



This paper is taken from

*Citizenship Education: Europe and the World
Proceedings of the eighth Conference of the
Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe
Thematic Network*

London: CiCe 2006

edited by Alistair Ross, published in London by CiCe, ISBN 1 899764 66 6

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Pembecioglu Öcel, N. (2006) The Image of Ideal Child and Ideal Citizen in Turkish Films: Any Changes Between the Past and Present?, in Ross, A. (ed) Citizenship Education: Europe and the World. London: CiCe, pp 211-230.

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This paper does not necessarily represent the views of the CiCe Network.



This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained herein.

Acknowledgements:

This is taken from the book that is a collection of papers given at the annual CiCe Conference indicated. The CiCe Steering Group and the editor would like to thank

- All those who contributed to the Conference
- The rector and the staff of the University of Latvia
- Andrew Craven, of the CiCe Administrative team, for editorial work on the book, and Lindsay Melling and Teresa Carbajo-Garcia, for the administration of the conference arrangements
- London Metropolitan University, for financial and other support for the programme, conference and publication
- The SOCRATES programme and the personnel of the Department of Education and Culture of the European Commission for their support and encouragement

The Image of Ideal Child and Ideal Citizen in Turkish Films: Any changes between the past and present?

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Each National Cinema has its own patterns and some of these patterns change throughout time, some do not. Each society has cultivated some fundamental patterns through the films to be modelled and through the heroes/heroines of these films the individuals of the society were given the rights and wrongs, obedience and disobedience, etc. The most important issues such as justice, responsibility, peer pressure, peace, conflict-resolution, education, democracy etc were presented to the society through the films and through the stories they tell. This paper is an attempt to exemplify the image of the child and citizen in Turkish Films. As a methodology the paper tries to present a content analysis of the films representing different eras in Turkish cinema. Concentrating on the most popular films of the times, from its earliest examples to the present ones the selected films are coded and analysed to see how much these concepts vary throughout time; how much has the understanding and values of the society changed in terms of ideal child and ideal citizenship. The codes then are questioned in terms of changes, considering the past and present, national and global perspectives.

Introduction

In this study, the 'child' and 'identity of child' is considered in the changing dynamics and dimensions of modern family and society to lead to the concept of 'cinema and child'. Questioning the child identity as an 'audience', it is brought to light that the films which are supposed to be convenient for the children are not so, furthermore these imply images and messages which are not appropriate for children, whereas children in fact do prefer much more adult films. In this context, with the idea that the definition of 'children's cinema' is not an appropriate one and such concepts are encouraged only to lead to consumption, the image of the future child is pessimistically outlined as the self-centred child consumer empowered with imaginary super powers but limited in creativity.

Moran, (Moran, 1993, p. 20-21) explains how Aristo sees the artists. To Aristo, the artist reflects the human, the life. In his work, we see a single one, yet, in that single one, he brings to light not the unique one but everyone. In his work, he makes generalisations and these reflect the whole society as well as the object of the artist. This is the very beginning of stereotyping. Later on these stereotypes would lead the society as the model representations to be copied (Gilman, 2000; Hall, Stuart, 2000).

Turkish Cinema has rich examples when it comes to the image of children. From the very beginning, the film history concentrates on children and child related topics as the themes of the films throughout the decades. When it is considered that the beginning of the Turkish film industry goes back to 1915, it can be seen how rich it could be. Not to mention the fact that the beginning of the industry was full of films implemented into the Turkish context from the foreign sources and that the very first films were documentary

This paper is part of *Citizenship Education: Europe and the World: Proceedings of the eighth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network*, ed Ross A, published by CiCe (London) 2006.
ISBN 1 899764 66 6; ISSN 1470-6695

Funded with support from the European Commission SOCRATES Project of the Department of Education and Culture. This publication reflects the views of the authors only, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained in this publication.

ones having primary emphasis on the ongoing war and historical events. Although at the very beginning there were some private screening attempts only at the top levels of the society to get the permission to disseminate the modernisation to the all levels of the society, cinema has been accepted widely by everyone, including not only the educated people having enormous pleasure through foreign films, seeing them as a means of practice of the foreign language and model social behaviour, but also the masses enjoying the films and celebrating the coming of colour and sound. For many years, cinema going was accepted as one of the main activities. Although it was separated into two groups for man and women during Ottoman times, children were included in both parts and usually for free (Adanır, 1994).

This gave the children more flexibility to join more sessions and perhaps seeing the same film more than twice not only in the past but also at present (John, 1996, p. 236). After the foundation of the republic it was also possible to see the people in the cinema saloons, not only as single men and women in a mixed way but also the people in the form of families, grand families and even the whole neighbourhood. Thus, from the very beginning cinema was accepted as a source of socialisation, education and social appearance. In the absence of efficient literacy, just before the foundation of the young Turkish Republic cinema has been seen as a source of information and an important aspect of modernisation reflecting the changes, limits and growing expectations of the younger generations. Throughout the literacy movements taking place in the very first years of the young republic, cinema films again helped the society to improve the life standards and to establish high hopes for the growing educational demands. As in the lines of Watson (Watson, 1990), mostly the films were giving some moral lessons, concentrating on what should be done, what values were to be protected, what are the acceptable and unacceptable norms of the society. Having this perspective, many schools and teachers were directing their students into the cinema saloons to see these films during class time or spare time.

