mobility. Bakhtin (2014) treats the chronotope (space-time) of the road in novels as a provider of encounters:

> On the road ("main road") the spatial and temporal paths followed by many different people - who are representatives of all social classes, groups, religions, nationalities, eras - intersect at a single spatial and temporal point. In ordinary circumstances, people who are separated by social and spatial distance may come together by chance; any contrast may arise, the most different destinies collide and intertwine. (p. 297)

Bakhtin realized the potential of the road chronotope in eliminating social distances. The ability of the road to do this lies in its suitability to depict events dominated by chance (Bakhtin, 2014, p. 297). The ability of the road chronotope to provide coincidental encounters plays such an important narrative role that it bears the mark of the course of the historical period, the traces and indicators of the progress of time, the signs of the age; thus, it is the *socio-historical heterogeneity* of one's own country that is revealed and depicted on the road (Bakhtin, 2014, p. 298). Therefore, road cinema, which is built on the chronotope of the road inherited from the art of the novel (especially the Spanish *picaro* novel about stray travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), has the potential to destroy the homogenizing effect of abstract space and reveal the heterogeneities suppressed by the power. In this respect, the road cinema also has a documentary quality that gives close witness to the geography where the traveling hero passes through. As a matter of fact, director Salles, who has made a name for himself with his road films in recent years, states that the origins of road films are found in early documentary films and as an example he cites *Nanook of the North* (Robert J. Flaherty, 1922), which is about the struggle of a nomadic Inuit family (Salles, 2007). Road films take space as a fundamental element as much as they emphasize

movement. In these films, the space is not a background that sets the stage for events. Along with road films, space goes beyond a background mise-en-scéne with its variable boundaries and limits (Corrigan & Duarte, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, road films are of great importance as they focus on space as much as the body and make it possible to examine the spatial body in the cinema.

The art of cinema, which tries to produce a response to the de-bodilized space through the references given above, thus created the genre called contemporary road cinema in the 1960s. Unsurprisingly, road cinema emerged in America, precisely at the end of the golden age of western films, as it draws its modern references from American culture and countercultural movements that criticize this culture. *The Searchers* (John Ford, 1956) is seen as an early source of the road film genre, as it carries the theme of the search, which was shot at the end of the classical period western films, but at the same time that would give life to contemporary road cinema (Corrigan, as cited in Curley, 1997). *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967), which is about an armed couple who escaped from the law, added the theme of escape from the law to the road films as a result of the fusion of the American crime film genre *film noir* iconography with the western. Penn, the director of the film, summed up this situation as follows: “The car used by the fugitive figure replaced the horse. It was the western turning into a gangster" (Curley, 1997). *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969) has been the film, which contributed greatly to the formation of contemporary road cinema by bringing road cinema together with the counterculture movement, gives reference to the *beatnik* literature that Kerouac represents with its contradictory border experience, and also brings motorcycle culture and rock music to road cinema. The soundtrack of the film, the 1968 rock piece *Born to be Wild* by Steppenwolf, has melted almost all references that form the road cinema in one pot with its lyrics. Wind, engine sound and highway aesthetics accompany the

adventure, encounter, randomness, and the passion to discover nature in the lyrics of the song. These words, full of imaginary burdens about the desire to race with the wind, shoot ahead the highway, climb high, and be wild, are an indication of how closely road cinema is intertwined with corporal resistance. The iconography and background music of the film reinforced the connection that road cinema establishes with corporal freedom. Other notable examples of contemporary American road films are: *Midnight Cowboy* (John Schlesinger, 1969), *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970), *The Getaway* (Sam Peckinpah, 1972), *Badlands* (Terrence Malick, 1973), *American Graffiti* (George Lucas, 1973), *Stranger Than Paradise* (Jim Jarmusch, 1984), *Lost in America* (Albert Brooks, 1985), *Wild at Heart* (David Lynch, 1990), *My Own Private Idaho* (Gus Van Sant, 1991), *Thelma & Louise* (Ridley Scott, 1991), *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (Stephan Elliott, 1994), *Natural Born Killers* (Oliver Stone, 1994), *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (Terry Gilliam, 1998), *The Straight Story* (David Lynch, 1999), *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (Ethan Coen & Joel Coen, 2000), *Sideways* (Alexander Payne, 2005) ("Road Films", 2020). Although the main themes of American road films are quest, exploring nature, leaving the dominant culture behind, escaping from the law, and border experience ("Road Movie", 2020), we can say that there is an attempt to compensate for disconnection of the body with social space at the intersection of all.

2.3.3. Road Films as a Transnational Cinema Practice

We can define "global road cinema" as an example of contemporary cinema which has a transnational character in terms of both its characters and themes and aesthetics, making different cultural contributions to road cinema as an American film genre (transforming traditional genre codes, ideological contents and formal conventions) and bearing the traces of the interaction between global and local. On the

other hand, not every type of road film that can be detected in different geographies has a "transnational" character and it will not be right to be treated within the framework of globalization. In brief, although we accept the difference between the idea that existing genre codes have a transnational character and that they can be detected in different geographies and times, and "global road cinema" as a category that emerged as a result of globalization, these two understandings will be discussed in this section by reconciling. In other words, it will be argued that the effect of globalization reveals the historicity of the transnational character in genre codes. Thus, we will propose that road cinema can be a dynamic, flexible and historical phenomenon by examining the differences experienced by road cinema in different parts of the world, and even the changes experienced in different time periods of the same region. The aim of this section is to make a holistic observation of road cinema by examining transnational examples rather than genre analysis and transnational cinema studies. This will allow us to put forward a comprehensive and new definition of road cinema in the next chapter.

As the effect of road films resonated in every geography of the world with globalization, they were interpreted in different styles and over time, "global road cinema" emerged (Corrigan & Duarte, 2018, p. 8). In the global road cinema, the rebellious and libertarian energy seen in the road cinema has been replaced by a darker atmosphere. In addition, the social realist approach in global road cinema is more dominant than other film genres (western, film noir) in which road cinema is nurtured. On the other hand, it continues to connect with western in the sense that the pursuit of experiences that the traveler cannot find in their daily life, and film noir in the sense of adventure, as these two genres are always inherent in road cinema (Dick, as cited in Garibotto & Pérez, 2016, p. 4). For example, in the Latin American road cinema, which

is generally shot with neorealist technique (non-professional actors, natural light), the hero's journey is the experience of witnessing the poverty, class difference and marginalization of the indigenous people in the region (Garibotto & Pérez, 2016, p. 2). Latin American road films make a socio-economic critique of neoliberalism over the unfulfilled promises of neoliberal discourse, making visible the void under neoliberal values and the chaos it creates (Sánchez-Prado, 2016, p. 53). Examples of Latin American road films include *Central do Brasil* (Walter Salles, 1998), *Y tu mama también* (Alfonso Cuarón, 2001), *Diarios de motocicleta* (Walter Salles, 2004), *Whisky* (Juan Pablo Rebella & Pablo Stoll, 2004), *Los muertos* (Lisandro Alonso, 2004), *Alicia en el país* (Esteban Larraín, 2008), *Máncora* (Ricardo de Montreuil, 2008), *Liverpool* (Lisandro Alonso, 2008), *40 días* (Juan Carlos Martín, 2008), *Euforia* (Alfonso Corona, 2009), *El chico que miente* (Marité Ugás, 2011) (Garibotto & Pérez, 2016, pp. 4-9). The earlier examples of Latin American road films that include *Subida al cielo* (Luis Buñuel, 1952), *Nazarín* (Luis Buñuel, 1958), *Bye Bye Brazil* (Carlos Diegues, 1979), *Guantanamera* (Tomás Gutiérrez Alea & Juan Carlos Tabío, 1995) feature episodic narration, carnivalesque pilgrimage, or traveling circus iconography rather than socialist realism (Laderman, 2020).

The early European road cinema bears great similarities with the early Latin American road cinema in its handling of multiple characters, its attention to the contradictions between the city and the province, and its carnivalesque. Some of the early European road films are: *Viaggio in Italia* (Roberto Rossellini, 1954), *La Strada* (Federico Fellini, 1954), *Smultronstället* (Ingmar Bergman, 1957). These early road films of European road cinema differ from American road cinema in that they center the characters' search for spiritual identity rather than the thematic of rebellion or illegality; On the other hand, *Pierrot le Fou* (1965) and *Week-end* (1967) films by Jean

Luc Godard, one of the French New Wave directors, and the films *Alice in den Städten* (1974) and *Im Lauf der Zeit* (1976) by Wim Wenders from the New German cinema movement, are road films that stand close to the tone of American road cinema and add philosophical content to this genre (Laderman, 2020). Everett (2009) problematizes approaches that find the origins of road films in American cinema, tracing the origins of road cinema back to the famous *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (1895), in which the Lumière brothers filmed a train entering the station. This short film, which combines cinema, which is a modern device according to Everett (2009), with modern notions of movement, speed and travel, contains the origin of the road film genre (p. 165). Orgeron's (2008) approach is similar; according to him, "road", "internal combustion engine" and "cinema" have always intersected (p. 184). Also, Everett (2009) recalls that most filmmakers and critics, including Dennis Hopper, director of *Easy Rider*, point to *Il Sorpasso* (Dino Risi, 1962) as the first of contemporary road films. Laderman (2002) lists the elements that American road films are fed from post-war modernist European films: circular story structure, self-reflexive devices, the increase of alienated characters, dynamic shots and bold editing (p. 5). Although road films appeared in America as a specific genre, they had a considerable interaction with European road films (Everett, 2009, p. 166). On the other hand, there are many elements that contemporary European road films differ from American road films. The thematics of new beginnings and escape in American cinema outweigh the connection of American history with experiences such as immigration, exile, and diaspora, and the suffering of immigrants; in European cinema, on the contrary, identity issues related to the experiences of immigrants in Europe are exposed (Everett, 2019, p. 166). This difference is also reflected in road cinema. In contemporary European road films, refugees or nomads forced to migrate due to economic conditions are at the center of

the narrative; the roads are forked, narrow, bends and crowded rather than straight and wide roads that disappear in the horizon line of American road cinema. Moreover, these unstable roads are divided by borders or war conditions; although characters often have to travel illegally, the means of transport they use or ride are constantly damaged, and they are transient because they are single-use transit vehicles; characters do not have a home, either means of transport or *non-places* such as refugee camps compensate; characters have to practice compromise with the social and economic boundaries that they encounter along the way in order to move forward (Everett, 2019, pp. 168-172). Some of these contemporary European films, which also have semi-documentary features, can be listed as follows: *Sans toit ni loi* (Agnés Varda, 1985), *Reise der Hoffnung* (Xavier Koller, 1990), *To Meteoro Vima Tou Pelargou* (Theo Angelopoulos, 1991), *Caro diario* (Nanni Moretti, 1993), *Souviens-toi de moi* (Zaïda Ghorab-Volta, 1996), *Chacun cherche son chat* (Cédric Klapisch, 1996), *Western* (Manuel Poirier, 1997), *Mia aioniótita kai mia méra* (Theo Angelopoulos, 1998), *Ariel* (Aki Kaurismäki, 1998), *La leggenda del pianista sull'oceano* (Guiseppe Tornatore, 1998), *Code inconnu: Récit incomplet de divers voyages* (Michael Haneke, 2000), *Last Resort* (Pawel Pawlikowski, 2000), *Les Glaneurs et la glaneuse* (Agnés Varda, 2000), *In This World* (Michael Winterbottom, 2002), *Le grand voyage* (Ismaël Ferroukhi, 2004), *Exils* (Tony Gatlif, 2004) (Everett, 2019, pp. 168-173). We can also add *Paris, Texas* (Wim Wenders, 1984) and *Leningrad Cowboys Go America* (Aki Kaurismäki, 1989), which took the approach of European road films to American roads despite being shot in the American geography.

In the African road cinema, we encounter a geography where the political, economic and cultural effects of colonialism continue with the effect of capitalism in post-colonial Africa after colonialism. Seeing the reproduction of the asymmetrical

power relations of colonialism and the arrival of Africans, who migrated to Europe with great hopes from Africa, to the European states that exploited them during the colonial period as a neocolonial threat, African film producers started to shoot anti-colonial films (Hodapp, 2018, p. 92). As a result, "anti-road" films about characters who face racism and misery in Europe, which were reached after the travel with great expectations, emerged. Examples of these films are *La noire de* (Ousmane Sembéne, 1966), *Soleil Ô* (Med Hondo, 1970), *Touki Bouki* (Djibril Diop Maméty, 1973) (Hodapp, 2018, p. 92). On the other hand, the new era of Africa road cinema which *Africa United* (Debs Paterson, 2010) sets an example, has characters traveling in the African geography threatened by the mining activities of international companies, civil war and viral epidemics, however, in these films, a hopeful language that tries to break the representations of Africa identified with victimization and misery and tries to overcome the reductionist representation of Africa imprisoned by the discourse of victimhood in a vicious circle also makes itself felt (Hodapp, 2018, pp. 96-106).

As seen in the examples above, the genre of road cinema is interpreted differently from region to region, and also experiences differences within the history of the region in question. We can say that we are faced with an extremely dynamic, flexible and historical phenomenon. Just as the melodrama genre has transnational modalities (Gledhill, 2019, pp. 15-34), the road cinema genre also has modalities spread across transnational grounds.

2.3.4. Viewing Road Films as Conditions of the Spatial Body's Mobility

Judging from the light of the transnational practices of global road films, it can be argued that there is an important common point in road films: To describe the conditions of the spatial body through the notion of mobility. Seeing road cinema as a transnational cinema practice dealing with different modalities of space-body relations

will allow us to observe the body in a dialectical relationship with space, in other words, the dual machine that contains mutual interactions. To deal with road cinema in the sense that it provides a ground for observing the particular experiences of the spatial body will make the effects of universal processes visible. In this sense, we find road cinema close to the concept of *action-image* used by Deleuze (2014) in defining the western genre. We establish this affinity not because of the partial relationship between the western genre and the road cinema, but because of the *duality* phenomenon that we think occurs in both genres. Action-image is the relationship between environments and behaviors, actualizing environments and embodying behaviors, and all the variations of this relationship (Deleuze, 2014, p. 187). The environment and its forces act on the character, they challenge them and create a situation in which they are caught; in response, the character attains a new mode of being (*habitus*) by acting in a way that will respond to the situation and change their relationship with the environment, the situation, and the other characters (Deleuze, 2014, p. 188). Deleuze summarized the dual structure of action-image as follows: "Situation and character or action are like two terms, both connected and hostile at the same time" (2014, p. 188). If we replace the concepts of "environment" and "situation" with "space", and the concepts of "character" and "action" with "body" in the definition of action-image, we will see the dialectical relationship that Lefebvre defines with space, emerges. When analyzing road films, choosing the focal point as the movement capacities (actions) of bodies in space will allow us to analyze the relationship between bodies and their spatial conditions and their capacity for resistance. Road cinema is a fertile ground for analyzing the effects of neoliberal capitalism on the spatial body, as it contains the road chronotope that confronts the geographical reality and makes the relationship between abstract space and body visible by reflecting the spatial body in motion. Therefore, in this study, the

mobility crisis of the spatial bodies, of which a geography integrated into global capitalism, will be analyzed through examples of road cinema practice in Turkey that offers a ground for the observation of mobility conditions of the spatial body.

3. FILM ANALYSIS

3.1. *Umut* and *Otobüs*: Travel of the Labor-Producing Bodies

3.1.1. The Unqualified Laborer's Seeking for Fortune

At the beginning of the film *Umut* (*Hope*, Yılmaz Güney, 1970), the empty streets of the city are seen. The day is getting slower and the city is waking up gradually. The lights of the street lamps left over from the night turn off one by one, leaving their place to the daylight that starts to illuminate the city space. After a short while, the municipality's cleaning vehicle appears, preparing the empty roads for the daily flow. It gently cleans the streets of the city. The uniform action of the municipal vehicle on the empty streets, where there is no element of the personal, reveals the "objective" nature of city control, which is free of personal elements. At the end of the action sequence created by the rumble of the cleaning vehicle, the distance it travels and the water sprayed, we see Cabbar, the carriage driver, the main character of the film.

Cabbar, who sold his labor by making a carriage in the city, became unqualified as a manifestation of the spatial arrangement in the city. Cabbar, who makes a living by making a carriage, cannot compete with cars, which are the new vehicles of the city space that are changing dynamically in line with the economic interests of the capital. He waits patiently in front of the stations and chases passengers, but all customers prefer motor vehicles. The phaeton, which is a pre-modern vehicle, becomes obsolete by its exclusion from the labor creation process. Losing the labor relation he has established with space, Cabbar is struggling in the historical purgatory between the mapping of the space and the map that is spatialized. The elimination of the pre-modern labor vehicle by the car, which is a modern vehicle (which is also very free of personal elements),

irreparably destroys Cabbar's relationship with space. The crumbling phaeton signifies the end of Cabbar's particular existence.

The particularity of the body cannot be considered independent of its embeddedness in socio-ecological processes. According to the relational conception of dialectics, one definitely internalizes and includes the other. For example, there is a relationship between the characteristics of concrete labor expended in particular space and time and the measurable value of that labor determined by the processes of exchange, commodification, monetization, and of course capital accumulation and circulation. One of the labor concepts is concrete and particular, the other is abstract and "universal" (that is, obtained through certain generalization processes) (Harvey, 2011, p. 31).

The effect of the variable circulation of capital (of labor power and the acquisition of surplus value) on bodies that are the mediators of circulation is clearly experienced through Cabbar. Cabbar's body (his body producing labor) has been rendered invalid in line with the technological needs of variable capital. The distinction between Cabbar as human, body, will, and labor power extracted from Cabbar's body as a commodity grows inexorably. Given his creative capacity and labor-production process, Cabbar is inevitably alienated and decides to devote himself to an irrational mythical adventure. This mythical adventure is "treasure hunting".

Cabbar, who searches for the treasure with great ambition, is concerned about creating his own space throughout his travel. He always tries to protect his hope. As he searches for the location of the treasure, he draws his own route. The travel is without maps and instinctive. Cabbar's relationship with space is apparently particular, but in fact it has been indirectly guided by abstract labor or the objectified map obtained

through the processes of generalization. Cabbar, who lastly blindfolded, accepted the invalidity of his own body, gaze, perception, in other words, his sensory perception through mythical mediations. The impermeable local space, in which the pre-modern administrative forces cannot penetrate, has been made permeable in the modern period, and the mapped space itself, which now stands against the locality-particularity-corporeality element, has been made impermeable. The economic-political struggle of the space war between concrete labor and abstract labor, particular and universal, local and objective, personal and impersonal, is in front of the audience in all its historicity in this last scene. Cabbar tries to create space with his alienated body in a space impervious to a blindfold that veils his eyes. But the body, devoid of sensory perception that has flown from his hands, constructs his spatiality in accordance with the directives of the normative transcendent eye. The body lost its criterion on the road, indirectly stuck in the destiny determined by the administrative map.

3.1.2. Laborers' Alienation to Space

The film *Otobüs* (*The Bus*, Tunç Okan, 1975) narrates a group of immigrant workers who travel to Stockholm in a ragged bus in hopes of finding a job and find themselves captive in a bus in the middle of the Stockholm metropolis as a result of their misfortune. The bus, the physical space of the immigrant workers, is also the concrete labor space of migrant workers, one of the pillars of the circulation of exchange value in global space. While the bus is in a stationary and stable position, the excavation, slag, rotting, mud aesthetics on its surface are the landscape of the "creative destruction" created by the exchange value on concrete labor, which drains the source of one's labor power well and turns it into a mud stream and turns concrete labor into dust and mud. In the middle of the neutral surfaces that allow the passage of financial

systems flowing through the frictionless, fluid, non-contact surfaces of the urban space, lies a giant crater filled with slag.

The contrasting appearance of the bus with its corporal wear (concrete labor) on the geometric smooth symmetrical surface (abstract labor space) under the main arterial road in Stockholm symbolizes precariousness. Although the concrete labor space (the bus) stands on a horizontal surface, the geometric patterns on this surface give the effect of a curved surface with the effect of the camera's shot from above. It expresses the precarious and sacrificial position of the bus, which seems to slip out of the space of abstract labor, and the perspective game of the ground beneath. As a result of the illusion created by the surface created by the diagonal triangles, the horizontal perspective view of the floor in vertical perspective emphasizes that the bus does not belong here, it will slip off the inclined surface. In the middle of the abstract space of the metropolitan space, the bus functions as a stain.

When migrant workers arrived in Stockholm, they found themselves in the middle of the metropolis, without money and without identification. Their money was confiscated by defrauding them by the person who smuggled them across the border. Migrant workers cannot get out of the bus for fear of being arrested and deported. Meeting corporal needs such as feeding and toileting is only possible at night when people are withdrawn from the streets. After the corporal needs are met, immigrants return to the bus and keep their uncertain waiting. As a means of transport, the bus functions as a shelter rather than mobility for these precarious bodies. One of the workers who lost his way out of the bus to make a toilet one night is greeted with disgust and fear by a man walking his dog. Taking his dog, the man quickly moves away (physically rearranging the social space). As the days pass, this worker is accused of "being dirty" even when he jumped off the bridge and committed suicide due to hunger

and misery. This situation resembles a similar encounter of “hate” suffered by the black feminist Audre Lorde, whom Ahmed (2015) mentioned in her work on the relationship of emotion, culture and politics. Ahmed states that the notion of “hate” affect, which she defines as an economy of influence, reconstructs physical spaces:

> Bodies that diverge from each other lead to a redefinition of both social and bodily integrity. The feeling of "hate" puts the white body in the same position as the bodily form of the community - the feeling of hate makes it perceive as the threat of invasion or contamination of a particular body that represents or substitutes for a group. In other words, "hate" does not only associate "I" with "us" (white body white nation), it makes "you" "them" (black body, black people). (2015, p. 73)

Even when precarious bodies meet their vital corporal needs (coughing, toileting, etc.), they are in anxiety and limitation. They are afraid of the sensation of their bodies' existence, the declaration of their own existence, the overflowing of their corporal existence from the space they are in. They have become the object of their own gaze. The cleaning tool that points to the precariousness we see in the film *Umut*, opens up space for exchange value, and "purifies" the urban space, also appears here. What is at stake in these scenes is the group perception created over the body of the bus. There are bodies moving around immigrants, imprisoning them in the form of objects of hate. While the bodies outside are in motion (the everyday life of the metropolitan crowd continues in its usual way; pedestrians and cars are constantly in motion), the bodies on the bus are motionless. Migrant workers are spatial bodies that are at the bottom of the hierarchy of mobility. The weight of the space on them is felt in their every activity or inactivity. Explaining the corporal privileges of the upper classes of the society with mobility privileges with the concept of “global mobility”, Bauman (2012) states that

while the mobilization of the privileged is secured by law, only unsafe illegal ways remain for the lower classes as a mobilization opportunity (p. 91). The upper classes live in time because space can be overcome at any moment for them and it is instantaneous, while lower classes live in space because they are imprisoned in space. Therefore, the precarious subaltern layer cannot be benefited from the compression of concentrated time-space (p. 340), which Harvey (2012a) defines as the manifestation of postmodern space. Moreover, as seen in the film, bodies with limited mobility are also threatened by bodies that are at the upper tier of the hierarchy of mobility. One night, for example, a group of masked people frighten and humiliate migrants who move on the street with anxiety, leaving them with artificial toys that look like food. "Fear operates in a way that aligns the corporal and social sphere: It restricts the mobility of some bodies in various areas, allowing other bodies to easily move and dwell in the public sphere" (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 93-94).

At the end of the film, the bus is pulled from the square with the help of a tow truck. It then enters the main road with the bus, now concrete labor is circulated to be absorbed in the commodity cycle of abstract labor. Bodies falling from the contactless surface of the abstract space of labor, where nothing but the flow of universal exchange can hold, remain a transformed, uncanny surface on the ground; space of concrete labor. This scene also expresses the vital importance of control over space for social power. This power is something that can be exercised by one group or social class over another, as Harvey (2012b) states (p. 213). Harvey expresses the “creative destruction” of control over space as follows: "this power is both inclusive (the power to do and create) and coercive (the power to deny, prevent and destroy when necessary)" (pp. 213-214). The final scenes of the film *Otobüs* illustrate the destructive power of spatial power. The police officers, who break the door lock of the bus taken in front of the police

station and enter, are surprised when they encounter migrant workers. "Who are you? What are you doing here? Where are you from?" they ask. There is no answer. One by one, all migrant workers are removed from the bus. As each one is removed, the images of the breakup of the bus, which is a “concrete labor” space, intervene with a parallel cutting. The relation, which Bachelard (2013) says when defining the house, "we live in the house and the house also lives in us" occurs here between the concrete labor space and the corporal subject that produces labor.

