T.R.
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES M.A. PROGRAM

M.A. THESIS

THE SAPPHIST IMAGES IN THE CINEMA IN TURKEY

ATILGAN ŞAHİN ULAŞAN
15735008

THESIS ADVISOR
Assoc. Prof. SETENAY NİL DOĞAN

İSTANBUL
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İSTANBUL
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ÖZ

TÜRKİYE SİNEMASINDA SAFİST İMGELER

Atılgan Şahin Ulaşan
Haziran, 2019

Kitle iletişim araçlarından biri olan sinema, dünya çapında kuir bireylerin temsilinde yıllardır önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Sinema ve gerçeklik arasındaki ilişki göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, kuir bireylerin sinemadaki temsillerinin negatif olduğu ve/veya onlarla ilgili stereotipler yarattığı gözlemlenmiştir. Kuirlar içerisinde, Safistler (kadınlardan hoşlanan ve/veya onları cinsel anlamda çekici bulan kadınlar) anaakım sinema ve Türkiye sinemasında negatif bir biçimde ve stereotipleştirilerek temsil edilen gruplar arasında yer almaktadır. Her iki sinemada da erkek fatma (tomboy), nonoş (pansy) ve efemine/erkesi stereotipleri ekrandaki queer görünümünü etiketlemek için kullanılmaktadırlar. Sinemadaki bu stereotipleşmiş temsiller sadece karakter düzeyinde değil, ayrıca anlatısal düzeyde de sürdürülmektedirler. Sinemanın ilk örneklerinden bu yana, kuir ve Safistlerin temsilleri bu karakterlerin suç, seks işçiliği, kötülük/hainlik, ahlaksızlık ve gülünçlük ile ilişkilendirildiği konular etrafında şekillendirilmektedir. Bu çalışmada Türkiye sinemasında Safist stereotiplerin yaratılışları ve hangi anlatısal bağlamda verildikleri sorgulanacaktır. Bu amaçla Safist karakterleri içeren onbir film sosyolojik film yorumlama metodu kullanılarak ve ikili temsillilik, erkek düşmanlığı ve lezbiyen feminizmi, maskülenlik ve şiddet, müphemlik ve kötülük/hainlik gibi Safist karakterlerin temsilinde tekrar edilen konseptler altında incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Safist, lezbiyen, kuir, LGBTQ, imge, stereotip, sinema, temsil, Müphemlik.

ABSTRACT

THE SAPPHIST IMAGES IN THE CINEMA IN TURKEY

Atılgan Şahin Ulaşan
June, 2019

Cinema, which is one of the mass media, has been playing an important role in the representation of queers around the world for years. Considering the relationship between cinema and reality, it has been observed that the representations of queers in cinema have been negative and/or have created stereotypes about them. Among queers, Sapphists (women who love other women and/or find them sexually attractive) are one of the most negatively represented and stereotyped groups in the mainstream cinema and in the cinema in Turkey. In both cinemas, the tomboy, pansy and effeminate/butch stereotypes have been used to label queer appearance on the screen. These stereotypical representations in cinema are not only maintained on the character level but also on the narrative level. Since the early examples of cinema, representation of queers and Sapphists have been formed around the plots that relate these characters with crime, sex work, villainy, depravation and ludicrousness. In this study, the creation of the Sapphist stereotypes and in which narrative context Sapphist have been given in the cinema in Turkey will be questioned. To that aim, eleven films that include Sapphist characters will be analysed by using the sociological film interpretation method under the concepts of binarity, misandry and lesbian feminism, masculinity and violence, obscurity and villainy regarding their repetitive usage for the Sapphist representation.

Key Words: Sapphist, lesbian, queer, LGBTQ, image, stereotype, cinema, representation, obscurity.

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I would like to dedicate this study to all Sapphists and other queers who deserve to live and love freely.

İstanbul; June, 2019 Atılgan Şahin Ulaşan

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mass media and art have been two major areas that affect and get affected by the general perceptions of society on gender and sexuality. Cinema, as an intersecting medium of art and mass media, has been interested in the representation of queer people who have marginalised genders and the dynamics around the queer existence and relationships. Since the early examples of cinema in the early 1900s, queers have been portrayed in various ways and queer representation have created different stereotypes in cinema which affect general perception of societies. Although these early examples of queer representation are mainly seen in mainstream cinema (Hollywood and European cinema), the cinema in Turkey have started to give its first examples since the beginning of the 1960s. However, as in the case of many studies in Turkey, a couple of existing studies on queer cinema in Turkey do not probe the representation of Sapphists and mostly focus on the representation of gay men and transgender women. In contrast, most of the studies on queer cinema and queer representation in cinema have been ongoing in the U.S. and Europe.

