LOOKING AT SOCIAL CHANGES THROUGHOUT THE CINEMA: READING THE PLACE OF COMEDY IN TURKISH CINEMA VIA TOURIST ÖMER, ŞABAN AND RECEP İVEDIK

Toplumsal Değişime Sinema Perdesinden Bakmak: Türk Sinemasinda Komedinin Yerini Turist Ömer, Şaban Ve Recep İvedik Üzerinden Okumak

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ABSTRACT

Cinema fed by the economic, cultural, political, social changes and transformations of societies; It reflects many phenomena from changing social values to lifestyle, from migration to urban transformation, from economic structure to political culture. Similarly, Turkish cinema is the echo and reflection of the changing social structure. When Turkish comedy cinema is analyzed in particular, it is possible to follow a line from the warm and friendly neighborhood comedy of the 1960s to the critical comedy of the 1980s that focuses on social problems, and from there to the vulgar comedy of the 2000s, which is far from giving a message and making one think. In this study, which aims to read the social change in Turkey through comedy films, Turist Ömer, İnek Şaban and Recep İvedik, who are the symbol comedy types of Turkish cinema, were chosen to reflect the basic features of the periods in which important changes were experienced. From Turist Ömer, who represents the homelessness and ambivalence of the 1960s, to İnek Şaban who belongs somewhere in the rural areas of Anatolia and to Recep İvedik who represents the evolution of shantytowns stuck between big buildings of the 2000s into suburban culture will be examined in the lights of cinematic reflections of social changes.

Key words: Cinema, Turkish Cinema, Comdey, Social Changes

ÖZET

Toplumların ekonomik, kültürel, politik, soysal değişim ve dönüşümlerinden beslenen sinema; değişen toplumsal değerlerden yaşam tarzına, göçten kentsel dönüşüme, ekonomik yapıdan politik kültüre kadar pek çok olguyu yansıtır. Türk sineması da benzer şekilde değişen toplumsal yapının yankısı ve yansımasıdır. Türk güldürü sineması özelinde incelendiğinde ise 1960'ların gündelik hayata dair sıcak ve samimi mahalle komedisinden 1980'lerin toplumsal sorunlara eğilen eleştirel komedisine ve oradan da 2000'li yılların mesaj vermekten ve düşündürmekten uzak kaba komedisine doğru uzanan bir çizgiyi takip etmek mümkündür. Türkiye'deki toplumsal değişimi komedi filmleri üzerinden okumayı hedefleyen bu çalışmada, önemli değişimlerin yaşandığı dönemlerin temel özelliklerini yansıtmak üzere Türk sinemasının sembol komedi tiplemeleri olan Turist Ömer, İnek Şaban ve Recep İvedik seçilmiştir. 1960'lı yılların yersiz yurtsuzluğunu ve müphemliğini temsil eden Turist Ömer'in aksine Anadolu'nun kırsalında bir yerlere ait İnek Şaban'ına, oradan da 2000'li yılların büyük binalar arasında sıkışan gecekondu mahallelerinin varoş kültüre evrilmesini temsil eden Recep İvedik'e uzanan bir sürecin peşinde, toplumsal değişimlerin sinematik yansımaları incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sinema, Türk Sineması, Komedi, Toplumsal Değişim

1. INTRODUCTION

Cinema, which is one of the fields that is affected by and affects social, cultural and economic changes, is also considered as an archive where this change can be followed. Because social problems are reflected to the audience through the language and screen of the cinema with its comedy and tragedy. For this reason, it is a good starting point to examine the films produced by the cinema of that country in order to have an idea about the structure and change of a society. Cinema also provides clues about what that society laughs about, what it cries for, what it gets angry about, what it cheers for. Comedy as a genre has proved that it is not just something to be laughed at in cinema, with the striking, critical and unforgettable examples it gave in its history. Turkish cinema has sometimes mirrored the history of the country and sometimes made a note of it.

This study aims to look at the social change experienced from the 1960s, the period when serial comedy films and their characters first appeared in Turkish cinema, from the cinema screen and to read through the comedy typologies that the public knows. From this point of view, the course of social change will be tried to be followed through the characters of Turist Ömer in the 1960s, Şaban in the 1980s and Recep İvedik in the 2000s. Although the periodization in the study does not cover all genres and features of Turkish cinema at that time, it aims to understand a long historical process through symbolic cinema characters.