The fact that the bus will eventually be scrapped and the roughness of the space in the final scene represent the slipping of the concrete labor space from the abstract labor space to the slag at the bottom. As capital travels the earth, it moves uninterruptedly in the regulatory environment of supra-state institutions (Harvey, 2012b, pp. 207-208). The border policies of nation-states are directed at the lower classes, immigrants and subaltern people. Since the capital freed from the space with the flow of commodities and information no longer needs a mobile labor force, new walls are erected and new trenches are dug for the uprooted immigrants (Bauman, 2012, pp. 96-97). Bodies falling from the contactless surface of the abstract space of labor, where nothing but the flow of universal exchange can hold, remain a transformed, uncanny surface on the ground; space of concrete labor.

3.2. *Yol*: Travel of The Captive Bodies

3.2.1. Bodies in the Confined Space of Martial Law

The bodies discussed in *Yol*[1] (*The Road*, Şerif Gören & Yılmaz Güney, 1982), which was opened with the waiting of the bodies in the courtyard of the İmralı semi-open prison, are under the spatial control of the prison, which is one of the spaces of "enclosure-siege". Their waiting is based on the simplicity of the mapping on their corporeality. If they can get permission, they will be able to get rid of the normative topography parceled out by the control of the closure-siege space and create their own routes, albeit for a week. During this period, they continue their normal daily life in prison: staring their sleepless eyes on cell walls at night, longing for family or hometown photographs hanging on prison walls, working hours in the prison's textile workshop, watching birds flying outside with longing from prison bars, waiting for letters from their relatives. They endure all this waiting in hopes of a one-week leave once a year and in fear of being transferred to a fully closed prison in case of misdemeanor.

The weekly leave finally takes place. In order to go to their homeland, to reunite with their families, to solve their personal issues, the prisoners leave a particular space of enclosure-siege and move to the outside world, a universal place of enclosure and siege, shadowed by the military coup of 12 September, when the army seized power. Indeed, Güney, that describes the inside and outside of prison continuity in the film in

[1] Screenplay and shooting plans were created by Yılmaz Güney in prison, which was directed by Şerif Gören, *Yol* has received important awards in the world for many years, while in Turkey has been banned (Yücel, 2008, p. 156). The leading films that were banned and destroyed on September 12 are those of Yılmaz Güney (Kara, 2012, p. 83). One of the first films shot under coup conditions*, Yol*, like the other films of Güney, got its share from this ban. The film was banned as it was found anti-state and inconvenient (Kara, 2012, p. 92).

an interview as follows: "Prison is the most appropriate topic to reflect the current situation of Turkey" (Kutschera, as cited in Kennedy, 2014, p. 114).

The economics program, known as the "24 January resolutions", which was a neoliberal model and presented to the masses and the public with a very intense ideological campaign, was put into practice thanks to the September 12, 1980 coup (Boratav, 2019, p. 164). In the face of the union resistance strengthening towards the end of the 1970s, the industrial bourgeoisie was trying to turn the capital-labor contradiction in its favor in order to increase the rate of surplus-value. "Anti-labor" economic policies, which were in line with the wishes of the capital circles, lacked the means of implementation and development under conditions where the unions were strong. With the September 12 coup that lifted the resistance barrier against the demands of the capital, the labor market was disciplined by military methods: suspension of trade union activities, trial of Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) executives[2], strike prohibition, shifting of wage determination from collective bargaining to the Supreme Arbitration Board (YHK) are examples of imposing the liberal economy through military methods (Boratav, 2019, p. 166). The coup had tightly controlled not only the organized working class, but all institutions and individuals of society. On September 12, 650 thousand people were detained, 230 thousand people were put on trial, 171 people died in torture, 299 people died in prison, 30 thousand people were blacklisted and dismissed, and 14 thousand people were discharged from their citizenship (Kara, 2012, p. 83). The coup, which terrorized, intimidated, and turned the whole society into passive and silent bodies, turned even public spaces into prisons. The continuity relationship between the prison and the

[2] Cinema Workers Union (Sine-Sen), affiliated to DİSK, was also closed on September 12th. The union executives were tried by execution, imprisoned, and tortured. Şerif Gören is also among the filmmakers who were tortured (Kara, 2012, p. 92).

outside world in *Yol*, shot under the conditions of September 12, manifests itself in the relationship that the bodies in the film establish with the space. A spatially militaristic border drawing and control is always present in the film: military checkpoints, curfews, collection centers, gendarmes who check identity with long-barreled weapons and raid settlements, are the elements that spatialize the official map of the state, which castrate all kinds of relations that the body establishes with the space.[3] The distance that Seyit Ali, Mehmet Salih, Ömer, Mevlüt and Yusuf take during their weekly leave is divided and fragmented by the limits, procedures, social and cultural acts. This fragmentation is also direct corporal fragmentation. Spatiality defined on a national scale constantly intersects with bodies functioning on a much more local scale, in this journey where their bodies cannot be criteria and all their measurable resistance is absorbed by administrative (both political and cultural) structures. The words of Baker (2015) on Yılmaz Güney cinema especially summarize the narrative of *Yol*, which describes the outside world as a space of closure-siege:

> The cinema of Güney, by combining a series of stories into a single assembly, shows us that the prison and the "outside" are one and the same place, the same intolerable closure, hence the expression of a general political reality that works everywhere. A thing which is only possible in cinema: a country that puts people in jail is itself a prison. (p. 155)

The subjectivity of the prisoners on leave finds its counterpart in Bauman's (2012) concept of "vagabond" (p. 96). According to Bauman, vagabonds know that no matter how much they want, they will not stay in one place for a long time; because

[3] Some scenes regarding the coup in the script could not be shot due to the conditions of September 12. The scene in which a young person was shot during a military operation in Bursa bus station is one of them (Kara, 2012, p. 119).

most likely they will not be welcomed anywhere they stay. The prisoners in the film *Yol* have no rest on the route they take. They are not welcomed wherever they go. Each one struggles in a forced and alienated journey, alienated from their desires. Prisoners' way of travel has many analogical similarities to the road practice of Bauman's vagabond. Both Seyit Ali, Mehmet Salih, Ömer, Mevlüt and Yusuf; they all drift away in a space of which they have no criteria and a space of which slips away from their hands. Their journey is a lost journey. They cannot find a home or a country where they can return or take shelter. In the words of Levinas (1971), "home is where human being creates and relates to the world" (as cited in Erzen, 2019, p. 164). Permitted prisoners cannot relate to the world in the iron cage created by martial law and feudal customs. The characters in the narrative are tied by a double bond; It is both the oppressive state and the "dead hand" of tradition that prevents them from changing (Kennedy, 2017, p. 119). Prisoners navigating in a closed topography are bodies that have disappeared in the enclosed space.

3.2.2. Unequal Encounters of Bodies

The spaces of encounter in the film *Yol* are one of Yılmaz Güney's unique operations that we frequently encounter in his cinema. Terms such as modern-traditional, male-female, rich-poor, adult-child, military-civilian, Kurdish-Turkish encounter each other in spaces of encounter based on the conjunction logic, but each term appears with its own conditions of existence (Ergül, 2018, p. 27). It is difficult to talk about the equality of the terms encountered in these spaces where encounters take place. Because the subjects are settled in different parts and conditions of the space, encounters never take place under conditions of equality (Ergül, 2018, p. 27). For example, we can consider the encounter in the courtyard of the prison at the beginning of the film in this context. The prisoners awaiting letters from their relatives gathered

in the courtyard. In front of them are prison guards who tell them to whom the letters they received came from. The prisoner whose name is read approaches the guard and receives the letter thrown at him. Even if they share the same space, the asymmetry between prisoners and guards over knowledge and authority is immediately apparent. The guards, who embody the spatial rigidity of the prison with their bodily gestures, give the prisoners a mechanical and authoritative tone, "one step ahead!" they call out. They throw their letters to the prisoners whose names are called without moving from their places. Prisoners excitedly pick up the falling letters from the ground. The camera projects excited faces waiting to be read. At the same time, the camera reflects the relationship between bodies and authority through frames. While the prison building behind them is in the frame while the guards speak, the nature is in the frame behind the bodies waiting to be read in silence. The bodily movements of the prisoners restricted by the prison are enthusiastic even when they are in a tiny courtyard and await letters of unknown origin. The news and information the letters will bring from the outside provide the prisoners with the motivation to move their hardened bodies inside. Although the distance between prisoners and guards is a few steps, there is a difficult disparity between the conditions of prison guards who will deliver the letters and know who to give them to, and the conditions for prisoners to seek help from letters. The conjunction logic that creates spaces of encounter in Güney cinema highlights the unequal nature of the military-civilian encounter in this scene, which is a spatial projection of the martial law conditions of the 1980 coup. One of the important spaces of encounter that deal with inequality in the film are the scenes of Ömer, which includes both the Kurdish-Turkish and the military-civilian encounter. When Ömer completes his journey and returns to his homeland, he is greeted by the unlimited clarity of nature, pastoral beauty, a vast landscape, powerful representations of Kurdish authenticity such

as Kurdish music[4] (Kennedy, 2017, p. 122). Ömer lives in a Kurdish settlement very close to the Syrian border. When Ömer arrives at his homeland, he first kisses the soil; he misses his homeland very much. Rides on the plain and wanders through the green meadows, enjoying freedom in the vast space of nature. Freed from the yoke of spatial control in prison, his body moves unhindered in the open space of nature. However, immediately after these scenes, Ömer witnesses the raid of his village by armed soldiers. Images of freedom are replaced by oppression images; As in many Palestinian films, the scene is dominated by soldiers depicted in the same menacing, impersonal form (Kennedy, 2017, p. 122). The Kurdish village where Ömer lives has economic relations with the Kurds in Syria. People engage in border trade to survive in poverty conditions. The soldiers laid mines on the border to prevent this trade, and as if this was not enough, they frequently raided the village. The open space of nature has turned into a closed space under blockade. The uncanny in space is reflected in the bodies; the deficiency in the limbs of village residents are noticeable. For example, Ömer's father does not have a leg. His father tells Ömer: “Fear is the keeper of everyone's home. One cannot even take care of the dead out of fear. Especially if you are a Kurd." One night, Ömer's brother and a few of the villagers were shot and killed by soldiers during the border trade. In the morning, the gendarmerie brings the dead bodies to the village behind a tractor. The soldiers authoritatively ask the villagers whether they had any acquaintances among the dead. In this iconic encounter scene of the film, the people of the village look desperately at their dead relatives, but they have no choice but to say that they do not know them under the siege of the soldier. The dead bodies and the silent

[4] In this scene where a dengbêj sings the stran is heard, the stran is not belong to a body. These voices are a *phone* devoid of logos for the dominant voice; it was kept at the same level with the animal and nature and was thrown out of the cultural and political sphere (Ergül, 2018, p. 29). These voices heard in Ömer's scenes penetrate into the cultural and political sphere where they are excluded, albeit without a body.

bodies of the peasants who take care of their dead encounter the menacing body of the army. Ömer, who looks at his brother's body, has to say that he does not know him. It is likely that he will soon join these dead bodies, and a relative or friend who will see his dead body will be deprived of the right to even recognize him.[5]

3.2.3. Train as a Moving Space of Enclosure-Siege

In the film, the trains, buses and minibuses that the prisoners take to return to their hometown after taking their weekly leave also function as a space of encounter and a space of enclosure. In particular, the train offers a topography similar to the prison's space of enclosure-siege. Güney depicted a disturbing, claustrophobic country by enlarging the image of the train ride from *Sürü* (*The Herd*, 1979) in *Yol* (Kennedy, 2017, p. 114). Unlike the prison, the train, which is a constantly moving space and uniting spaces that are distant from each other, is depicted as a space of siege in motion in the film. On the train, soldiers patrol with rifles in their hands and checking passengers' identity. While people were crowded into the compartments of the train, which was full of grudge and could not find a place to move, the soldiers who suddenly stopped by and supervised everyone point out that the martial law encompassed the whole geography. The isolated status of the farmers, the poor, the villagers that we see in the compartments visualize the pacification of the people. The compartments establish spatial proximity with the prison cell. The train in the film is the place where the distance is reduced to a minimum and the space turns into a closed state, as can be seen from the handcuffed prisoners and the animals traveling in the same place with

[5] According to Sert, Güney planted the seeds of Kurdish cinema through the story of Ömer in *Yol* and formed its codes. The notions of statelessness, border and death will form the indicators of Kurdish cinema in the years after *Yol* (Sert, 2019, pp. 70-71). On the other hand, as Kennedy emphasized, Güney's films, who never considered himself nationalist, try to discover the Kurdish identity, but do not convey a completely nationalist message (2017, p. 121). Naficy included *Yol* in the genre of transnational films because of its spatial characteristics such as rootlessness, exile, claustrophobia and agoraphobia (Naficy, as cited in Suner, 1998, p. 288).

passengers (Ergül, 2018, p. 27). With the limitation of the movements of the bodies squeezed into the gloomy and small compartments, the spatial-free spread of the military regime, which was suspicious of the bodies in the compartment, are images of the coup attempt to create a space of enclosure-siege. During the military junta period, trains not only carried passengers but also mediated the transportation of the coup to all parts of the country; soldiers were carried in wagons and were congregating as soon as they got off the wagons (Duman, 2012, p. 217). The armed shadow of martial law also revealed the militarist codes attributed to the train and its relation to the military field. Schivelbusch (1977/2014) emphasizes that the perception of the surprising speed of trains from the nineteenth century, when trains first appeared, to the early twentieth century, led to analogies such as bullets and cannonballs. The train cuts through the space so fast compared to that period; the railways and tunnels it passes through are often compared to a bullet fired at the places where the train passes through, and a gun barrel that fires it (Schivelbusch, 1977/2014, p. 54). The military language of the nation-state myth also continued to refer to trains. During the establishment phase of the nation-state centered on Turkish ethnicity, it aimed to strengthen the state authority in the region through the railroad in order to suppress the uprisings in the Eastern provinces faster (Aksoy, 2016, p. 162). For example, there is a sentence attributed to Mustafa Kemal on the front of the station in Diyarbakır, where the Kurdish people live: "Railway is a more important safety weapon of the country than a rifle" (Atlı, 2012, p. 228). Diyarbakır Station is also the common place where Seyit Ali and Mehmet Rıza's journeys end, where the train journey scenes in the film are based. Explaining the wide-scale spatial spread of the military regime in the film with the example of the train, provides a continuity between the prison and the train by revealing the militarist codes of the train.

3.2.4. Train as Spatial Mediator of Corporal Punishment

The prison and the train in the film are identified in the context of the spatiality of control, but differ in the corporeality of punishment. Foucault (1975/2019) emphasized that the spectacular element of torture and punishment in prisons in the modern punishment system has been removed. Although modern punishment systems such as confinement, forced punishment, and residence prohibition are body oriented, the relationship between punishment and body is not the same as in pre-modern punishment ones (Foucault, 1975/2019, p. 43). Even when the body is arrested, the body is ultimately the vehicle or intermediary. The reason for the intervention to the body by enclosing it and making it work is to deprive the individual of the right to freedom. The constituent elements of punishment in the modern punishment system are not based on the suffering of the body, but on the system of coercion and deprivation, obligations and prohibitions.[6] Modern punishment has transformed into a suspended rights economy and has moved into the "out of body" punishment system (Foucault, 1975/2019, p. 44). The prison in the film is also revealed with its aspect that suspends rights, deprives and forces bodies of freedom. The corporal punishment system, in which the punitive element abolished in prison, welcomes prisoners in their daily life outside, on their weekly leave. Prisoners on leave are either practitioner or victim of corporal punishment, but in any case they are subject to the limits imposed by corporal punishment. In particular, the train has been depicted as the spatial mediator of corporal

[6] It is a fact that by “institutionalizing” the torture mechanism of September 12, it caused the people who were arrested to experience the most severe physical collapse, and that everyone who was taken into custody was tortured (Kara, 2012, p. 84). Pre-modern archaic punishments were put into practice in prisons under the state of emergency of September 12. However, we use Foucault's proposition while spatial analyzing because the prison in the film *Yol* is conveyed in its conventional form as the place of coercion and deprivation. The reason why corporal punishment was not shown in the prison in the film stems from the strategy that Güney implemented in order to get permission to shoot the film *Yol*, during the prohibited conditions of September 12. Güney had received permission to shoot *Yol* on the pretext of erasing the negative image of Turkish prisons in *Midnight Express* (Alan Parker, 1978) (Suner, 1998, p. 283).

punishment. Ironically, the mechanisms of corporal punishment suppressed by the prison as the place of the modern criminal system, are revealed in the train, a modern passenger vehicle. The reason for this change in the imagination of the train lies in the fact that the relationship of the train with the economic field (capitalist industrialization) and socio-cultural field (modernity) was broken in the 1980s as the relationship established with the military field in the early period of the nation-state continued. This change is associated with Turkey's steps to be integrated into the world capitalist free market economy. The railways, which emerged as the first modern and state management of the Early Republican Period, stood out in the transition from traditional structure to modern / capitalist industrialization (Boratav, as cited in Aksoy, 2016, p. 168). The state was the most important actor in the construction of railways in Turkey because the state had contributed to the formation of modern coal, machine and iron industry but statist industrial plans has been replaced by liberal development plans with the adoption of liberal understanding after 1950 (Aksoy, 2016, p.169). Thus, the element that needed to be improved was not the railways but the highways for motor vehicles. Highways development has gained momentum with the help of Marshall's aid made by the USA to find new markets for the automobile industry and to internationalize its other capitals (Aksoy, 2016, p. 176). The railways, once the greatest symbol of modernization and industrialization, are now considered unprogressive and the new modern symbol has become road transport and automobiles (Aksoy, 2016, p. 170). The train in *Yol* has lost its modern symbolism and has turned into an archaic space, where traditional methods of punishment that registered in society of Turkey have emerged or been planned in.

As an example of this situation, we can give the train journey of Seyit Ali and Mehmet Salih, who are on leave prisoners. Two prisoners traveling on the same route

on the train also have a connection to the punishment system of the pre-modern custom tradition. Seyit Ali goes to Konya and Mehmet Salih goes to Diyarbakır. Arriving in Konya, Seyit Ali learns that his wife Zîné cheated on him while he was in prison, and when Zîné's family found out about this, they decided to kill Zîné as required by custom. According to the custom, the family waited for Seyit Ali to leave the prison since the husband had to implement the provision first. The family took Zîné and her child to their village in Siirt and locked her in the barn of the house. Thereupon, Seyit Ali got on the train again and set off from Konya to Diyarbakır to enforce Zîné's death sentence. The train carrying Seyit Ali, the enforcer of the corporal punishment, takes him step by step towards the body of his wife to whom the punishment will be imposed. Another convict, Mehmet Salih, who is surrounded by the rule of customs, goes to Diyarbakır by train to see his wife Emine and his children, whom he missed so much. Years ago, Mehmet Salih, who had helped his father-in-law Aziz as a chauffeur in a jewelery shop robbery, panicked and abandoned Aziz, who was shot during the robbery, and got into the car without waiting for him. The injured Aziz died from blood loss. Emine's family holds Mehmet Salih responsible for Aziz's death. Mehmet Salih, who came to Diyarbakır after years, went to Emine's family home with the intention of both pardoning himself and reuniting with his wife and children. Mehmet Salih, who is not welcomed by the family, is threatened with death. His father-in-law and brother-in-law tell Mehmet Salih that they are now enemies and keep his wife and children away from him. Thereupon, Mehmet Salih makes an escape plan with Emine. Taking their children, they secretly set off from Diyarbakır Station by train. With the effect of getting together for a long time, Mehmet Salih and Emine sneak into the toilet on the train and make love. Realizing this, several passengers inform the others and expose the young couple. An angry crowd forms in front of the toilet door. They take Mehmet Salih and

Emine out of the toilet and begin to lynch them. They are beaten by the crowd, exposed to insults and curses. They are spit in their faces and humiliated. Moreover, they were insulted by the officers who pulled them out of the crowd and placed in the custody room on the train. Shortly after, Mehmet Salih's brother-in-law got on the train from the train station where the train stopped. He begins to search for them on the train with his gun in order to find and kill both of them as a requirement of custom. He navigates the compartments one by one. It is no different from the armed martial law soldiers who enter and search the compartments of the train without question. In the end, he finds the compartment where Mehmet Salih and Emine were placed by the officers and brutally kills them in front of their children. According to Schivelbusch (1977/2014), the train compartment is a potential crime scene, with each passenger being detached from each other in separate compartments, with acoustic insulation, and the mechanical noise of the train that suppresses even the loudest screams (p. 79). The history of cinema is full of murder scenes on the train. Cinema could not be oblivious to the spatial nature of the train being a place subject to corporal punishment. Thus in *Yol*, the screams of Mehmet Salih and Emine, who were shot by his brother-in-law and the cries of their crying children, are all suppressed by the rumble of the train and the shrill scream of the steamy whistle. The film gives this suppression by superimposing the screaming sounds and the sounds of the train. With two sequential scenes of traditional punishment (lynch and honor killing), the film shows how the spectacular element of torture and punishment, one of the founding elements of the corporal punishment system, is prevalent in society. In the absence of the sociality that neoliberalism abolished, groups of people have become so atomized and pacified in separate compartments that they become deaf to each other's voices. Therefore, the compartments in the film are loaded with political images that Rancière emphasizes. According to Rancière, political art

points to the power of the common by reminding that personal spaces are public (Tuncer and Yörük, 2016). In the absence of social organizations (trade unions, parties, collective actions, and a culture of solidarity) that were active before the coup, the arena was left to archaic feudal codes that already existed in society.

3.2.5. The Execution Walk Staged by Corporal Punishment in the "Ice Desert"

Underlining that the punishment techniques of martial law that detain bodies and the corporal punishment methods of the custom are two sides of the same coin, one of the scenes in the film is Seyit Ali and Zîné's lyrical, tragic and ascetic travel in the open space of nature. Seyit Ali, who got off the train at Diyarbakır Train Station after days of train travel, goes on to Sancak by taking a minibus. Traveling slowly on the roads covered with heavy snow, the minibus arrives in Siirt. Seyit Ali buys a gun, a horse and a coat from his brother-in-law who lives here. Since the roads of the village house where Zîné was kept are blocked, he will continue on his way with the horse. The weapon is to carry out the execution of Zîné. The brother-in-law warns Seyit Ali while giving the coat; there are those who frozen and died on the village road. After traveling for hours on his horse, Seyit Ali left his horse behind, exhausted from the cold and tired, and continued on his way. He has to kill the exhausted horse with a gun so that it does not suffer any more. The blood spilled from the body of the shot horse "marks" this place by painting it red on the white snow. Although Mehmet Salih does not know yet, Zîné will die here the next day. Seyit Ali, walking for hours through the snowy land covered by a violent blizzard like an automaton programmed to carry out feudal law, finally arrives in Zîné's village. According to Baker (2015), the characters of the film *Yol* are like "spiritual automatons" sentenced to a certain path from the very beginning. Mehmet Salih was sentenced to death from the beginning to be given to him by a child of his relatives in a train compartment, while Seyit Ali was sentenced to cross

a giant ice desert to kill his wife, whom he had to kill in accordance with the feudal rules of custom (Baker, 2015, p. 155). Barely arriving at the village house, Seyit Ali encounters his wife, who has been living in the barn here as a prisoner in chains for eight months and has not been given food other than bread and water. Zîné's silence, her communication with the outside world completely cut off, she has not seen the daylight for months, has been weakened and weakened, and she waits by accepting her own death, indicating that women are condemned to corporal punishment mechanisms much more severely than male prisoners.[7] Zîné is in the family home, there is as much snow and blizzard outside as possible. However, the connection that the house establishes with the winter conditions in the outside world is quite different from the usual representations. Bachelard (2013) says that the snow falling on winter days nullifies the outside world and fills the interior of the house with the intricacies of the interior, and because it is very cold outside, the house becomes warmer and presents an "artificial paradise" (pp. 70-71). But if we look at Zîné's situation, we come across a prisoner whose interior is more threatening than the harsh winter conditions, a person who is in need of even the diminishing presence of the outside world in freezing snow by disappearing inside the house. The house here is not the space of the body inhabited, but the space of the body punished. Zîné's family, even her little child, regards her as legitimate to kill because she has been "disgraced". Zîné has only one wish; taking a shower before her death, cleaning her body that has not been washed for months and wearing clean clothes. Later, Seyit Ali, Zîné and his young child leave the village house at sunrise the next morning and set off on a return journey. While Seyit Ali and his son

[7] According to Suner (1998), the film *Yol*, represented Zîné and other female characters with corporal stillness, silence and spatial isolation, and did not give them a space for movement. In addition, identification occurs with men because the scenes of the female characters are shot from the perspective of the male characters. *Yol* tried to criticize the feudal culture through the victimization of Anatolian women, but by not problematizing the masculine domination itself, it partially reproduced the patriarchal codes (Suner, 1998, pp. 295-297).

are walking in cold-resistant clothes and snow pallets, Zîné barely walks behind them in clothes that have no resistance to freezing cold. This walk, this ascetic journey, made in severe winter conditions, is the execution itself. Framed as tiny black spots in the snow-covered, white, infinitely clear space of nature, these three figures are symbols of how the power mechanism encloses the bodies even in the most limitless openness of the space. The logic of the power placed the prisoner of the state, Seyit Ali, who will apply the verdict, and Zîné as the prisoner of the custom, on both sides of a verdict, as the murderer and the victim (Ergül, 2018, p. 39). Thus, political content is infiltrated into the neutral, indifferent, pastoral space of nature.[8] In wide plans, the depths of the violence of nature are reflected by the anxiety of the bodies from their faces in close-up shots. According to Baker (2015), the cinema of Güney has invented a new type of cinematographic image, such as Italian neo-realism, with its approach to faces: the face is now exposed to what it sees, cannot believe it, cannot bear it; movement of face is blocked (p. 158). The face of the suffering Zîné, the face of Seyit Ali, who oscillated between the obligation to enforce the verdict and the longing he felt for his wife, the anxious face of the child whose eyes were on his mother who was walking behind them; they all speak through their faces under the limited conditions of their bodies. As Levinas (1982) said on the face: “Face and discourse are linked. The face speaks in the way that enables and initiates every discourse" (as cited in Le Breton, 2018, p. 109). In this scene, Zîné, Seyit Ali and their children gain face as their bodies are constrained in the ascetic journey in the heart of nature. The corpse of horse that welcomed them in the middle of the white desert gained face while losing its body; the frame of the film conveys the pain it suffers from the bruise on its face. The faces of Zîné, Seyit Ali, the

[8] As Baker (2015) emphasized, with Yılmaz Güney's understanding of cinema and Şerif Gören's images, *Yol* hints at unthinkable and intolerable by forcing the possibilities of cinema, which is the only art that can present human and nature together (p. 158). *Yol* reflects politics rather than messages and slogans, capturing it in everyday life, even in the white desert of the snowy landscape.

child and the horse are the different faces of the same face that convey the pressure that the verdict of power puts on bodies. Each of the faces tries to communicate with the others, bodies alienated by power try to regain their connectivity. But now it is too late; Zîné can no longer endure the severe cold and dies by freezing in the very place where Seyit Ali shot his horse. The pain in her face is frozen. Seyit Ali tries to save her with the regret of this tormenting execution march, of which he is the perpetrator. He continues his march by taking Zîné on his back, trying to save her from the verdict given by the patriarchal system. The iconic close-up of the movie takes place; Seyit Ali's face full of regret and sorrow and the lifeless face of Zîné on his back. Seyit Ali decided to overturn the verdict of the custom, even if it was late, but the corporal punishment of the custom applied to Zîné through Seyit Ali (by executing her until she was freezed with no resistant clothes). There is still hope in Seyit Ali when he takes his wife to the hospital in the city center, but this hope is lost when the doctor announces that Zîné has lost her life. He carried his wife to death like a burden, and when he could not save her, her death turned into a metaphorical burden on his conscience (Kennedy, 2017, p. 118). Today is also the day when the prison leave ends. Seyit Ali gets on the train again from Diyarbakır Station. The expression of despair was frozen on Seyit Ali's face, who was sitting with his body collapsed in the compartment. He begins to cry loudly, and as he cries, the train takes him back to the prison. In a geography besieged by the neoliberal capitalist, feudal and oppressive system, there is no possibility of movement for the bodies of the subaltern neither in prison nor in the outside world.