The term Sapphist is used as a descriptive umbrella term to indicate the lesbian and bisexual women in this study. Actually, this term has a long background in history and derived from the famous lesbian poet Sappho who lived in c.620-570 BCE in ancient Greece.[1] [2] Throughout the history, the term "Sapphist" had been used to refer women who love other women and/or find them sexually attractive. However, the concept of the word "Sapphist" had been changed based on the accentuated features of the word. In Hester Thrale's diaries, the term "Sapphist" had been used to refer to a woman who likes "her own sex in a criminal way."[3] Before the term "Sapphist" started to use, the term "Tribade"[4] had been used to refer the

[1] Leila J. Rupp, **Sapphistries: A Global History of Love Between Women** (New York: New York, University Press, 2009), 1.
[2]Joshua J. Mark, "Sappho of Lesbos," Ancient History Encyclopedia, https://www.ancient.eu/Sappho_of_Lesbos/ [16.04.2019].
[3] Rictor Norton, **Myth of the Modern Homosexual: Queer History and the Search for Cultural Unity** (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic Collection, 2016), 111.
[4] This term had been derived from **τριβάς (tribas)** which means "to rub" in Greek.

women who have same sex desire.[5] In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the term "Sapphist" had been connoted to the "masculinised" woman.[6] In the Victorian era, the term "Tribade" and the concept "Tribadism" had been redefined as a degenerating practice of lower-class prostitutes and criminals and "Tribade" was supplanted by "Sapphist" and "lesbian" words in the late nineteenth century.[7]

As an important identity group among queers, Sapphists have also been represented in cinema and stereotyped in many ways as other queers. On the one hand, mainstream cinema has depicted queer identity as a derisory, piteous, monstrous and sinful characters, which usually die in the films, until the 2000s. On the other hand, cinema in Turkey has been affected from the mainstream cinema and portrayed queers in a similar way but mostly depicting them as blameworthy people. When these stereotypes on Sapphists and other queers are considered within the context of the relation between cinema and social reality, the queer representation in cinema becomes more valuable for queer people to increase visibility and claims of equality in all spheres of life. The queer images in cinema, both in the world and Turkey, leads the audience to be prejudiced against queers in life. In that sense, the images of queer people on the screen and the constructed stereotypes about them affect our understanding and prejudices about queers in real life and our attitudes and behaviours against them.

1.1. The Aims of the Study and the Research Question

By considering the representation of queer in the mainstream cinema and in the cinema in Turkey, this thesis aims to explore the representation of Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey from a sociocultural perspective and tries to understand the ways in which Sapphist images have been constructed. To this aim, this thesis also aims to provide a general discussion on the representation of both queers' and Sapphists' in mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey. Then, a sociocultural analysis of the films that includes Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey will be done to reveal the Sapphist stereotypes discussing binarity, misandry and lesbian feminism, masculinity and violence, obscurity and villainy. In this way, it is aimed to discuss the ways how

[5] Valerie Traub, "Tribade," **Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia,** ed. Bonnie Zimmerman (New York: Garland Publishing, 2004): 776.
[6] **Ibid.**, 777.
[7] **Ibid.**, 777.

Sapphists have been represented and what kind of stereotypes have been reproduced in the cinema in Turkey.

In order to understand the ways in which Sapphist images have been constructed in the cinema in Turkey, this study also benefits from the examples of queer representation in the mainstream cinema. Mainstream cinema is a changeable term which is used to refer a country's or multiple countries' film industries that have investments in many countries from all around the world.[8] Mainstream cinema produces big budget productions which appeal to the people from different cultures. By considering the relationship between the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey, this study aims to reveal the similarities and differences between these two within the context of the queer images and narrative. In that sense, Hollywood and European cinema are considered the mainstream cinema regarding to their increasing market shares in Turkey.[9]