2. TURKEY'S SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE AND HIGHLIGHTS OF CHANGE FROM 1960s to 2000s

Social change, which describes the change in the network of social relations that form the structure of society and the institutions that determine them, in a historical process, affects the behavior of both individuals and groups by causing differentiation of social norms and values (Koçak Turhanoğlu, 2010: 1). Although social change is largely associated with development and progress, in fact, these concepts show the economic aspect of social change, and social change, which is affected by and affects many political, cultural, historical, geographical, demographic and sociological factors, is not a concept that can be explained only by economic criteria. In this respect, social change; It is an inevitable social phenomenon that progresses in different places, on different subjects, at different speeds.

When the social change of Turkey is mentioned, the proclamation of the Republic is generally taken as the starting point, but the effect of the existing conditions before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey cannot be denied in this process. Considering the subject of the study and the length of the time period it covers, a very sketchy framework will be presented about the political, economic and socio-cultural events and phenomena that affect the social change in our country. In terms of the development of Turkish cinema and the typification of comedy characters, the beginning of the chronology of the study was determined as the 1960s.

The 1960s mark the years of significant political, economic and social change and transformation in Turkey. The event that deeply affected the political agenda of the country in Turkey of the period was undoubtedly the revolution on May 27, 1960. May 27, which introduced the terms "revolution" or "coup", that would be heard more frequently in the following years, into daily social life also started a new era. In April 1971, the Armed Forces once again seized the political life with a memorandum and martial law was declared in 11 provinces with the justification of stopping the acts of violence (Kongar, 1999: 98). With the military coup on September 12, 1980, the civilian regime was once again interrupted. September 12 and the military regime that followed have engraved in Turkey's political and social life. Political bans were lifted in 1983 and political parties and leaders used to be active before military takeover returned to politics. However, Turgut Özal, who won the local elections in 1984, became the symbol name of the new era.

The 1980s constitute a turning point in Turkey as in the rest of the world. Because this period is the beginning years of neoliberal economic policies in Turkey as well as in many countries of the world (Aydınoğlu, 2007: 27). Due to the extremely deteriorating foreign exchange situation at the beginning of 1980, the neoliberal economic program of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) entered into force on January 24, 1980 (Boratav, 2003: 147). With the January 24 Decisions, Turkey has undergone a radical change in the economy by implementing policies and practices for opening up and transitioning to a free market economy. Kazgan (1999) argues that the January 24 Decisions started the process of restructuring both the economy and society by changing the value judgments and instilling the liberalized liberal ideology and thus creating a new type of individual that would feed the consumption economy. In fact, the preparations for incorporation into the world system, which started in the 1960s, found its full meaning in 1980. Because until the 1980s, together with planned development mixed and import substitution economic policy dominated. With the January 24 Decisions, consumption norms in developed capitalist societies, which are included in the world capitalist system (Demirezen, 2016: 516), have begun to be adopted (Boratav, 2003: 119). The 80s, a transition period in which the radical change in the understanding of economy manifested itself in social life with the multiplier effect (Köse, 2016: 117), was the year when values, virtues, success and failure were questioned again within the framework of this new economy (Blackman, 2006: 209).

The liberalization in the economy, which was initiated at the end of the 1950s, also affected rural agricultural activities, enabling the mobilization of the population in the country, that is, immigration, and had an accelerating effect on urbanization (Niray, 2002: 12). Tümtaş and Çelikkaleli (2014: 41) draw attention to the fact that migration, which has a meaning beyond changing a geographical location, brings about