3.3. *Sarı Mercedes*: Travel of the Machine Body

3.3.1. Entry of the Commodity-Body through the Border Gate

Adapted from Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel *Fikrimin İnce Gülü* (1976), *Sarı Mercedes* (*Mercedes mon amour*, Tunç Okan, 1992) is about Bayram's return journey to his hometown of Ballıhisar, working as a migrant worker in Germany. Bayram has embarked on his journey to his village (Ballıhisar), which he abandoned years ago in poverty, for a "glorious" return with a Mercedes brand car. Mercedes is the object of his narcissistic passion for Bayram. While working as a worker in Germany under difficult conditions, he spent almost all of the capital he had accumulated to buy Mercedes. He even gave it a name: “Balkız” (“Honey girl”). Mercedes is both a phallic symbol, which is the corporal extension of Bayram, and a closed phallocentric space in which he feels power. Bayram is in conversation with Mercedes along the road. When he is chatting with his Mercedes Balkız, he always speaks as "we".

The film begins by summarizing Bayram’s journey on a map of the route stretching from Germany to Turkey and then showing Bayram’s entry to Turkey through Bulgaria-Turkey border gate Kapıkule. Although the whole journey is between Germany and Turkey, the film's cinematic space is limited between Kapıkule and Ballıhisar. In the film, when Bayram approaches the Kapıkule border gate, the sound of janissary music (mehter) is heard. With janissary symbolism which the dominant element of the nationalist mythology in Turkey, it is emphasized that Bayram is about to enter the geography of the nation-state of Turkey. However, the fact that the power that Bayram feels while entering through the border gate originates from his Mercedes, underlines the mythology in the anthem and makes it ironic. The cinematic time of the film occurs at the beginning of neoliberal 1990s that Turkey's integration into the global economy was completed, but the original work (*Fikrimin İnce Gülü*) was published in

1976 with the dawn of neoliberalism. In this sense, the film *Sarı Mercedes* has a structure that covers the first period of neoliberalism and the cognitive fabric of the next period when it was systematized. The scene in which mehter is heard indicates that the mythology carried by freely circulating commodities in the neoliberal capitalist system is integrated with national mythology in creating affect. Because in this scene we only hear the voice of the janissary music embodying Bayram's pride (it is a voice detached from a body where the janissary band is not visible), but the source of pride in this scene is to be going into the borders of Turkey with a commodity (Mercedes brand car) which includes an importance in individual economic competition. In Turkey, with putting into force of the liberalization program launched on 24th January 1980, an open global market model was targeted (Pamuk, 2018, p. 265). While the policies of the 24 January package, determined by the recommendations of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, continued throughout the 80s, the changes in the import regime tried to reduce the quantity restrictions and tariffs and open up the industrial structure to foreign competition (Pamuk, 2018, pp. 266-267). When the Turkish Lira was fully convertible into foreign currency, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) increased more than ever before; all sectors have had their share of foreign capital and partial privatization of state enterprises (Bazin & De Tapia, 2015, p. 121). More and more liberalized imports, diversify commodities entering Turkey, and Turkey is also added to the unrestricted circulation routes of global commodity. In this context, it is possible to see Bayram in Mercedes, which was preparing to enter through Kapıkule border gate in 1992, as "a commodity-body in the global economic system". Throughout the film, Bayram will compete with other cars on the road over "speed" and "performance". The body of Bayram consists of Mercedes and his own body; he constantly warns the cars standing close to his car parked in the passport control queue at the border and tries to

move them away from his corporal surface. Meanwhile, the security officers at the border who called Bayram told him that the age in the passport and the age of identity do not match. Trying to keep other cars away from the surface of the car with which he is integrated, Bayram himself has been tried to be kept away from the surface of the national-body. Bayram, whose persona becomes fragile while outside of his Mercedes, arouses pity for himself to the officials and obtains a 36-day visit leave. Despite having problems at the border he has received the entry visa and has been accepted to Turkey.

3.3.2. Desire to Integrate with the Commodity

When Bayram goes to his parked car as soon as his permission is granted, he notices that the wheel of the car is smashed. Both situations occurred simultaneously. As Bayram seeps into the surface of the national-body, the construction of the car that delineates his corporal surface also experiences superficial penetrations. When Bayram complained to the police, the police said, “Did you see the identity of the crasher? Did you get his license plate?" he asks. Here, too, there is an identity policy for superficial penetration. Just as the national body wants to describe what interacts with its own surface, Bayram needs the identity of the crasher to compensate for the penetration on Mercedes, which is his corporal surface. Bayram's body puts into effect a universal normative mapping free of particularity.

Bayram, while proceeding from control points toward the exit customs inspection platform, starts talking with his car Balkız: "Now we are entering the second checkpoint Balkız, uh this is Turkey, checks are either too tight or too loose." Just as Bayram constantly controls the surface wall of Mercedes which is his corporal surface, the surface of the national body is constantly on alert against Bayram. Bayram proudly looks at the shining star of Mercedes, just like the star in the symbol of the national body, for Bayram, that star is the symbol of victory for his corporal surface. Parla

(2003) analyzed Turkish novels and stated that cars are metaphors rather than means of transportation in Turkish narratives. According to Parla (2003), in Turkish literature, the effects of Westernization and modernization are explained through the car metaphor, the basic motif of automation (p. 535). Although written by different authors in different periods, every story that starts with car ownership in Turkish narratives turns into a story of gaining and losing property, gaining and losing power, function and dysfunction, maturity and childishness, narcissism and fetishism, fragmentation and self-destruction (Parla, 2003, p. 536). Parla says that Mercedes in the novel *Fikrimin İnce Gülü* also carries such a function. When Bayram saw the Ford brand car that came to his town in his childhood, he broke away from nature and started to worship the machine-God from that moment on.[9] Since Bayram's relationship with Mercedes was based on sacrificing himself to the machine-God, he sacrificed everything he had, including his social relations, in order to obtain Mercedes (Parla, 2003, p. 543). In the film *Sarı Mercedes*, Mercedes' metaphorical role overlaps with Parla's interpretations of the original work, on the other hand, commodity fetishism stands out among the concepts Mercedes in the film represents. The focus of the film is not on modernization, industrialization or detaching from nature, but rather on the landscape of a society that has already completed this process and stepped into global capitalism.[10] This difference between the original work and the movie can be explained

[9] In the original work *Fikrimin İnce Gülü*, this relationship is described with Bayram's witnessing the villagers sacrificing an animal in front of a Ford brand car (Ağaoğlu, 2003, p. 301).

[10] Parla (2003) emphasizes these paradigms while analyzing *Fikrimin İnce Gülü*. While dealing with Bayram, she evaluates him as a peasant who has experienced disharmony in the process of transformation from an agricultural society to an industrial society. As Parla has stated, there are details that make this evaluation possible in *Fikrimin İnce Gülü*. Chief among these is the contrast between the stars that Bayram sleeps under in his village and the star of Mercedes. Parla (2003) emphasizes that Mercedes's steel star has replaced natural symbols in Bayram's village (p. 543). However in the film, the village symbols that emphasize this nature-industry dichotomy are very few. Although we see Bayram's village in flashbacks in the film, a detail about the stars under which he lies is not included in the film. The symbols in the film do not directly refer to the nature-industry dichotomy, since the opposite village symbols of symbols such as the star of Mercedes are not included in the film.

as follows; the original work *Fikrimin İnce Gülü* was produced before 1980, when the transition to neoliberalism took place, but the film was produced at a time when Turkey completely accrued to neoliberal capitalism. Also, Mercedes alone does not have a metaphorical feature. Mercedes is neither Bayram's metaphor nor Bayram is a metaphor of Mercedes. The metaphorical thing is Bayram's relationship with Mercedes and other cars. Highways that mediate this relationship spatially are another metaphorical element. To elaborate these, it will first be necessary to refer to Marx's famous concept of *commodity fetishism*.

In explaining the fetish character of the commodity, Marx (1867/2015) explains that the object disguised as a commodity is no longer a natural thing and cannot be comprehended by the senses. As an example, he shows a wooden table. According to Marx, from the point of view of use value, there is nothing enigmatic or full of theological ornaments to the table. But when it is disguised as a commodity, the table's feet are swept off the ground and it spreads miraculous ideas, standing on its head in front of other commodities. What ultimately makes the commodity form mystical, whether it is a simple object such as a wooden table or a more complex product of labor, is that it takes the form of a social relation of labor products. The commodity form reflects the social character of people's own products of labor as objective qualities of their labor products. Moreover, it shows the social relation between producers and total labor as a social relation between things existing outside the producers. This is why the products of labor have become social things. Thus the products of labor appear as independent forms in relation to people, with their own lives. Marx (1867/2015) calls this mysterious situation fetishism that clings to them by the production of the products of labor as commodities (pp. 81-83). In the film, Bayram's dialogues with his Mercedes -Balkız- underline this fetishism. In Bayram's eyes, his car has a life of its own, and

Bayram tries to prove himself to it with various sacrifices. He doesn't even have the money to eat, but he's very generous when it comes to refueling his Mercedes. While he is selective even about the gas station for his car, he is extremely negligent when it comes to his own body. He thinks about the gas tank of his car rather than his own stomach. When misfortune happens to the car, he calms it by talking to it. This car, in which he put all his wealth, has an impressive power against Bayram. He tries to gain power by testing this power he attributes to his car over other vehicles on the road. Relationship of his own commodity with other commodities makes Bayram proud. There are scenes in the film that we hear from Bayram that he was working in the BMW factory. He worked in the car factory for many years and bought his car in exchange for the labor force he sold as a commodity. If we exemplify from the above emphasis of Marx; Bayram perceives the automobile, which is the social character of his product of labor, as an objective quality as a result of fetishism. The narrative emphasizes Bayram's alienation from his own labor force and commodity fetishism by emphasizing that he works in an automobile factory. Bayram's experience of journey consists of mediating the competition between his commodity and other commodities on the road. It is the exchange value that creates this competition. As Marx (1867/2015) emphasized: "If commodities could speak, they would say that our use-value may concern people. We don't include it as things. But what we contain as things is our value. Our own relationships as commodity-bodies prove this. We relate to each other only as exchange values" (p. 91). Bayram has so absorbed the form of the commodity that the use value does not even occur to him. The relationship that his car, on which he made all of his bets, enters over value with other cars is everything to him. This is essentially a sign that the cinematic space (highways) in the film is a metaphor for the free market. Because "the quality of the products of labor gains stability only when they

confront each other as value magnitudes" (Marx, 1867/2015, p. 84). The exchange value along the road is sometimes the star emblem of the car, sometimes its speed, sometimes its beauty, sometimes its cleanliness, sometimes its brand, and sometimes its durability. According to the user's (Bayram's) current fetishization, the value of the commodity (Mercedes car) takes different views. The views are all privileges that Bayram assumes do not exist in other cars on the road. Moreover, Bayram has hung a shirt with Mercedes emblems on the back seat of his car.[11] He will wear this shirt upon arrival in Ballıhisar village. There is an extreme example of commodity fetishism in narrative. So much so that we can call this the "desire to integrate with the commodity".

3.3.3. The Wounds That Machine-Body Received During Travel

According to Lacan, the supreme object is "an object raised in honor of being a Thing" (as cited in Žižek, 2013, p. 117). By attributing a personality to his Mercedes, calling it Balkız, and thinking of it more than himself, Bayram gives the car a power of fascination over himself. “Mercedes mon amour” (My Mercedes Beloved), the title of the film in its overseas shows, underlines the elevation of an ordinary commodity to the degree of supreme object. But the power of enchantment exerted by a sublime image always expresses the existence of a deadly dimension. Because, according to Lacan, the impulse that goes through a process of sublimation actually circulates around an essential void. This emptiness "is lacking that gains a positive existence in the form of the amorphous Thing (Freudian *das Ding*, the impossible inaccessible substance of pleasure)” (Žižek, 2013, p. 115-116). Along the way that Bayram takes out the car from Germany, “the natural space” of Mercedes, and brings it to the village in Turkey Ballıhisar, the car begins to lose the sublime quality. As Žižek (2013) states, the

[11] However in *Fikrimin İnce Gülü*, this shirt is illustrated with Mercedes' models from various years (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 284). The fact that the shirt is depicted with the star logo of Mercedes in the film directly coincides with that of the car, thus the integration of Bayram with the car is underlined.

supreme quality depends on its position in the fantasy space rather than being inherent (p. 117). We can exemplify the loss of the fascinating beauty of the commodity that Bayram glorifies step by step through a few scenes. For example, after receiving a pass through the border of Turkey Bayram returns to his parked car and he realizes that the star emblem of Mercedes disappeared. The disappearance of the phallic symbol of his corporal nature infuriates Bayram. "Where is my star?" Bayram constantly asks to parking lot attendant for an account. When he doesn't get a satisfactory answer from the parking lot attendant, he gets into a fight with him. Those who see the fight hold Bayram by his arms to calm him down, but Bayram continues to shout: "Where is my star?!" Bayram continues to grumble on the road and says "we have lost the star." In another scene, Bayram loses control of the steering wheel and finds himself off the road when a driver with whom he has a row on the road suddenly throws a tomato into the window of Mercedes. Stopping the bouncing car by force, Bayram gets out of the car and begins to swiftly clean the window of his car. The glass of the Mercedes must be cleansed of the dirt of the other. In another scene, when Bayram sees crashed cars on the road, he worries about his condition and stops at the gas station to have his tires checked. But the employee looking at the tire tells Bayram that the left rear headlight of Mercedes is broken. When Bayram gets out of the car, he sees the broken headlight. Thus, Bayram loses the stop lamp of his car after the star. In the scene where Bayram gets on the ferry, two children spit on Bayram's Mercedes from the upper deck of the ferry. Bayram cleans the saliva with a napkin. Later, he went to the upper deck of the ferry, boredly. Bayram meets Ayfer here and tells about his car to impress her. Convincing Ayfer to come to his car after a short conversation, Bayram perceives Ayfer's getting into his car as a direct sexual offer and tries to force her to kiss him, as he imagines the interior of his car as a place of masculine domination. Ayfer bravely

breaks this domination that Bayram tries to establish in his phallocentric space, pushes Bayram back and screams at him in anger. She opens the door sharply and leaves the car quickly. Meanwhile, the door of the car slams into the chassis of the truck next to it. Ayfer's reaction and exit from the space by slamming the door, damage the surface of Bayram's meta-body. All eyes on the ferry are turned to Bayram when Ayfer loudly reveals what Bayram has done to her. After this scene, the license plate, which is an indicator that integrates the identity of the car driver, will be hit. Coming out of the ferry at the pier, Bayram cannot adjust the nose distance of his car and rubs hard on the ground. Meanwhile, the front plate of the car is warped. As the body of the car wears down, so does Bayram's identity integrated with the commodity. Continuing on the road, Bayram enters the newly paved part of the road this time, and his car tires are covered with tar. In another scene, a stone splashed by a truck carrying logs cracks the window of Mercedes. Towards the end of the film, a tractor suddenly appears on the Ballıhisar road in front of Bayram. Bayram breaks his steering wheel hard to avoid hitting the tractor. His Mercedes swings off the road and rolls over. The dominant machine of the village, strikes the final blow to Bayram's machine body integrated with the commodity. Bayram's meta-body has now turned into a heap of junk. Bayram, who starts his car uneasily with shattered windows, crushed hood and broken engine, continues the way with his car that stalls, knowing that he is approaching Ballıhisar. However, when he arrives in Ballıhisar, he learns that the village is no longer in place. He finds himself at the crossroads with his hurt self in his shabby car. He's out of direction now. Bayram comes out of the car, he has lost his bodily surface. Similarly, as in the helpless Cabbar at the end of the film *Umut* (*Hope*, Yılmaz Güney, 1970), we see Bayram and the body surface he lost from a quantitative eye above. Coming out of the commodity-body, Bayram is left alone in the impermeable nature. Meanwhile,

Bayram remembers his uncle killing his beloved horse with a rifle when he was a child. The death of the horse in this traumatic scene, conveyed in retrospect, is the manifestation of the void / deficiency around which the impulse passing through the sublimation process. Bayram fetishized his car in order to compensate for this lack with a commodity. The loss of the car that he had replaced the horse he had as a child occurs simultaneously with Bayram's loss of his fantasy space. Ballıhisar has evacuated because it has declared an archaeological excavation site. As a result of the excavations in the village, it has understood that this place has been a part of the ancient city of Pessinus, the village has evacuated and its name has been made Pessinus. Ballıhisar no longer has a spatial reality, and the fantasy space it carried for Bayram has lost its function. Bayram has in his mind the moment that will enter the village of Ballıhisar with his Mercedes Balkız and return to this place, which he abandoned years ago as a result of poverty, with the crown of victory. Even though every blow that the meta-body of Mercedes received reduces the fetish value of the glorified commodity in the eyes of others, Bayram continues to keep it in its ever-exalted value. He owes this to his dreams that he made a spectacular entrance to the fantasy space (Ballıhisar) with his Mercedes and surprised the people in his village with admiration. The status of the car in the fantasy space and how Bayram soothed himself in the face of misadvantures are perfectly summarized by the dream scene he sees on the road. In the dream he sees, Bayram was greeted with drums and flutes in Ballıhisar village. Villagers have gathered enthusiastically around Mercedes. Bayram watches them from inside the car. There are also Bayram's old friends and relatives among them. As Bayram passes by with his Mercedes as if he is in a victory parade, they all line up and start to praise Bayram: "Well done, Bayram!", "Long live Bayram! How did you do this job?", " Would a Mercedes come out of our village, too?", "The pride of the village is Bayram!", "You

have come out of all of us!", "Well done, you did a great job!" The space where his fantasy, which keeps Bayram on the road and enables him to fetishize his commodity and integrate with it despite everything, is predicated on Ballıhisar in this dream. But in the absence of this space, the meta-body is just a battered, damaged surface. At the end of the film, learning that Ballıhisar is no longer available, the deformed image of Bayram's car expresses that the sublime quality of the commodity depends on its status in the fantasy space rather than being inherent. The deadly dimension of the enchanting power becomes apparent in this scene. Bayram sits back in the driver's seat of the scrapped machine, while the crooked wipers of the car start to work. However, there is no longer a window to be cleaned. The car window is shattered. Moreover, it seems unlikely that even the scrapped body of the car could move by an action. Here, it is possible to clearly diagnose the hysterical symptom of Bayram that makes itself felt constantly throughout the film. Because hysteria behaves as if they were unaware of corporal anatomy (Freud, as cited in Tomšič, 2017, p. 229). Absence at the basis of the hysterical symptom, which does not care about the empirical materiality of the body, is the consistency of the symptom itself. To quote Lacan: "In the symptom principle there is the absence of truth, which indicates the location of the symptom but presupposes its absence. The symptom attaches itself to a truth that no longer works" (as cited in Tomšič, 2017, p. 230). Both Bayram himself and his car were battered and became unworkable, but Bayram could not give up his desire to attach himself to the commodity. Even in a devastated and exhausted state, sitting back in the driver's seat and starting the car indicates that this integration has not been completely broken. He is unaware of either his own body or the body of the car. The only thing he feels is the pleasure he gets from integrating with the car, even if it causes his devastation.

3.3.4. Highway as the Space of Neoliberal Competition

So, how do we explain how Bayram continues to maintain the symptom of commodity integration despite all the setbacks? This situation is directly related to neoliberal subjectivity. As emphasized by Brown (2018), neoliberal rationality makes people simply *homo oeconomicus* by weighing all spheres of existence with economic terms and measures. Neoliberalism is a unique way of producing a subject, a system of behavior management. The neoliberal subject is obliged to develop and take advantage of its competitive position and to increase the portfolio value (monetary and non-monetary) in all its undertakings (Brown, 2018, p. 10). In the pattern consisting of the subject's competitive initiative and individualist ideology, there is no place for society. In the famous words of Thatcher, who played a major role in neoliberalism becoming a new economic orthodoxy that regulates the public policy of capitalist states: "There is no such thing as society, there is only individual people" (as cited in Harvey, 2015, p. 31). All forms of social solidarity had to be thrown out for the sake of individualism, private property, and personal responsibility. "Economics is method, but the aim is to change the soul" (Thatcher, as cited in Harvey, 2015, p. 31). Neoliberal rhetoric is constantly echoing in the behavior and attitudes of Bayram. As we mentioned before, it is not only Bayram's relationship with his car that is metaphorical in the film *Sarı Mercedes*. Since the cinematic space of the film is almost composed of the highway, the highway on which the journey passes also has a metaphorical meaning. Bayram's relationship with other cars is linked to these metaphors. The highway on which Bayram's machine-body integrated with the commodity is traveling is a metaphor for the form of politico-economic organization of neoliberalism. In the neoliberal understanding based on market changes shaped by the turnover of financial flows and capital, individuals quickly pursue their interests in an atomized state. The highway is

a sign that embodies the individual pattern in which society or social solidarity is went out and the competition between individuals over speed. Before buying his Mercedes, Bayram did not hesitate to sacrifice his social relations in order to increase his speed in economic competition. Most of the flashback scenes in the film draw attention to Bayram's sacrifice of the social ties he sees as a burden, while pursuing his own interests. In one of these scenes, Bayram remembers what he said to his lover Kezban, whom he met before going to Germany. When Bayram told her "you have to go without looking back in this world," Kezban responsed him with a shout: "You are characterless!" Recalling his ruthless abandonment of Kezban, Bayram, meanwhile, knocked hard on the door of his Mercedes involuntarily and damaged the surface of his commodity-body. He suddenly notices the dent in his car door with horror. When he realizes this damage he has done involuntarily, he punishes himself by punching himself in the head. Le Breton (2016) stated that prison inmates injured their own bodies in order to relieve the tension that gnawed inside them (p. 94). Regarding himself as a prisoner of a body that he knows less and less, Bayram attempted to harm himself in order to allay the distress caused by his guilt. However, since his body is integrated with the commodity, he has inflicted the damage on his commodity-body. Realizing the damage he had done to the object of sublimation, he punched a part of his estranged biological body, his head that reminded him of bad memories, in order to redeem himself. He perceives his self as a burden and his biological body as something in which he is trapped. In another of the flashback scenes, we learn that Bayram falsified the health report of his friend İbrahim from the village in order to go to Germany. He got a work permit in Germany instead of showing his friend's report as bad. Poor Bayram, who secretly left his village amongst the hay bales pulled by a horse cart, has now

become a subject trying to increase his symbolic value by overtaking rival drivers one by one with his fast commodity-body on the smooth surface of the highway.

