DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854



Ideological Transformations of Family Discourses Produced in Popular Comedy Films in Turkey¹

Türkiye'de Popüler Komedi Filmlerinde Üretilen Aile Söylemlerinin İdeolojik Dönüşümleri

Fatih Değirmen²

ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE Gönderim Tarihi: 28.10.2023 | Kabul Tarihi: 25.12.2023

Abstract

The aim of this study is to discuss the ideological transformations of family discourses that becomes to visible in popular comedy films produced in Turkey. The discussions on family are shaped by three approaches that are categorized based on the narrative structures of the films. The first of these approaches is the corporatization of the family, which is discussed through the films Eltilerin Savaşı (Onur Bilgetay 2020) and Kocan Kadar Konuş 1-2 (Kıvanç Baruönü 2015, 2016). The second approach is the Oedipalization of the family, developed through the films Görümce (Kıvanç Baruönü 2016), Celal ile Ceren (Togan Gökbakar 2013) and Romantik Komedi 1-2 (Hakan Kırvavaç 2010 and Erol Özlevi 2013). As the last approach, the dissolution of the truth of the family and the emergence of the post-family discourse were discussed through the film Aile Arasında (Ozan Açıktan 2017). The findings obtained by the discourse analysis method used in the study, covering the corporatization of the family, Oedipalization, and the transformations of the family as a truth regime, show that popular comedy films are parallel to the breaks in today's popular discussion lines in Turkey.

Keywords: Turkish Family Ideologies, Oedipalization, Ideological Discourse, Post-Truth Post-Family

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'de üretilen popüler komedi filmlerinde görünürlük kazanan aile söylemlerinin ideolojik dönüşümlerini tartışmaktır. Aile üzerine yapılan tartışmalar, filmlerin anlatı yapılarından hareketle sınıflandırılan üç yaklaşım biçimiyle şekillendirilmiştir. Bu yaklaşımlardan ilki, Eltilerin Savaşı (Onur Bilgetay 2020) ve Kocan Kadar Konuş (Kıvanç Baruönü 2015,2016) filmleri üzerinden tartışılan ailenin şirketleşmesi yaklaşımıdır. İkinci yaklaşım, Görümce (Kıvanç Baruönü 2016), Celal ile Ceren (Togan Gökbakar 2013) ve Romantik Komedi 1-2 (Hakan Kırvavaç 2010 ve Erol Özlevi 2013) filmleri üzerinden geliştirilen ailenin Oidipalleşmesi yaklaşımıdır. Son yaklaşım olarak Aile Arasında (Ozan Açıktan 2017) filmi üzerinden aile hakikatinin çözülmesi ve post-aile söyleminin açığa çıkması tartışılmıştır. Çalışmada kullanılan söylem analizi yöntemiyle elde edilen bulgular, popüler komedi filmlerinin söylemleriyle günümüzde aile kavramına yönelik yapılan egemen tartışma güzergahları arasındaki benzerlikleri onaylar. Bu benzerlikleri, aile söyleminin cinsiyetleri eril egemenlik lehine sabitleyen yaklaşımında ve ailenin bir miras aktarım kurumu haline getirilmesinde görmek mümkündür.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Popüler Komedi, Aile Söylemleri, Oidipalleşme, İdeolojik Söylem, Aile Sonrası.

¹ This study is derived from a PhD study at Marmara University in 2022 with the title "Myths of Modern Turkey: Ideological Discourse in Comedy Films After 2000"

² Marmara Üniversites, fatih_degirmen@hotmail.com, Orcid: 0000-0002-2775-905

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Introduction

In popular comedy films produced in Turkey, the institution of family appears as an important narrative element. In order to discuss these films, I will follow three different approaches in which the axes of discussion are determined through the discourses of the films. The first of these approaches is the corporatization of the family. While the pre-capitalist family structure was characterized by three generations of individuals living together and running a family economy based on agriculture, with the development of capitalism, the nuclear family structure, consisting of a mother, father and children, begins to emerge. The economy based on agriculture evolves into urban life based on wage labor through industrial society. Through this transformation, the property owned by the family becomes a legal object strictly regulated by pre-nuptial contracts. I will take this transformation line as the corporatization of the family and discuss the traces of this transformation in the films *Kocan Kadar Konuş 1-2* (Kıvanç Baruönü 2015, 2016) and *Eltilerin Savaşı* (Onur Bilgetay 2020).

The second approach is the Oedipalization of the family. This transformation, which is closely linked to the transformation of the nuclear family, will be analyzed through the psychoanalytic debates that marked the 20th century. The term Oedipalization, in the Freudian sense, emphasizes the influence of the unconscious space established between father-mother-child, based on the Oedipus myth, and formed through the family in the individuation process. Through this approach, the films *Romantik Komedi 1-2* (Hakan Kırvavaç 2010 and Erol Özlevi 2013), *Celal ile Ceren* (Togan Gökbakar 2013) and *Görümce* (Kıvanç Baruönü 2016) will be discussed through the processes of Oedipalization.

The last approach will be a discussion on the concept of post-family. In this approach, the dissolution of the genealogical alliances established through family ties and the family's beginning to produce a discourse that erodes the father-mother-child triangle will be discussed in the film *Aile Arasında* (Ozan Açıktan 2017).

1. Aim and Methodology

The aim of this study is to discuss the ideological discourses of popular comedy films with a family theme. This discussion will be made by using discourse analysis method and the traces of sexist discourses seen in the films will be tried to be revealed.

1.1. Aim

According to box office data, the films discussed were among the most watched films in Turkey when they were released.³ In the discussion on the concept of family, there are two main reasons for forming the sample from these films. The first reason is that popular films are functional in understanding the popular patterns of the concept of family accepted in society. In this case, box office data was used as a concrete measure of a concept such as popularity. The films discussed were among the most watched domestic films at the box office when they were released. Therefore, the criterion of popularity is fulfilled.⁴ The second reason is that the films selected as the sample construct narratives through discourses based on various aspects of the family theme, as summarized in the table below. These two reasons are effective in determining the sample of the study. The aim of the study is to reveal the relationships between the discourses of family-themed comedy films with such high ratings and dominant gender discourses.