important changes in the social structure with its economic, political, cultural and social dimensions. The increase in population with increasing mechanization in agriculture has started the migration from the village to the city. Migration, as defined by Castles and Miller (2008: 29), is a "collective action caused by social change", affects both the receiving and sending place. Migration from rural to urban has led to rapid and unplanned urbanization in the following years. Migration and urbanization, which are also an indicator of social change, continue to increase today. Those who want to solve the housing problem by their own means in cities that are not ready for the influx of crowded groups in terms of housing and employment have started to build slums on lands that are largely treasury land. While these new but unhealthy residential areas have become the places where a large part of the urban population lives (Tekeli, 1984: 26), squatting has become one of the main problems that continue today in cities that receive rapid migration, especially in Istanbul. In the 1980s, a process of transforming shantytowns into apartments was experienced. While the shantytowns on the outskirts of the city grew, the first generation owners of the slums began to move to apartments on the outskirts of the city by renting out the houses to the new immigrants. In the 2000s, those living in these places, which are now defined as "slums" with a new naming, began to be seen as "people who lack the aesthetics of consumption, benefit from the blessings of the city but could not catch the urban culture" (Etöz, 2000). The community-based structuring of the neighborhood is based on face-to-face and sincere relations, and cooperation and solidarity are intense. The opportunities created for sharing such as entertainment, neighbor visits, coffee chats, matches, picnics and weddings play a key role in the continuation of the current socio-cultural structure (Ayata, 1989). Since the end of the 1990s, the parts of the slums close to the city centers were demolished and luxury, expensive and sheltered sites targeting high-income groups were started to be built there. The spatial symbols of the separation of the inhabitants of the city are the sites. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2004) draw attention to the fact that at the dawn of the new millennium in Turkey, cities were structured in such a way as to ensure that different classes and social groups almost never meet with each other and minimize their contact.

The suburbs near the luxury sites in big cities are seen as places where the neighborhood culture is kept alive in various respects. Neighborhood, rather than a place, stands at the center of life and allows for a unique social organization on it, and also expresses a lifestyle on its own (Karaarslan and Karaarslan, 2011: 1187). The traditional neighborhood culture is based on the primary and close relationships of the inhabitants, and trust and solidarity prevail among the residents of the neighborhood. Neighborhood is an identity element for its residents as well as the concepts of cohesion, integration, unity, cooperation and neighborhood (Altun, 2010: 219). In the 1960s, when the neighborhood culture was dominant, the social structure of Turkey was homogeneous; It can be said that it is characterized by loyalty to traditional people and groups such as family, kinship and compatriotism (Yasa, 1996). Bostancı (1998: 27) states that Turkey has entered a process of disintegration at the social level after 1980 and counts the opening of the country to the outside, rapid urbanization and modernization dissolving the traditional structure and revealing various subcultures among the main reasons for this disintegration. The basic concept that left its mark on the 2000s is globalization. Social developments in Turkey with the effect of globalization have increased the demands for religious, ethnic and sexual identity and made the values of the consumer society one of the main social determinants.

In the 1980s, the political pressures and the glitter of the shop windows, the cultural rise of the provinces with the horrors of war, and the promises of the consumer society shared the same stage. While the modern identity deemed appropriate for the society was disintegrating, the country's rural face was rediscovered in the cultural field (Gürbilek, 2009: 9). With depoliticization, the desire to live better began to emerge in individuals. however, for this, individual rather than social means of salvation began to be sought; in the words of Kozanoğlu (2004), where the social subject has been replaced by the individualist subject, the polished image era has introduced the concept of individualism into daily life. The change in the economic structure brought about by liberalism has also affected social life, and the increase in imports and luxury consumption has also changed social values.

One of the areas where liberal policies are reflected is the media. Private sector organizations that want to benefit from the power of the media have started to have their own mass media by turning to the field of communication. In this process, in which the media has been structurally transformed by being dominated by large companies, the understanding of commercial broadcasting, which focuses on entertainment and magazines instead of prohibited or objectionable political issues, and fuels individuals' passion for luxury consumption, has settled. Although tabloidization in the Turkish press did not emerge in the 1980s, it is possible to say that the environment brought by September 12 increased the orientation towards sensational and entertaining subjects, away from politics. The phenomenon of tabloidization inevitably emerged in the

Turkish press, which could not express the social opposition due to the bans (Soygüder, 2003: 95). The media, which mixes and blends information and advertising, information and entertainment, is a key sector in both the economic and ideological reproduction of global capitalism (Bora and Cantek, 2007: 899). The organic relationship it establishes with politics and capital, its articulation with the entertainment industry are the main reasons for the increasing tabloidization of the media (Dağtaş, 2006: 14).

One of the media contents that has become effective on a global scale and determined according to global conditions is cinema. Because cinema is almost a window through which social change can be watched.