3.3.5. Panic of the Body Trapped in its Enclosure

We hardly see public spaces in the film *Sarı Mercedes*. The crowded scenes are very limited. One of the rare exceptions is the scene, depicting the entrance of Bayram to the border of Turkey through a *tracking shot*. In the scene in question, we see Bayram in his car among people passing the border control in their cars. Society appears only as the object of identity control. Apart from that, there is no structure called society, we see people in cars on the road vaguely. Other people often confront Bayram in crisis / accident situations. Bayram sees vehicles crashed along the way. Some of them rolled over, some crashed into another vehicle, some were on its side, some were scrapped vehicles and trucks. Since the motif of the vehicle driving off the road by accident is frequently featured in the film, it is possible to read these vehicles as an allegory of individuals who fail in neoliberal competition and lose the game. When Bayram sees these vehicles off the road, he worries that the next car to crash may be his own. Moreover, he panics when he sees a hallucination, seeing that the car lying on the backside of the road is exactly his Mercedes. Adapting Berardi's (2012) writings on psychopathology (p. 94) to Bayram, we can say the following; Bayram's panic is not simply a matter of individual psychopathology, but individual manifestations of a generalized social syndrome. Social psychologists have pointed out that under conditions of liberal hyper-capitalism, two pathologies are particularly actual: panic and depression (Berardi, 2012, p. 93). Economic competition becoming the dominant psychological imperative ignites Bayram to a panicked competition with other cars. In a competitive society where all energies are mobilized to dominate one another, there is a constant questioning: if one does not win, within a few days or months he will be

eliminated (Berardi, 2012, p. 94). With the panic created by the fear of being eliminated, Bayram is further loaded on the gas of his car. He gets the opportunity to re-consecrate his competitive subjectivity as he swiftly passes by every vehicle that comes off the road. Even though he sees the crashed car and the desperation of his acquaintances from Germany, he continues on his way without stopping. It is not he who goes astray, but others; his commodity-body is faster, more durable, more agile than others. Bayram says, "That's how we pass the man," referring to his body integrated with his Mercedes all the way. We can consider the scene of Bayram, who was worried after losing the star on the nose of his car, and a slow bus appears in front of him after he sets off again, in this context. Mercedes emblem of the bus, which goes very slow compared to the speed of Bayram, is seen right across the windshield of his car. The missing star logo is revealed again in front of Bayram. However, this indicator of star is an ordinary indicator as long as it is outside the corporal surface, more precisely, does not signify Bayram. When the star leaves his own commodity-body, it has become an ordinary indicator for Bayram. Thereupon, Bayram is furiously accelerated by pressing the gas of his car. The value of the commodity changes its appearance to “speed” instead of the symbolic star. There is the connotation of Bayram here that he signifies himself over the global capital movement speed of the neoliberal space. Especially this emphasis, points at Özal’s reign when neoliberalism in Turkey has been systematized, presents a micro historicity. After overtaking the Mercedes bus in front of him, Bayram tells Balkız "this is how we pass the man". Bayram misses the gas station while overtaking and runs out of fuel. The mobility of the body surface is restricted. Later, while continuing on the road, seeing the bodies scattered from the crashed cars on the road causes Bayram to desire to hold on to the car's machine body more. Competitive individualism causes the fears of Bayram to increase in every crisis and to take refuge

in the mechanical shell of Mercedes passionately. In this form, Bayram resembles the Homunculus figure in Goethe's *Faust* (1832) poem. An important feature of the Homunculus figure, an artificial human produced in the laboratory, is that it cannot live outside of its bottle (Rentzsch, 2018, p. 282). Tanpınar (1948), in his novel *Huzur*, wrote the passage "sometimes I think I was a prisoner in a glass shell like Goethe's Homunculus", and used this figure on the basis of the idea that man is imprisoned in the dungeon he created from his own delusions (Rentzsch, 2018, p. 289). Goethe's Homunculus breaks the container in which he is imprisoned and achieves his salvation at the cost of his life. The Homunculus is the figure of choosing freedom, knowing that he will die. In Tanpınar's adaptation of the Homunculus, this metaphor is a figure trapped in his enclosure as a result of the addiction he establishes with the enclosure woven by his anxieties. Bayram cannot go out of its enclosure, like Tanpınar's Homunculus; Bayram's body is a body that cannot give up the need to integrate with his car. He examines the others behind the window, participates in the competition with the steel body covering his body, accelerates with a high horsepower engine that increases its movement and tries to survive on the highway. When he gets out of his car and is separated from it, he is a vulnerable body. In the film we rarely see Bayram, who is aware of this dependent corporeality, outside of his Mercedes. The scenes of Bayram outside of his car usually take place in restaurants he enters to suppress hunger. But since he spends most of his money on his car's fuel and debts, he has very little with him. He can eat a small amount of food with his remaining money. Bayram hardly eats, drinks, but fills the tank of Mercedes with the best quality fuel. His own body and the body of Mercedes are integrated. Bayram, who is very content while trying to feed his stomach, is extremely wasteful when it comes to the gas tank of Mercedes. As an immigrant in the neoliberal economy, he sacrificed all of his hardly accumulated

capital, first as an assembly worker and then by doing street garbage disposal. After buying Mercedes, it was turn to sacrifice his own body. Corporal integration with the machine has increased so much with the fear of falling behind in competition that Bayram's relationship with the world outside of Mercedes has been reduced to a minimum. The panic created by the grotesque landscape of the highway, created by the successive images of cars leaving the road by accident, keeps Bayram prisoner in its enclosure. In one of the delusions caused by his panic state, Bayram's attention is distracted and when he cannot control the steering wheel, he loses the balance of his meta-body. Meanwhile, he cannot even notice the horns sounded by the passenger bus behind him. Finally, when the passenger bus manages to overtake Bayram, the passengers looking at the unstable Mercedes through the window pass by Bayram, condemning and cursing him. Bayram is disturbed by this damning glance at his commodity-body. Immediately after this scene, a train of TCDD (State Railways of the Republic of Turkey) suddenly appears in front of Bayram, mysteriously and surprisingly. The train travels in the same direction as it, from the railway next to the highway. Bayram immediately gets rid of his astonishment and begins to admire the advancing train from the railway next to him. They go so parallel that they are like mirror reflections of each other. The relationship that he establishes with a vehicle does not cause any uneasiness for the first (and only) time along the road. He found the ideal reflection of his own commodity-body in the train. When he notices that he did not realize himself, he sees the train next to him as a symbol of being himself. With its being the first machine-God of modernity, pointing to the achievement of wealth and wealth as the engine of capitalism, with its magnificent and powerful mechanical body and its stable route, the train is the ideal example of capitalist machine-being. Bayram tries to close the narcissistic wound of the commodity-body by identifying with the

ideal mechanical body of the train. Bayram says to his car: "Balkız, you know, when I was little I always wanted to have a train." The conductor of the TCDD train, on the other hand, is disturbed by the fact that Bayram passes quickly by his car and speeds up the train. As the train gets faster, so does Bayram. After going side by side for a certain period of time, Bayram continues on his way, leaving the train behind. In the neoliberal era, where the commercial speed of passengers or commodities became important, the privilege of the rail network passed to the highways, and the speed of TCDD, the purest representative of the Kemalist economic and strategic autarchy tradition (Bazin & De Tapia, 2015, p. 175), became insufficient.

3.3.6. Anonymous Machine-Body on the Highway

Highways are among the spaces that Augé (2016) conceptualized as *non-places*.[12] Augé calls spaces, that cannot be defined in terms of identity, cannot be defined either relationally and historically, as non-places (2016, p. 74). In non-places, a world that is promised only individuality, transition, transience and instant is encountered. Highways that provide a basis for an environment in which means of transportation (dynamic spaces), which are also transition points and living spaces, develop as an intricate network, are also included in non-existent places. The highway, which is a non-relational space that opens area for temporary aspects of individuality, is one of the spatial projections of the flow of financial capital. Such a non-relational non-place consists of the singular attempts of singular individuals trying to make their routes in their dynamic spaces (vehicles). It provides an inconsistent anonymity with its effect that both generates and de-identifies individuality. Transportation and settlement have taken a more technological form, on the other hand, identity has lost its

[12] Augé (2016) also lists hotel chains, slums in the grip of destruction, amusement parks, airports, and wired or wireless networks among the spaces that he calls *non-places* (p. 74). Since the film's cinematic space is a highway, the concept of the highway is emphasized in our study.

importance; in advanced capitalist society, which sees speed and attack as freedom and ignores place and space, the self, which is cut off from the ground, turns into a burden carried by the body (Erzen, 2019, pp. 164-165). Therefore, it is very difficult to talk about sociality in such a non-place. The body, on the other hand, has become something that needs to be given speed and flexibility by being freed from the weight of the self. Hayek (Thatcher's intellectual inspiration), foreshadowing the neoliberal regime without large-scale solidarity and risk sharing, wrote that the word "social" is "the emptyest possible term" (Davies, 2020). Bayram of *Sarı Mercedes* travels with delusions and anxieties on the highway, without risk sharing, in a space where each individual is hung by their own leg. Since the focus of Bayram's narcissistic attention is the car, his anxiety is directed not at his own body but at the body of his Mercedes. The park scene in the film exemplifies this situation. Bayram goes to a restaurant and parks his car in the parking lot. While parking the car, he sees another vehicle approaching to park next to him. He is scared of his paranoia that the other car is touching the surface of his own car. Every park of Bayram contains a panic-filled position. Whenever his body integrated with his car enters a different space (border gate, parking lot, ferryboat) he wants to certify the impermeability of his commodity-body. After parking his car, he gets out of the car and tries to prevent the other car from approaching his car by standing hysterically next to the hood of his car.[13] He protects the commodity-body by putting his own body between the other vehicle and his Mercedes. By sacrificing his biological body, he strives to create a safe distance

[13] Throughout the film, the emphasis on Bayram's contact phobia, hygiene obsession, cleaning up the surface of his car constantly, checking up whether it is scratched or not, is also related to what Berardi calls the cognitive transformation that emerged in the last two decades of the twentieth century. According to Berardi (2012), the liberal economy distorted the danger of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and completely redefined the field of physicality. The dirty has been replaced by clean, hairy has been replaced by bright. Skin-to-skin contact became dangerous and electrically charged, which brought cultural sterilization with it (Berardi, 2012, p. 104).

between the surface of his vehicle and the other vehicle. The possibility of the other vehicle damaging the body of Bayram does not matter to Bayram, the corporal surface of Bayram at the phenomenal level is the surface of Mercedes.

Highway also emphasizes the groundlessness and rootlessness of Bayram, an immigrant worker. The type of migration in neoliberal culture is a travel that leads to the consumption of identities. Migrations in our age cannot create a unique culture different from the pre-industrial age and result in anonymity and identity erosion (Erzen, 2019, p. 159). Since the modern immigrant has to constantly adopt anonymity, the search for a place results in a space where is a non-place (Erzen, 2019, p. 159). As a modern immigrant, Bayram lost his identity and human relations during his travel, got caught up in the fantasy that he could make up for what he lost on his return to Ballıhisar, but when he learned that a house he could return to was not possible, he could not find any other way to take refuge in the mechanical body of his car. Mumford's writings in the 1960s is a beautiful summary of the relationship between the false sense of freedom Bayram experienced on the highway with the loss of self. Mumford wrote: "The 'emancipated individual' who got rid of addictions such as social unions and neighborhood remained out of place and unrelated ..." (as cited in Erzen, 2019, p. 162)

3.4. *Güneşe Yolculuk*: Travel of the Witnessing Body

3.4.1. Listening to the Voice of the Other

Güneşe Yolculuk (*Journey to the Sun*, Yeşim Ustaoğlu, 1999) film, narrates the friendship of Mehmet and Berzan and their tragic “journey” as a consequence of evolving events, over Turkey's political geography through the late '90s. Mehmet is a

young man working for İSKİ (İstanbul Water and Sewer Department). He detects leaks in water pipes with his sharp ear. He migrated from Tire, a district of İzmir, to İstanbul. Mehmet, who is Aegean, is thought to be a Kurd by most people in İstanbul because of his brown skin and Turkish with an accent. Berzan, on the other hand, is a Kurd who immigrated to İstanbul from the Zorduç village of Urfa. He had to flee Zorduç and go to İstanbul as a result of his house being raided by soldiers and his father being kidnapped in the village. He earns his living with a music cassette stall he opens in Eminönü square every day. The common point of both characters in the film is that they came to İstanbul from different places leaving their hometowns and they are poor people who have gone through immigration experience (Suner, 2015, p. 269). Other important common aspects that will be emphasized in this study are that they have similarities both in their corporal working conditions and daily lives and in corporal features (brown skin). In his work at Water Department, Mehmet uses a corporal sense (ear) as a criterion to detect leaks in pipes, while Berzan sells music cassettes that appeal to a corporal sense (ear). In addition, Berzan uses his body as an element of political resistance. The political body of Berzan, who participated in rallies to support the hunger strike and death fast actions initiated to resist the F-type cell and isolation system put into practice in prisons in 2000, is the external extension of the ongoing corporal struggle in closed prisons. Moreover, Berzan, who lives in a forced exile, is a precariat body because he lives constantly in hiding from the police.

Berzan and Mehmet's friendship begins with their meeting on the evening of a national match. Turkish national team wins the match that Mehmet watched in a coffee house. After the match, the fans leave the coffee house and attack a car passing by. The fanatical crowd curses the person in the car because he is not a party to the victory, and because he do not show joy, they get on the car and kick its hood. On the one hand,

they shout: "Are you a Kurd? Why aren't you happy?" Meanwhile, Mehmet was beaten while trying to fend off the furious crowd attacking the person in the car. Coincidentally, Berzan, who was passing by at that time, notices the situation and saves Mehmet. After dodging the mob of aggressors who were chasing them, Berzan and Mehmet first hid in an apartment building and then left the venue by taking the tram. Their friendship begins with the conversation they make during their journey on the tram. Mehmet became a partner in the minority that Berzan lived as a poor Kurd in Istanbul. Thus, the editing that combines the two scenes we saw at the beginning of the film becomes meaningful. Transitioning from Berzan, who plays Kurdish songs on a portable cassette counter in Eminönü, to Mehmet, who listens to the leaks in the water pipes with his ear, the editing of the film points to the common resistance of two characters who are not yet aware of each other. Aegean Mehmet's ear seems to have heard the music played by the Kurdish Berzan, whose culture he was foreign to. Similar to the leakage or crack / crisis in the pipes of the water transport system, Berzan is a crisis in the nation-state system constructed by the homogenizing state discourse with his Kurdish identity (his language and corporeality). As an immigrant, Berzan is in an intermittent state of existence (Yıldız, 2008, p. 59). Mehmet hears and responds to the voice of Berzan, who was able to throw himself out of a crack he could find, echoing in exile with his experience on the night of the match.

3.4.2. Corporal Exclusion

One evening, while Mehmet is returning home with the minibus he boarded, the passenger sitting next to him sees the search point ahead, and leaves his gun unnoticed in Mehmet's bag and goes down from the minibus. The minibus is stopped by the police at the checkpoint. Mehmet becomes a suspect as a result of the gun found by the police during a search in the minibus, out of Mehmet's bag. Because of his brown skin and

"broken" Turkish, he is immediately marked by the normative view of the administrative apparatus and hurriedly taken into custody. While being questioned by the police, he is subjected to physical and verbal attacks. Police interrogating Mehmet by beating him first ask him what is the copper flute, which is his labor tool and enables him to listen to the leaks in the water pipes. Then they continue to ask Mehmet by punching him: "Where did you get the gun? Which party do you belong to? Say it!" Afterwards, they take out the Kurdish cassette that Berzan gave as a gift and ask what this is. The police continue: "Look at me, where did you get that gun Mehmet?" Mehmet replies: "I swear I am not a terrorist." The police beat him again and then asks Mehmet where he is from. They do not believe in Mehmet, who says he is from Tire (a town in the West (Aegean) region of Turkey), because in the state discourse, being brown skinned is identified with Easterner. This scene is the reflection of the interchangeability of the concepts of being a Kurd and "terrorist" in the film, due to the relationship established between being a "terrorist" and being a Kurd in the 1990s (Arslan, 2018, p. 117). According to the police, proving Mehmet's Kurdishness is a sufficient justification to declare him a "terrorist". The verbal attacks made simultaneously with the beating are essentially about Mehmet's corporeality, just like beating, because verbal normative torture sets up the discourse against Mehmet's body. In this scene, the police question Mehmet's "belonging" through a dual structure. Both linguistic and racial practice of exclusion go hand in hand. Balibar (2017) named the community established by the national state as *fictive ethnicity*. This indicates that ethnicity is produced in two ways: language and race (Balibar, 2017, p. 120). As a result of these two complementing each other, it becomes possible to fictionalize the people as an absolute unity. However, Balibar (2017) emphasizes that sometimes one of these two ways, sometimes the other becomes dominant. This is because the two are based

on different institutions, different symbols, different idealizations of national identity. The linguistic construction of identity is *open*. While the linguistic community creates a terribly exclusive ethnic memory, it immediately adopts what enters the language (Balibar, 2017, p. 122). Being able to put the language into practice is enough to be a part of the community because it is performative. On the other hand, the principle of closure / exclusion is needed in order to be confined to a certain public, and Balibar (2017) states that this principle is racial community. While the linguistic community ensures the equality of individuals by "naturalizing" the social inequality of linguistic practices, the racial community also ethnicizes social differences by dissolving social inequalities in a "similarity" by creating a division between "false" and "real" citizens (Balibar, 2017, p. 123). However, the formally egalitarian linguistic community belonging creates divisions and distinctive norms that correspond to class differences. "Differences in linguistic expertise function like caste differences that bring different social destinies to individuals" (Balibar, 2017, p. 128). These differences pave the way for class racism by combining with corporal *habitus*, which gives the act of speaking a racial or semi-racial sign. The basis of the interpretation of Mehmet's personal characteristics such as "disorder" in Turkish usage, "mistakes" in speech, "regional" accent and brown skin, as a sign by the police is based on fictional ethnicization. Pejorative questions asked by the police about Mehmet's labor tool, questions about his hometown, questions about the Kurdish music cassette that came out of his bag, questions about his physical appearance are both linguistic and corporal questions. The interrogation room is a space that embodies how the linguistic community and the racial community that make up the national community complement each other. Although Mehmet is a Turkish-speaking Aegean, his accent, brown skin, listening to Kurdish

music and his class position are sufficient evidence to exclude him from the nation-state community.

3.4.3. From Spatial Detention to Spatial Exclusion

Mehmet, who was thrown into a dark cell after the interrogation, became alienated from his place in the society when he was taken out of the cell a few days later, as well as the ear flute, which is the praxeomorphic tool of the labor force, which helps him to listen to the water pipes with his sharp ear. His corporeality seems to have lost its sense of taking measurements. The atonal sounds he makes by rubbing his flute on the street asphalt, which he had delicately used while making meticulous measurements on the streets, he announces the anger accumulated in him, his lost connection with the space, the loss of his corporal relationship with his labor force, to the ears of the city. The dramatic scene in which Mehmet, who comes out of custody, returns to his room in the inn where he lives with his precarious immigrant fellow workers in an exhausted and devastated state, emphasizes the pressure that the subject, who has become instrumental by breaking away from the labor force, is subjected. The uniform noise of the work machines accompanying Mehmet's march as an external voice underlines this instrumentalization. The reason for Mehmet's alienation from his labor force and distance from his social identity is not only the unlawful police violence he suffered. In addition, in a space where the law was suspended by the state, his body was detained in an indefinite and arbitrary manner. Butler (2016), analyzing how state sovereignty functions discriminately on the basis of race and ethnicity without feeling responsible for the law, states that assumptions lie at the basis of indefinite detention. Butler (2016) underlines that even if the person, who is detained indefinitely without the right to appear in court, appeared in court the standards of evidence are quite lax. One does not know when to join the political fabric of life (Butler, 2016, p. 80). The

presence of objects brought together by randomness in Mehmet's bag and corporal randomness such as Mehmet's skin color gained a certain meaning in the assumptions of the state discourse and suspended the law. Although Aegean Mehmet's detention took a week, he experienced what it was like to live the fragile life of the Eastern Berzan as a Kurd. When Mehmet goes out he is in a miserable condition. When a red cross is placed on the door of the room where he is staying in the inn, his roommates, who feel that they are also under threat, do not want Mehmet with them. When he goes to the municipality to continue his job, he learns that he has been fired. He tells his supervisor in the municipality that the new detectors make better measurements. Mehmet tries to convince the supervisor by saying that his ear is sharp, but it does not help. His superior tells him to leave the ear flute and exit. Being thought to be Kurdish, Mehmet was left both homeless and unemployed as if the torture was not enough. Having been built in the public domain pattern of Turkishness in Turkey, has caused being a Kurd or the claiming in this sense to be perceived as a threat to the public (Arslan, 2018, p. 118). Mehmet loses his ability to act in the public space, assuming that he is a Kurd, due to his non-compliance with the corporal perception determined by the Turkish state discourse and his friendship with Berzan. Just as Cabbar, the coachman in the film *Umut* (*Hope*, Yılmaz Güney, 1970), became alienated from the labor vehicle (phaeton) and alienated from his own labor force, Mehmet became unqualified suddenly by being deprived of his labor tool (ear flute).

Meanwhile, Berzan had to break away from the cassette counter, which was his labor tool. Berzan learns from his mussel seller friend Şeyhmus that the police are after him, and he has to hand over his counter to his friend. It is a great risk for Berzan to open a stall in Eminönü square, as it is seen as a threat by the state due to its identity of mobility in public space. When Berzan quits his Kurdish cassette stall that is both his

labor vehicle and allows him to reproduce his identity, he starts to work as an assistant on a bus on the İstanbul-Urfa line as a remedy. The fact that he is constantly on the move but has to make a living in a fixed route / bus points to the impossibility of migrant workers to occupy a certain space in the public space. As Bauman (2018a) stated while making the universal definition of economic migrants; although immigrants are deprived of the rights of "institutionalized" individuals, they are perceived as "signs of bad luck" since they carry the smell of their destroyed houses and burnt villages into the safe cocoons of the "residents" of the nation (p. 82). The reasons why this perception has become stronger since the 1990s are not only the Kurdish political identity, which has become more visible, and the crisis of Turkishness (Ünlü, 2018) or negative representations about Kurds in the mainstream Turkish media (Gönen, 2016). Since the 1980s, the neoliberal economic system which is integrated into the structure of the administrative features of Turkey's government herein are also effective. The radical transformation of urban social life under the influence of neoliberalism and forced migration processes is closely related to discriminatory discourses and attitudes towards Kurds (Saraçoğlu, 2014, p. 20). Harvey (2015) states that the neoliberal state needs a certain kind of nationalism in order to survive. Operating as a competitive actor in the world market, the neoliberal state mobilizes nationalism in order to be successful. Harvey (2015) summarizes the link between market competition and nationalism as follows: "Competition creates temporary winners and losers in the struggle for global position; this in itself can be a source of national pride or a search for national spirit" (p. 93). Ties dissolved under the influence of neoliberalism are tried to be compensated by cultural nationalism currents in nation-states. As a reflection of this, in 1990s there have been state-forced migration and serious human rights violations such as evacuation of villages in Kurdish residential districts of Turkey. There was a process in

which the inhabitants of the villages were forced to leave their villages overnight without even getting their belongings (Baysal, as cited in Uysal, 2016, p. 12). It is difficult to treat forced migration independently of the flexible labor process of the neoliberal system. Therefore, cultural nationalism and the flexibility of working conditions constitute the phenomenon of migration in neoliberalism. The transition of the production system from fordism to post-fordism or flexible production in neoliberalism has led to the spread of immigrant labor due to the use of this understanding of production. The change in the production system was not limited to the field of technical and economic relations, but also had effects on the type of labor needed, work culture, union understanding, organization, forms of participation, and even identity formation and behavior (Erbaş, 2019, p. 155). In flexible production where privatization practices are highly effective and there are no bureaucratized unions, the vast majority of workers are immigrants, refugees or fugitives (Erbaş, 2019, p. 149). In a system where exploitation relations are getting deeper with subcontracting and insecure employment, immigrants with weak bargaining power due to their lack of legal rights are ideal. The most suitable type of labor is the refugee or illegal labor force that will be in working condition even under the worst working conditions (Erbaş, 2019, p. 155). The Kurds who had to leave their village and forced to migrate the large cities as İstanbul, have had to participate in the precarious labor market of Turkey to ensure their livelihood. In flexible modes of production, the discontinuity and disorder of the work reach such dimensions that employment shrinks and the under-class mass expands (Erbaş, 2019, p. 161).