Kocan Kadar Konuş https://boxofficeturkiye.com/film/kocan-kadar-konus--2012138

Görümce https://boxofficeturkiye.com/film/gorumce--2012972

Celal ile Ceren https://boxofficeturkiye.com/film/celal-ile-ceren--2011493

Romantik Komedi https://boxofficeturkiye.com/film/romantik-komedi--2010319

³Eltilerin Savaşı https://boxofficeturkiye.com/film/eltilerin-savasi--2014601

⁴The films that make up the sample of the study were selected especially from the 2000s. The reason for this is primarily to access accurate box office data. In Turkey, box office data has started to be kept since the early 2000s. The other reason is that the study aims to reveal the discourses on the concept of family in today's Turkey. For this reason, the focus was on films that have remained in the social memory and were produced after 2000.

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1.2. Methodology

The films that constitute the sample of the study will be discussed using the discourse analysis method. The analysis of the discourses established by the images that gain visibility in popular films requires a dual-valued structure that requires thinking about the discourses leaking from the films on the one hand and the relationship of society with these discourses on the other. It should be reminded that this bivalent relationship between cinema and society is a stop that should be taken into consideration when analyzing the discourse of films. In the sense explained by Diken and Laustsen, this bivalent relationship requires thinking about the production of images about society on the one hand and the socialization of images and their impact on practical life on the other (Diken, Laustsen 2016:22).

Teun A. van Dijk states that in order to bridge the gap between ideological structures and social discourse, dominant power relations need a fictional definition of "We" (Dijk 2003:29). Discourse analysis has been determined as a method to disperse the nebula of ideology that establishes this "We" and tries to hide the gap in the establishment and the other in terms of popular comedy films. From this perspective, it can be interpreted that films, like all social phenomena, produce the public on the one hand and repeat the images produced by the public on the other.

Foucault defines discourse as a language that constitutes cultural objects that establish social relations. For this reason, discourse, like language, does not only mean revealing desire but also becomes a power to be seized as the object of desire (Foucault 1987:23-24). Referring to Foucault's definition of discourse, Fairclough discusses the ideological position of narratives constructed through discourses. Norman Fairclough emphasizes that discursive structures and social relations coincide. Stating that the language that constitutes discourse is a material form of ideology, Fairclough claims that the dialectical relationship of structures is inherent in discourse and that these structures inherently function through the mechanism of ideological invocation in the Althusserian sense. Identifying the three elements of ideological discourse as social practice, discursive practice in the sense of text production and textual analysis, Fairclough states that ideology is established through the relations between these three elements (Fairclough 2003:158-159). Stating that Foucault's determination that discourse is completely under an ideological siege does not mean that this siege cannot be fought, Fairclough reminds that ideological discourses construct subjects, but at the same time these subjects are contradictory. Critical discourse analysis should be effective for the awareness that will be revealed in this contradictory structure (Fairclough 2003:170).

The method of discourse analysis used in the study focuses on the ideological structure of discourse, which Fairclough emphasizes, arising from the relationships between its three elements. If, as Foucault states, discourse is constructed through cultural objects, popular films appear as narrative structures that need to be analyzed as cultural objects. The aim of this analysis is to show the contradictions that emerge in films as cultural commodities that construct social practices that are components of discourse. These contradictions are revealed through the family discourses in the films. Because, as discussed in the films, the family, while being sanctified on the one hand, becomes a guarantee of money, pleasure and ownership on the other, and therefore appears as a discourse that is reproduced in a contradictory structure. In film analysis, the social impact of the discourse categories articulated with each other will be analyzed. These films will be analyzed according to the table below.

Film Araştırmaları Dergisi

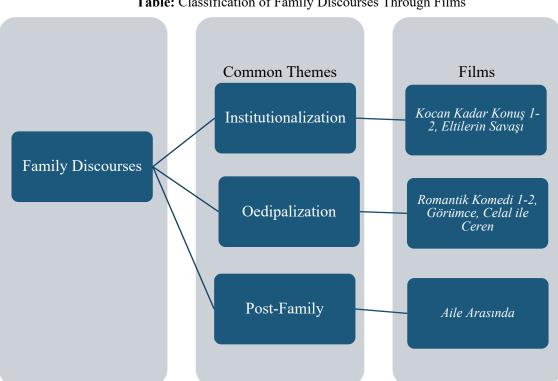


Table: Classification of Family Discourses Through Films

1.3. Conceptual Framework

Aristotle states that the family is established through four basic units and four forms of relationship in relation to these units. These four units and the way they relate are listed as follows: master and slave, husband and wife, father and children, and household management, where money matters are managed. According to him, the family comes after holistic structures such as the city and the state. (Aristotle 1983: 10-13). This relationship established between family and property determines the family as a social structure that considers the family as the administrator of property.

Marx and Engels analyze the impact of the transformation of the form of property on social structures under four headings. The first form of property, according to them, is tribal property. In this form there is not yet a division of labor. The social structure is limited to the expansion of the family. The latent slavery within the family develops slowly with the increase of war and population. The second form of property, called ancient communal property, is based on the unification of tribes into cities through contracts. In this form, class relations between citizens and slaves develop. In the third form of property, feudal property, Marx and Engels emphasize that it is based on agriculture and that in this form the industrialist is also a merchant, and that property is based on land ownership, where the labor of serfs is subjugated, on the one hand, and on personal labor, which manages the labor of journeymen with the help of a small capital, on the other. The last form is modern property, and whereas in the other three forms one could speak of the existence of communal forms of property that were somehow employed to strengthen the rule over the serfs, either through clans formed by family alliances or through certain contracts, property is now transformed into a purely private form of property. This is realized through the modern state structure that emerges as a result of industrialization (Marx, Engels 2009: 124-133).

Richard Sennett, in order to emphasize that patriarchy is a kind of family model, stresses that it produces a space of homogeneous alliance in which all members of society are bound to each other by the same blood bond, and that men are the heads of this alliance (Sennett 2005:62). In other words, the family is Değirmen, F. (2023). Ideological Transformations of Family Discourses Produced in Popular Comedy Films in Turkey. *Türkiye Film Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *3*(2), 166-182. DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854

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the most important stop in the institutionalization of social patriarchy and the transformation of the whole society into a homogenous organization. On the one hand, it takes part in the management of capital by becoming the center of property relations, and on the other hand, it ensures the production of the gender regimes needed to guarantee the security of capital. From this point of view, it can be interpreted that the family is the projection of universal capitalism.