The films of the first years were presenting scenes from other countries, cultures and societies, thus cinema going was considered to be keeping oneself updated and alert. Cinema going was not only one of the main activities for the people in the big cities. There were many cinemas in the little towns and even the villages of the time. Thus, cinema going as a social event and cinema films were having a great impact on the masses and the individuals (Lasswell, 1960; Wright, 1959, Boulding, 1956). Some of these films were so popular in the society that in some cities there were continuous matinee sessions giving a chance to the public to watch the same film again and again.

Usually, the child and cinema could not be coded in a similar way; they are thought to be separate elements of different fields. However, since the very beginning of cinema history, children have taken place in the screens as objects to be viewed and among the viewers as the audience. To cite examples, we may refer to the first attempts of the history, *L'Arroueur arrosé – Le jardinier*, *Querelle enfantine*, *Enfants aux jouets in 1895 and Concours de Boules*, *Premiers pas de Bébé*, *Enfant et chien*, *Petit frère et petite sœur*, *Ronde enfantine*, *Enfants au bord de la mer*, *Scènes denfants*, *Repas en Famille*, *Bal denfant*, *Leçon de bicyclette* and *Le Goûter de Bébé* between the years 1896-1897 (Özön, 1985, p.157).

The impact of these films on society is not known very clearly as there were few reports of these either in the content or in the reflections. Yet, we believe that they have a lot to do with childhood and (Cheny, 1957; Mussen, Conger and Kagan, 1979) development issues.

Since the family has many different meanings in many different disciplines, (Nye, Ivan, and Berardo, Felix, 1959) the film may also have different meanings and impacts at different levels. But as the examples of the ones in the other European countries there were the travelling companies generally showing comical scenes or general introductory passages from one culture to another and showing the films they already had. The groups were not only screening the films they had but also having the new ones on their way in the visited countries.

The first days of the cinema were so interesting for the people since it meant more than the mere film itself but also introduced new notions such as electricity, cinema saloon, curtains, etc. As well as new actions such as buying tickets, getting permission from others in the family, gathering with friends, etc. The tickets were cheap enough to let everyone enjoy it. So, the concept of cinema and foreign film created a new context in the traditional Turkish society. Stories in the newspapers of the day claimed that three men divorced their wives because they went to the cinema without getting their permission. Two boys were reported to have stolen two ducks to sell in order to collect the ticket money for the cinema.

It should be stated that starting from the very first day of its introduction to Turkish society, the concept of film contributed to the social conversation and newspaper articles criticising the films. Thus, films created the agenda to be shared and discussed. It could be argued that especially after the coming of sound and colour the things were a bit more complicated because such films were not only associated with foreign culture or scenes but also with a different language and music. Thus, it was a new era for the Turkish society, dividing the society into two with the modern generation having background knowledge on the linguistic and cultural side of the film and the majority of the society lacking the necessary media literacy and an appropriate background.

The literature gives us clues on how the pupils having their education in private schools in different languages (especially French and German) were motivated to go to cinemas just to practice their language. For them, cinema was the opportunity of learning a foreign language in context, as it is still. So, it could be argued that this split in the society was the beginning of reading films through different glasses. Thus, there appeared two distinct audiences having the same habit of going to cinema but developing different tastes. Soon, there appeared a large audience voting for the local films and less audience for foreign films.

It would be better to note here, that these kind of gatherings in society were not only through the affect of the cinema, classical Turkish nights of Ramadan had also a lot to do with this kind of social gatherings to watch 'Karagöz and Hacivat', the famous theatrical figures of the society. The sound and the colour added a lot to the charm and attraction of the film inevitably increasing the number of the audience. This growth was not only in those who went to see the film, but also those who understood it. The continuous

screenings of the film make it more meaningful and these were regarded as a help to the people who could figure out the meaning from the context, gestures, tones of voice, etc. Many people took the cinema artists and actors as models and all of a sudden started to act and talk like them. There appeared a fashion to be followed by many people.

It was at this time that either due to the linguistic elements or the doze of cultural elements in them foreign films was highly criticized negatively. These films were blamed for causing a kind of social corruption, giving bad examples for the Turkish women and children. Because these were representing disapproved behaviours such as disobedience, seeking for love, giving extracts from the lives of guilty people or even a scene of crime. The criticism was harsh and in a way it had a positive effect on the side of the Turkish filmmakers to make their own films starting very early in cinematic history compared to other societies. The critics of those times had an important effect on the audience and the films were either accepted or rejected after just a few screenings. It was a kind of a social agreement.

The film-viewing committees were to report about the films before they got to the public. But, depending on the 'readings' or the tolerance level of the different committee members acting at each different city, the same film could go to the public space or be banned. Thus there were standards for it. Later on, a censorship committee was established to function for all over the country to maintain the equality in all cities. But this was a rather short period, soon after came the war and the war films and newsreels arrived with a high level of information in them. These films could also be accepted as the educational informative examples for the society.