The jobs that Berzan and Mehmet found in order to make a living in Istanbul are examples of this kind of permanent and irregular employment. They live on the edge of poverty and work in low-wage, "unskilled" jobs. For example, Berzan, who had

to hand over his cassette counter to his friend when the police went after him, started to earn his living as an assistant on the İstanbul-Urfa bus line. Mehmet, on the other hand, while detecting water leaks with ear flute in the Water and Sewer Department, started to work in a parking lot through Berzan as a result of his dismissal under the pressure of the state. Mehmet, who becomes unskilled under the directives of the social process of variable capital circulation driven by value which is a spatial fiction (Harvey, 2011, p. 138), has to meet the need for shelter in the parking lot because he does not have a home. However, when the red cross is placed on the door of the outbuilding in the parking lot, he is again subjected to an exclusion mechanism. When Mehmet has to quit his job in the parking lot, he starts to earn a living by sorting garbage in the garbage dump. Every job Mehmet has worked during cinematic time in the film is less qualified than the previous one, and each one is precarious. Earning a bare living in flexible working conditions within the neoliberal system, immigrant Mehmet is forced to consume his labor power in jobs whose insecurity level increases from the moment he is blacklisted by the national community. It has a symbolic significance that the last of his works goes to a dump. The garbage dump is the extreme point of exclusion from public space. It is a space where the waste of social order accumulates. Bauman (2018a) states that state forces that fail to compensate for the uncertainty brought on by globalization turn to goals that they can cope with and control. These relatively easy targets near the state forces are refugees, asylum seekers, migrants. They are “the waste of globalization" with Bauman's conceptualization (2018a, p. 81). They are the clearest target for uncertainty anxiety, because of their homelessness and being the closest target to which resentment can be directed in a national community. High inflation and decreasing in the value of Turkish lira in Turkey, that has involved in the global capital system, has created anxiety which has chosen Kurdish laborers, who came to large cities

by internal migration, as a target in the 1990s. Bauman (2018a) emphasizes that one of the dire consequences of globalization is the transition from the inclusive society model to the exclusionary state model such as "criminal sanctions" and "fighting crime" (p. 83). The priority of the welfare mode in official discourse has been replaced by the priority of the criminal mode, which activates the exclusion mechanisms (Garland, as cited in Bauman, 2018a, p. 83). As a result of the redefinition of the state mission, the state is now withdrawn from the economic sphere, while criminal interventions have been expanded and strengthened (Wacquant, as cited in Bauman, 2018, p. 83). The structure of the state in era of globalization aimed at immigrants, easily overlapped with exclusionary practices that is already exists in the origins of the nation-state structure of Turkey. In this case, explains that Turkey's transition to neoliberal system along with the global economy continued from the state structure of how violent the Kurds still a part of the mechanisms of exclusion applied. This case explains, how the state structure continued which becomes part of the global economy with Turkey's transition to neoliberal system and how the mechanisms of exclusion, that has been applied to Kurds, violently continued in the state structure. Until the 1990s, in accordance with the denial of the existence of the Kurds in the classical Turkish state discourse, the Kurd issue was constantly referred to as "reactionarism", "tribal resistance", "banditry", "foreign provocation" or "regional backwardness" in the state discourse and it has not been handled as a ethno-political problem (Yeğen, 2015, p. 222). However, as we approached the end of the 90s, the Kurd issue began to be addressed by the state as an ethno-political problem in neoliberal global conditions where cultural nationalism was on the rise and was used to further intensify the domination of the nation-state. As mentioned above, although the state has begun to abandon denial of Kurdishness, it has chosen to consider it related to "terrorism". The state discourse based on denial has

accepted the ethno-political identity of the Kurds since the 90's, but by determining the content of the ethno-political identity as "terrorism", it has implemented violent exclusion practices. With the realization of the practice of “exclusion by recognition” instead of denial, the Kurdish identity was recognized, but it was transformed into a defamatory discrimination discourse by stereotyping (Saraçoğlu, 2014). This exclusion also carries an economic "inclusion". The participation of migrant labor in the flexible production process takes place with the criminal sanctions of the neoliberal state. Criminal sanctions such as forced migrations, have prepared the conditions of the emergence of internal migration and the conditions of using Kurdish immigrant as cheap labor by the capital in Turkey. The garbage dump, which is the last working space Mehmet entered in İstanbul in the film, is a space that embodies all of these. Wasted by the social order, Mehmet found himself in the garbage dump, the location of the outcast objects. But at the same time, as he works here, he continues to be economically included by the social order. The garbage dump scene in the film reveals that behind the “exclusion by recognition” sanction of the national community and official discourse lies an economic mechanism by which immigrants condemned to informality are exploited.

3.4.4. Testimony of the Body Deprived of Legal Rights

Mehmet, who was stripped of his mobility in the public space, was exiled to the outer perimeter of the urban space. He shares a similar fate with objects that have been discarded by losing their use value. Mehmet is also a body that has lost his legal value as a being excluded from the social order. It would be appropriate to refer to Agamben's conceptualization of *homo sacer* (the sacred man), which refers to people excluded from urban life in archaic Roman law (as cited in Aydın, 2016, p. 116). This concept refers to a mere body in a *zoē* state, expressing a bare life deprived of all rights, excluded

from the social life *bios*. There is no penalty for killing this person, but it is forbidden to sacrifice them with ceremonial practices (Agamben, 2001, p. 98). Therefore, they have been excluded from both profane and religious law. This double exception and double inclusion structure has a meaning beyond similarity with the structure of the sovereign exception (Agamben, 2001, p. 112). Agamben (2001) defines this meaning as: "the sovereign is the person against whom all people are potential *homines sacri*, and the *homo sacer* is the person against whom all people are sovereign." (p. 114) Agamben states that this juridical-political phenomenon is constantly at work in modern sovereign regimes. Natural life (zoē) in the modern form of sovereignty is fully included in the realm of politics, which Foucault defined as *biopolitics* (Agamben, 2001, p. 157). Thanks to the ability to declare the state of exception and suspend the law, the sovereign produces bare (zoē) lives that are deprived of legal rights. Life is subjected to both a deathly power and an absolute abandonment relationship (Agamben, 2001, p. 113). The sovereign, who holds the authority to “value” life that has lost its political meaning, determines the threshold of who is permissible to be destroyed (Agamben, 2001, p. 167). In the film *Güneşe Yolculuk*, Berzan is a body that is considered permissible to be destroyed in the biopolitical horizon of the state due to its ethnic identity and a politicized subjectivity. As a matter of fact, Berzan, who participated in a street protest in solidarity with the prisoners who protested the F-type cell system and the conditions of isolation in prisons with hunger strike, was killed by the soldiers. The life of Berzan, who was deprived of his legal rights and reduced to a bare body, was illegally destroyed. In the editing of the film, the scene where Berzan is killed is accompanied by real archive footage of the prisoners' hunger strike and protests. The deaths in the archive images are intertwined with the death of Berzan. The fictional body of Berzan, who was attacked by soldiers during the protest outside the

prison, was parallelly edited with the archive footage of the real bodies of the prisoners' relatives who were attacked in the protests and the prisoners who lost their lives as a result of the hunger strike in the film. The film thus witnesses the situation experienced by bodies that can be killed and sacrificed according to the sovereign power. In line with the testimony practice of the film, Mehmet also took on the testimony of Berzan in terms of witnessing his life as a Kurdish immigrant. Excluded from the public space and national community as a result of the torture, Mehmet is a witness who has experienced bare life. In other words, Mehmet has witnessed the indefinite extent of the limit of destruction by the sovereign. According to Agamben (2001), this border has now been opened so much that it potentially includes all people and every citizen in the new biopolitical horizon of the states holding national sovereignty. “Bare life is no longer limited to a particular place or a definite category. Now, bare life haunts the biological body of every living being." (Agamben, 2001, p. 182) In modern biopolitics, natural life and politics are so intertwined that a natural data about the body easily turns into a political element. Agamben (2001) states that the basis of totalitarianism in our age lies in this dynamic life-politics sameness. (p. 193) The fact that Mehmet's exclusion process starts with corporal signs (brown skin, broken Turkish, being in the wrong place at the wrong time), regardless of being an Aegean Turk, is a result of biopolitics. The garbage dump is an extreme space where Mehmet's exclusion has reached, but Berzan is a silent complete witness who, although experiencing bare life throughout his life, will no longer be able to witness it. Mehmet is startled when he sees Berzan among those who lost their lives on the news while watching television. Then he goes in front of the mirror and dyes his black hair blonde with hairspray. He found this spray in the garbage dump where he was working. Mehmet emphasizes that he was wasted by using the outcast object he found in the final space of exclusion. Stating that

all hair treatments reflect the transition from the old personality to the new one, Bauman (2018a) states that in most cultures, hair is given shape as part of the ritual of transition from one social identity to another (p. 36). This change in Mehmet's hair right after Berzan's death indicates that he has been distanced from his old social identity by becoming aware of his social exclusion. The fact that the new shape given to the hair is not a result of a cut but a result of a color change indicates that this is not a mere break, but also contains a continuity. This continuity stems from Mehmet's first-hand witnessing of the exclusion mechanism applied to Kurdish immigrants and his effort to protect these witnesses by embracing the witnesses of what happened to Berzan. Mehmet kidnaps the dead body of his friend from the Forensic Medicine morgue and sets out to take him to Zorduç in order to realize Berzan's greatest desire; rejoining his hometown. The "journey" highlighted in the title of the film thus begins.

3.4.5. Passenger(s) Witnessing the Conditions of State of Emergency

Mehmet loads Berzan's coffin on the truck he stole from the parking lot and leaves İstanbul. As the truck moves along the road, indoor spaces in İstanbul leave their places to open spaces. The landscape expands, making the space limitless. The frames of the film expand in accordance with these open spaces. The camera, which frames indoor spaces with narrow angles in Istanbul, has been replaced by wide angle frames. Mehmet and Berzan's truck passes through the endless lands and high mountains. The van with two friends next to the inclusive landscape of nature is a tiny silhouette. These long plan shots showing the traveling of the truck in an unlimited space made it clear that the two friends gained a mobility they did not have in Istanbul. However, as Suner (2015) emphasizes, there are also parts of the film's journey sequences where the feeling of limitlessness created by these open spaces is interrupted by indoor spaces (p. 275). For example, when Mehmet approaches Urfa, children distributing political

newspapers appear on the road. The children ask Mehmet to take them to the city center. While Mehmet takes them in his truck and continues on his way, he coincides with the checkpoint of the gendarme who has blocked the road to the city. The soldiers stop the truck. The children quickly get out of the truck and run away from the soldiers chasing them. They point to the newspapers that the children have forgotten in the truck and say to Mehmet, "Say you were going to sell these newspapers in the city," and they begin to question him. When they find out that Mehmet is from Tire, they give up arresting him, but they do not allow him to continue and order the rest to go back. Traveling in the infinity of the open space, Mehmet's route is interrupted by the bounding closed space of the checkpoint. It is unclear whether this area is not on Mehmet's route, but a route he chose for children, or whether the place where the children will go is on Mehmet's path. There is a spatial ambiguity here. The path of the Kurdish children became identified with Mehmet's road, similar to the identification of the road of Berzan and the road of Mehmet, who made his journey to Berzan's hometown. Therefore, Mehmet not only witnessed the reality he was a stranger to before, he himself became a part of this reality. Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that Mehmet became the Other / Kurdish because his friend Berzan was not only killed but even buried (Arslan, 2018, p. 115). Such big differences point out that even if their paths are identified, there is a gap that cannot be bridged between Mehmet and Berzan. But, Mehmet is different from the former Mehmet as a result of the physical and mental injuries he suffered due to being stigmatized as the other, his witnessing the brutal violence his friend Berzan was subjected to, and what he witnessed during his travel in the geography where the Kurds live. Mehmet is a reflective surface that experiences the transformative effect of his experiences and testimonies, rather than transforming himself into another person, and acts as an eye/glass for the audience (Arslan, 2018, pp.

108-109). Mehmet bears witness to how the exclusionary mechanism, which he witnessed a certain part of it in Istanbul, spreading everywhere under the conditions of the State of Emergency in the inhabited geography with the Kurds and functioning systematically as he traveled through this geography. His travel is constantly interrupted by military identity checks and stops. Moreover, the military zones and watchtowers separated by thorns seen in many places along the way give a sense of limitation (Suner, 2015, p. 275). The police at checkpoints in Istanbul were replaced by heavily armed gendarmes scattered throughout the region. A striking example of this is in the scene where Mehmet is staying at a hotel in the city center to take a break. Entering the hotel, Mehmet asks for a room from the receptionist. Seeing the coffin next to Mehmet, the hotelier would not be willing to give Mehmet a room. Meanwhile, the eerie mechanical sound of military cars passing outside the hotel is heard. Lights of military cars leak through the hotel door. As the military convoy passes, the hotelier quickly takes Mehmet and the coffin inside. These gloomy hotel and military vehicles on the scene in the city center in the evening create a closed space that embodies the dark, claustrophobic atmosphere that permeates the urban space under the State of Emergency practice, as Suner (2015) stated (p. 275).

3.4.6. The Dual Body of Testimony

When Mehmet wakes up in the morning and looks out of his hotel window, he encounters a menacing sight of tanks scattered across the city streets. Although Mehmet looks at an open space (street) from a closed space, there is neither a person nor a car on the street. There is nothing but tanks on the roads. Road signs on streets where tanks are haphazardly positioned create a strange irony with tanks. This scene shows that the indoor space where Mehmet is located spreads to every point of the open space in this geography. Indoor and outdoor spaces are so intertwined in the State of Emergency

application that they become indistinguishable from each other. The mechanism of power transforms the open space into a closed space with siege strategies and exposes the open space to continuous interruptions. This scene also deals with the testimony of two bodies, one alive (Mehmet) and one dead (Berzan). While Berzan's lifeless body is in the coffin in the hotel room, Mehmet takes the testimony of Berzan, looking at the view from the window that Berzan was incapable of expressing. It is possible to address this scene by referring to Agamben's (2017) assessment on the concept of "witnessing". According to Agamben, the testimony of the survivor is confirmed only on condition that it is integrated by someone who cannot testify and has a reason for existence. Emphasizing that the survivor and the one who cannot survive are inseparable, Agamben (2017) states that their integrity-differences alone constitute testimony (p. 157). Testimony is the difference and integration of the potentiality and the potentiallessness of speech, the possibility and impossibility of a speaking being (2017, p. 158). Due to this dual nature of testimony, the subject of the testimony is fragmented, inconsistent, and has no consistency other than mispositioning. But the witness is an ethical subject that cannot be reduced to this. In Agamben's (2017) words, the witness is the subject "who bears witness to the desubjectification" (p. 158). If we go back to the hotel room scene in the film: the fact that Mehmet, who quietly watches what is happening through the window in the hotel room, and Berzan, who stands quietly in the coffin next to him in the room, share the same space, signifies their meeting in the concept of testimony despite their differences. Mehmet is watching what is happening with the eyes of Berzan, who is now impossible to witness the tragedy in his hometown. The cinematic space, which is an audio-visual medium, expresses this testimony through "image" instead of language. We watch the streets full of tanks from Mehmet's point of view. Berzan, who is the "subject of desubjectification," and Mehmet, who

"bears witness to the desubjectification," are both divided and inseparable as non-living (non-human) and living (human-being). Behind the window we witness with Mehmet to the evacuated streets of the city, which contain nothing but tanks, are actually documentary archive footage. The "docu-drama" method, which allows to integrate reality with fiction and will be one of the main formal elements that Kurdish cinema will use in the 2000s (Sert, 2019, p. 79), underlines the relationship of the fictional story in the film with reality. The fact that the image of the city full of panzers behind the window in the film is taken from real images is due to the fact that Mehmet's gaze is a testimony of the reality in the geography where Kurds live. Mehmet witnesses the reality of Kurdish populated geography by coming there from the West of Turkey, and with Mehmet the audience of the film, who are faraway to this geography, also witnesses the state domination.

After watching the panzers seizing the open city space for a while, Mehmet removes the yellow dye in his hair with water. His black hair has reappeared. But Mehmet left “Aegean Mehmet” behind as a result of the transformative effect of his testimony. Indeed, the next scene sums up this situation. The door of the compartment where Mehmet is on the train opens and a young man sits in front of him. The young man who wants to have a chat with Mehmet asks him where he is from. Mehmet says, "I am from Zorduç." The young man states that he is from Tire and asks Mehmet if he heard this place. “Yes I heard, a friend of mine was from Tire,” Mehmet replies. Mehmet, who is the subject of testimony, is fragmented and inconsistent. Mehmet's seemingly contradictory response is due to the fact that Mehmet and Berzan, with their differences and integrity, form the dual structure of testimony. Testimony expresses itself through a double survival: Berzan is the one who can keep Mehmet alive, and Mehmet is the one who can keep Berzan alive. Both bodies, one alive and the other

dead, are both divided and inseparable. They are both side by side and do not overlap. They share the same spaces throughout the journey, but there is a huge gap between them. Since Berzan is a colonial body, his wounds exist before him because his wounds are recorded in the historical and social (Şen, 2019, p. 303). “Even if Mehmet understands the wounds of Berzan, develops an awareness of the relationship of violence that opens those wounds, and the historical social conditions from which they originate, he will never be hurt by Berzan's 'wounds’” (Şen, 2019, p. 304). What made possible Berzan's political activism that did not exist in Mehmet is his socially derived wounds. So while one is a dead body, the other is a body that continues his life. However, witnessing, whose degree increases as one travels through space, is the point that unites the two. Mehmet's transformative influence and his response to the young man in the train can only be explained by the notion of testimony. What happens in the film cannot be reduced to a transformation of identity. Again, for the same reason, it is not possible to agree with Suner's (2015) views that she expressed the issue of the film as “*Güneşe Yolculuk* is a film that tells its story not through identity, but through identity shift (…) As a result of this shift, the focus of the film's political debate shifts from an essentialist, absolute definition of identity to an understanding that grasps identity as a social / historical / discursive institution” (p. 271). Yes, identity is undoubtedly a social / historical / discursive institution, but in Butler's phrase "at the geopolitical distribution of fragility", some are more at risk depending on historical, political, geographical and economic contexts (as cited in Demirkaya, 2018, p. 42). The film *Güneşe Yolculuk* is mainly about witnessing the violent destruction (both spatial and corporal) caused by state policies that decide who counts as subjects, whose lives are worth living and their deaths worth mourning.

3.4.7. The Heavy Burden of Testimony and the Excluded Space

During the travel, evacuated villages come across Mehmet. Similar to the fact that the reality of documentary images seeps into the film, the reality of these isolated spaces seeps into the frame with all its nakedness. These villages are the documents of the spatial destruction created by the state domination in the geography of Kurdish settlement. Combining of village evacuation / burning and forced migration with forms of violence such as torture, disappearance in custody, formed the violence and oppression configuration of the 1990s (Uysal, 2016, p. 13). What Mehmet witnessed in one of these evacuated villages is that Berzan's socially recorded wounds covered the entire space. Just as the silent body of Berzan lying in the coffin is a corporal allegory of the non-healing wounds of a people, these evacuated ruined village houses are spatial allegories of non-healing wounds. They are the colonial spaces where Berzan's colonial body was born. However, since these spatial allegories are real spaces, they overlap reality with allegory. They are uncanny signs of how the militarist machine of the state is colonizing geographic and social space. The ruined walls of the stone houses in the evacuated village, their blind windows, their stasis, their inactivity cause a sense of closeness from the village, even though it is an open space: a ghost space locked on itself (Suner, 2015, p. 277). Mehmet opens the door of one of these isolated village houses and enters. He lies on the ground, curving as if to let himself into the pitch black inside the stone house. The only light source in the frame is sunlight filtering through the door and window of the house. Mehmet continues to lie on the ground sadly for a while without moving. The burden and weight of the past has taken over the body of Mehmet as well as the space. The weight felt by Mehmet lying quietly on the ground is also inherent in his testimony. The price paid for the inseparable unity of the potentiallessness and potentiality of speech is the "inalienability of testimony"

(Agamben, 2017, p. 158). Mehmet feels the weight of this cost brought by the witness in his body and suffers under this heavy burden.

Continuing his travel with Berzan's coffin, Mehmet, encounters another "ghost space" (Suner, 2015, p. 277) when he finally arrives in his friend's hometown Zorduç. He witnesses the direct reflection of the exclusion mechanism, that he witnessed before and during the travel, to the space. What is at stake in Zorduç is the exclusion of space itself, beyond being excluded from space. Zorduç village was flooded by the dam and turned into a reservoir. Waters covered every part of the village and destroyed the possibility of settlement. The villagers who were left out of their homes had to migrate. Witnessing the villages evacuated by brute force in the previous scene, Mehmet witnesses Zorduç village, which has been subjected to spatial exclusion by the dam waters, in this scene. The abandoned village, cleared of its inhabitants, is replaced by a spatially erased village. The rare signs indicating that there was life here or that this place was a place of settled life are the overturned Zorduç sign, village houses with only roofs on the surface of the water, and the cone of the minaret of the flooded village mosque above the water. The indifferent surface of the dam waters covered the space. The cause of the dams, which was built as intense by Republic of Turkey within the scope of Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is based on several reasons. These include neoliberal capital accumulation and *water hegemony* (Ayboğa, 2013). The capital accumulation regime, which is imperative on the basis of investment, infrastructure and energy projects, has emerged as a result of neoliberal policies (Ayboğa, 2013). What is expressed by water hegemony is the state's use of dams as a means of establishing sovereignty. Through the reservoir, people living in that region are forced to migrate and are included in the capitalist exploitation mechanisms because they are cut off from production in the cities they go to (Ayboğa, 2013). People who

have to participate in the flexible production process in the cities are used by neoliberal capital as cheap labor force. In addition, while they live with their local cultures in rural areas far from the center, the state control on them increases as they dissolve in the dominant culture in cities (Ayboğa, 2013). The neoliberal nation-state both reduces the value of the labor force and enforces assimilation policies while using the dam as a penal sanction. The scene at the end of the film, which shows the reservoir covering the Zorduç village, reveals this exploitation mechanism that excluses by inclusion. The space that capital has quantified in order to ensure the cycle of exchange is flooded by the dam, the particularity of the space is immersed in the generalized universal. It is impossible to bury the funeral of Berzan, the colonized body of the space colonized by the ruling power, in his village. There is not even a space where a dead body can be buried. Mehmet is forced to leave his friend's coffin in the water and perform the funeral ritual. Berzan's dead body slowly continues its journey with the current on the water. After this ceremonial final scene, *Güneşe Yolculuk* ends with the image of a giant sun descending towards the horizon at the top of the frame and a watchtower accompanying it uncanny from under the frame.

3.5. *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom*: Travel of the Waiting Body

3.5.1. From Inside the Frame to Outside of the Frame

Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom (*My Marlon and Brando*, Hüseyin Karabey, 2008) is about the obstacle-filled travel of two lovers, Ayça and Hama Ali, who met on the film set but could not come together later. Hama Ali is a popular actor living in Northern Iraq, while Ayça is a theater actor living in Istanbul. The audience just sees Ayça and Hama Ali together (while sharing the same objective space) through the

camera viewfinder on the movie set they met. This coexistence was established in a cinematic space with the voice of Hama Ali who shot Ayça behind the camera and the image of Ayça. Hama Ali is present visually in the *off-space*[14] outside of the frame, but the only thing that embodies his corporeality is his voice. They exist in the same space, but one persists in the *in-space* of the cinematic space and the other in the off-space. All of their relationality outside of this scene is unfolded on the phone and in the space of images sent by Hama Ali to Ayça.

Ayça's life in Istanbul is generally visualized in the film through rehearsals of the theater play. During the play rehearsals, she cannot express the emotion the director wants. It is in question that Ayça's transfer of emotions is guided by the male director and her body is found insufficient in gesture transfer and shaped according to a certain normative. This situation restricts the gesture basin of Ayça's body. The recordings of Ayça's theater rehearsals, which we will watch throughout the film, contrasts with the video, that we watched at the beginning of the film, in which Ayça was filmed by Hama Ali. As Bonitzer (2013) stated, the off-space of the theater is helpless empty, it is outside (p. 16). It is simply off the stage. In cinema, on the other hand, the area becomes out-of-area or the out-of-area becomes area through camera movements and sound track. The two spaces are in perpetual motion and form a cinematic dialectic (Bonitzer, 2013, p. 16). While watching Ayça's restriction in theater rehearsals, there is nothing out of the frame. We only hear backstage voices and director's directions. However, in the video, in which Ayça shot by Hama Ali at the beginning of the film, the one in the out-of-area frame who Ayça will try to meet throughout the film is Hama Ali. For the film *Gitmek*, we can say that it is the travel of Ayça in the in-space to Hama Ali in the

[14] Burch expresses the piece of space projected on the screen, framed by the camera lens with the concept of *in-space*; the outside of the frame with the concept of *off-space* (as cited in Bonitzer, 2013, pp. 16-22). We use these concepts with reference to Burch.

off-space. Because Hama Ali is always out of the frame, and Ayça, who tries to reach her, is always in the frame. In the video, which is the only time they are seen together in the film, Hama Ali, who is out-of-area, becomes visible through the video tapes he sends to Ayça throughout the film. Apart from that, he is far from the cinematic space (the area where Ayça is located). He switches from imagination to concreteness through videos. Hama Ali who is located at out-of-area in the video at the beginning of the film, communicates by sending "letters" in video format to Ayça from Northern Iraq. In the first tape seen in the film, we see Hama Ali on a Ferris wheel, this is also our first time seeing Hama Ali. It is as if the film foretells us what will happen in the future. The spatial distance between them will not be able to be closed with the US invasion of Iraq. As if to make us feel these before, deactualized desire of Hama Ali who we saw in the Ferris wheel in this first video letter, seems to be turning in a vicious circle. The space that the body cannot spatialize has put the body in a fixed cycle. The situation of Ayça watching the tape is not different from Hama Ali in the ferris wheel. Both are constrained in two different spaces of the cinematic space. This situation is the circulation of bodies that cannot fluidize and cannot be nomadic. Most of these images consist of collage images of romantic-adventure-comedy films starring Hama Ali and his speeches to Ayça. In this imaginary space, which constitutes the spatial space of their relations, they are able to get rid of their corporeality, which cannot transcend space in real life and which is restricted by the quantitative geographical space.