As we see in Marx and Engels' analyses of the changes in forms of property, the social structure that transforms from tribes to feudal unions and then to private property with modern capitalist institutionalization, makes the family's wide structure narrower, and transforms it into the nuclear family. Sennett emphasizes that the determinations that the transformation towards the nuclear family is compatible with the transforming capital structure and increases economic participation are accepted in relation to the initial capitalist institutionalization, but that the nuclear family no longer has a structure that is open to participation through an adaptation, but on the contrary, it has a structure that is isolated from the public sphere through a closure (Sennett 2002:178).

In discussing the structure of the bourgeois family form, Habermas emphasizes that the family is materially based on the accumulation of capital and is a form of security in which property is freely transferred through inheritance. According to him, the autonomy of the property owner in the market and in his business corresponds to the dependence of the woman and the child on the father of the family. From this point of view, it is nothing but a fantasy that marriage formally guarantees the autonomy of the two parties through a contract (Habermas 1991:46-48).

When is considered Butler's object approach, the relationship between the corporatization of the family and property will become clearer. Butler argues that the accumulation of property cannot be achieved by merely consuming objects, that the ownership of objects can only lead to the accumulation of property, and that objects can only preserve their form as property: Only when objects become property can they fulfill the theological promise with which they are endowed (Butler 1997:40). When Butler's determination is considered in conjunction with the reference to Marx and Engels, who determined that the form of private property would be realized through the modern nuclear family, it can be interpreted that the basis for the corporatization of the family and the realization of property management through marriage contracts is to ensure the continuity of the theological promise that social morality preaches.

The Oedipalization of the family does not correspond to a moment in history when the corporatized family comes to an end. On the contrary, the family, which came into existence and became a safe haven in parallel with the development of the modern form of property, also becomes the center of Oedipalization. Because the father-mother-child triangle becomes possible in a family institutionalized as a modern form of property. Oedipalization of the family refers to the forms of production of sexuality and pleasure economy in the father-mother-child triangle that develops with the nuclear family. Considering the conservative family structure in Turkey, it can be emphasized that this production is an arrangement that codifies fixed sexual identities and gender hierarchy.

The most important point where this discussion differs from the corporatized family is that the family also produces a gender economy. R.W. Connell notes that conservative ideology wants to position the family as the foundation of society, while sociology tends to see the family as the simplest institutional organization. However, emphasizing the invalidity of these determinations, Connell discusses the family as an intricate structure in which forms of power and resistance are intertwined. Emphasizing that unpaid domestic labor is produced by women and paid labor outside the home is produced by men, and that this division of labor is a result of the power of husbands to define the status of their wives, Connell states that studies on families establish a patriarchal pattern that subordinates the young to the old and women to men, and that this pattern is supported by masculine ideologies of authority (Connell 2014:121-125).

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Foucault uses the phrase "a network of power-pleasure articulated in transformable relations" to describe the 19th century family (Foucault 1978:47-48). In an important reversal, Foucault states that the law is constructed not to repress sexuality but to produce forms of sexuality and that the repressed sexuality approach should be abandoned. Foucault arrives at this conclusion through an important critique of psychoanalysis. Emphasizing that the consumption of psychoanalysis increases in societies where the marriage system and the family system begin to strengthen, Foucault claims that if parents take their children to psychoanalysis, the same result will always be reached, namely a result that attributes the child's state of desire to the parents. Throughout the 19th century, Foucault states that there are four basic strategies of the situation that evolved from confession to psychoanalysis and lists them as "sexualization of the child, hystericalization of women, classification of deviants, and regulation of populations". He shows the family as the source of these strategies (Foucault 1978:100). Comparing Connell's citation with Foucault's, it can be concluded that in the former sociological field research, the family is an apparatus of repression for women and hierarchizes sexualities. In Foucault, while there is no inference of the suppression of women, the concept of family as an institution where sexuality is not suppressed but produced can be mentioned. In other words, at the beginning there seems to be a contradiction between the two thinkers, but when it is re-emphasized that what is repressed in Connell is not sexuality but women and children, it can be determined that the common point in both references is that the family is a center for producing sexuality.

According to Zizek, the story of the conflict of great social forces is shaped according to the coordinates of family ideology. This ideology is shaped by the oediphus myth. The main medium through which this relationship is established is Hollywood. Zizek says, a Deleuzian would not miss the opportunity to point out that psychoanalysis is the main theoretical underpinning that makes this kind of association the main ideological machine. (Zizek, 2012:11).

Deleuze states that their main criticism is the reduction of psychoanalysis to libido and familial enclosures through the cult of Oedipus (Deleuze 1995:13-14). Therefore, reading Deleuze and Guattari's Anti-Oedipus as a critique of the psychoanalytic reduction shaped through the myth of Oedipus and an analysis of how psychotic codes can be revealed as a way out of the neurotic sociality organized through the family negates the Deleuzian opportunity mentioned by Zizek.

In Anti-Oedipus, Deleuze and Guattari make a discussion on delirium. Especially in the discussion based on Freud's case of the psychotic judge Schreber, it is emphasized that delirium is a racial, world-historical, cultural and political continuum. This continuum is not an Oedipus derivative, but rather subverts familial arrangements and challenges the family. The answer this analysis gives to the question "is the signifier of history the dead father?" is that the Oedipus myth reduces the political and cultural aspect of delirium to a family romance and fixes everything on the father. (Deleuze, Guattari 2000: 89-105). The Oedipalization of the family takes place through the presence of a parent who will be the object of desire and establish the child's sexuality. The Oedipalization of the family can be discussed in terms of the family becoming the central figure of gendering through the marriage contract and being the field of activity of gender established by the impositions of paternal law. Based on this conceptual discussion, it becomes clear that family discourses are formed around the concepts of property, gender and power. Therefore, on the one hand, the family is a tool for the protection of capital and the maintenance of rigid class distinctions. On the one hand, it prepares the ground for the reproduction of the system of gendered domination. On the other hand, it becomes the ground for the production of power relations in a paternal structure through the dominant masculine law.

The Post-Family approach has two steps, one coming out of the criticism we saw in Anti-Oedipus, namely that the discussion of the Oedipus complex is limited in terms of the neurotic subject and cannot explain psychotic delirium, and the other coming out of the post-truth discourse. The earlier reference to Deleuze and Guattari pointed out that delirium would break up the family, that there is not a familial delirium, but rather a political delirium. From this point of view, the relationships woven between family

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members are not rooted in a form of value or morality, but in a form of fiction, and delirium breaks the fiction and undermines the elements that make up the family. Thus, one begins to think about what a post-family relationality might look like. Therefore, the oedipusian analysis of the family is interrupted and a kind of silliness begins (Deleuze 1995:16-18).