Soon came an enjoyable period after the war. The films originating from the west and east countries introduced musicality into the cinema. Mostly Egyptian or Indian films full of oriental music effected and challenged the society. This time language was not a barrier and the subjects were much more appropriate for the Turkish family stressing the unity of the family, divinity of love and sacrifices for it for a lifetime.

Soon Turkish films began to appear more. In fact they were there from the very beginning. Having cheaper adaptations from the 'good' and 'successful' films, having high expectations but low box-office and low profits.

This was the start of a new era with a new aspect of Turkish films, having a higher standard and more appropriate topics ending with thousands of Turkish films a year through the following two decades. In general these were adaptations or different versions of foreign films but a kind of a Turkish context is created for all. A kind of a self-censorship helped the film producers to make up appropriate stories having a poor girl and a rich man or vice versa and a happy end.

This became so popular that the audience expecting the same story given in a different order each time they went to the cinema just to cry for the poor girl and see how much she suffers until she gets to the happy end. This was the most popular time for cinema in Turkey. Not only the Turkish films but also the foreign films were at their highest point in popularity. By the 1970's the economic crisis left the cinemas in the cruel hands of the depression and again the cinemas lost their audience and were shut one by one. The ones

left were either showing cheap foreign films having highly sexual elements in them or few films of high quality which were not enough to challenge a high portion of the society or the traditional family. This was also the time for the introduction of television and foreign films in a different context. Through the technological devices such as a TV set for each family and a video later on, the cinema atmosphere was created at home. The individuals having a television in their household were just a few at those times and a foreign film and all the others brought a different social context. The neighbours and close relatives were paying frequent visits for the TV serials such as Dallas, which created a common social context for all societies just like Turkey.

Only after such a short synopsis of the past would the child image in the Turkish cinema and the models of good citizens become more meaningful.

Purpose and Methodology

From the methodological perspective, the research contains theoretical, structural and functional evaluations of the cinematic texts. The films were studied in basically the same way that the texts are used in the studies of famous literary theoretician Todorov (1995, p. 32) and later Propp's (1985, p. 17) applications of the recycling texts aiming to find out the language of the changes in the text and to outline the structure and motives of the text. The filmic discourse has been handled both in its visual and structural text, with the main focus on the child motives. In such a process, among the films handled the place of children is searched theoretically, structurally and functionally. As a result, the ones having an audio-visual or conceptual child image were listed. In these films the frequency of child image appearances and the messages of these appearances were searched and analysed. Later, these images were questioned whether they have responses, reflections and resemblances in the society or not. The aim is to see how much the images are covered within the society the film appears in, or in other words, how many of the depicted messages were reflected in the given society. It is also considered how these images were compared and contrasted with the images of the real ones in society to lead to the 'national' or local and 'universal' image of child. Considering the citizenship issues, the critical question is attempted to be answered as to how these images were helpful to cultivate the messages to become good citizens of the society and how citizenship concept differs throughout time. As the years pass, the societies change and their values are changed as well. In the very core of the societies the same values were believed to be cultivated even if the years pass (Monaco, 1977; Peters, 1977, Cohen, 2000; Gerbner, 2002; Gilman, 2000; Homans, 1958 and Homans 1974, Signorielli, and Morgan 1990).

However, with the growing trends of the past years, some of them change and some do not. This paper aims to find out the values on the way of a modernizing society, how these values were represented and changed throughout the years.

The research asserts that cinema uses the child in two different ways, as an aim and as an aid. For the child, being an aid of the cinema means that the child has a role in the film. In this case, the visual, virtual or structural concept of child is used as an image either structurally, visually or contextually within the plot of the film. On the other hand, the child being an aim of the cinema may be interpreted as the child grasping and consuming

the films and the messages in them - usually without questioning - as the one in the audience. In this case, the child is at the point of consumption. This does not only include the films having children in active roles or the films having childish themes but also a growing world-wide global market for a child audience.

When we consider the topics such as society, family and children, one of the most important points to be studied is the child image and identity.

Within these images and identity issues, there stands the concept of the ideal citizenship of the time. The main aim of this paper is to find out some clues about the concept of the ideal citizenship of the time in the past and at present as to state the similarities and differences between the two.

In most cases, the child images of the films are depicted as the role models of the society. Thus, through the story of the film, the child is represented as happy, healthy and well situated in the family as well as society or not. Unhappiness, unhealthiness and not fitting into the family and society cause children and the others around to choose the wrong options.

Turkish film history is full of films having a traumatic child story in the origin. A child seeing something s/he shouldn't see/hear is a witness for a lifetime. The rest of the film is going to be about keeping it as a secret or revealing it when necessary. The very presence and placement of the child in the family also gives us clues about the health and happiness s/he is in. Similarly, having these kinds of children as the focus, the films also contribute to the development of similar occasions and simulations of the topics in different settings. Thus, the films through their nature and the viewers are affected via the past screenings. Culturally, these topics could be handled in society more often to give way to a kind of awareness and sensitivity among the whole. Economically, the television and cinema filmmakers could see the importance, but rather the beneficial side of these products and begin to improve similar ones soon. Individually, the youth and the grown up people could see, watch and talk about these products circulated and be more aware and more sensitive about the topics covered. This has something to do with popular culture as well. However, the cinema and children meet at some point in the past to be effected by each other and this impact could easily be seen through a lifetime not only on a single child but also on the same generation.