The term queer was once used within a pejorative connotation against LGBTQ people (especially transgender people). However, it has been employed as an umbrella term in both political and academic arenas since the beginning of the 1990s.[10] Although queer is often used as an umbrella term in LGBTQ community to refer these marginalised genders, it is also used to refer to other identities that have been stigmatised and marginalised in society within the concept of body.[11]

Besides, the term "Sapphist" has a significant point in this study. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the term "Sapphist" refers to "women who have sexual interest in other women" or "women who engage in homosexual relations between women".[12] This term is also used for referring to the lesbian and bisexual women as another umbrella term in this study. The reason is, when the representation of lesbian and bisexual women in cinema is considered, it is going to be futile to assign a gender to the images that are represented ambiguously. In general, the term Sapphist will be employed to indicate the women who have an emotional intimacy and/or sexual relationship with other women.

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[8] Sema Fener, "Günümüz Sinema Akımları" **Antrakt Sinema**, http://www.antraktsinema.com/makale.php?id=773 [26.4.2019].
[9] Selin Tüzün, "Multipleks Sinema Salonları ve Türkiye Örneğinde Sinema Sektöründe Değişen Güç Dengeleri" **Sinecine**, vol.4, no. 1 (Spring, 2013): 85-115.
[10] B. Ruby Rich, introduction to **New Queer Cinema: The Director's Cut** (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), xix.
[11] Andrew M. Butler, **Film Studies** (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2008), 91.
[12] "Sapphist", Oxford English Dictionary Online, http://athens.oed.com [16.04.2019].

By taking into consideration that interaction between cinema and social reality, this study aims to explain the value of the representations of Sapphists in cinema in Turkey. To that aim, this study is constructed on the following questions and tries to answer them:

- How queer images, specifically Sapphist images, have been given in the mainstream cinema and in the cinema in Turkey in the course of history?
- How and in what ways Sapphists have been characterised in the cinema in Turkey?
- What kind of stereotypes have been created and used to represent the Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey?
- In which narrative context Sapphist images have been given in the cinema in Turkey?

1.2. Theoretical Framework

This thesis considers gender and queer identity a phenomenon that is represented stereotypically in cinema. As the subjects of this thesis, Sapphists have been stereotyped and stigmatised in the history of cinema because of being both women and queer. In that sense, there are two major terms that constitutes the backbone of this study and they must be highlighted to clarify the concepts which will be embedded in the roots of the further parts and the analysis. To that extent, as a significant practice in mass media, stereotyping is addressed in this study and the creation process and effects of stereotyping on the queer and Sapphist identities will be clarified.

As in many studies on queer identity, it is important to explain the differences between *sex* and *gender* and the concepts that they have been referring to as it refers in this study. Ann Oakley makes a distinction between sex and gender and she suggests that while sex refers to the biological differences on between male and female genitals, gender refers to the socially constructed masculinity and femininity roles that have made up based on the sex of a person.[13] Oakley's distinction between sex and gender and her approach to gender as a constructed phenomenon also reveals the fluidity of gender concept and its instability from culture to culture. On the

[13] Ann Oakley, **Sex, Gender and Society** (Hants: Gower Publishing, 1985), 158.

contrary to Oakley's arguments, which differ gender from sex and highlight the cultural instability of gender, the common perception on gender as a monolithic phenomenon has been reflecting itself through an orthodox narrative on sexes to normalise the heterosexist understanding since the early examples of cinema. To that extent, cinema has been used as a space for the production and inculcation of knowledge on gendered bodies for decades.

Besides, in *Second Sex,* Simone de Beauvoir explains gender as a cultural identity that constructed on and reflected by sex. In her work, Beauvoir approaches being a woman within the context of social boundaries that have been created in time and generalised by patriarchal structure. She notes that:

"Woman is determined not by her hormones or by mysterious instincts, but by the manner in which her body and her relation to the world are modified through the action of others than herself."[14]

This relevant argument of Beauvoir also proves that the socially constructed roles of women have been designed around men through centralizing the masculine existence and dominance. To that extent, patriarchal structure creates its "ideal men" and legitimises its power through relocating and redefining women in the society by subordinating them. Thus, woman appears as a being who does not simply born as one but becomes one.[15] By starting this exact point, Judith Butler also questions the arguments of Beauvoir on gender and sex.