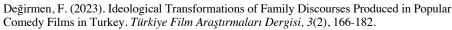
The purpose of using the term Post-Family is not to claim that there is a historical turning point that marks the transition to the afterlife of the family structure. Rather, it is used to refer to the word posttruth, which was chosen as the word of the year by the Oxford dictionary in 2016. Referenced in Ralph Keyes' first comprehensive theorization, The Post-Truth Age, the word has come to be used in almost every field to describe the 21st century. Keyes argues that today's societies are societies of opinion, lying has become a sign of intelligence, let alone guilt, and truth has become irrelevant following the disappearance of the general reference set; we have entered the age of perceptions (Keyes 2019:22-25). The most important dilemma of Keyes' theory, and the dilemma that makes this theory a market material, is that truth is pretended to exist in reality. In other words, honesty or loss of truth is not a problem of the age. This kind of definition gives truth a transcendental role and leads to the establishment of a field of conservatism that will create a kind of fraternal society through the found truth. In reality, some kind of existing truth phase is not followed by a post-truth phase. We can talk about the existence of truths that are intertwined at the level of transformation without any historical interruption, and these truths are also structured as fiction. To the extent that the material historical trajectory sees truth as a kind of parody, it goes beyond the conservative structure. Therefore, Keyes makes a kind of social negation with his determination of a post-truth age, even though he gives credit to the aspects that ensure minimum democratization. There is a regime of truth that gives color to that age according to the form the property regime takes. This regime speaks through the language, law and jurisprudence of the form of property. When I discuss the disintegration of the family with the post-family approach, I mean that the family has evolved into a new form of truth and therefore a new fictional structure. With the postfamily approach, I am discussing an approach that assumes that a fictional regime of truth, in which a symbolic pattern in the family is covered with masks such as value and morality, has evolved into a new regime of truth, let alone attributing an inherent social value to the concept of family before its disintegration. With this approach, the appearances of modern family components such as blood ties, property relations and inheritance in films will be sought.

The findings are discussed through three approaches based on the common themes specified in the methodology.

2.1. Discourse on the Corporatization of the Family

The corporatization of the family is based on the relationship between family and property relations. For this reason, popular films that create narratives through family relations, such as Kocan Kadar Konuş and Eltilerin Savaşı films, are important examples in understanding how the social contract bond established through marriage can be seen and how property relations are established through familial alliance.

The film series Kocan Kadar Konuş is about the struggles of the family to marry off their daughter, whom they think is past the marriageable age. Efsun, who is wanted to be married off, is a character who is interested in reading books, who is seen to have intellectual interests, and who has no intention of getting married despite her family's pressure. Family members see Efsun's reading too many books as a reason for spinster and say that she can find a husband by revealing her 'femininity', not her intellectuality. Efsun meets Sinan, her platonic high school sweethear. The reason why this films are subjected to the title of the corporatization of the family is the events that develop as a result of Sinan being handsome, rich and an ideal groom candidate for Efsun's family. Efsun's family tells her that Sinan is a good fortune and that she should not let him slip away. In the first film, Sinan gets bored with the subject of marriage that Efsun keeps bringing up under the pressure of her family, but in the second film



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the relationship ends in marriage despite the problems caused by Efsun and Sinan's families. The wedding is held in a palace at the request of the families. However, Efsun runs away from the wedding because she wants a simple wedding and marries Sinan in a simple ceremony. Throughout the two films, there are two themes that overlap with the corporatization of the family and emerge from the main conflict axes of the films.

The first of these is that marriage becomes an object of desire for Efsun's family only when she begins a relationship with a rich man like Sinan. This theme comes into question when the family becomes an intermediary institution for a kind of transition of ownership. The second theme is that Efsun, who had intellectual interests before Sinan, becomes a "husband hunter" when she starts a relationship with the intention of marriage to start a family. Even at her workplace, none of her previous achievements are visible, but after her relationship with Sinan begins, her prestige increases and she is named employee of the month. In short, in a sense that can be inferred from the title of the film, Efsun started to "talk as much as her husband". The sphere of influence provided by her husband's wealth has now become Efsun's sphere of influence as well. However, the first thing she sacrificed in order to have this sphere of influence was her intellectual interests.

The film Eltilerin Savaşı opens with a scene of asking for a girl. The middle son of the house gets married and moves into the opposite apartment of his brother. When the two co-sister-in-law move into opposite apartments, the conflict of the co-sister-in-law, which constitutes the main conflict axis of the film, begins. Gizem, the wife of Fatih, the middle son, is portrayed as a contrary character who wants to be in the working life, who does not see her whole life as consisting of the house, and who does not want the features that the classical family institution values such as acquiring luxury goods, entertaining guests, etc. in her life. Sultan, the wife of the eldest son of the house, on the other hand, appears as a character who has internalized the characteristics of a traditional housewife derived from the classical family myth, who thinks that she does her best to cook the best food, entertain guests in the best conditions, take care of her husband and present the family in the best light to the outside world. The conflict of the film is shaped by the struggle between these two daughters-in-law, Gizem and Sultan. Gizem, who initially tries to ignore Sultan's behavior, soon begins to see Sultan as a rival. What begins as a comedy of contrasts derived from the contradictory situations that develop between the two opposite characters turns into a relationship of competition in the following sequences, especially when Gizem sees Sultan as a rival. Being the mother-in-law's favorite daughter-in-law, being the favorite neighbor, being the most beloved resident of the neighborhood all appear as a show of competition. The reason for discussing this film in the context of the corporatization of the family is, firstly, the transformation of an ordinary kinship relationship into a competitive relationship, from the furniture acquired to the house in which they live, and secondly, the race of the co-sisters-in-law to get pregnant and give birth to a child after the mother-in-law says that she will give the big house to her son who has the first grandchild. The myth of two hostile women who cannot establish solidarity between themselves is effectively used to create the characters of Gizem and Sultan.