3.5.2. The Space That the Global Economic System Has Destabilized

Feminist theorist Ahmed (2015) defines emotion as follows: “Although emotions do not only move between us, they are in motion. We should not forget that the word 'emotion' is derived from the Latin word emovere, which means 'to move, go out'" (p. 21). She defines this concept of emotion, which places emphasis on dynamism

and mobility in the concept of emotion, as an effect resulting from the circulation of the emotional object. From this point of view, the transmission of the emotional object of Ayça and Hama Ali tries to transcend the space that is in line with the directives of the quantitative geographical space. They do this by using audio and visual media, but when the US invasion of Iraq begins, the future and content of the transmission are in jeopardy. Interpreting the US invasion of Iraq as a geopolitical move, Harvey (2019) emphasized that this is related to the oil reserves in Iraq (p. 28). The discovery of new reserves after 1980 fell behind the reserve utilization rate. Oil reserves in the Middle East, the main oil supplier, have a much longer life than the oil fields in the rest of the World (Harvey, 2019, p. 28). With the exception of Britain and Norway, economic centers in Europe and Asia and the US lack oil reserves and are dependent on imported oil, and access to Middle Eastern oil is vital for both the global economy and the US. This situation has caused the USA to have a strict military and strategic control application problem (Harvey, 2019, p. 29). On the other hand, as Jaffe pointed out, the US policy in the Persian Gulf since the 1930s was not only designed to keep US gasoline cheap or to secure American companies. Jaffe says that the US oil needs can be supplied from Canada, Mexico, South America, the North Sea and Africa, which are closer to the country. The intensive US intervention in the region is mainly aimed at the protection of the global economic system because the oil shortage anywhere will put the global economic system into a crisis (Jaffe, as cited in Panitch and Gindin, 2019, p. 115). The US invasion of Iraq is an attempt to protect and control the global economic system. Harvey (2019) states that capital accumulation compensates for its internal contradictions through spatial resolution (p. 81). Imperialism, as a particular way of producing and using global space, creates ways to absorb surplus-capital into the USA. It tries to respond to the devaluation problem created by excessive accumulation by

producing future-oriented projects in undeveloped areas. Geographical expansion produces and restructures space relations. This method offers a way of eliminating the crisis formation in capitalism, even if it cannot resolve it (Harvey, 2019, p. 82). As space relations are restructured, transportation and communication network transforms according to the needs of capital. This transformation is carried out in line with the needs of surplus capital and the goals of economic indicators. In the capitalist logic of imperialism, the problem of surplus-capital is the main focus (Harvey, 2019, p. 83). Capitalist imperialism activity tries to produce answers to this problem in search of a *spatio-temporal fix*. The priority is to pave the way for the fluid dynamics of capital accumulation. This dynamic seeks profitable advantages by constantly avoiding the equilibrium position. In the spatial distribution of capitalist activities, a permanent movement and chronic instability are produced. "The geographical landscape of capitalist production, exchange, distribution and consumption is never in balance" (Harvey, 2019, p. 88). The spaces for spatial practices that is created for neoliberal capital's cyclic rate and commodity flow, are in a constant mobility. With the arisening of US-Iraq war as a result of this mobility, Turkey's Habur border gate to Iraq is closed. Spatial intervention in line with the spatial needs of neoliberal capital circulation interrupts the transmission of the video letters that circulate the emotional objects of the two lovers. It is very difficult for video letters (images) and written letters (sound; because we hear these letters from Ayça's voice) to reach their addresses under war conditions, as a remedy for the spatial distance between Ayça and Hama Ali. Thus, Ayça, who could not stand any longer, sets off to Süleymaniye in Northern Iraq, where Hama Ali is located, in order to corporally cross the space and ensure the dynamism of the emotional object.

3.5.3. Travelling Toward Border Gates

The first person to open the road to Northern Iraq Süleymaniye to Ayça is a bookseller whom she goes to buy a Kurdish dictionary. The bookseller tells Ayça that someone he knows can help her go to Northern Iraq. Soran, who is familiar with the bookseller and lives illegally in İstanbul, and Ayça meet in a cafe. Soran stays in the cafe free of charge "until he goes to Europe" in exchange for the pictures he drew on the walls of the cafe. His biggest desire is to go to Europe and live there by gaining the right to be a refugee. Until then, he is saving money in Istanbul. Most of the paintings that Soran draws on the wall are pictures in which corporeality is intense. There are fluid bodies trying to cross the limits in these pictures. What attracts Ayça's attention in these paintings is that she finds a reflection of the corporal effort and passion she dares to reach Hama Ali. Whereas in the bookstore an element of words (dictionary) opened the door to Northern Iraq slightly, in the cafe an element of the image (the painter) opens the door completely. The tools that will initiate the unfolding of the body into the space are "sound" and "image", that is, cinema. The space that will bring the object of emotion (love) into circulation and realize the desire is as if the cinema itself. It is as if the space that will activate the emotional object (love) that emerged in the movie set of Hama Ali and Ayça and realize the desire is the cinema itself.

Soran’s friend Sah Havan knows the region well because he is from Diyarbakır and he shuttles Süleymaniye frequently. Sah Havan will be able to cross Ayça from the Iraqi border gate, Habur. Upon this, Ayça travels to Diyarbakır by bus to meet with Sah Havan. She uses the following expressions in the letter she wrote to Hama Ali while traveling on the bus:

> You is the man in clouds, you is the F-16 in the news, you are the body in my red bed, you are the big dark green velvet jacket that I cover myself, you are the

> man that I just fly like a bird, you are the Iran you are the Syria you are the soldier at the border Habur, you are the wild red flower at Mezopotamia, you are the wild brown walley that I lay on, I am the fat widow with burning desire in Zorba, imagine who cut my head, I can live without my head because I have arms and legs to reach you and a heart that I can just throw out like handbomb to destroy all fucking world.

With these expressions, Ayça tries to overcome the intervention of the administrative mechanisms that prevent the realization of the spatial act of the body in her imagination by deconstructing it. Even though the space in the imagination of language is also quantified with F-16s and grenades, corporal intervention wishes to impose its anthropomorphic criteria on the space. This imagination created by Ayça in language resembles the figure drawn by Masson on the cover of the *Acéphale* magazine printed by Bataille in 1936. This illustration depicts a body with a burning heart in its right hand and a dagger in its left hand, which opens up space for immediate desire and rejects any hierarchy, fleeing civilization. The headless figure of Acéphale was created as the exact opposite of Breker's sculpture named *The Party*, which refers to the presidency of the national-socialist party and the symbol of success of this presidency (Sayın, 2018, p. 28). The authoritarian body of the Party sculpture, which was built in 1936 to glorify the vertical hierarchy and the head, was opposed with the headless body of the Acéphale figure, which was made in the same year, which refers to the rebellion and horizontality and aimed at the destruction of the authorities. Some of the articles of Bataille's Acéphale program are as follows: to remove the curse of guilt that oppresses people, forces them to wars they do not want, devotes their fruits to a work that cannot be harvested; to undertake the functions of destruction and disruption in a manner that complements, not denies existence; to fulfill the universal realization of personal

existence by the irony of the animal kingdom and the unfolding of a headless universe based on play, not on the state or duty; to participate in the destruction of the present world, to turn eyes to the coming world; affirming the value of violence and the will to conflict, insofar as they are the basis of all power (Bataille, 2013). In Ayça's destructive imagination integrated with desire, there is a declaration of existence of the corporal subject. This is an *acéphalic* gesture that opposes the oppression experienced.

3.5.4. The Space Fragmented by The Borders

Sah Havan welcomes Ayça in Diyarbakır and takes Ayça to the Habur border gate with his car. Evacuated abandoned villages appear along the road. The evacuated villages in the film *Güneşe Yolculuk*, which we have examined above, also appear in the film *Gitmek*. Similarly, in *Gitmek*, control points, military vehicles and tanks encounter the traveling characters. As Mehmet of *Güneşe Yolculuk*, Ayça, the protagonist of *Gitmek*, bares witness to militaristic domination in Turkey's southeast region and reflects this testimony on the viewer. The travel of Ayça to rejoin Hama Ali is witnessing the spatial and corporal destruction of the Kurds where her path crosses the interstate road routes (Turkey-Iran-Iraq) at the same time. Therefore, like Mehmet of *Güneşe Yolculuk*, Ayça's travel also has the qualities of witnessing. The Kurdish society, detached from the space-body relationship, often confronts Ayça. Conversations Ayça made with the locals during the travel have documentary content. For example, in the conversation Ayça had with Sah Havan during their travel, Sah Havan said to Ayça "everybody asks questions, asks passports, asks for identity cards, while going from one place to another here," with this a military vehicle passes the lane next to them. Sah Havan continues: "Our identity is always with us, but it does not end with carrying, what difference does it make? It's crime if you carry, crime if you don't!" He emphasizes that even in his hometown Diyarbakır he is constantly subject to identity

checks. Agoraphobia, which is created by the state domination in this Kurdish populated geography, was also dominating the people before the USA-Iraq war. But the war caused the borders to be closed, and the space to be further enclosed. Sah Havan tells Ayça, "There is war, sister, do you think it is that easy? You think I will pass easily, but no such thing, " he complains that he cannot cross the border either. The obligation to constantly present his identity has added a corporal gesture to Sah Havan. It is not difficult to guess that each time he passes through the checkpoints his hand goes into his pocket and takes out his identity. Because, in his conversation with Ayça, when he says "we always carry an identity with us," he quickly takes out his identity from his pocket like a reflex, and shows that the daily life in this region is under blockade. After a while, he asks Ayça for a five-minute permission and stops the vehicle and quickly walks away. The village where they stopped is one of the abandoned villages that the Kurds, who were forced to migrate by the state, had to leave. This residential area, which once harbored vitality and life, now consists of a lifeless landscape. While Ayça is looking sadly at the isolated view of the evacuated village houses[15], Sah Havan is visiting a grave in the village graveyard a little further away. When Sah Havan carefully cleaned the grave and kissed the gravestone, we sense that the person lying in the grave is very close to him and they died as a result of the pressure and violence applied to the inhabitants of the village. Another example of the alienating effect of the fragmented space caused by the border issue is the experience of the old woman Ayça encountered at the Habur border gate. Ayça asks the officers at the border gate when the border will be opened but cannot get an answer. Waiting desperately at the door, Ayça speaks to an elderly Kurdish woman through an interpreter. The old woman asks why Ayça wants

[15] The evacuated villages Mehmet encountered in the film *Güneşe Yolculuk*, witnessing the tragedy experienced by the Kurds, also appear to Ayça in the film *Gitmek*. Both feel the weight of witnessing the pain they were not aware of before. In addition, these abandoned spaces are among the main images of Kurdish cinema.

to go to Süleymaniye. When Ayça explains the reason for her travel, the woman says that she has been waiting for someone who is very close to her at the border gate for two weeks but has not heard from they. Militarist mapping reminds itself along the way, always interrupting the freedom of movement of bodies in space. Elements of militarist mapping are spread throughout the space. In addition, the cinematic spaces in the film overlap with the physical locations where the film was shot. Since the film was shot in real locations, borders, border gates, controlling soldiers and most of the people Ayça met along the way are real (Sert, 2019, p. 148). The *spatial fix* policies of the capitalist states, which are the implementers of neoliberal economy, have divided and fragmented the spontaneity of the body with space by the acts of defining, identifying and scaling the space with quantitative lines.

3.5.5. The Waiting Status of the Body that Cannot Transcend the Boundaries

Ayça watches the news on TV in the hostel where she is staying. The Northern Iraq-Habur border gate was completely closed on the departure direction, and the passage of tankers to Northern Iraq was stopped. Tankers have been waiting for a pass to get crude oil from northern Iraq for days, and now they have no choice but to return. In an interview with a trucker who is going tanker shipments in northern Iraq, mentioned that the departure from Turkey to Northern Iraq was not possible but the departure from there to Turkey was. The voice of the newsman causes Ayça to worry thoroughly for Hamza Ali: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs stopped imports of crude oil from Iraq to Turkey through by road and shipping all kinds of goods. The artillery units, which form a security circle in the region for the war situation, continue to prepare for all kinds of possibilities. The units that started the morning warning shoot by targeting certain points." Upon this, Ayça changes her route and decides to go to Iraq via Iran. However, the transition to Iran is only possible from Van. Ayça is obliged to

go to Van by bus. Border policies, which are shaped according to the spatial interventions made to open space for capital accumulation, affect the spatial praxis of people because they care about nothing but surplus capital and impose their own mapping on them. Harvey (2019) states that surplus capital (abundance of commodities that cannot be melted without loss, surplus money capital that cannot find an outlet for profitable investment) can be absorbed elsewhere by spatial shifts, opening up new markets, new productive capacities, and new resources (p. 99). Spatial shifting creates frictionless spaces where capital can move quickly, while destroying previously constructed spaces. In the film *Gitmek*, this creative destruction is conveyed with destroyed geographies, borders closed indefinitely, militarist elements that appear unexpectedly, people who cannot meet their relatives and loses their relations with the space. The contradictions revealed by the molecular processes of infinite capital accumulation (Harvey specifically cites finance capital as an example) make geographical uncertainty inevitable. States resort to imperialist practices whenever they can, while engaging in geopolitical struggles according to these molecular processes (Harvey, 2019, p. 98). Ayça's travel passes through the rough ruins of spaces that are destroyed in order to smoothen the dynamism of capital for a more profitable transfer. The corporal restrictions imposed by the geopolitical struggles of competitive states in the global neoliberal system are present in Ayça's unstable travel which is full of interruptions and waitings.

Upon reaching the Iranian border, Ayça completely loses her actuality over her spatial space. First, she is kept at the border for a long time. After entering Iran, the cultural normative restricts Ayça's body thoroughly and Ayça is not able to create her own route and also breaks off from her own corporeality. In accordance with the dress codes for women in Iran, she covers her head with a turban and wears a long coat that

covers her entire body. The geographical proximity of Hama Ali to Iraq, despite everything, gives Ayça hope. Ayça looks for ways to reach Hama Ali regardless of the conditions. She tries to contact him by phone to meet him in Iran, but her effort is fruitless. Even if the phone lines are open from Turkey abroad, they do not work in Iran. It is very expensive to buy a phone line from Iran. The days Ayça spent in Iran are full of anticipation and uncertainty. She also receives informations that the war is getting more and more violent. She follows the news about the Iraq war on the television in the hostel she stayed in Iran. We can associate Biner's (2019) study on refugees with Ayça's situation. According to Biner (2019), mental follow-up of the war even when not physically involved, plays an important role for refugees in mapping the waiting process and filtering out uncertainties (p. 188). When the war is over, the refugee, who is waiting for the time to return from “where they are now” to “where they are from”, experiences the time and space in the present through the temporality and spatiality of the war. This is how the refugee also experiences the time to meet the relatives they left behind. The idea that ending the temporality of the waiting is only possible with the end of the war and returning makes it necessary to have a foresight about the war in the refugee (Biner, 2019, p. 188). The ever-changing context and structure, the diversity and variability of the actors in war, the unpredictability and uncertainty of war transforming into a kind of obscurity and undefined for those outside of war make “predicting” a part of the strategy of making life sustainable (Biner, 2019, pp. 188-189). Ayça's attempt to gather all the information she has obtained from different channels about the war enables her to obtain predictions that will increase the probability of meeting Hama Ali. She tries to overcome the obscurity that the communication gap increases with predictions about the war. Television news comes first among these channels. Moreover in the film, television is like a second source

added to the film; television tells us about Soran's arrest and deportation and the conditions of Hama Ali (Arslan, 2017, p. 310).

On the other hand, Ayça is no different from the old Kurdish woman she encountered at the Habur border gate. Just like the uncertain Kafkaesk waiting at the border gate of the old woman who could not learn the fate of her relatives because she could not get much information about the conditions of the war on the other side of the border, Ayça is struggling in Iran in desperate uncertainty. As her days in Iran get longer and her communication with Hama Ali is completely lost, waiting is no longer possible. Since the present tense is shaped by our predictions about the future, we make sense of the present tense through our future expectations and this enables our subjective perception of time to be established (Lacan, as cited in Erensü, 2019, p. 172). The mode of subjectivity is the past of the future, in other words, our confidence in "will be" (Erensü, 2019, p. 172). Ayça has established her subjective time perception based on her confidence that she will "meet" Hama Ali at the end of her travel. As the opportunities to meet Hama Ali run out, her experience in Iran becomes uncertain. She is different from Ayça, who rebelled against law enforcement officers during her waiting at the border while entering Iran, or Ayça, who gave strong reactions to the injustices she suffered in İstanbul. Because "our subjectivity becomes vulnerable to being broken and fragmented at times when our confidence in ‘will be’ shaken, that is, when we cannot see the present from within a vision of the future" (Erensü, 2019, p. 172). Waiting is a method that can compensate for the fragmentation of subjectivity because it puts the future at the center of experiencing the present. Ayça's travel and the verb "gitmek" (“to go”) in the title of the film is actually related to the notion of waiting. Ayça's situation awaiting letters from Hama Ali in Istanbul, waiting for the opening of the Iraqi border gate, the people in wait for the opening of the Iraqi border gate, Ayça’s

state of waiting for the return of the phone signals that were interrupted every time she tried to talk to Hama Ali, Ayça's waiting in the hostels where she was staying and desperately watching the Iraq war in television, Ayça's waiting at the Iranian border and uncertain Iranian days; they are all signs that Ayça endured her travel by waiting. Nationalism deepened by the interstate geopolitical struggles developing over the surplus-capital of the neoliberal global economy and the strict border policies that were further compounded by the US invasion of Iraq left Ayça no other way. But Ayça is no longer able to wait any longer. One evening in the hostel she stayed in Iran, she wrote the following lines to Hama Ali:

> (…) I'm coming to the border but I don't know what to do. I don't want to cry everyday anymore. Do you have a solution for that? I feel very bad now. I want to come and destroy all of the authorities, borders, nations. But at the same time, I feel very weak. Are you really coming to Iran? Shall we meet in another country? May be in Syria, in Damascus? Do you still have the desire to see me? Don't lie to me! If you lie to me or if you don't want risk your life for me, please tell me very directly. Then I go on my way. But until then, my way is you.

Ayça wakes up the next morning when her room phone rings. The caller is Hama Ali. He tells Ayça to wait a little longer, but Ayça tells that she cannot wait even one day and that her psychology has started to deteriorate. Thereupon, Hama Ali tells Ayça to come to a village near the border and meet there. Ayça comes to the village close to the Iraqi border by bus. She waits here for hours. She sets her eyes on the snowy mountains just next to the village. Behind these mountains is the Iraqi region and Hama Ali will come from here. But there is no coming or going. It is understood from her facial expression that as time passes, Ayça is completely losing her hopes. She sits in front of the television in the village grocery store to learn about Hama Ali's fate. As she

continues her desperate wait, her body stiffens where she is. While Ayça is followed throughout the film, in the finale, the director shows his presence in the story and leaves Ayça in the village on the border while the television is on (Arslan, 2017, p. 311). While Ayça was losing her space of route and her corporeality, Hama Ali, who was walking towards the Iranian border to meet Ayça, was shot and killed by the soldiers on patrol. Before being killed, Hama Ali shoots the border mountain landscapes with his camera for the video he prepared for Ayça and tells about the magnificent beauty of the mountainous region. We watch these scenes from Hama Ali's camera. In the video, he tells Ayça that there is a distance of two hours from the border and that they are very close to their reunion. Snowy mountains are not a barrier from Hama Ali's point of view, but rather a therapeutic bridge that will bring Hama Ali to Ayça. This scene is a spatial summary of the cinema of exile (Kılıç, 2017, p. 15), which brings together images of the border, mountain, snow and natural life that we encounter in most of the Kurdish films. However, when Hama Ali is shot, he falls to the ground with his camera. The camera, which fell to the ground with Hama Ali's body, now shows the sky steadily and in a state of losing its narrator's voice. The mountains came out of the frame and the sky without expression took its place. Hama Ali is no longer present even imaginatively in off-space, outside the frame. Both the sound and the image are fragmented. The film ends with a Kurdish lament.

3.6. *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*: Travel of the Nation-State as a Political Body

3.6.1. The Bureaucratic Body Tested by Locality

Body is the criterion of the road imagination in the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* (*Once Upon a Time in Anatolia*, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2011), but the body in

question is a "dead body". Similar to the film *Umut*, a travel is made in pursuit of a burial and a route is formed. The bureaucratic apparatus of the state, trying to reach the indeterminate burial, travels in the impermeable provinces. In this space, far from the map that reflects spatialization practices of the state, the elements of bureaucratic apparatus are progressing in dysfunction and fear that the local's closed geography creates above them. The elements seen in *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*, both in cars and while walking on the steppes, are also the most fundamental elements of bureaucracy: the police, prosecutors, soldiers, the doctor, the killer and victim who represent the people identifying its functionality. The prosecutor Nusret, the commissioner Naci, the driver Arap Ali, the suspect Kenan, the police İzzet and a small group of gendarmes, who traveled all night to "analyze" the murder committed, need the "dead body" of the deceased to name the "incident" that took place in the province. They have a suspect who confessed the crime / murder he committed, but there is no deceased / corpse as evidence that the crime / murder took place. Since the topography they are in cannot be embodied in their imaginations, all administrative practices are incompetent in the face of the unruly ambivalence of the event. Administrative structures apply to another "body" in order to operate the categorical tools at their disposal and reach the body of the deceased: suspect Kenan. Just as understanding the orientation in nature in the pre-modern period from the qualitative body of nature that has not yet been quantified (determining the direction by using the bearing of trees or anthills, drawing sailor routes from the stars, etc.), the administrative practices who trying to fill and classify the void created by local phenomena with a body (the suspect Kenan). The route taken by administrative practices directs the bureaucratic circulation in the space. Thus, the bodies of both the suspect Kenan and the deceased Yaşar become immanent in the path of administrative practices.

Throughout its existence, the bureaucratic power network has tested its power countless times in every crime it encountered, each test has created its own system of gaze. Thus, the administrative apparatus firmly believes that the inner face of the murder will flourish by moving itself with every step. One of the other facts that gave this comfort to the administrative apparatus is that the murder suspect Kenan was the confessor of his own crime; the other fact is that the administrative apparatus knows that the investigation at that moment will get rid of all the uncertainties it has imposed when the current phase - the scouting phase - is over. But as long as the corpse is not found, wandering along the road in the endless darkness of the steppe, the power of the bureaucratic apparatus disappears (Civelek, 2011, p. 84). Characters who are positioned in the hierarchy of the team searching for the body try to distance themselves from the incident that they have difficulty to overcome by the "empty" conversations they make (but not directly confronting) with each other, or (by the director's own words) "mavralar" (“chit-chatting”) (Argın, 2011, p. 19).