According to Butler, Beauvoir's arguments reveals the limits of discursive analysis on both sex and gender and they necessitate presupposition and pre-emption of gender perception within culture.[16] Butler sees gender as a phenomenon neither fixed as sex nor resulted by sex.[17] As to Butler, gender is series of repeated actions that affects people's bodily stylization and becomes rigid in time, gender, thus, appears as a performance.[18] Butler's arguments that are opposed to the perceived obviousness of sex as a natural biological fact accompanies the rejection of the assigned roles, desires, attitudes and behaviours that have been constructed based on the sexes of people. Rather than a Butlerian perspective, some studies on Turkey underline that the public perception in Turkey on gender has been constructed on a heteronormative, patriarchal and gender binary system that centralises men as the

[14] Simone de Beauvior, **The Second Sex**, trans. H. M. Parshley (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), 681.
[15] **Ibid**., 273.
[16] Judith Butler, **Gender Trouble** (London: Routledge, 1990), 12.
[17] **Ibid**., 8.
[18] **Ibid**., 45.

power holder and relocates women on the opposite as the subordinated.[19] Deniz Kandiyoti asserts that this asymmetry between genders has been constantly reproduced in many areas through cultural practices in Turkey.[20] In that sense, cinema, as a space for these cultural practices, has always been one of these areas that contributes to inequalities and either ignores the existence of queer identity or redefines it as "the other" within the heteronormative boundaries to legitimise the persistence of dominant position of the main actor of patriarchy. It is observed that in most of the films, especially in the cinema in Turkey which is a male-dominant area,[21] [22] Sapphist images have been depicted by male directors and the plot locates protagonist in the centre of the story.

In her famous article, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, Laura Mulvey uses the psychoanalytical method to discover how phallocentric mindset manifest itself on the construction of female body as erotic images that is subjected to *male gaze*. As to Mulvey, representation of women and the demonstration of female body as a passive figure in cinema are constructed to fulfil the phantasy of men who are in the active position in the voyeuristic process as the bearers of the look.[23] In her study, Mulvey argues that viewing conditions facilitate for the viewer both the voyeuristic process of objectification of female characters and the narcissistic process of identification with and "ideal ego" that is demonstrated on the cinema.[24] In that sense, when Mulvey's approach considered in the case of the representation of Sapphists in cinema in Turkey, it is seen that most of the Sapphist images in the films like *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992) and *Sevişmek Bir Dakika* (1975) are

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[19] See Deniz Kandiyoti, **Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996); Fatmagül Berktay, "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı" **Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düsünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık,** ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2007), 3: 275-285.; Serpil Sancar, **Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar** (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014); Yeşim Arat, **The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey** (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 1989); Gizem Çelik, ""Erkekler (de) ağlar!": Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri bağlamında erkeklik inşası ve şiddet döngüsü" **Fe Dergi**, vol.8, no. 2 (2016): 1-12.; Aslı Zengin, **İktidarın Mahremiyeti: İstanbul'da Hayat Kadınları, Seks İşçiliği ve Şiddet** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2011); Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, **Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey**, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti, Ayşe Saktanber (New York: I.B. Tauris and Co. Publishers, 2002).

[20] Deniz Kandiyoti, **Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 187.

[21] Özlem Güçlü, "Silent Representation of Women in the New Cinema of Turkey," **Sine/Cine: Journal of Film Studies,** vol.1, no. 2 (2010): 72.

[22] Gönül Dönmez-Colin, **Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging (**London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 149.

[23] Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" in **Film Theory and Criticism**, ed. Leo Braudy, Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): 715.

[24] **Ibid**., 713-715.

demonstrated in an eroticised way in several shots. In fact, it will not be incorrect to say that most of the films that were produced in cinema in Turkey during the 1970s preferably demonstrated Sapphist images in this context. Although Mulvey's relevant study approaches the representation of women as the object of male gaze from a psychoanalytical perspective on the contrary of this thesis socio-cultural approach, it is still important for understanding the active position of men as the owner of the look and the passive position of Sapphist women as being-looked in the heteronormative narrative of the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey.