Since World Cinema is a concept requiring the study of films world-wide including individual countries and so is the subject of another research, the world-wide accepted classification of the best 100 films of the century by Barry Norman is chosen to make a comparison of Turkish cinema with World Cinema. Also, the foreign films shown in Turkey since 93 and the child images in them are considered as to be another comparative angle. In conclusion, in the films analysed 87 child images are listed and their similarities in national and international aspects are shown.

The research asserts that cinema uses the child in two different ways, as an aim and as an aid. For the child, being an aid of the cinema means that the child has a role in the film or the concept of child is used as an image either structurally, visually or contextually within the plot of the film. On the other hand, for the child being an aim of the cinema may be interpreted as the child consuming the films and the messages in them without regarding whether they are appropriate for them or not. In this case, the child is at the

point of consuming not only the films having children playing main or subsidiary roles in them or the films having childish themes but also the worldwide market consisting of these films and their products. The study argues that nowadays, the child is used as an aid and aim of the films much more than ever and assumes that with the increase of this rate in the years to come will increase the worries of having possible negative impacts on children.

Considering the function of the child image in the films, these are classified under 16 different classes. For this classification, Turkish Cinema History is questioned through 1914-1996. The films bearing a kind of child image, a child character or a childish discourse aiming or not at the child audience were classified under the discussed headings. Out of a total of 5889 films, 771 of them were specified to have something to do with children as an aid or as an aim. These films cover 13.09 % of the general cinema films produced between 1914-1996.

Year	Number of films produced	Number of the films containing images of children	%
1914—1950	138	27	19.56
1951—1959	519	53	10.21
1960—1969	1703	174	10.21
1970—1979	2021	238	11.77
1980—1989	1124	208	18.50
1990—1996	384	71	18.48
TOTAL	5889	771	13.09

With this classification it would be easier to decide whether the film puts the children into the place of an aim or aid. If they are placed as the aim, which means as the audience, somehow, the film should have a message in it regarding the child, society, family, etc. If they are placed as an aid, then they are given the mission of bearing a kind of a message for society. Through their roles and functions in the film, they perform this and they help the audience to bridge the gap between the film and reality. Considering these two main differences, the films could be categorized into four different classes as follows:

- A. Those with a child image
- B. Those with a child actor/actress within the film
- C. Those with childish themes or characters
- D. Those with a children's audience

Film Type 1: In such films there are some examples of all classes. Wizard of Oz, Snow White could be given as examples.

Film Type 2: In these films, a child character, child images and childish perspectives could be seen but the audience is not children. To give examples, Lost in Space, Godzilla, La Vita Bella could be cited.

Film Types	Containing a child/children		Produced for a child audience	
	A Children as Character	B Child image	C Childish	D Children audience
1	ABCD	✓	✓	✓
2	ABC	✓	✓	✗
3	ABD	✓	✓	✓
4	X ACD	✓	✗	✓
5	BCD	✗	✓	✓
6	AB	✓	✓	✗
7	X AC	✓	✗	✗
8	X AD	✓	✗	✓
9	BC	✗	✓	✗
10	BD	✗	✓	✗
11	CD	✗	✗	✓
12	X A	✓	✗	✗
13	B	✗	✓	✗
14	C	✗	✗	✓
15	D	✗	✗	✗
16	X --	✗	✗	✗

Film Type 3: Though the child characters and child images of such films aim the children as the audience, there could be no childish aspects in the film. The melodramas, most of the old Indian films, Soap opera type sufferings related with the past or present are of this type.

Film Type 5: Even if we do not have any child character in the film, there could be some child images and childish issues. Most animated serials, such as Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and Laurel and Hardy, Jerry Lewis and Charlie Chaplin films are of this type.

Film Type 6: In these films the main audience is not children but a child image is used to give lessons, to teach values, to reflect upon the society. The child image is just an aid having many functions. Le Miserables, Piano Piano, Bullshit are such films.

Film Type 9: No child characters and no children audience but there is a childish perspective in the film either represented through humour or continuous accidents. Lassie films, White Bicycle, Herbie films are of such type.

Film Type 10: There is a child audience for the film even if there is no child character. The karate films, the science fiction films could be put into this category.

Film Type 11: Animal Farm, Superman, Zorro, Tarzan, Prince of Egypt, Black Beauty, and The Last Unicorn are films in this category. In these films, there could be no child image or child character but something childish either with the character or with the topic.

Film Type 13: These films have a child image but not appealing to the children. Usually it is a couple quarrelling on how to have a baby or a dead child.