In the general conceptual framework of family discourses, as discussed in Aristotle, it is emphasized that the family is the center of property acquisition and management. Marx and Engels, on the other hand, emphasized that the family is an extension of the form of private property with capitalism. The marriage contract is also considered as a legal structure regulating the property regime. Looking at these films, it can be said that when the connection to be established with the marriage contract is removed from the conflict that establishes the narrative, there will be no discussion of property. In *Kocan Kadar Konuş*, it can be assumed that Sinan, Efsun's high school sweetheart, is not rich and does not have the formal qualities envisaged by the family. In this case, there would be neither a desire for marriage that would guarantee property nor a wedding that everyone would talk about. A discourse that can make this interpretation can be seen through the character of the janitor, who does not attract the attention of Efsun and her family but seems to be platonically in love with Efsun. The doorman is a character that neither Efsun nor her family sees as a party to a marital relationship since he does not own property that can be

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DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854

secured by a marriage contract. A similar interpretation can be made for the film Eltilerin Savaşı. When a step is taken towards a marriage contract with the intervention of the families, then character transformations begin, and at the center of these transformations is the management of family property. The relationship that establishes the family relationship and thus the blood bond is basically the marriage contract, and this has become more complex with capitalism. The reference to the sanctity of the family in particular stems from the fact that it is an institution that can follow the conditions of exchange of capital and be the guarantor of the transfer of property. As long as marriage is based on the law that protects the symbolic value of property, the value attributed to blood ties or the institution of the family can only mask the form of property for all conservative ideologies. As we see in the films, values such as love, affection, social acceptance do not appear as emotions that go beyond the means of being subject to the law of marriage. In the familial alliance established through marriage, it cannot go beyond the comfort zone that will either lead to the transfer of property through inheritance or the simulation of living a life form isolated from social conflicts. For example, while Efsun is a character who can exist in a social sphere such as being a writer, reading more and living her own originality, she suddenly turns into a marriage enthusiast; Gizem goes from being motivated to stand on her feet and start a business life and do her profession, to being in a hurry to get pregnant before her sister-in-law in order to have a big house to inherit. In both cases, alternatives such as more demanding spheres of existence, intellectual pursuits and business life lose their importance once families are established, and the comfort offered by family capital becomes a shelter that can be isolated from the social sphere. This is one of the main indicators for discussing these films as examples of familial discourses. Because these films have a discourse that reproduces social transformations and popular assumptions.

Serpil Sancar states that the new modern family, which developed with industrialization, gave birth to a profile of men as breadwinners and women as domestic workers. Emphasizing that this distinction was realized in accordance with a new gender difference, Sancar argues that domestic labor became compulsory for women who were underpaid in business life (Sancar 2012:31). After these general observations, Sancar develops the argument that Turkish modernization was family-oriented. The process of national construction will be socially accepted through families. Sancar emphasizes that the construction of the nation-state will take place on the male side of modernization and that the female side will accompany this construction process by establishing modern families or homes (Sancar 2012:191-192). This approach, which Sancar discusses as an early Republican modernization, can be read as a projection of the capitalist transformation in Turkey, in which the gender distinction becomes apparent and the social division of labor is realized through families. Sancar then identifies the reflection of the process that began with the Second World War in Turkey as conservative modernization (1945-1965). Sancar points to the institutionalization of an urban middle class family in which conservative values were synthesized with the relative modernization realized through the transformation that took place with urbanization as the basis for this determination, and concludes that the republican family ideology was met with conservative reactions. The author emphasizes that these conservative reactions were shaped according to a masculine perspective through the prototype of the 'ideal woman' (Sancar 2012:232-239). While the modernization of the first period of the Republic (between 1920 and 1935) designed the family as a modernizing institution, in the conservative modernization period (1945-1965), women had no other sphere of interest other than the family and could not gain an existence other than the role of wife and mother.

Fatmagül Berktay expands the plane of discussion through a comparison between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. According to Berktay, there is a continuity between the late Ottoman modernization movements and the post-republican modernization movements in terms of the role of the family. The part of modernization that encompasses the family and marital relations, in parallel with the modernization of the state, leads to women gaining legal security on the one hand and being seen as the instruments of the state's family and population policies on the other (Berktay 2018:102). These findings allow for the interpretation that Turkish modernization conditioned a kind of gendered division of labor through the family.

DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854



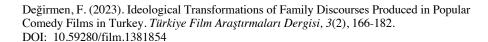
Seyla Benhabib argues that the concept of privacy developed through the family as a discourse of modernization has prevented women from being paid for the work they do in the household, such as childcare and organizing the household, and emphasizes that the perception of privacy sharpens the gendered division of labor between the private and public spheres, and therefore this distinction should be re-discussed (Benhabib 1999: 154-155). In his discussion on privacy, Giddens emphasizes that since the second half of the 19th century, with the shrinking of families and the intense work of men in business life, his influence on the family has diminished, but his authoritarianism has continued. Stating that the woman who spends more time in the family has become more active, Giddens claims that the perception that the child has become a naive and sensitive being that needs to be educated in the long term has also led to this situation. Based on these findings, Giddens emphasizes that motherhood has become idealized. In other words, the mother, who is the source of love for the family, becomes idealized through her influence on the child (Giddens 2014:47-49).

As can be seen, the impact of modernization processes on the family is seen in a structure that restricts women in terms of domestic activities and socializes a strict gender segregation regime through the family. When we add to these discussions the determination that the family is a kind of capital transfer site that operates through property and as a means of linking private property to inheritance law, the reasons for the attribution of sanctity to the family will be understood. A form of masculine domination is established through the family headship, and women and children are suppressed as objects of domination. These findings can be related to those of Serpil Kırel, who discusses popular cinema's family-affirming approach as a product of the dominant ideological discourse. Kırel states that it is understandable that the field of popular culture, which includes cinema, insists on preserving the classical and traditional values through the institution of the family because this insistence makes it possible to preserve the status quo (Kırel 2010:220). In terms of the films under discussion, we can conclude that in Kocan Kadar Konuş, the family is transformed into a means of property with an antiintellectual effect; in Eltilerin Savaşı, the family becomes a kind of production center that emerges from the conflict of inheritance through childbearing. These observations also make visible the reasons for attributing theological meanings to family or marriage. It is only when the family is mysticized that it takes on a desirable social form and thus creates the possibility of laundering the flow of capital as a 'network of pleasure' in Foucault's terms. As can be understood through this discussion, the management of the corporatized family becomes legalized through contracts established through marriage, as we see in the films. On the one hand, the management of psychological perception in which the social attribution of sanctity is activated, and on the other hand, a legally recognized ground of legitimacy turns the family into a public company in order to staticize gender roles and guarantee private property.