3.6.2. The Space Mistified by the Romantic Nationalist Fiction

The “wild” provincial where the ceaseless search of the cortege takes place, is partly similar to a folkloric research field. Undoubtedly, there is an administrative practice behind the effort to know "knowledge" that lies at the core of this desolate wild, where state mapping does not suffer much. This quest, that can be called folkloristic style, is similar to the “national temperament quests” which we come across with frequently in the establishing and re-producing process of nation-state structures including Turkey (Aksakal, 2015, p. 145).[16] Folklore studies, which tried to nationalize

[16] Aksakal (2015), exemplifies the relationship between folkloric research and administrative practices with one of the founders of the Turkist idea, Fuad M. Köprülü. Through the ethnographic and folkloric studies carried out by the colonial powers, the possibility of the administrative powers to gather intelligence by analyzing the information stored about the people and to keep them under control by using the local culture effectively was expressed by Köprülü (Aksakal, 2015, pp. 144-146).

traditions, beauties of the country, proverbs, different dialects, shepherd's songs, folk dances, wise poems by declaring mobilization, brought about various political facilities in the process of nationalization (Aksakal, 2015, p. 148). Because of the majority of Turkey in 1920s and 1930s (also in Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, in European countries such as Hungary) had been living in the villages, the orientation toward the people had corresponded with the orientation toward the village. Since this orientation was based on the prejudice of the peasant's lack of consciousness of being a citizen, the main aim of the orientation to the people (peasant) was social integration. Social control of the village gained importance as the peasant revolts turned into a worldwide phenomenon in the conditions of the economic bottleneck between the two wars of the period. In order to establish the Turkish national consciousness, there was a need for "embellishments" that facilitate political and cultural endocrination and re-equip the shrinking lands with a nationalist common goal (Aksakal, 2015, p. 151). This aestheticization would provide a reason for bureaucrats-intellectuals to instill "national consciousness" by going to the villages and by keeping the peasant in the village, thus the peasant would imagine their national self by staying in the village in a society whose economy is based on agriculture. For Turkist scholars, folklore was a pragmatic way of reaching the "bosom of the nation" and revealing its secret. These intellectual efforts, which turned toward the folk culture of Plebeian people, were trying to create an "imaginary community" (Anderson, 2014) that encompassed the whole of Anatolia from the local culture.[17] The mystification of the country gradually reached such dimensions that even under the conditions imposed by the Second World War, the village was idealized in the literary field with a fairy-tale optimism (Aksakal, 2015, p.

[17] References of Turkist intellectuals to leading Romantic intellectuals such as Johann Herder, Brothers Grimm, Arnold Van Gennep of 18th and 19th century folklore studies in Europe showed that Turkist intellectuals were familiar with folklore studies in Europe and its connection with Romanticism (Öztürkmen, as cited in Aksakal, 2015, p. 145).

154). In addition, during the 1940s and 1950s, when the gendarmerie pressure, the Kurdish riots in Eastern Anatolia, the decrease in production as a result of long-term military service, agricultural famine, the smuggling of goods from the state that confiscated the grain products, the state imposed taxes took place, this calculating optimism about Anatolia had tried to hide what was happening from the urban reader by covering up the state-village tension. The village had become a scene where rulers felt obliged to embellish in order to curb economic and cultural tensions (Aksakal, 2015, p. 164). “The village of us” narrative was shaped like this, even if it was seen or not. Then, from multi-party system transition until today the village / province will continue to be instrumentalized in the history of Turkey by mystification in line with political objectives; it will continue to find a place for itself continuously from Yeşilçam cinema[18] to the rhetoric of populist politicians[19].

Although modernity is presented as the age of secularization and de-enchantment, human invention, which actually claims to speak and act on behalf of the nation, glorified institutions and thus put the "sacred" at the service of the nascent nation-state (Bauman, 2018b, p. 61). The sanctifying discourse, which evoked the

[18] Aksakal (2015) discusses the village, peasant and provincial representations that are the subject of popular romantic drama films of the 1970s and draws attention to the fact that these representations carry the center's gaze to the periphery. As the new expression field of social-political thought in 1970s, Yeşilçam cinema narrated the immigration of the villagers to the city through reproducing the sharp duality of the "urban (corrupt, snobby) -peasant (innocent, pure, uncontaminated)" dichotomy in the cinema on the assumption that there is a "world difference" that is impossible to close in between and emphasized that the villager should stay in their village. Aksakal argues that the reflection of the policy of keeping the peasants in the village to the popular culture, starting with the film *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ, 1964), continues after September 12, to TRT's programs such as *Gezelim Görelim*, *Bu Toprağin Sesi*, *Anadolu'dan Görünüm*, and to the popular television series shot in Anatolia today. Invented based on the authentic and intact local culture discourse, fake-lore reproduced the "national spirit" narrative shaped in line with the current political needs of the state, replacing the folklore of traditional culture. These images, aiming at the spiritual satisfaction of the sense of national unity, ironically produced an aestheticized "state of self-vision" at the center-periphery gap multiplied by the global market economy (Aksakal, 2015, pp. 170-171).

[19] The Democratic Party, which had taken the populist legacy inherited from the CHP (Republican People’s Party) further, had converted the peasantry to the concept of "national will" by using the nationalist discourse in accordance with the strategy of integrating itself with the plebeians, and this strategy has been used frequently by right-wing policy representatives until today (Aksakal, 2015, p. 167).

feeling that the "nation" was establishing and protecting the state with extraordinary efforts, even with divine help, was trying to make the people imagine who they were once through folkloric-philological-historical research. This reversible effort made it easier for the state to mobilize the masses for political purposes by creating a mythology based on common origin. Epic historical novels, enthusiastic homeland poems and miraculous legends, far from objective historiography, both added meaning to every inch of Anatolia's land, and allowed people to be calmed or provoked by looking at them through an aesthetic window - according to the needs of the state power. While Turkish nationalism transforms Herder's cultural nationalism into a political guise, applied the mysticizing method of Novalis, the leading thinker of German Early Romanticism, who outlined his method by this expression: "to romanticize the world is to make us aware of the magic, mystery and wonder of the world; it is to educate the senses to see the ordinary as extraordinary, the familiar as strange, the mundane as sacred, the finite as infinite" (as cited in Aksakal, pp. 15-16). Authentic and local cultures were a mystical basin for national romantics. The factors that made romantic poets such as Hölderlin, Lamartine, Pushkin, Scott wrote historical novels that dwelt in the Middle Ages in Europe, where nationalist movements rose in the nineteenth century; the factors that made a national mythology towards the pre-Islamic Turkish history written, which was constituted by Dede Korkut figure, Red Apple mythos, Turan country narratives; the factors that made a national mythology written in the later period when modernizing nationalism made peace with Islam, which relies on a strong Mediaevalism; were similar (Aksakal, 2015, p. 18). The state mythology, which derives from nationalism, transforms the state into a sacred value and eliminates the notions of time-space, bringing people into contact with transhuman beings. In the mythological world of the state, which constructs itself through a theological language, living beings

and non-living things are in dialogue; there is a constant ritual with busts, sculptures and marches. Romantic nationalist fiction carries the state to a metaphysical dimension through theological aestheticization. As a result, a "homeland romance" emerges as a fairy-tale narrative based on the state centered myth. As an imaginary community built, the society is forced to adopt the nationalist and conservative discourse through the education of modern political theology with legendary, epic discourses. National romanticism tries to create a situation of social "congruence" by melting the triad of the sacred state-nation-homeland and language-history-geography[20] in the same pot, which is viewed from an irrational and sensual perspective. Thus an Anatolia view, for which a literary canon ranging from Nâmık Kemal to Mehmet Âkif, from Cemil Meriç to Fuad Köprülü, from Nihal Atsız to Yahya Kemal comprise a basis, in which the elements of heroic legends and upbringing epics swarm that transcend the human will, has emerged (Aksakal, 2015, pp. 22-24).

3.6.3. The Mystical and Homogeneous Space Haunting the Bureaucratic Body

This mystical Anatolian landscape, which hosts the cinematic space of the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* with the emphasis on "once upon a time" in its name (with face reliefs carved into the cliffs, tree leaves rustling in the wind ringing bells, red apples rolling mysteriously, angels appearing, the dead come alive) transformed into a character and became an element of the narrative. This mystical Anatolian space, that we tried to summarize the historicity of its aesthetic ideology above, built in a fabulousness based on a state-centered national spirit narrative that tries to lead people to submission and to become integrated, is the aesthetic of the space in which the state bureaucracy ironically lost its way. Just as all the characters in the film become slaves

[20] In this study, the cinematic projection of "geography" from the language-history-geography trio will be focused on, since the cinematic space is the focal point.

to their own legacy, the consequences of their own existence haunt all characters (Diken et al., 2018, pp. 146-147), in a similar manner the state cortege / body composed of these characters is also haunted by the consequences of its own existence. The arrangement of action of the bureaucratic body in search of "national spirit" (dynamic framework that is refilled in line with current economic and political requirements) encounters constant interruptions as a result of uncanny uncertainties, whose aesthetic cannot be solved in the world in which has been established by the bureaucratic body. The biggest reason for these interruptions is that any place in the space in which they are traveling resembles another place. Roads, fountains, trees are almost the same. The fact that the quest journey continues at night, reinforces this similarity even more. The bureaucratic body is constantly worried as it moves; it is very difficult to be positioned in the space. Arap Ali, who guided the investigation convoy consisting of three cars (gendarmerie vehicle, police vehicle and the vehicle of court-house) by driving the police vehicle in front of the convoy, summarizes the spatial crisis by telling the police commissioner Naci that “bindik bir alamete, gideyoz kıyamete,” which is also the name of a Turkish song, that is written and composed by Anatolian rock musician Karaca (1999), whose lyrics are about going round in a vicious circle. The experience of disconnection with space destabilizes the bureaucratic body. Expressions such as "there was a fountain, there was a tree like a ball, there was a flat plowed field across the tree" used by suspect Kenan to describe to the police and gendarmerie where he buried the body of the deceased Yaşar, do not serve much. The bureaucratic cortege encounters more than one point, which includes the characteristics of the fountain, tree and field that the suspect points out in his statement. The people in cortege, in the hope that they will locate the body at the beginning of every wooded fountain in the area, start an investigation there, but when it turns out that this is not the fountain they were looking

for, they set out again to look for another fountain that fits the description, and so on. Throughout the cinematic space, five similar fountains appear. The way in which the nationalist ideology relates to geography is the element that reveals this Anatolian space where everywhere is alike. Equipped with iconic and didactic abilities, the geography has been reduced to a map by clearing its concrete content by the nationalist ideology (Bora, 2007). However, Keskin, which is the setting for *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* is actually one of the oldest settlements in Central Anatolia, it is a place where the Turkish, Muslim, Greek and Armenian population came on top of the Roman-Byzantine past (Arslan, 2012, p. 216). However, the nation-state approach's view of geography is a view that instrumentalizes geography. Because the nationalist homeland consciousness homogenises the physical-human geography and extracts an abstract map from it, the convoy of the gendarmerie-police-prosecutor loses its way when it enters the geography-less, abstract space where everywhere is alike. This empty and dead bureaucratic homeland which has been reduced to empty space, whose history has been falsified (Bora, 2011), ironically causes the bureaucratic body to be disoriented in the film. The alienating effect of the mystical Anatolian landscape of the romantic nationalist fiction and the abstractive effect of the Anatolian map, built by the nationalist idea of homeland came together to create a mysterious maze. The bureaucratic body, which organizes / perceives the space ideologically by aesthetizing it, and organizes / perceives it geopolitically, is trapped in its own order / perception.

3.6.4. The Political Body That Cannot Move Through Space

Virilio (1998) draws attention to the connection between sovereignty and the mobility through historical examples. The powerful state structure, which has the ability to move, captures the dimensions of the soil with its mobility and at the same time seizes the soil itself (Virilio, 1998, p. 72). Virilio evaluates the political-strategic

actions of the bourgeois state as efforts to increase speed by empowering its mobility, ensure ubiquity, gain time and escape from geographic dependence. He expressed the position that the modern state structure has reached as a result of these efforts by saying, "The strategic value of the spacelessness of speed has definitely replaced the strategic value of the space" (Virilio, 1998, p. 127). When the activity performance of the state cortege trying to navigate the cinematic space of the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* is evaluated based on the criteria emphasized by Virilio, it is possible to say that the state lost its capacity for political-strategic action. Far from escaping geographic dependence or being ubiquitous, it has lost its way in the nooks of geography. The only way for the bureaucratic cortege, which has lost its political-strategic action power, to increase its power of action is to find the dead body of the deceased Yaşar. The slow body of the nation-state, struggling to overcome the barrier of geographic dependency in the space it once abstractized and romanticized, is now clinging to a dead body. The bureaucratic body that seeks the remedy in the dead body of the deceased assumes that it can gain its speed only by reaching this fixed / dead body. Appealing to the fixed / slowest body in order to accelerate and move by overcoming geographical dependence is a matter of existence for the bureaucratic body beyond increasing its power of action. The scene where the cortege stays on the road as a result of the breakdown of the old model police vehicle used by the pathfinder Arap Ali, indicates the speed / action disruption experienced by the bureaucratic body.

3.6.5. Spatial Crisis and Remains of Mythological Space

The effort of the bureaucratic body to reach the dead body is also an effort to convince itself that the deceased is not the bureaucratic body. Because:

> When a person dies, it is important to bid farewell to the deceased appropriately in the symbolic order, within the cultural universe. This indicates two situations.

> The first initiates the mourning process, the second makes sure that the deceased is not “I” but “Other” and that they can no longer return. (Şılar, 2013)

The bureaucratic state body in the film does not relate to the mourning process in the symbolic order of death. It is the Anatolian geography, whose desolation, darkness and silence is related to the mourning process. Although the state cortege is not related to the mourning process, it needs the corpse that makes the symbolic order of death work to make it clear that it is not the deceased. If Yaşar's body is found, the symbolic tear created by the absence of the dead body will be closed and the state mechanism will be activated again. The main concern of the bureaucratic mechanism is to prove that it does not stop / die in its utopia in which it has lost its way. But utopia is the capacity to bring together a discursive space and a regional space (Rancière, as cited in Dikeç, 2016, p. 52). The bureaucratic cortege, which cannot match the realities of the regional space with its aesthetic ideology and its abstract map, cannot restrain the uncertainty it faces in the Central Anatolian steppe.

When the bureaucratic cortege-body comes to the fourth fountain after the exit from Kırıkkale in line with the statement of the suspect Kenan, the gendarmerie commander tells the prosecutor Nusret that they are 35 km away from the center. He states that they have been outside the adjacent area for a while. In the crime scene report, he asks the prosecutor whether the police chief Naci should sign it or himself as the gendarmerie commander. He states that it would be more appropriate to have his own signature on the expedition record, since the gendarmerie responsibility started outside the adjacent area. The prosecutor ignored the question by saying that since the incident (murder) took place in the district center, the authority of signature was not in the gendarmerie. Meanwhile, on the lower side of the slope they were on, the police chief Naci, who was angry with the suspect Kenan's description, is seen again. He beats

Kenan and on the other hand, "You will show me a tree like a ball here!" he yells. The inability to match discursive space with real space is expressed here. The prosecutor goes to the police chief and warns him sharply. Arap Ali, who seems uninterested in what is happening, is busy trying to pick fruit from the apple tree. When it is hung on the branch of the tree, dozens of apples are poured on the ground. The camera, which follows an apple rolling between them and continuing on its way, conveys the travel of this apple with a long shot. Rolling from the slope and reaching the creek, the apple stops after drifting along the stream. Where its journey ends, other rotten apples greet it. This depiction of the "red apple" object in the film imagines the uncontrollable uncertainty and the problem of authority that this uncertainty creates between the organs of the bureaucratic body. The red apple is one of the mythological symbols based on the common origin narrative of Turkish nationalism and an object of desire embodying the utopian ideals of Turkish nationalism (Aytaç, 2019). Aytaç (2019) states that this symbolic object belongs to the *motor myth* (*mythomoteur*) family, which represents the nation's unique goals (especially the desire for expansionism that does not know any obstacles on space) and expresses the narratives formed by the legends woven around them. This apple is the framework of the sanctifying discourse that the romantic nationalist fiction always refills in line with the current political needs of the state. The mythological "desire for expansionism" remains, even if its content is decayed according to current conditions and is replaced by a new content: the ideal of taking over the space of the other and adding it to its own body. This apple freshly plucked by Arap Ali from its branch will rot like the others, but the apples will continue to roll. The road to the goal of spreading over the space without recognizing obstacles, increasing speed and getting rid of geographic dependence is covered again with each repetition. The arrival of the red apple scene as soon as bureaucratic problems of

authority and impregnable uncertainty come to light is a sign that the literary cycle of apples is no longer saying anything about reality. The cycle goes on like this, but it can no longer reflect its meaning to the space. Since the nation-state cannot bring together the mythological space and the regional space, its body cannot spread in the space. The mystical elements that confront the police-prosecutor-gendarmerie apparatus during the night travel in the film are the fragmentary imagery of Anatolian mythology, which was constructed through the nationalist and conservative discourse of the Turkic state ideology, after being interrupted by reality. The sacred Anatolian space, romanticized by the nation state, fails to function as a "libidinal apparatus" as an ideological investment machine, and turns into the mourning and mysterious scene of a murder[21]. The motor myth has lost its functionality in space, and its scattering traces[22] remain.

3.6.6. Neoliberal Transformation of the Nation-State

The cinematic time of the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* can be considered as "timeless" as it avoids making direct references to whether the events take place in the past or the present. However, the story told in the film is basically based on a real incident that Ercan Kesal, who was one of the screenwriters of the film with Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Ebru Ceylan, lived in the town of Keskin in Ankara in 1985. While Kesal was a doctor in Keskin at that time, a murder was committed in the town. When the

[21] It is also an emergence. Starting from our past full of genocide, violence and massacre, Arslan (2012) summarizes the connection of murder with the nation-state in the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*: "The bureaucracy, a buried corpse and Anatolia is like the magic three words that establish the labyrinth of our story of becoming a nation" (p. 215). She also emphasizes that Keskin, the setting of the film, was one of the places with the highest Armenian population in Central Anatolia before the Armenian genocide (Arslan, 2012, p. 216).

[22] Diken et al. (2018), while analyzing the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*, interpret this traces as "the lofty qualities of the wild, the fertility of the wild, the whispers of the divine", "the traces that express the dark-utopian possibilities in delusion", or "clues to latent salvation" by referring to Bloch (pp. 142-143). However, these mystical traces in the film are, in our opinion, actually the remnants of the romantic imagination left from the crisis of the nationalist utopia of the nation state, the state-centered national spirit narrative, which mystifies the Anatolian wild and its soil in line with its own purposes and interests. Their scattering around space, their loss of their original functions, their lack of a clear reference are both the cause and the result of the loss of the spatial coordinates and capacity of action of the state convoy.

killers are caught, they confess to burying the body in a field far from the town. In the evening of the day the murderers confessed to their crimes, Kesal traveled with the commissioner, prosecutor, other officials and the murderers to find the body. This travel affected him very much, it did not leave his mind for many years and was the source of the film's script (Kesal, 2014, p. 21). Kesal defines the notion of time as a “situation” rather than history or progress (2014, p. 25). This is an important detail because it shows the necessity of treating the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu’da* as "an Anatolian situation", that is, the situation of the state organs in this geography. Another important detail is the type of Kesal's perception of time. According to Kesal's approach, which was probably inspired by the Bergsonian conception of monolithic time, the present is the sum of the past and the present (2014, p. 25). The significance of this stems from the fact that 1985, when the event took place, and the year 2010, which was the production year of the film, coincided. Also including the two dates are included in Turkey's current time period of neo-liberal economics. Hence, 1985 and 2010 share a historical continuity in terms of the functioning of the state apparatus and economic policies. Neoliberal economic policy, which advocates the use of policies that give more weight to market mechanisms, adopts the privatization of public economic institutions, the relief of public control over various sectors, and the abandonment of welfare state policies (Pamuk, 2018, p. 263). The neoliberal program, which restricts the field of activity of the state and opens space for international capital movements, also problematized the national developmental state understanding because capital accumulation no longer moves within national borders (Keyder, 2004, p. 50). Thus the ideology of nationalism, that had subjugated capitalist development in the period after the First World War, has lost the opportunity to make statism by losing political weight both in the developed as well as developing countries like Turkey (Keyder, 2004, pp.

50-51).[23] The state elite, which adheres to the paradigm of the nation-state and holds the symbolic capital of government as a group identified with the state, has also had its share of this change. In Keyder's (2004) expression, the definition of the state elite is as follows:

> The state elite owes its power to the historical autonomy of the bureaucracy; consequently, it is obliged to maintain the appearance of autonomy in order to maintain its power (…) On the agenda of the state elite, principles such as maintaining the power of the state, preventing questioning of the holiness of the state, keeping the concept of national unity and interests above the debate are always included. (pp. 161-162)

Transnational capital is now moving in the global world at high accelerations with time / space constraints, and without borders. The flow of finance, which does not occupy fixed spaces, has greatly exceeded the control of governments. Therefore, Bauman (2012) emphasizes that the national economy, which once seemed to be the basis of economic thought, has now become a statistical fiction. The transnational financial system has eroded and dampened the nation-state and moved it outside the realm of rational action (Bauman, 2012, pp. 61-62). Since the *Sturm und Drang Periode* of modern nation-state building, the carefully assembled integrative aesthetic politics imposed on fragmented reality is now breaking or falling apart; the formerly indivisible sovereignty of the state has been fragmented into small pieces and dispersed into different areas of the planet (Bauman, 2018b, p. 62). In the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*, the spatial crisis experienced by the police-gendarmerie-prosecutor

[23] There is no doubt that these precise statements written by Keyder with the liberal optimism of the 1990s are open to discussion. However, it is important in terms of pointing to the power crisis experienced by the nationalist ideology in the era of neoliberal globalization (although it is now back in the form of right-wing populism).

apparatus indicates the loss of autonomy experienced by the nation-state elite and the disintegration of the sanctifying rhetoric of the state in the name of national unity in the neoliberal world. With the bankruptcy of national developmentalism, the autonomy view of the bureaucratic elite, which relies on the rhetoric of national unity, has also been damaged. All the organs of the bureaucratic body, as they appear in the film, are insecure subjects, deprived of operating the state machinery, carrying the wounds of their dark past with suffering.

3.6.7. The Political Function of the Sacrifice-Body

The *intersubjective dimension*[24] of the lost corpse is critical because the bureaucratic body had to invest ideologically in a lifeless body when it failed to influence the space. The corpse is what brings the organs of the bureaucratic body together during the night. It is also what, by its absence, suspends the working mechanism of the bureaucratic body. It is a sacrifice-body necessary for the state bureaucracy to find its way. As a matter of fact, Kesal (2018), in his diary about the production process of the film, used the expression "presented as a sacrifice to the gods" while describing the body of the deceased (p. 51). If the corpse, which is made of bone / blood and is no longer human, is about to form the living community, this means that death has become politicized (Sayın, 2018, p. 14). The fact that the fragmented political-strategic integrity of the bureaucratic cortege-body in the film is indexed to a corpse shows that death in the film is a political phenomenon. In other words: (1) Unless the location of the body is determined, the bureaucratic organs become atomized and there is a conflict of authority among themselves; (2) It needs the body more in order to be holistic; (3) The longer the duration of the quest journey makes the possibility of

[24] In classical detective narratives, Žižek (2013) refers to this concept when expressing that the body as an object connects a group of individuals (p. 87).

the bureaucratic organs to integrate more dependent on the corpse; (4) Thus, death is becoming more and more politicized. The way the state convoy can overcome the conflict of authority between its organs (police-gendarmerie-prosecutor) and become a holistic community again is through the dead body of the deceased. But the sacrifice-body is still not around.

When the police chief Naci beat the suspect Kenan as the information he gave about where he buried the body did not work, prosecutor Nusret pulls the police chief aside and warns him sharply and calms him down. If he goes on like this, he tries to corner the police chief, saying that he might interrupt his search journey. Although the police chief promises to get the suspect to speak in half an hour, the prosecutor pays no attention. The prosecutor leaves the police chief behind, stating that moving on of the team is possible only by taking a break to rest and eat. On the other hand, even if the poice chief does not break the prosecutor's order by listening to his words, the police chief's latent resentment towards the prosecutor's authority position is evident. After a short while, the police chief comes to the suspect who wants to smoke and threatens him and says:

> My boy, if you want to smoke, you will deserve it first. There is no such free job. Look at the prosecutor, the man has studied law and worked. He can either smoke his cigarette or berates. Why? Because he has deserved. What about you? What you've done? You've made a monkey out of us, my boy! No more. No free cigarettes. We've switched to another channel now (…) We'll talk in a different way from now on.

Knowing that the way to compensate for the feeling of defeat against the prosecutor is to make the suspect speak, the police chief takes his anger out of Kenan. When the

fourth fountain fails to draw a conclusion, the prosecutor Nusret decides to go to the house of the mukhtar living in Ceceli Village with the recommendation of his driver Tevfik to take a break in the increasingly complicating travel and to take a rest. When Arap Ali told the prosecutor that Köşker Village was cleaner and smoother, Tevfik dismissed Arap Ali's advice by telling the prosecutor that "Köşker is a road of at least 7-8 km, Ceceli is more closer, about 5-6 km." When Arap Ali turned to the prosecutor and said, "Ceceli's road was a bit problematic," Tevfik snaps Arap Ali by immediately saying "what was problematic?" When Arap Ali tells that the Ceceli road was flooded a week ago and that even the tractor could not pass there, Tevfik says that he went there last week with the agriculturalists without any problems. Both of them want to host the cortege in their own village. They are struggling to get into the eyes of the prosecutor over which village is more suitable as a space for transportation. Since the prosecutor from Ankara has a symbolism that embodies the central state structure, the fight here is essentially based on the bustle of hosting the Ankara bureaucracy. This is a competition based on the degree of proximity and accessibility of spatial distance. Upon the prolongation of the debate, the prosecutor aloud, "the result?!" There is a short silence when he shouts. Answering his own question, the prosecutor repeats his decision, "we are going to Ceceli," and the cortege gets on the vehicles and sets out to the mukhtar's house. The paralyzed body of the bureaucratic convoy, which barely navigates in abstract and empty space and whose organs clash angrily among themselves, will begin to move in the mukhtar's house. In the production diaries of the film, Kesal (2018) describes the mukhtar's house as the place where all the knots in the film are untied, the emotion of the film takes its place and becomes a guide (p. 167).