3. LOOKING AT SOCIAL CHANGES THROUGH THE CINEMA SCREEN

Cinema fed by the economic, cultural, political, social changes and transformations of societies reflects many phenomena from changing social values to lifestyle, from migration to urban transformation, from economic structure to political culture. Similarly, Turkish cinema is the echo and reflection of the changing social structure. For example, subjects such as unplanned urbanization and slums, industrialization and migration, poverty and alienation were frequently discussed in Turkish cinema in the 1960s. As a reflection of the changing social structure in Turkey, which witnessed the rise of wealth, consumption and material values that had just opened to the liberal capitalist world in the 1980s, films were made that draw attention to the cornerstone behaviors (Velioğlu, 2016) that started to become normalized and naturalized in this period, such as banking, usury, and black market trading, although this was also the case in the past. In addition to these films, the number of arabesque films that appeal to the problems, feelings and dreams of the new urbanites living in the slums, which have become a part of the big cities can be mentioned. In Turkish cinema, which is trying to keep up with the world with the effect of globalization, since the end of the 1990s, the number of films that are far from criticism and appealing to popular culture by moving away from the Yeşilçam tradition has increased. According to Pösteki (2005: 182), although films are made that attract the audience to movie theaters, it is forgotten that cinema can be a discussion area that affects the public with its critical view: "As the cinema of a country with a low level of education and a turmoil in the cultural field, cinema, which has had its share of intellectual and moral crisis, has no strength to remind this oblivion".

Like the movies shot in the 1960s, the environment in which the movies are watched reflects the social atmosphere of the period. Summer/open-air cinemas established in almost every neighborhood during this period became places where the whole family, even the neighborhood, went together and reinforced the feelings of unity and intimacy by watching movies together with seeds and soda. As a reflection of the social change, indoor movie theaters designed as a separate space emerged first, and then, as the consumption culture became well established, luxury halls within the shopping malls and generally located on the same floor as the section reserved for dining. The audience of these movie theaters is mostly urban lower and middle class members who are tired of working on weekdays and shopping at weekends and have placed watching movies at the top of the list of activities to be done outside of work. The audience, mostly from these classes, is just looking for laughter away from any heavy social or political message. In this respect, it is possible to follow a line in Turkish cinema from the warm and friendly neighborhood comedy of the 1960s to the critical comedy of the 1980s, which focuses on social problems, and from there to the vulgar comedy of the 2000s, which is far from giving a message and making one think. Ünal (2007) also counts the common features of the films of the 2000s as lack of criticism, lack of aesthetic concern, frequent sexuality-oriented humor, vulgar eroticism and profit-orientedness.

In this study, which aims to follow the footsteps of social change through comedy films, Turist Ömer, Şaban and Recep İvedik, who are the symbol comedy types of Turkish cinema, were chosen to reflect the basic features of the periods in which important changes were experienced. The comedy character of the 1960s,

Turist Ömer, by Sadri Alışık[1]; Şaban, the character of the 1980s, was portrayed by Kemal Sunal[2] and the character of the 2000s, Recep İvedik, was played by Şahan Gökbakar[3].

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[1] Sadri Alışık (1925-1995), who first appeared on the stage in the Eminönü Community Center in 1939, took part in many plays in various ensembles. Alışık, who was shot in the cinema in 1944 with the movie "The Sinners", is known for the Küçük Hanımefendi series in which he starred with Ayhan Işık and Belgin Doruk in the early 1960s. Acclaimed by the cinema audience with the character of Turist Ömer, the first of which was shot in 1964, Alışık has acted in more than 200 films throughout his life, but Turist Ömer has remained the most well-known and loved role (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sadri_Al%C4%B1%C5%9F%C4%B1k).

[2] Kemal Sunal (1944-2000) played for the first time in the movie Tatlı Dillim in 1972. The first film in which he played a mahor role was Canım Kardeşim in 1973. The Role of İnek Şaban in the film called Hababam Sınıfı was identified with the artist, and his name was remembered as Şaban in the next period. Many Saban films were shot between 1981 and 1985. The films of Sunal, who generally draws a character who is successful in the face of injustice with his naivety, use dramatic elements as well as comedy; These are productions that reflect the sociological developments of the period by giving social messages on issues such as livelihood, migration, and customs (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kemal_Sunal).