Oedipalisation Discourse of the Family

The Oedipalisation of the family is an approach that includes transitivity with the corporatisation of the family. In other words, it can be interpreted that corporatisation and Oedipalisation emerged with a simultaneous social transformation. Because with the institutionalisation of private property through the family, the Oedipus complex approach, which operates through the father-mother-child triangle, emerges in a capitalist sociality. Both the historical overlap between psychoanalytic findings and the transformations of property relations and the increasing effectiveness of concepts such as "self-design" and "self-actualisation" that preach competitiveness allow these two approaches to be considered as two sides of the same coin. However, the property relations discussed with corporatisation are replaced by the economy of desire in Oedipalisation.

Films such as Romantik Komedi 1-2, Celal ile Ceren and Görümce, which will be discussed under this heading, are based on a narrative in which the main characters are connected to each other through a romantic relationship, which culminates in marriage and the establishment of ideal unions. The claim that these films construct an Oedipalising family discourse stems from the fact that the roles of men and women are constructed solely on the basis of marriage, starting a family and raising children. Since





relationships orientated towards marriage bring along social statuses such as being a "husband-wife" or a "mother-father", it can be said that this orientation is a variant of the desire game that takes place in the family. Because the Oedipus Complex is based on the sexuality of a child who sees the father as a rival in order to obtain the mother. Thus, the child becomes a desiring being through his/her parents. Freud claims that the person who goes through the Oedipalisation process without being able to comprehend the uniqueness of the parents will become neurotic and that the basis of all neuroticism is based on the Oedipus Complex (Freud 1989: 233-234). While explaining the Oedipus Complex, Freud states that the myth of King Oedipus, who killed his father and married his mother, shows the fulfilment of childhood desires. In the society that becomes psycho-neurotic, this desire is suppressed. A process of socialisation is experienced through this repression (Freud 1996: 312).

Oedipus, as Freud explains it, is a complex in which the primitive impulses, formulated in terms of seeing the father as a rival and desiring the mother, are repressed but their internal effects continue. Since the repression of impulses is a condition for civilisation, Freud implies that there cannot be complete repression, as can be seen in the reference; the emphasis on the fact that "although repressed, they can still be found" is one of the important pillars of modern psychoanalysis because dreams, slips and jokes make visible the traumas that leak out of this failed repression. Otto Rank emphasises that tender affection and love for the mother results in the son seeing the father or one of the brothers as a rival, and that this observation is confirmed in the Oedipus myth. Rank's determination is the hatred of the father as it is given in the unconscious of the child who wants to be the object of the mother's desire (Rank 2016: 88). As can be understood from these Oedipus approaches, the family is a structure established through the mother-father-child relationship. In this structure, the child forms the basic lines of division or alienation that will establish its subjectivity as a desiring being. The end of these lines always leads to Oedipus and becomes the condition of child sexuality. In addition, since the processes of the father-mother figure also involve the unconscious Oedipus complex, the social operationalisation of a parental code with fixed positions and the basis of neuroses are also based on the Oedipus complex. Deleuze and Guattari discuss the Oedipalisation of the family as a Freudian blackmail. The blackmail is expressed in the sentence "either you confirm the Oedipal nature of child sexuality or you renounce all positions of sexuality". According to them, child sexuality is reduced to desiring the mother and coveting the father's place (Deleuze, Guattari 2000:100). The main criticism of Anti-Oedipus is that Freud, through the Oedipus complex, which he says he discovered in the process of self-analysis, transformed the state of desire into an individualised structure within a family.

The conclusion drawn from these explanations desire is reduced to a domestic structure and the unconscious is pruned of its desiring activity by an Oedipal closure. An unconscious reduced only to the production of fantasy and expression becomes a space where desire is castrated, let alone the production of desire. When we look at Deleuze and Parnet's observations in the *Dialogues*, we can see that the real content of desire is limited to oedipus and castration. This emphasis evolves into proposing a new concept of the unconscious, and the authors state that the unconscious is not given by its phantasmatic determination or its compression between forms of expression, and that the unconscious should be a structure to be invented, to be produced, rather than a pre-existing structure (Deleuze, Parnet 1987:77-80).

On the one hand, then, there is the construction of the activity of desire, that is, the desire of the desiring subject based on the desire for the mother in the family, which is derived from Freudian psychoanalysis and which Zizek claims to be the basic discourse of Hollywood films. At this point, the power of the Freudian determination is its capacity to map the psychic structure of the nuclear family that corresponds to the capitalist transformation. On the other side, as we see in the Deleuze-Guattari-Parnet references, there is the situation where the spread of a desire production limited by a kind of family narrative to the whole unconscious constitutes an obstacle to the formation of a productive unconscious. When we consider these two axes of discussion in terms of films, it is possible to see findings that allow us to

Değirmen, F. (2023). Ideological Transformations of Family Discourses Produced in Popular Comedy Films in Turkey. *Türkiye Film Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *3*(2), 166-182.

DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854



interpret that the family becomes an Oedipal desire-grasping network through psychic transformation as it becomes an apparatus of private property through capitalist transformation.

The Romantik Komedi film series tells the story of three people who share the same house. Of these three friends, Zeynep is portrayed as a rational, planned and intelligent person. Zeynep decides to get married because it is time for marriage in her life planning. The film opens with Zeynep's wedding. Didem appears as a flighty character and Esra as a romantic and dreamer character. Esra hears rumours about herself at the wedding. The subject of the rumours is that Esra, who stands out with her intelligence at school, cannot use her mind and has a failed relationship. Esra complains about both her job and her lover, quits her job and leaves her lover the next day. She and Didem start a relationship with two people they meet on a night out. Zeynep leaves home because her husband wants a child and returns to her old flatmates. Esra follows her dreams and achieves an ideal relationship. Didem begins a relationship with a famous actress who is a close friend of Esra's boyfriend. In the second film of the series, we see these three female characters, who are drawn with different characteristics throughout the film, shopping for Zeynep's child. Zeynep has a child even though she did not want to have a child at the beginning, and she immerses herself in the role of motherhood. Esra has become a famous writer and is preparing for marriage with her boyfriend. Didem, on the other hand, develops tactics to get a marriage proposal from her lover. At the end of the film, Didem received the marriage proposal she was waiting for at Esra's wedding. The sought-after love results in marriage and the Oedipal union is established. What remains are the relationships required to adopt roles such as childbearing and motherhood as we see in Zeynep's marriage, the other women who have to struggle to keep their husbands, and the establishment of a family system that will create the impression that it is functioning perfectly. All "flighty" dreams eventually lead to marriage and a "happy" family. When we focus on the film Celal ile Ceren, we see that it follows a similar pattern. Celal ile Ceren, who have been in a relationship for many years, end when Celal attends the bachelor party of his friend. The couple, who have been separated for a while, reconcile after Celal's attempts to reconcile result in a marriage proposal. Marriage is the ultimate goal of the relationship as the purpose of love in this film.