Film Type 14: Even if the film almost wholly appeals to the adult audience, there is a mystical, naive theme in the film that it brings with childish behaviour from time to time. Old Laurel Hardy or Charlie Chaplin films could be an example of this class. In the last era the Turkish Cinema has such films. Usta Beni Öldürsene, Nihavend, Sen De Gitme Triyandafilis, Beyaz Bisiklet, Bizim Aile, Hababam Sınıfı could be given as examples.

Film Type 15: These films only appeal to the child audience having the interesting themes, such as the science fiction, thrillers, police or karate films are of this type.

Film Type 16: In such films, there is nothing related to children. These could be the films of war, documentaries, art films etc.

The use of the child images in the films is something different from the concept of citizenship. When citizenship is considered, mainly the personal, social and emotional development is considered. The betterment of the self, self-realization, self-respect and increasing the communication level as well as the tolerance. This could be through experience in life or through the increase of the input via language and literacy. As a person, the good citizens are expected to develop their own tools as to help themselves and those around them to understand the world better, solve the problems, get ready for any physical, emotional, intellectual or creative mobility. Mobility is expected to bring positive results. Usually it is associated with events such as moving to the city, attending school, going abroad and having a better life style, etc.

Findings and Interpretation

Tokgöz, (Tokgöz, 1979, p. 193) gives us clues on why and how the children are placed in the last order of importance in the cinema field. To her, the family issues were also taking place in the last place of the themes because specifically for Turkish cinema, those years were the ones to be dealt with the universal, global issues or being alive or dead, the war years brought the society a kind of consciousness that the family issues and individual problems were just trivial ones compared to the other more important missions. Thus, they were regarded to be the minor problems to be filmed, to be carried into a discourse or to be carried up to the social discussion level. The children were not only the last ones to be considered in this respect but also the ones staying the least at the stage of consideration. This face of the society could be seen not only through the cinema films but also through the literary works and other media created. Nowadays however, the family life has been more depicted than in the past. However, through the many characters having childlike speech or humour functions in the society, namely Karagöz and Hacivat, (Punch and Judy style of shadow show) the need for child characters has only emerged very lately. These adult characters behaving and speaking like children were placed in many Anatolian folk tales. These shadow/puppet figures and humorous characters of the past, though aimed at the adult audience were also very much favoured by the children and encouraged by the grown ups since they include many social, ethical and moral lessons to be learned.

Thus, at the very starting point, considering the dynamics of the given society, within cinema films we do not expect to find much related to the child concept or image. The structural and functional messages within the text or the film could be either in the form of a fairy tale – folk tale having messages for the children or the film should bear a kind of child image. Thus, it is important to note the difference between the films having a place for the child, or a message for the child or a kind of child related topic or perhaps verbal or non-verbal child figure within the film. This could be summarized in the following way (Öcel, 2004):

- a. There are films for the children: The children are situated as the audience
- b. There are children in the films: The children are situated as the images in the films.

From the very beginning of Turkish film history, the child population is not represented appropriately through the films. Considering the first films, most of them were adaptations at the early years. Later on, the real filmic films appeared but the child figures were less than represented than they should be in the society. In the past children were the ones referred to last in the society and being the last to be considered, the time devoted to them was less than the others in the society. However, the children were the audience all the time and the impact of all those films were on them. Whatever the lessons that were given through these films, the children got them immediately, since there were ready to grasp the idea. But, the population of the children and their representation in the films were not parallel to each other.

The impact of these films does not appear all of a sudden. Also what we call the impact could not always be seen openly or concretely in the form of behaviours etc. These appear in the form of values establishing the deep structure of the society. There is always the 'Sleeping Effect', which may be summarized as the delayed impact on the audience as well. One other factor is the recycling media producing similar messages for the same audience. Not only the cinema films but also the newspapers, radio and television news are representing similar aspects that could help this impact to be stable or temporary. In such a case, the impact on the audience would be much greater than a single message provided through a single film or a series of films.

Audience is also a factor. The messages you get through the cinema films would be highly related with the type of the film you watch. Considering the latest questionnaires of the year 2000, the spectators would like to watch the films in the following way:

Type of Film	Percentage
Cartoons	0.18
Awarded Films	0.92
Erotic	2.19
Science Fiction	6.74
Thriller	6.82
Comedy	15.84
Romantic	20.49
Adventure	27.20
All Kinds	19.62

Not only the type of the film, but also the frequency of the messages are important to have an impact on the audience. Although we know that the old films of the past are frequently recycled as television films nowadays, the people's attitude to watch films in cinema is as follows:

Frequency	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
More than once a week	15.46	8.49	10.82	17.8
Once a week	31.79	18.29	29.70	26.29
Twice a month	23.83	20.02	25.27	18.46
Once a month	14.52	18.62	15.22	13.58
Less Frequent	14.40	34.58	18.99	23.87

The cinema going activity could also be taken as a choice among many other spare time activities. Thus, the cinema audience reflects their choices as reading 24.76%, music 22.23 %, theatre 12.75%, sports 10.65%, walking 5.98%, visiting friends 5.87%, visiting exhibitions 4.98%, watching TV 4.26%, watching opera, bale, etc. 6.36%.