3.1. Comedy as a Genre in Cinema

When classical cinema is mentioned, many big and important names and films come to mind. Yet comedy's auteur directors appear to be among the real and often innovative pioneers of mainstream cinema. Some of the early works by the Lumière Brothers and Lon Chaney, as well as names like Buster Keaton, Charlie Chaplin, Lucille Ball, have proven that comedy is more than a joke. According to Davis, comedy is a rich, diverse genre that is a popular and important part of the cinematic tradition. Although it is considered a genre on its own, it is also called with sub-genres such as sitcom, romantic comedy, tragicomedy, and often more than one sub-genre combines to form a narrative (2014: 264). A subgenre of the comedy genre, slapstick has its roots in vaudeville and scenes where actors perform exaggerated physical stunts and pranks. It was used especially in the early days of silent cinema, and it paved the way for names such as Chaplin and Keaton to start their careers in the comedy genre. A subgenre of the comedy genre, slapstick has its roots in vaudeville and scenes where actors perform exaggerated physical stunts and pranks. It was used especially in the early days of silent cinema, and it paved the way for names such as Chaplin and Keaton to start their careers in the comedy genre. This period in Turkish cinema was called the Period of Theater Players and the first serial comedy film started with the Bican Efendi series (Şah, 2018). Another important subgenre is called screwball comedy. It was greatly admired by the audience in the 1930s and 40s and brought such stars as Cary Grant, Katharine Hepburn and James Stewart into the history of cinema (Aldredge, 2020:2). Stating that the 1960s was the first period in the history of Turkish cinema when serial comedy films and original characterizations emerged, Şah (2018) explains that in his study, in which he compared Turist Ömer and Cilalı İbo typography, Turist Ömer was drawn as a vagrant but good-hearted and ready-to-response character. states that primitive and vulgar comedy elements are used very limitedly. Kozanoğlu (2004: 80), who states that the cinema audience finds these films sincere and warm, explains the reason for this as follows: When you look at them from the upper balcony, you feel they sit on emotional exploitation, because when you look at them from 'ordinary' seats close to the screen, they sit on clean feelings and a sentimentality that is close to people." Parody, another type of comedy, is one of the most common comedy genres, which includes the idea of mocking or vilifying other art forms, allowing audiences to both laugh and analyze preconceived notions about the source of the mockery.

Parody films, which started to find a place for themselves in Turkish cinema especially in the 2000s, also contain the criticism of modernization. The Recep İvedik series, in which the people who cannot keep up with modernization and living in cities, are reflected through the Recep İvedik typography, became the most watched movie in Turkish cinema between 2008-2019 with six films.

3.2. The Place of Comedy in Turkish Cinema: The Characters of Tourist Omer, Şaban and Recep Ivedik

Stating that a country's media analysis gives important clues about the social structure of the period, Kuruoğlu (2016) underlines that a country's humor tradition also carries important information about the political and social history of the people of the country and their extensions. The film, which is considered as the first Turkish film with a story, is the film of the Bican Efendi character. Thus, Bican Efendi is considered as the first comedian type. The first feature-length works that can be shown in the comic line in Turkey are the Governance and Binnaz films shot by Ahmet Fehim (Makal, 2017: 474-476). However, in the 1960s, when Turist Ömer, one of the unforgettable characters of Turkish comedy cinema, emerged, the lack of being able to create social types could be partially eliminated with the character of Turist Ömer. Tourist Ömer, who has been to various countries of the world and has had undesirable experiences, is a vagabond who does not care about the rules of social life and can easily make fun of these rules. Yeşilçam's (Green Pine) development of a unique language of expression in the 60s (Ünal, 2018: 29) created a panorama of Turkish human landscapes, as Dorsay stated, depicted Turkish people with their most typical features reflected on the screen, and visualized Turkish aesthetics (1995:214). The first movie of the Turist Ömer character was the film that shot in 1964 with the same name. Directed by Hulki Saner, the film while dealing with the themes of migration and the city, also reflects Turist Ömer's feeling as a tourist in the city he lives in, in the light of the social changes of the period. The film, which has similarities with the director Charlie Chaplin's City Lights (1931), which left its mark on the silent period of cinema, tries to show the dissonance