In the film *Görümce*, her sister does not want Ahmet to get married. For this reason, she tries to break the relationship between Ahmet and his girlfriend. The sister could not overcome the trauma of her unhappy engagement. For this reason, she cannot accept the marriage of Ahmet, whom she has been caring for and raising since her childhood, because she thinks that he will be unhappy. The narrative, which is permeated by the traditional bride- sister-in-law tension, gives the impression that the sister is actually against the sister-in-law because she does not want to share her brother Ahmet. Then her attitude changes when her sister-in-law starts a relationship with a man who works in her sister-in-law's company. Ahmet and his lover get married.

When we look at these romantic comedy films, it is possible to see that the basic premise is a discourse that promises that only a relationship between a man and a woman that can end in marriage leads to happiness. At this point, marriage is seen as the purpose of the family institution and therefore as a structure in which the feelings that were initially presented as finding ideal love and having a real relationship are legitimised or justified. Oedipalisation of the family comes into play here. The family is the centre of dreams. These women and men we see in the films have no social layer other than the family relationship where they can feel their existence or continue their lives as a desiring subject. For this reason, for example, in the film *Celal ile Ceren*, based on the observation made by Celal's friend about marriage, it becomes clear that the family is the place of legitimisation. Celal's friend Kubilay married Ceren's flatmate. When Celal asks how the marriage is going, Kubilay tells Celal that it is going well and that marriage is a kind of "free sex". Romantic comedies, in a sense, become a demonstration of the rules according to which sex is to be performed. Although an emotion such as love is used for this work, it can be interpreted that sex becomes possible only after a love that is ultimately castrated by a marriage contract.

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At this point, the Oedipalisation of the family guarantees the functioning of a twofold social structure. Firstly, a family romance captivates men and women, this romance assumes romantic love and gives the impression that it is a love free from sexuality. The "sublime" values attributed to the object of love lead to the postponement of sexuality until after marriage. At this point, the family becomes an institutional structure that offers the promise of experiencing pleasure. The field of operation of Freudian determinations is the cyclical desire flows that come into existence between the mother, father and child in the relationship arising as a result of the experience of pleasure within the family. For example, the reason why the sister in the film Görümce does not want to marry off her brother Ahmet is that she takes care of and raises him in the absence of her parents. The sister establishes a kind of parental relationship with her brother and as a result of this relationship, her dominance over him becomes narcissistic and she wants to be the object of Ahmet's every need for love. However, Ahmet's romantic love overcomes the sister's obstacles and results in marriage. Thus, the love provided by family romance becomes Oedipalised through marriage. In these films, marriage Oedipalises the family precisely because it castrates love. Because the most basic necessary structure for Oedipality is definitions with determinations such as mother-father or husband-wife. From this point of view, the films discussed can be considered as narratives in which a mechanism of repression operates and familial identities are reproduced in the sense emphasised by Freud. Freud also emphasised that repression can never be completely successful. When we look at the films, the points where we can see the failure of repression can give us some clues when we metonymically discuss the conflicts related to some side characters, even if they cannot be found in the narrative itself. Thus, the second socially visible area of Oedipalisation is entered.

In the *Romantic Komedi* film series, the best friends of three girlfriends are gay. In the closing scene of the film, the character we saw frequently in the first film brings dolma for everyone to eat at a happy barbecue party. When the dolmas are seen, Didem's boyfriend makes a joke saying "he didn't roll them with his hands, did he?" and the others who hear the joke laugh. This scene reveals the fragility of the gender identity of the man who will establish a family nest in the future. Because the whole film was designed to reveal the strength of this male identity. This last dialogue actually shows that the identity has turned into a parody of masculinity. Because only the imitation of power mocks an identity that it thinks is outside of its own identity. And this mockery is actually staged at the traumatic moment when the fear of masculine identity is revealed. Similarly, in the film *Görümce*, the sister approves her brother's marriage as soon as she finds a possible lover candidate for herself. This approval invalidates the main conflict of the film, the bride- sister-in-law conflict.

The symptoms that emanate from the repressions experienced with traditional masculinity or roles such as father-mother carry elements that can be discussed from the critical perspective presented in Anti-Oedipus. Because indeed, as seen in the films, marital relationships want to confine desire to a novel. With defined identities and roles, a kind of fictional realm of truth is constructed through families. Where repressions are invalid, thinking of an existence that will erode identity from its fixed determinations, thinking the family outside the Oedipal triangle, or inventing a discourse that disrupts and disperses the family's integrity can create an unstable flow of desire. Situations such as the purification of the family from Oedipalism or the disintegration of the truth of the family as a whole can be discussed through the post-family approach.

2.3. The Truth of Family and Post-Family Discourse

The post-family approach is not used to name the transition to a post-family social structure, but to refer to the formal transformation of the family. Although the inflationary use of the suffix "post" is thought to cause a reductionist situation, an attempt will be made to invert Keyes' concept of "post-truth" through the prefix "post" used in relation to the family. First of all, the concept of "post-truth" itself contains a truth claim, which brings up the argument that there is an ethical essence that has been contaminated through lies. From this point of view, Keyes can be said to be an author of truth. He writes truth by claiming that we have moved beyond truth and that we can construct truth by resurrecting honesty

(Keyes 2019:328). At this point, it is necessary to ask Keyes the Deleuzian question: "Who is searching for truth? I mean: What does the seeker of truth want?" (Deleuze 2002:94). Deleuze answers from a Nietzschean perspective and emphasises that truth is a concept used to search for a true world, and that the truth-seeker primarily wants to devalue the high power of falsehood and reduce life to an "error". Thus, he emphasises that a world of appearances is produced by placing knowledge in front of life and an other world in front of the world (Deleuze 2002:95-97). Keyes seems to reveal precisely the practice of reducing life in favour of its own truth that Deleuze emphasises. Because the search for truth is shown as if it is done only for virtues such as "honesty", it wants to fix the world within the framework of appearances and representation blocks. However, the truth itself is already a fiction of ideological discourse.