Years	%
5-6	5.48
7-9	28.31
10-13	24.2
14-17	42.01

The percentage of the child audience of different ages could be summed up as this figure (Öcel, 1999; Öcel, 2000). These figures could change from time to time and are not stable. Thus, rather than analysing the impact on the child audience it seems to be better to concentrate on the messages yielded throughout the films of the past and present.

Considering the function of the child image in the films, these are classified under 16 different classes and analysed. Within all these 771 films, it is important to note that the first films in the first forty years were just adaptations from foreign ones or literary works thus they do not have an original story. Between 1914-1950 27 out of 138 films have a child figure, a child image in them. This makes up the highest rate of the time 19.56%. Even though the number of films increased just in the next decade between 1951-1959, the number of the films produced reached up to 519 and the ones having child images reached up to 53, the percentage is still less then a decade ago: 10.21%. It is almost similar in the following two decades up to the 80s. Within those old films, it is also very difficult to find out the children figures since there were not professional child actors in those years. However, it might be very interesting to see that the percentage of child images of those years is of the highest in the total sum. This shows us how child images were used starting from the very first day to give lessons, to teach values to the society and even to the children of the time. Even though the numbers of the films increased in the following years, the percentage of child images decreases in the technology age. Even with the coming of sound and colour, children were not considered to be prominent figures of society to be filmed.

However, with the recent popular approaches to tell the stories of children with a broken heart, most of the new era films gave place to child actors as the leading ones. These were the ones suffering through a hard childhood, losing their family members somehow and finding them or deciphering the secret relations when they grow up and become rich and famous. No need to say that these films were around the theme of singers, popular songs giving hope to all the people that one day, ordinary people could also become rich and famous ones. When we look at the percentage of the films having child singers as the leading actors we come across such a figure:

Years	Number of Films	Singing Children	%
1979	195	19	9,7
1980	68	27	40
1981	72	33	46

As Robert and Douglas mentioned (Robert and Douglas 1985, p. 158) the concepts of the past and present should be compared and contrasted. In that case though the child image of the past and present films differ a lot considering the function and placement of the child figure in society, the images gain more importance and reflect more meanings in its deep structure compared to the past ones. Coming across with a single child image in past films were occasional, however the present films provide richer sources and multiple layers to be decoded in several different ways.

Apart from the child image, when it comes to citizenship issues, the values emphasized, the wishes for the betterment of the society, the high ideals for children and for others, the improvement of society gain more importance among many other details. The implantation of the fusion of innovations is cultivated step by step. It is inevitable that as time passes, each new civilization comes and diminishes with its own values. Little is transferred from one society to the other. The habits and the rules of the society change through the impact of innovations, which help to enlarge the world of interaction to a wider extent, yet they also endanger the learning/teaching environment.

As the short dialogues between the teacher and the students are very important to the classroom situation, gaining importance at different stages of the lesson, the little words and sentences the actors say in the film are important as well. In this respect, Cultivation Theory appears as a theory of communication in 1970s (Cohen and Weimann, 2000; Gerbner, 2002; Signorielli and Michael 1990).

In its basic form, it suggests that television is partially responsible for shaping or 'cultivating' viewers' conceptions of social reality. On one hand, the fusion of innovations and the media create a pseudo-reality apart from the real life, on the other hand, all these have a huge impact on the individuals as well as the masses. Television is seen as the world's dominant storyteller, in a lesser amount cinema films of the past were the ones functioning like the television of old times.

Durkheim claims in *The Paradoxes of Modernity* that a human being is a social identity. To live together means that the individual needs to be under an umbrella of a greater shelter. In other words, after being under that shelter, the presence of the collective consciousness is felt rather deeply. The collective consciousness is there before anything and it stays after the individual fades away. The individual gains his/her identity through it. During the development and the growing up phases of children this collective consciousness shapes the individuality of the child through the parents and groups of friends (Loo-Reijen, 2003: 89). What kind of a job would s/he have in future, what kind of a life style is required would all be decided for the children. During this teaching process, the television has a great importance. Thus, the ideals of the child as the adult of

the future would be realised. But, the question here is if it is possible to have real ideals as a child, or if these ideals are mostly the ones that the parents had.

In this respect there should be a distinction between what is seen as the ideal and the ideals of the individual. When the definition of the ideal is considered, it is 'the last end of things/event imagined and idealised in its best way'. The ideal is a conception of something that is perfect, especially that which one seeks to attain. It is a pattern or model, especially of ethical behaviour. It may also refer to a person or thing considered to represent perfection. But there a distinction is required if it refers to something existing only as an idea. In that case, either it never exists, or it may be seen as the idealised part of referent. In philosophy, ideal is seen as the thing of or relating to a highly desirable and possible state of affairs of or relating to idealism.

Referring to the definition the ideal thing could be anything that the child sees through the media: anything that is perceived, anybody adored, the places, lives, any concept that could be idealised. Thus the 'ideal' does not cover only the children but also the other members of society. In fact, as Baudrillard claimed, that children move in the world of the adult universe as a refined and bandit personality. In this respect, the child is the 'other' of the adult, the 'fate' of the adult. The child is the inborn cunning and disregarding the adult and leaving the adult beyond his/her own limits (Baudrillard, 1998: 174).