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[3] Şahan Gökbakar (1980), who stepped into the world of television by hosting the hidden camera contest called Zoka, later attracted attention with the characters of Recep İvedik, Bülent Binbaş and Küçük Oskar in the sketch program called "Dikkat Şahan Çıkabilir". The Recep İvedik series, first released in 2008, is among the most watched films in the history of Turkish cinema. The fifth film of the series, the sixth of which was released in November 2019, was watched by more than 7 million people in 2017, making it one of the most watched and most revenue-generating films in our country (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Eahan_G%C3%B6kbakar).

that occurred by placing a comedy character at the center of the modernization and urbanization of the period. The widening of the gap between the poor and the rich in the city centers and leaving the people working in unqualified jobs at the mercy of the rich people at the end of the migration to the city are conveyed through the blind female character. Even if people living in the same neighborhood do not each other in person, they help each other and share the last money they have with those in need. Tourist Ömer, who has no connection with money, harmony or holding a job, but rich in heart and hopeful is the poor but proud character of Yeşilçam dramas. Tourist Ömer is the voice of the people who feel helpless in the face of injustice. Haksal states that he represents *the crowd of Yeşilçam spectators, who constantly fell "offside" in their life and could not reach the happiness of scoring a goal, or whose goals were somehow erased from the notebook somehow, wet their eyes with the pleasure of sharing their pain* (2012).

Despite being a comedy character, Turist Ömer is a happy character who directly or indirectly criticizes the system and disorder he is in, helps people who are lonely, wronged, impoverished and cannot keep up with the pace of modernization in the changing urban order, shares their problems and makes them feel that they are not alone. Tourist Ömer, representing homelessness and ambivalence, wanders the streets of cities and meets new people. As Alptekin mentions, Turist Ömer, who is also the representative of the concept of idle people that started to emerge with modernization, rejects the concepts of being rich and successful, demanded by capitalism, from the very beginning, ignoring the negative definitions attributed to him by the citizens of the city (2017: 17). The character of Tourist Ömer has continued to exist for about ten years with different subjects and human landscapes from various countries. In the 70s, as Makal (2017:488) underlined, the television's removal of the audience from the theaters, the increase in political events, and the increase in political violence towards the end of the 70s caused the families to move away from the movie theaters, and therefore the videocassette market developed. Sex and adventure comedy that will appeal to more male audiences has begun to be shown in movie theaters. *Hababam Sınıfı* shot by Ertem Eğilmez in 1975, will appear in front of the audience with a different structure from the comedy elements of the period and will create İnek Şaban, one of the most well-known and loved characters in Turkish cinema.

Bringing a cosmopolitan universe to a small class, *Hababam Sınıfı* makes its mark on Turkish cinema with the characters it creates and the reflection of the classes they represent in society. Scripted from a story written by Rıfat Ilgaz, the film broke the rating record for the first time 1975 and remained in theaters for twenty-eight weeks. With the help of Nasreddin Hodja, Ertem Eğilmez discovered that the films that are easy to understand and spoken in the vernacular have achieved box office success by adapting the style that has nothing to do with decor, comfort and make-up in the tradition of Naşit (Makal, 2017: 490). For this reason, the character of Şaban, played by Kemal Sunal as İnek Şaban in Hababam Sınıfı continued to be loved by the public in the films *Tosun Paşa* (1976), *Süt Kardeşler* (1976), *Şaban Oğlu Şaban* (1977). Şaban is a popular type who was born out of social situations in the 70s and touched on a wide variety of social issues. As Ünal underlines, Ertem Eğilmez's approach to shantytowns, workers in factories, and the effects of poverty on people as themes has never been dealt with so successfully (2010:72). The resemblance of Turist Ömer, the first film of the Turist Ömer character, to Chaplin's *City Lights* or *Modern Times* films was emphasized. However, while Turist Ömer and Chaplin are homeless and vagabond, Şaban belongs places, especially places in countryside in Anatolia. Kemal Sunal describes the character of Şaban from his own pen as follows:

In the first place, Şaban was an outsider as Chaplin but being an outsider becomes functional in the movies. Şaban is "pushed" from that outside to "here", to the social relations we live in. Or: Who pushed me into the water? like the man who asks, external motivations, which are not very dependent on him, force him to pass through the social relations of the "normal". Let's say: This is the girl he fell in love with in his village and couldn't get because he couldn't find the bride wealth. In this case, he is "pushed" into the city. However, this repulsion has literally turned into a part of the cinema technique. In the sense of throwing him into the "order" without wanting to, Şaban goes through this order, just like Chaplin. While Sharlo won't go anywhere from the movie, maybe Şaban will return to the girl he left behind. But here it is, a technical twist. Another time, for another reason, and he did it by chance, he will experience another "push" again.