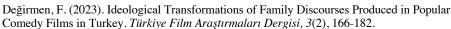
From this point of view, if the family is an institution for the production of social value with the attribution of sanctity by power relations, it is one of the most important channels used for the production of total truth. Therefore, there is a close relationship between the family and truth regimes. This relationship is established by guaranteeing private property, ensuring the penetration of patriarchy into the social sphere and turning psychic suppression through the Oedipus complex into a novel of civilisation.

But how does the so-called post-family transformation take place? The film *Aile Arasında*, which will be discussed in this section, presents a narrative that can be thought about how the post-family is constructed by partially using popular comedy patterns. The narrative axis of the film, as discussed in the other two chapters, offers perspectives from which it can be observed that the patriarchal and capitalist regimes of truth that construct the family are negated.

The film opens with the scene in which Mihriban says that she wants to divorce her husband Fikret. Through misunderstandings, Fikret meets Solmaz, a pavilion singer who was abandoned by her lover, and moves into Solmaz's flat next door. Things get complicated when Solmaz's daughter tells her boyfriend that her father is a policeman. Since his father has abandoned them, Fikret plays the role of the father needed to fulfil traditional rituals such as asking for a girl and the wedding. The film compares two family regimes, one traditional provincial and the other modern urban. This comparison is exemplified through a wedding. The most important strength of the film is that it does not make this comparison to highlight one of the parties. The dominant discourse is produced to show the family's predicament. When the family travels to Adana for the wedding, the fact that the family from Adana first emphasises traditional values and thus belittles Solmaz and her family is reversed when it is revealed that the groom is actually from another man. The well-functioning traditional family values disintegrate with this event. Furthermore, when Mihriban storms the wedding and tells the truth that Fikret is not Zeynep's father, it is revealed that both family forms, coded as traditional and modern, are based on lies.

The social values assigned to the family function like the mystical power assigned to the commodity. In parallel to the mystification established around the commodity by values such as working, earning bread, moral mystifications such as parental love are produced in the family. While the mystical value in terms of the commodity guarantees the permanence of a class system, the mystical value produced in terms of the family guarantees capital. The condition for the subordination of the young to the old and the poor to the rich is to strengthen the family institution. The two family types we see in the film make a discussion on this axis. When the modesty of the modest Adanese family disintegrates and the false family lie established by the Solmaz-Fikret couple is exposed, the real communication between the characters begins. This communication takes place when the discourses that establish the family truths fall into vain. At this point, the characteristics of Fikret's character are important. Fikret, who is established as a fragile, incompetent, cowardly and meticulous character, and the father from Adana, who is established as a strong, rich character who knows what he wants, lead to the unfolding of the comedy through contrasts, and when the truth is revealed, the transformation of the head of the family

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DOI: 10.59280/film.1381854



from Adana is one of the features that allows us to discuss this film with a post-family approach. Because in the last sequence of the film, when the head of the family from Adana comes to Solmaz's house and realises that his life was built on a lie, he no longer tries to perform his old assertive father role. Through this character, the discourse of the modest family is left as a hollow discourse. The family has ceased to be an institution that mediates virtuous social truths, and has given birth to a form of relationship in which uncertain relationships are established with unpretentious discourses. The wedding ended in failure, but the relationship between Fikret and Solmaz evolved into a sincere emotional relationship. This transformation reveals the family's attitude that evolves from modesty to openness, that is, from a conservative family discourse to a discourse that erodes family identities.

Conclusion

In parallel with capitalism, the transformation of the family takes shape first as an institution that carries capital and then, with psychoanalysis, as an institution that is the centre of desire and pleasure production. These transformations become possible not through a specific historical interruption, but through an intertwined structure that produces gender roles through the transfer of property on the one hand and the transfer of pleasure on the other. The truth of the family, as a core organisation of the myths that establish sociality, is formed from the fields of domination such as holiness, goodness and continuity of population. This truth, when capital needs large families, becomes a structure where three generations live together, and when capital needs nuclear families, it becomes a structure based on the father-mother-child triangle. Regardless of which regime of truth it is based on, any kind of family discourse will legitimise itself as the most important truth in the period it dominates. In this sense, the term post-family is used to emphasise that a new regime of truth has been produced for the family.

In the discussion within the scope of family discourses in popular comedy films, it was concluded that the family discourse was constructed to guarantee the transfer of capital in the films Kocan Kadar Konuş film series and Eltilerin Savaşı. In the Romantik Komedi film series, Görümce and Celal İle Ceren films, it is revealed that the family is an institution that creates masculine gendered codes of male and female roles through the marriage contract. In the film Aile Arasında, the roles of father and mother, which are produced to overshadow the accumulation of capital within the family, are blurred and the pulse of the transformation that the truth of the family is undergoing is taken. As seen in the films analysed in this context, the family is an institution that socially carries the truths imposed by both the flow of capital and the flow of pleasure. With this feature, the family becomes the main narrative object of popular comedy films. However, the truth produced by the positions of the mother, who is sanctified and desexualised as inherent in the dominant family discourse, and the father, who is the manager of the property, brings new regimes of truth to the agenda as envisaged by capital. When we look at the film Aile Arasında, it is seen that a structure in accordance with the cliché family definition is established through the family from Adana. However, it is understood that this "elite" family, which adheres to its traditions, is not what it seems. The young son of the groom-to-be is from another man and this scandal is revealed on the wedding day. The family from Istanbul, on the other hand, does not refer to any traditional family values from the beginning of the film. When the need for a father arises, the newly moved neighbour is asked to act as a temporary father. When the wedding is held and the symbolic roles are realised, everyone will return to their own roles. But on the wedding day, the real identity of this fake father is revealed. This dual family structure invalidates the truths established by the marriageorientated relationships through the family in the previous two titles. Neither the longing for a happy, warm home nor the sanctity of roles such as motherhood and fatherhood are in question anymore. After the facts are revealed, that is, when the "representations of truth" that construct family structures complete their task in the narrative, that is, when they become visible, the ground for realistic forms of relating is prepared. Therefore, for real communication, it is necessary to leave the areas of legitimacy of "truth representations", and precisely for this reason, that is, because it invites us to see these representations, it can be interpreted that the film Aile Arasında is a film that leads us to think about the form of relationship and communication to be established after the family. The transformation of the truth of the family is realised through new discourses that flex the hierarchical structure of relations

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between spouses and deform the Oedipal structure of the father-mother-child relationship, as seen in the film *Aile Arasında*.

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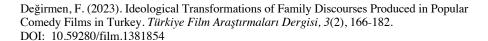
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