Discussion and Conclusion

All the data gives us some ideas of the past and of the present case of society, their values of right and wrong, their ethics and the way the ethical behaviour is shaped and encouraged through the films. All the films have a common relief that even if the years pass, the bad ones trying to rule the others, trying to shape the other lives or causing some inequality giving damage to the innocent ones in society get what they deserve at the end. This could be in the same generation or through the following generation. Thus the following generation is shaped, informed in the most possible way as to balance the inequalities. Usually the next generation, having such an aim work hard in the films to make themselves powerful enough to work through the problems, to change the decision of the others or to provide efficient tools to solve the inequalities on their behalf. Thus, they are given a mission from a very early age. Looking at the films as a discourse cultivating good behaviour in the society, we can see that the good citizenship values include such key actions. Take care of the old ones and the little ones, be responsible for the rules in society, and prevent the weak ones from the wrong behaviour of the powerful ones.

When citizenship is questioned the positioning of the audience is as important as what happens to children in the films since both have different types of reflections on the same important topic. The research shows us that the children in Turkish films have many different actions. Cinema films could be discussed in many ways, but when it comes to the ideal citizen in Turkish films, these films should be the original ones specific to the culture. Otherwise, the concept of citizenship brought into light through the other foreign films would not matter that much. Usually citizenship goes together

with the nationalistic ideals in the early films. That could be explained considering the world politics and the impact of the two world wars of those days.

The Main Character: The child as the main character of the film could be seen in many films. Just like Shirley Temple of the era, Turkish Cinema created its own dynamics through Ayşecik, Sezercik, Ömercik types. Usually these films were the ones aiming to educate the grown ups rather than the children through the use of children. The films having the main or secondary roles played by children are not so many. Of the 770 films having the child image in them only 59 of the films were having children as the main character.

The child requiring attention: Through their nature the children require some attention but in the films, the level of attention could vary from adoption to cooking and caring for them. This becomes a very important matter when the person in charge is the mother, father, a sibling or a stranger, through this person the child acquires a new identity or is shaped in a different way. The mother who is forced to take care of the child is a very well known theme and out of all the films it's been repeated 65 times reaching up to 8.43 % in all the films having a child image. Whereas the child cared for by the father has been seen just 3 times out of all the data. Whoever takes charge of the child gives him/her all the values to become powerful in the future. These are ordinary people having values of the honourable, respectful life. Under all circumstances maturity is praised both mentally and spiritually. Being good to others, becoming a good citizen valuing other people's lives and environment are all key actions.

In the films, the use of time is very important. The theme may have references to the past, present or future. Usually, the child in the past suddenly appears to be a grown up gentleman, well-educated and handsome character of the day. This helps us to evaluate if there is any change between the past and present of the filmic world as well as the real world.

Through the time span, the grown ups of the film give the necessary values to the youngsters to make them perfect and powerful enough to cope up with the difficulties of the past and present. Or sometimes, the parents have ideals about their children, how well educated and well off they will become in future, etc. The percentage of these uses of time spent in the past could change from one film to another. What has been tried to be analysed is the link between the child in the past and the grown up at present in the old films and the films of today.

The number of the children could be a factor affecting the way the messages were delivered. The sex and the age of the child figure could also be considered as important factors. Considering the ideal Turkish family in the films, this usually is represented as the modern family having a boy and a girl. The number of the children in the film is not only important for the theme but also for the representation of society. Through the model family in the film, some lessons, some messages were given to the whole society. It could easily be seen that apart from the stories of large families moving from the village to the city, the family usually is represented as the nuclear family having a single child. Before the 80s it was two children but between the 1980-1989 a single child as a girl is more emphasised whereas a decade ago it was a boy. Later, again the single child

becomes a girl by the early 1990s. These were the years when the government was also providing some financial support for filmmakers only if there were enough positive messages in the films. In 44 films the children were left by their mothers and in 77 others they were left by the father. In another 56 films the children are just left without mentioning who left them. 35 films were emphasising the theme of a neglected child and 27 of them were concentrating on street children. In most of the films there is a kind of major dilemma. This could be unfaithful behaviour, a theme of democracy/justice or equality, the basic contradictions such as wealthy/poor, educated/uneducated, high social status vs. ordinary people. The dilemmas are solved in the short or long run somehow through the betterment of the characters. 41 films were concentrating on children among the outlaw people and taking some kind of revenge. 43 films were focusing on illegitimate children. 22 of the films show us examples of severe defects of a bad childhood and the traumatic experiences implemented through a lifetime. However, education is praised throughout all the film history. 17 films have children having a career and saving the others through their idealistic approach. 46 films show us how the children were affected when they changed their environment, for example through moving from the village to the city.

Considering all these numbers, we believe that Turkish films are full of good examples of educating the audience on how to become good citizens, how to establish values of education, sociological and economical dimensions. They also have many messages in between the lines on how the socio-political concerns, the attitudes and understandings of the others could cause the holding back of children or their flourishing when they are supported. Looking at the films, it could easily be said that the reflections of society could be seen in the films, and the reflection of the films could be seen in society. Thus, it is a mutual impact.