Another of these "pushes" is the migration from the big village to the city that left its mark on the 1970s. According to Emre Kongar (1991), the migration from the village to the city, which became the most important event of 1975's Turkey, has been one of the elements that determine the current social structure. The number of immigrants coming to Istanbul, paved with gold, is quite high compared to other cities. This brought along slums and village-urban conflict in Istanbul. However, as Sunal (2001:34) conveys, the conflict that occurs here is not only the difference between village and urban cultures, but also the social

stratification underlying the conflict, the rapid westernization of the city and the fact that this westernization is not sufficiently reflected in the city. Those who migrate from the village to the city in order to have a better life, despite their hard work, are in the lowest strata of the urban population. For this reason, the slums, which were created as temporary living spaces in the city in the first place, begin to turn into permanent settlements unless the individual can pass to the upper class. Immigrant who cannot adopt to the rapidly westernizing city build a world where they can maintain their own habits and lifestyle's to feel safe.

According to Nazlı Kırmızı, the origin of the Şaban narrative is based on the contradictions of the rural people. For this reason, the Şaban narrative offers solutions to the problems arising from the economic, cultural and social relations of a certain social group and presents them with examples that they will like (1990:81). Şaban won the hearts of the people with his naivety, his quick wit, the lessons he gave to those who try to belittle him, and the humorous perspective he added to his criticism of the order. In the following years, the roles played by Kemal Sunal turned into films with a social realist side. The character of Şaban, brought to life by Sunal, who was born in a former Ottoman district of Istanbul that was built as a squatter, became the unforgettable name of the films in the critical comedy style between 1970-90 that focused on social problems.

By the 2000s, it is seen that the comedy genre in Turkish cinema combines with sub-genres to form various new genres. According to Makal (2017: 502), the period when small people (Şabans) with ethical values such as solidarity, friendship, and loyalty were the main actors is now over. Recep İvedik, created by Şahan Gökbakar, is one of the characters that left his mark on the 2000s. As types like Şaban are left behind, new era has created deficiencies in the representation of the lower classes of the society in comedy cinema, so old typologies have been tried to be recreated in new social and cultural level. The shantytowns, which started to turn into temporary to permanent living spaces in the 1970s, turned into apartments in the 2000s and the immigrants living here started to create a culture called slums. According to Hakan Yücel (2016: 55), there are three types of suburbs:

The first is the inner ghetto phenomenon, which shows the physical proximity to the city center-social distance and a nesting that causes blurring of its borders. The second type of slum is the fragmented slum. As a reflection of urban transformation on slums, there is a physical-social fragmentation problem embodied in different types of building communities in informal urban areas. The third type of slums are the neighborhoods where daily life continues around a center that preserves the neighborhood identity and spatial relations.

According to Türkeli, the word slum (*varoş* in Turkish) entered the media in 1995 with the Gazi events. Later, it started to be used in everyday language and social scientific studies to indicate the people living in slums (2000). While people who migrated from the village to the city and lived in slums in various parts of the city were called shantytowns in the past, as Etöz (2000) stated, the fact that the people living in shantytowns have been called slums since the 2000s and a foreign word chosen instead of a local word has been associated with the foreign identities of the excluded. The new generation young people who grow up in these neighborhoods form the youth of the suburbs and they grow up by being influenced by environmental, social, cultural and spatial factors, not the exclusion they live in. The typography of Recep İvedik, which Şahan Gökbakar introduced to the audience with a television program, was developed a little more, but by preserving almost all its format, switched to cinema. Recep İvedik type is a person who is rough, fat, quite hairy and can be called a vulgar. The suburbs, which can be read as the settled versions of the shantytowns, also have an important place in the Recep İvedik series. One of the common points of all the films of the series is the introduction of the neighborhood at the beginning of the films. Since the education level is low in these neighborhoods, "school of hard knocks" gains importance. Recep İvedik is also not educated. When we look at the whole series, it is seen that he usually challenges people with a higher education level than himself. In the series, in which vulgar comedy elements are seen, Recep İvedik often resorts to violence to get what he wants. Unlike Turist Ömer and Şaban, Recep İvedik with his absurd behaviors has a structure that enables him act in a way that the audience cannot in the society. Therefore, it arouses of superiority to the audience. This is one of the reasons that İvedik typology has been interiorized by masses who sees him as their voice to the injustice.