3.6.8. The Political Body Remobilized by the Mukhtar's Confirmation

The cortege passes the serpentine roads in the dark of the night and arrives at the mukhtar's house in Ceceli Village. The mukhtar welcomes the convoy at the door and welcomes them with a rich table. The organs of the bureaucratic body eat the food on the table with appetite and satisfy their hunger. While everyone in the team, including the prosecutor, focused on the plates in front of them, the mukhtar complained to the prosecutor saying "you didn't come to our village before someone dies, is that mister prosecutor?" Afterwards, he asked the prosecutor to speak to the district governor, stating that he wanted to have the wall of the village cemetery built but could not get any allowance because the district governor was not there. He also complains about the project of building a morgue in the village and that he has not received any allowance. The situation is urgent, especially in the summer, as corpses start to smell until they are buried. While the mukhtar is voicing his complaints, everyone at the table is busy filling their stomachs. Nobody pays attention. When police chief Naci suddenly brought the matter to the taste of the meat they ate, the mukhtar stated that the meat was lamb and they did not eat any other meat. He explains that some people claim that lamb smells, but this is the most delicious meat. The bureaucratic bodies and the mukhtar, in their conversation focusing on dead bodies, reveal once again that what holds them together is the death. This scene points out that it is the phenomenon of death that holds the state organs in Anatolian geography together. While the bureaucratic body who lost his way and the mukhtar were communicating in a language based on death, suddenly the electricity was cut off. In total darkness, each member of the team gets up from the table and pulls to the sidelines. Anxiety and lethargy go hand in hand while they are all half asleep. Cemile, who brought tea with a tray to the team members, suddenly appears at the door. The halo around Cemile, who serves tea accompanied by the sparkle gliding

from the gas lamp she puts in the middle of the tea glasses on the tray, the deep expression and body language on her face attribute holiness to her. In his production diaries Kesal (2018) compares the scene where Cemile presents tea with a lamp in her hand one by one after a power outage to the virgin Mary's blessing by sanctifying people (p. 165). Cemile brightens the faces of everyone she approaches while serving tea. As soon as they notice the arrival of Cemile with their slumbering squinted eyes, they shiver first and then, looking at her in awe, they take the tea she offer from her tray. After taking tea from Cemile, the suspect Kenan begins to cry sobbingly. At that time, he notices the ghost of the deceased Yaşar, sitting on the edge of the window, looking outwards. Cemile also serves him tea. Watching Yaşar sipping his tea in surprise, Kenan called out: "Yaşar brother, didn't you die bro?" Seeing that Yaşar was having difficulty drinking tea, holding his throat, breathing with wheezing and beginning to suffocate, Kenan's confusion leaves its place to fear. Kenan, who came to himself with the call of police chief Naci, confesses all the details and the reason of the murder. It is not a coincidence that the state cortege obtains the information that will enable it to get rid of the discontinuity, stasis, directionlessness and conflict of authority in the house of the mukhtar. The important point here lies in the mukhtar institution itself. The mukhtar is an institution unique to Turkey, emerged in the process of "the centralization" and "bureaucratization" in the Ottoman Empire of 1829 and has continued its existence after the establishment of the state of Turkey until today (Massicard, 2016). This institution is fulfilling important functions in the bureaucratic system in Turkey. It provides a link of information and control over the bureaucracy between local units and the central administration (Massicard, 2016, p. 250). However, unlike a rational-legal administrative practice that is impersonal, personalized knowledge underlies the figure of the mukhtar (Massicard, 2016, p. 267). The

ambiguous nature of the intermediate and hybrid mukhtar, which is both the arm of the central government and the representative of the local, explains the mukhtar's appearance in an uncertain buffer zone where the bureaucratic body lost its way. It is no coincidence that the mukhtar mechanism, which creates the forms of circumvention of the state as well as the regularity (Massicard, 2016, p. 269), welcomes the lost bureaucratic body in the periphery. As a hybrid figure between the local government and the local administrative unit of the state, another important feature of the mukhtar is that it is an institutionalized intermediary. The role of the mukhtars is to connect the two, since they are both officers of the center and belong to the local community (Massicard, 2016, p. 259). By mediating between the state and the society, they transfer information on problems such as road, infrastructure and security in the local area to administrative authorities. Their simultaneous involvement in different social levels (p. 260), as Massicard (2016) put it, makes this possible. Due to their intermediary roles, they contact many institutions. They recognize most bureaucrats because the essential element of their role is mediation. Muhtars' own resources are limited, but they allow others to access resources held by public administrations (Massicard, 2016, p. 261). Therefore, the intervention of the mukhtar can help individuals to become entitled. If we move from Massicard's (2016) analyses on the mukhtar instutition, we could put forward that Ceceli village mukhtar in the film *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* is a projection of the mukhtar institution in Turkey. As a matter of fact, when the bureaucratic body, which lost its way in the film, loses its rational functioning altogether, encounters the mukhtar which is not a rational-legal instutition. By confirming the elements of the bureaucratic body at his house (the tea session scene) he makes them entitled again or, in other words, enables them to regain their social role. Considering that the tea session in the mukhtar's house is personal and the enlightenment experienced by those in the

dark takes place one by one, it can be said that we are faced with a scene that represents the personalized knowledge of the mukhtar figure. As a result of personal information transmitted to subjects in the bureaucratic apparatus, subjects in the apparatus begin to play their social roles. Although the mukhtar's own resources are limited (someone who tries to make allowances for a morgue in a village with extremely inadequate infrastructure), he achieves the access of the bureaucratic body to the public administration through his essential element, intermediation. If we take into account that the mukhtar mostly work in a private or professional space that does not have a distinctive feature, since there is no material barrier that separates them from the public physically or symbolically (Massicard, 2016, p. 262); the fact that the space in the film, where the mukhtar mediated, is a “house” is very consistent in terms of the relationship the mukhtar establishes with the space. In addition, the house in the film is a space that holds the two different bodies of the mukhtar together. Expressing that mukhtars harbor two separate bodies, Massicard (2016) describes these bodies by separating them from each other. A body that uses the familiar language of interpersonal relations in terms of their involvement in the social life of the local unit they work in, and a body that implements administrative norms far from being personal (Massicard, 2016, p. 268). In the film, the mukhtar's house combines the side of the mukhtar, who hosts the bureaucratic cortege on the floor table and uses the language of daily communication, with the side of the mukhtar that conveys the administrative norms with the silent approval of his daughter Cemile, who takes his place when the mukhtar leaves the stage. Likewise, the scene of confirmation with tea brings together the seal, one of the primary objects of the mukhtar's office, and the tea glass, one of the main objects of daily life. The bureaucratic organs gain their place in the social system and their power of action by force of the seal (confirmation) that the mukhtar imprinted one by one. Obtaining

the confession and obtaining information regarding the reason for the murder takes place after this confirmation process. In parallel with the mukhtar institution, which had many contacts with the mediation position and received many news in advance (Massicard, 2016, p. 270), police chief Naci receives the confessions of the suspect Kenan about the details of the murder at the mukhtar's house. Thus, everyone in the cortege, including the suspect, begins to act their social roles through the mukhtar. The mukhtar ensured that the central power, that lost its way, was able to move again in the local space by connecting it to the local geography / society.[25]

3.6.9. Finding the Sacrifice-Body

The administrative structures of power regain their lost power by reaching the burial of the dead body. The fountain, which complies with Kenan's description during the night, was finally found on the fifth attempt. The darkness of the night has now left its place to the light of the early hours of the morning. When the coordinates of the body are discovered, the excavation team extracts the body from the burial. The sacrifice-body lies under the ground, tied with a hogtie. The corpse is taken out of the ground, the hogtie is cut. The prosecutor sets up his desk on the field where the body is buried and begins to dictate the minutes procedures. The gate to the Law was established in the middle of the steppe (Arslan, 2012, p. 196). After the incident report is written, the corpse is tied again with a hogtie and placed in the trunk of the car and the return road to Kırıkkale is set out. During the ceaseless search for the dead body, the prosecutor-police-gendarmerie device, which is in inertia, starts working again when the body is captured. As Kesal (2018) put it: "daytime = bureaucracy = state = truth = power" (p.

[25] There is an interesting overlap here. In addition to being the scriptwriter of the film, Ercan Kesal, who also plays the mukhtar, emphasized throughout his diary (Kesal, 2018) that he mediated the local space for the film crew as he knew the shooting space of the film well. The role of the mukhtar in the cinematic space and the role of the actor / screenwriter Kesal, who played him, in the physical space converged.

34). The criterion of the road is no longer the dead body, but bureaucratic practice. As soon as the body is identified and documented, the administrative structure starts the classification process; the minutes are kept, the details of the murder are analyzed based on the evidence in the body of the deceased, and finally the body is laid on the autopsy table and cut and sorted. The administrative apparatus of the state, which had been dysfunctional for hours, are now back in operation. The sacrifice-body of the deceased gave the bureaucratic body access to power. Eagleton's (2019) definition of the sacrifice's relationship to the political is the summary of this situation: “if sacrifice is a political act, it is because it is especially about attaining power (…) Although the ritual of sacrifice is actually related to loss and waste, it is for the sake of a much richer life form" (p. 23). The bureaucratic body, which makes ideological investments in the dead body, has finally reached its goal. The moment when the body that drags the administrative structure after it is captured and mapped is the moment when the administrative structure justifies its existence. The success of administrative practice has been made possible by the classification of the anthropomorphic element in space. The loss of the local topography of the province was accomplished by filtrating the space through normative filters. While navigating the uncanny uncertainty of the particular, the bureaucratic devices that lose their functions and become suspicious of their own existence regain their authority the moment they dissolve the particular in normative quantity by classifying the particular. An easy-to-read map of the space (event) for the state administration has now been drawn, albeit difficult. But the symbolic tear was temporarily closed because the spatial crisis of the bureaucratic body / cortege in achieving political-strategic integrity, speeding up space, overcoming geographic dependence and taking action points out that the fictional / mystical relationship that the nation-state establishes with reality is irreversibly fragmented,

decayed and withered away from the realm of rational actions in the neoliberal world. As Bauman (2018b) stated when explaining the sovereignty crisis created by the transnational capital flow in the nation-state:

> (…) No state has the courage or will to claim an indivisible authority over its defense capacity and legal order, or over the economic and cultural lives of the people living in its territory. The complete and complete sovereignty once held by nation-states is concentrated in the vague areas of global powers that have evaporated and stripped of regional relations and commitments, the financial and commodity markets are increasingly freed from regulation and are shifting to unmanageable hunting grounds, the duties and concerns that are once taken over and promised by the state, which the state labored over (or puts on its own shoulders) fall on the privately owned workshops that direct the life policy. (p. 62)

4. CONCLUSION

The commonalities in the road films of Turkey as in the analysis of relationship between body and space are in evidence. When we look at the spatial bodies in the films, the disposition of these bodies on their own routes is always constrained by the value of commodity exchange and the topography controlled by the administrative structures of the state. The spatial dynamics of global capitalism and the management logic of the political rationality of neoliberalism form the basis of these conditions of restriction. The contradictions in the relationality of space and body in the analyzed films are extremely evident.

In this study, the mobility conditions of spatial bodies in road films of Turkey were examined. This examination was made by taking into account the universal dynamics of the space that formed the basis for the mobility conditions of the bodies in question, changing in line with the needs of capital. We can summarize these dynamics as follows: (1) The intense dominance of international capital over space; (2) The labor movement that is geographically dispersed and lost its organization; (3) The phenomenon of immigration becoming prominent worldwide as the global population has to mobilize; (4) Changing of the structure of the state connected to the land, having disciplinary effects of capital and financial capital on the state. On the other hand, for neoliberalism to function, the penetration of the nation state deeper into political and economic life; (5) There is almost nowhere left where the global market does not penetrate.

In the thesis, the effects of these universal dynamics of neoliberal capitalism on a global scale on particular-level bodies were analyzed from a spatial perspective. Since the relationship between space and body in each film is different from each other, instead of applying a schematic approach to the films, the analysis was made by

considering the specific structure of the space-body relationship in each film. Different representations of spaces in films (space of abstract labor, space of punishment, space as free market allegory, militarized space, space divided by borders, space as national allegory) and different representations of spatial bodies in films (labor-producing body, captive body, machine body, dual body of testimony, waiting body, political body of sovereign), and the relationship between space and body were analyzed.

The cinematic body traveling in *Umut* is the spatial body of a laborer. The cinematic space in the film, is the abstract space of the city. As a result of the technological needs of variable capital and the spatial arrangements created by capital in the urban space, the labor production capacity of the cinematic body becomes unqualified. The cinematic body has been rendered invalid in line with the technological needs of variable capital. Losing the labor relation he has established with space, the cinematic body is struggling in the historical purgatory between the mapping of the space and the map that is spatialized. Given his creative capacity and labor-production process, the cinematic body is inevitably alienated and decides to devote himself to an irrational mythical adventure. He begins treasure hunting in order to survive. He sets out on a journey hoping to find a mythical treasure, but it is not he who created the route in this travel. The cinematic space does not allow the cinematic body to find its way. While the cinematic body is stuck in limbo, his travel ends while walking blindly looking for the fetishized treasure. The economic-political struggle of the space war between concrete labor and abstract labor, particular and universal, local and objective, personal and impersonal, is in front of the audience in all its historicity in the end of travel. The cinematic body, devoid of sensory perception that has flown from his hands, constructs his spatiality in accordance with the directives of the

normative transcendent eye. In *Umut*, the cinematic body lost his criterion on the road, indirectly stuck in the destiny determined by the administrative map.

The cinematic bodies traveling in *Otobüs* are the spatial bodies of migrant workers. The shabby bus, in which they are trapped, is a space that embodies their concrete labor. The geometric and sterile urban space where the bus is located is an abstract space organized by variable capital. Thus, the cinematic space in *Otobüs* is constituted by two aspects: the abstract space of abstract labor (the city) and the concrete space of concrete labor (the bus). The contrasting appearance of the bus with its corporal wear (concrete labor) on the geometric smooth symmetrical surface (abstract labor space) under the main arterial road in the urban space symbolizes precariousness. The contradiction between the stability of the bus and the mobility of metropolitan space emphasizes that spatial bodies are immobilized and precarious. As a means of transport, the bus functions as a shelter rather than mobility for these precarious bodies. Similarly, the workers inside the bus have become unqualified because their capacity to produce labor has been taken away. Migrant workers are spatial bodies that are at the bottom of the mobility hierarchy. They hide in the bus for fear of being arrested and deported and only try to survive. While the bodies outside are in motion (the everyday life of the metropolitan crowd continues in its usual way; pedestrians and cars are constantly in motion), the precarious bodies on the bus are motionless. Labor-producing capacities and mobility capacities do not exist. The weight of the space on them is felt in their inactivity.

The cinematic bodies traveling in *Yol* are the spatial bodies of captivity. The cinematic spaces in the film, are the abstract spaces of punishment. Throughout their travel, cinematic bodies are subjected to the destructive restrictions of martial law. A spatially militaristic boundary drawing and control always shows itself in the film:

military checkpoints, curfews, collection centers, gendarmes who check identity with long-barreled guns, raid settlements are the elements that spatialize the official map of the state that castrate all kinds of relationships that the body establishes with space. The military coup of September 12 has devastating effects on every element of the relationship that spatial bodies establish with space. The distance taken by cinematic bodies during their weekly leave is fragmented by boundaries, procedures, social and cultural acts. They are subject to the boundaries drawn by the corporal punishment system. In the absence of social organizations (trade unions, parties, collective actions, and a culture of solidarity) that were active before the coup, the arena was left to archaic feudal codes that already existed in society. Bodies traveling through a topography under the control of the feudal custom and September 12 regime which impose the neoliberal economic program through military methods, dissolve and perish in the encircled space. The tragic travel of the captive bodies in *Yol* underlines that the punishment techniques of martial law that detain bodies and the corporal punishment methods of the feudal custom are two sides of the same coin.

The cinematic body traveling in the film *Sarı Mercedes* is a spatial body of a mechanized human who cannot give up the desire to integrate with his car. The cinematic space in the film is the abstract space of highway as an allegory of the neoliberal market economy. While traveling in his car, cinematic body sees his own body as the body of the car. Throughout the travel, cinematic body compete with other cars on the road over "speed" and "performance". Neoliberal rhetoric is constantly echoing in the behavior and attitudes of cinematic body. The highway on which cinematic body (machine-body integrated with the commodity) travels is a spatial metaphor for the form of politico-economic organization of neoliberalism. In the neoliberal understanding based on market changes shaped by the turnover of financial

flows and capital, individuals quickly pursue their interests in an atomized state. The cinematic space of highway is a sign that embodies the individual pattern in which society or social solidarity is went out and the competition between individuals over speed. Economic competition becoming the dominant psychological imperative ignites cinematic body to a panicked competition with other cars. Competitive individualism causes the fears of cinematic body to increase in every crisis and to take refuge in the mechanical shell of his car passionately. When he gets out of his car and is separated from it, he is a vulnerable body. In the film we rarely see cinematic body, who is aware of this dependent corporeality, outside of his car. His own body and the body of his car are integrated. Corporal integration with the machine has increased so much with the fear of falling behind in neoliberal competition that cinematic body's relationship with the world outside of his car has been reduced to a minimum. Highway also emphasizes the groundlessness and rootlessness of cinematic body, who is actually an immigrant worker. The type of migration in neoliberal culture is a travel that leads to the consumption of identities. The cinematic body lost his identity and human relations during his travel and he could not find any other way to take refuge in the mechanical body of his car.

The cinematic body traveling in *Güneşe Yolculuk* is a spatial body deprived of legal rights who testifies to the State of Emergency conditions, created by the neoliberal nation-state. The cinematic space in the film is the abstract space of a militarized geography. The cinematic body bears witness to how the exclusionary mechanism, which he witnessed a certain part of it in the city, spreading everywhere under the conditions of the State of Emergency in the Kurdish region of Turkey and functioning systematically as he traveled through this geography. The travel of cinematic body is constantly interrupted by military identity checks and stops. The police at checkpoints

in the city were replaced by heavily armed gendarmes scattered throughout the region. Indoor and outdoor spaces are so intertwined in the State of Emergency application that they become indistinguishable from each other. During the travel, evacuated villages come across cinematic body. Similar to the fact that the reality of documentary images seeps into the film, the reality of these isolated spaces seeps into the frame with all its nakedness. These villages are the documents of the spatial destruction created by the state domination in the geography of Kurdish settlement. Just as the silent body lying in the coffin is a corporal allegory of the non-healing wounds of a people, these evacuated ruined village houses are spatial allegories of non-healing wounds. However, since these spatial allegories are real spaces, they overlap reality with allegory. They are uncanny signs of how the militarist machine of the state is colonizing geographic and social space. The burden and weight of the testimony has taken over the cinematic body as well as the cinematic space. Cinematic body feels the weight of this cost brought by the witness in his body and suffers under this heavy burden. Cinematic bodies, one is alive and other one is dead, of *Güneşe Yolculuk* compose "the dual body of testimony" during their travel. The travel is mainly about witnessing the violent destruction (both spatial and corporal) caused by neoliberal nation-state policies.

The cinematic body traveling in *Gitmek: Benim Marlon ve Brandom* is a spatial body in a waiting status who cannot transcend the boundaries of the space that the global economic system has destabilized. The cinematic space in the film is the abstract space of a geography that is fragmented by closed border gates under the conditions of Iraq war. The spatial fix policies of the capitalist states, which are the implementers of neoliberal economy, have divided and fragmented the spontaneity of the body with space by the acts of defining, identifying and scaling the space with quantitative lines. As the cinematic body of *Güneşe Yolculuk*, the cinematic body of *Gitmek* bares witness

to militaristic domination in the Kurdish regions and reflects this testimony on the viewer. The travel of the cinematic body of *Gitmek* becomes an act of waiting which testifies to the spatial and corporal fragmentation of the Kurdish population where her path crosses the interstate road routes through the Kurdish regions in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The Kurdish society, detached from the space-body relationship, often confronts her. Spatial shifting creates frictionless spaces where capital can move quickly, while destroying previously constructed spaces. In the film, this creative destruction is conveyed with destroyed geographies, borders closed indefinitely, militarist elements that appear unexpectedly, people who cannot meet their relatives and loses their relations with the space. The contradictions revealed by the molecular processes of infinite capital accumulation make geographical uncertainty inevitable. The travel of cinematic body in *Gitmek* passes through the rough ruins of spaces that are destroyed in order to smoothen the dynamism of capital for a more profitable transfer. The corporal restrictions imposed by the geopolitical struggles of competitive states in the global neoliberal system are present in cinematic body's unstable travel which is full of interruptions and waitings. Nationalism deepened by the interstate geopolitical struggles developing over the surplus-capital of the neoliberal global economy and the strict border policies that were further compounded by the US invasion of Iraq left cinematic body no other way.

The cinematic body traveling in *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* is the spatial body of the nation-state bureaucracy. The cinematic space where the bureaucratic cortege travels is the abstract space of a nationalized geography, homogenized and romanticized by the nation state. The alienating effect of the mystical Anatolian landscape of the romantic nationalist fiction and the abstractive effect of the Anatolian map, built by the nationalist idea of homeland came together to create a mysterious

maze. The political body of bureaucracy, which organizes / perceives the space ideologically by aesthetizing it, and organizes / perceives it geopolitically, is trapped in its own order / perception. The main concern of the bureaucratic mechanism is to prove that it does not stop / die in its utopia in which it has lost its way. The bureaucratic cortege, which cannot match the realities of the regional space with its aesthetic ideology and its abstract map, cannot restrain the uncertainty it faces in the Central Anatolian steppe. In *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*, the spatial crisis experienced by the police-gendarmerie-prosecutor apparatus indicates the loss of autonomy experienced by the nation-state elite and the disintegration of the sanctifying rhetoric of the state in the name of national unity in the neoliberal world. With the bankruptcy of national developmentalism, the autonomy view of the bureaucratic elite, which relies on the rhetoric of national unity, has also been damaged. All the organs of the bureaucratic body, as they appear in the film, are insecure subjects, deprived of operating the state machinery, carrying the wounds of their dark past with suffering. The corpse is what brings the organs of the bureaucratic body together during the travel. It is also what, by its absence, suspends the working mechanism of the bureaucratic body. It is a sacrifice-body necessary for the state bureaucracy to find its way. The mukhtar institution ensured that the central power, that lost its way, was able to move again in the local space by connecting political body of the nation-state to the local geography / society. The administrative structures of power regain their lost power by reaching the burial of the dead body. During the ceaseless search for the dead body, the prosecutor-police-gendarmerie device, which is in inertia, starts working again when the body is captured. An easy-to-read map of the space (event) for the state administration has now been drawn, albeit difficult. But the symbolic tear was temporarily closed because the spatial crisis of the bureaucratic body / cortege in achieving political-strategic integrity,

speeding up space, overcoming geographic dependence and taking action points out that the fictional / mystical relationship that the nation-state establishes with reality is irreversibly fragmented, decayed and withered away from the realm of rational actions in the neoliberal world.

In these films analyzed in the thesis, it has been revealed that the spatial bodies cannot get rid of the homogenizing, limiting, restrictive, hierarchizing effects of abstract space, but draw attention to the control regime that dominates the spatial body through the crises in their travels. Although spatial bodies fail to realize the experience of crossing barriers by forming their own route, which is the anthropomorphic and praxeomorphic utopia of road cinema, and are ultimately limited by the administrative mechanisms of neoliberal rationality, it has been found that they try to preserve their existence regarding their particular subjectivity. This preserving is paradoxical because the particular experiences of the spatial body in the road films of Turkey fade step by step with the political economy constraints of universal mechanisms as well as make their own presence felt by giving room to question the neoliberal nation-state structure. Although the spatial control regime cannot be broken in the films in which the spatial bodies are selected from the lower layers of the mobility hierarchy (*Umut, Otobüs, Yol, Güneşe Yolculuk, Gitmek*), the spatial bodies make the crisis visible through notions such as alienation, violence, deprivation of legal rights and confinement to borders. On the other hand, in the films in which the spatial bodies are selected from the upper layers of the mobility hierarchy (*Sarı Mercedes, Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*), the travels made to dominate the space make it visible how neoliberal rationality tries to reproduce itself through crises; in these films, the abstract space both shows and crosschecks the crisis from the perspective of the sovereigns by drawing attention to the contradiction of the sovereign rationality, pointing to the competitive and colonial logic that lies behind the

mobility conditions of sovereign rationality as haunting the sovereign body that legitimizes it. As seen in the thesis, road films both make the universal level behind the mobility conditions visible and reflect the effects of the universal level to the particular level. The mobility conditions of the spatial bodies examined in this study are a sign that the road films can enable film studies to observe mobility conditions in our age and provide an important critical / documentary ground for social sciences.

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