Apart from many other issues it could be noted here that the education issues emphasised in these films were of the main importance. Throughout the whole of cinema history it is believed that the children would somehow become the best of their society through education. It is also believed that society would be recovered through education. Thus, education of all kinds was encouraged even at a later age and the belief that education could solve all the problems were emphasised in different ways. Even if the life-long learning approach were not mentioned anywhere then, Turkish films were emphasising how education could change the people, making them more appealing, sociable and favourable as if by magic.

Apart from the education on the level of the society, schooling and education in general were also emphasised. Turkish film history is full of films having many mothers and fathers and other family members making all kind of sacrifices just to educate their children and equip them with a better lifestyle.

Most of the films of the early examples emphasise the importance of education through a different aspect. In some of the films education is introduced as the only way of becoming a modern nation. Through the modern alphabet and modern teaching methodology, idealist teachers and students achieve things. This aspect is brought to the light as in the fight of the fundamentalists and the modernists of the time. The religious people, not knowing a lot about the world and social behaviours, try to stop this new

type of education and modernisation of the society. Yet, in many cases, somehow, through their illiteracy they decipher their secrets yielding some information about the past and the society learns that they are not good citizens and they lose their importance in the eyes of the society.

For those years, education was considered to be equal to the qualities of an ideal citizen: knowledgeable, idealistic, nationalistic, courageous, witty and having a full potential to be developed. Certain occupations are given missions to deliver the information into the society. These include all kind of people but mainly, teachers, police and soldiers, nurses and doctors. The characters of rich but uneducated people were depicted as the ones causing cruelties, injustice or inequality

Considering the education revolution in the country in the early years of the Republic, education is introduced as the only tool to achieve the bringing together of the nation. Most of the films emphasise this as well. These films are full of images of children of the past becoming doctors, nurses, lawyers, police and teachers of the present.

Though the working children were not often depicted in the films except for a few examples, working is also introduced as a way to lead to education. Sometimes of the two children in the family one works just to support the other's education. In some films, they work in the fields of the villages yet, in some other films, the children work as the street sellers, shoe polishers, newspaper deliverers or cleaners, etc.

When the past and present concepts were compared and contrasted, it would be interesting to see the things in different perspectives. These differences could be summed up in as follows:

- Education is not seen as a kind of revenge: In the past, the more the children are educated the more the families were getting a prestigious place in the society. In some cases this could even cause a kind of revenge. For example, some of the films were emphasising the kidnapping events just to have a kind of revenge from the hated families. The kidnapped child was sent to the streets to sell newspapers, etc. lacking education. But, in the last films, this kind of revenge changed its importance. Furthermore, in some cases, education is seen as a kind of suffering: (In one of the films (Clouds of May) the younger brother tells the older one, I worked hard in the fields, just to make you study at school)
- Education is not an end: In the past, the films and the scenarios were full of the scenes that education was an end. For example, the couple suffering throughout their life make their son have his education and become a doctor. As he becomes the doctor either the mother or the father becomes ill and the doctor son saves his parents. So, education is seen as the end of all kind of suffering. But in today's films, education is not an end. In today's films life crumbles especially, after the education since more educated people get more problems.
- Education is not a solution to the problems: As has been stated previously, in the past education was seen as a solution to all the problems, health issues, social status, economical problems, emotional problems etc. Yet, in the last decade, the educated people seem to be causing more problems. Especially the ones having more money

to be educated abroad were depicted to cause more problems than uneducated people.

- Education is not becoming good: The moral values of society equalling the educated people with good citizenship status were altered in the last decade. Whichever film you look at it could be easy to see that education does not mean becoming anymore, ironically means sometimes the opposite. The more educated the people the more wicked and cruel they become. They are just like the dynamics of different ends of the same society as Van Der stated. (Van Der, Zanden, 1988) (In one of the films, 'the mixed pizza' a child is expected to give directions to an innocent pizza deliverer accidentally kidnapped by the murder gangs. The child is the only bearer of the information to give the clue whether there is a way out in the corner of the building or not. Once the kidnapped man asks this question to the neighbour child just in the opposite building, he says yes and goes to get his camera. Listening to the advice of the child, the kidnapped man tries to escape by getting out of the building moving dangerously on the sluiceway. He thinks that the child went inside would also call the police to save his life and he was so much astonished when he sees that the child with his camera in his hand is trying to shoot the film while he's falling down. At that moment the mother asks what the child is doing, if he's studying his lessons or not. The child answers that he's performing one of his projects at school and the teacher gave them the homework of filming the birds and he's doing his homework.)
- Education is not socialisation but isolation and alienation: In the last decade, the general tendency to introduce the concept of education failed and the new films emphasised that education does not produce good citizens. Instead, good citizens were looked at as if they are old-fashioned, ugly, strange, odd people. In the past, education was associated with the concepts of becoming good, social, effective personalities. Yet nowadays, educated people are depicted as the ones in isolation and alienation. They have more problems than the uneducated ones.

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