Among the results of Zehra Nalu Gide's study, in which she investigated the reasons why Recep İvedik's films were watched at large rates, the following are interesting: İvedik is seen as a very helpful person, he treats everyone equally, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, he does not cheat people's rights, speaks his mind, in a way, he is the spokesperson of a certain group in society (2019). For many of the audience,

Recep İvedik is a person who takes revenge for the events that happened to them by shouting, hitting and mocking. Being rude, using gestures and mimics a lot, shouting and swearing are pleasing to the audience. On the other hand, since watching Recep İvedik movies is perceived something inferior, watching the movie secretly, pretending not to watch it and watching it alone are also common behaviors. The difference of Recep İvedik from Tourist Ömer and İnek Şaban is that he is seen as a folk hero who defies, gets what he says rudely by shouting, and whose strength comes from his physical structure and rude rule-breaking. In the 2000s, the folk hero has turned into an uneducated character who exaggerates gestures, spit on the ground, beats people, and boasts about all this. In the context of place, the fact that it is considered as a character that makes up for the lack of neighborhood culture in a big city like Istanbul is a clear indication that the neighborhood culture has evolved to another dimension in the 2000s.

4. CONCLUSION

The change in Turkey's social structure can also be followed through spatial change. The reflection of the differentiation in the daily life practices of ordinary citizens from people to the spatial settlement has followed a course from the neighborhood of the 1960s to the slums of the 1980s and then to the slums of the 2000s. The projection of the changing culture of the place in the cinema can be read through the transformation of the neighborhood's rogue but clean-hearted brother Turist Ömer into Şaban, the naive but lucky boy of the shantytown on the side, and his transformation into the rough but candid hero of the suburbs, Recep İvedik. Saral Güneş and Yağız Baylan (2016) in their study comparing the characters of Kibar Feyzo and Recep İvedik state that Recep İvedik's films, which aim to increase the box office figures by appealing to the widest possible audience, especially the lumpen youth, are an example of uncritical comedy films that are fictionalized with the aim of profit and ideological manipulation in accordance with the logic of the capitalist system. In terms of cinematic language, Recep İvedik is not a realistic character. The films of the series are also films with superficial fiction, in which coarse jokes are used only to make audience laugh. The situation of the serial comedy films in which we can say that it started with the wanderer Turist Ömer, who was the lover of the people in the 1960s, changed in the 2000s, in which we watched the different adventures of the same character. Tourist Ömer is drawn as a vagrant but kind-hearted and quick-witted character, and very limited use of primitive and vulgar comedy elements is used in the films. Emphasizing that Kemal Sunal, who came after him, changed the structure of comedy films, Aksakal (2018: 754) points out that the important social and political events in these films are dealt with comic elements in a striking way. Abalı (2015), who states that Kemal Sunal films are the social, political and economic reflection of the period in which they were shot, also states that Turkish people find something from themselves in these films. By the 2000s, the neighborhood culture was replaced by suburban settlements that tried to exist among large buildings, and houses were built from slums in these settlements where economic injustice grew. Recep İvedik, played by Şahan Gökbakar, took over the place of İnek Şaban, who was respectful, everyone's lover, fair, humorous and giving social messages. The typography of Recep İvedik in these films, framed with vulgar comedy elements, has turned into a folk hero who conveys the voice of people trying to find a place for themselves in the suburbs of Istanbul. Ivedik, who uses his physical strength, shouts, pushes people and takes his revenge by using all the features we have mentioned when he thinks he has been wronged, is a type that is not very pleasant to be watched by the educated people and therefore has a high rate of secret watching. Contrary to the acceptance of the characters of Tourist Ömer and İnek Şaban by a large part of the society, Recep İvedik has become a character that appeals to a certain segment of the society, protects the rights of people who think they are the other, and reflects their lives with exaggerated behaviors. As a result, it can be said that Turkish comedy cinema, which draws characters from the public, embraced a type that is thought to be a continuation of the old but has a brand new perspective due to the city life shaped by changing social dynamics and economic parameters in the 2000s.

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