As the focal points of this study, the concept of image and the ways of its construction necessitate the examination of the signs and symbols in order to highlight the matter of representation. To that extent, the most archaic form of the image, the "sign" requires both a *signifier* and a *signified* as Saussure suggested.[25] The contextualisation of the sign by Pierce had accompanied the concepts of *an icon*, *an index* and *a symbol*, which allow one to elaborate the value of the sign.[26]

In addition to Saussure's theory on the creation of the sign, Barthes suggested that the sign which appears as an outcome in Saussure's theory is combined with another signified and creates a *myth*.[27] In that sense, Saussure's first order of signification (the language) is completed by a second order of signification (the myth). However, the Barthesian definition of myth differs from the classical understanding of myth (a heroic story) in a certain way, which Barthes explained myths as depoliticized speech purifies the things and makes them less threatening.[28] When Barthes' approach to myths considered within the context of the queer and Sapphist images, it is seen that the heteronormativity as an ideological practice has been redefining and creating meanings on the queer and Sapphist identities in both the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey.

Considering the Barthesian approach, Levi-Strauss approached the myth as a mediating language which starts to seek meaning from the structure to the elements of the structure (the object and the event) to understand the people's perception on phenomena.[29] In Levi-Strauss' theory, myths have been constructed on a binary structure which gives a dichotomy between the characters and creates an equilibrium

[25] Jonathan Culler, **Saussure**, trans. Nihal Akbulut (İstanbul: AFA Yayıncılık, 1985), 20.
[26] Nick Lacey, **Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies**, 66.
[27] Roland Barthes, **Mythologies**, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1972), 131-136.
[28] **Ibid.**, 142-145.
[29] Claude Lévi-Strauss, **The Savage Mind: La Pensée Sauvage** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 25-26.

in the story and convey the perceptions and experiences through these myths.[30] Thus, it is seen that Levi-Strauss' approach to the myth do not only proves the value of the myth as a transmitter of the knowledge, but also witnesses the history of human experiences while locating and defining "us" and separating from "them." In that sense, representations of "us" and "them" deliberately placed in binary opposition to maintain the hegemonic position of the dominant culture and marginalized position of the minorities.

This separation between "us" and "them" turns into a psychoanalytic form of rejection in Kristeva's arguments. As to her, the "other" is defined as "abjected" which externalised by the rejection. The emergence of abjection does not only declare the refusal of the "other," but also embraces and defines the "self."[31] When the concept of abjection is considered by the Butlerian concept of performativity to understand the relationship between the signifier and the signified, it could be asserted that the statement of the "self" while rejecting the "other" is also performative. To that extent, the essence of the binary relation between the signifier and the signified turns into a performance of abjection which is resulted by a "sign."

When the sign becomes an image in the filmic universe, it stands out with its representative value. The concepts and feelings are systematically represented in films which allow us to interpret them.[32] To that extent, images are linguistic elements that convey the meaning to the audience. However, images do not only convey the meaning in the system of representation, but also link the meaning to the language. Although there are three main approaches on the role of representation and how it connects the meaning and language to culture (the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches),[33] this study will be exploring the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey by the constructionist approach to shed light on the matter of images in the system of representation.

Accordingly, the construction of an image does not only include a symbolic correlation between the signifier and the signified, which appears in the visuality of the image, but also creates meaning through designation of the signified by the

[30] Arden Ross King, "Review Essay: Claude Levi-Strauss: Les Mythologiques." **Ethnomusicology** 18, no.1 (1974): 103.
[31] Julia Kristeva, **Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection**, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 2-6.
[32] Jill Good, introduction to **Crash Cinema: Representation in Film**, ed. Mark Goodall, Jill Good, Will Godfrey (Newcastle, UK: Cambirdge Scholars Publication, 2007): xiii.
[33] Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," **Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices**, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publishing, 2003): 15.

signifier. The perpetuating meaning of the signified, thus, turns into a thick concept which is usually known as *stereotype*.

As it is mentioned before, the problem of representation through stereotyping the queer also occupies the other side of this study. The term *stereotype* is first used by Walter Lippman's book *Public Opinion* in 1922 which inspired many other researches about the emergence and evolution of the stereotype.[34] By using the term stereotype, Lippman addresses the standardized ideas on phenomenon, a chain of thoughts which has become clichés in time and makes people to have prejudice on certain kinds of events or other people, in his words "they are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world."[35] In that sense, stereotypes may refer to different identity groups or genders as well as various social practices. By considering Lippman's definition of stereotype, Gordon Allport developed his approach on prejudice and its relations with stereotypes in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* that was published in 1954. As to Allport, the human mind tends to think on phenomenon through categorisation and these categories create basis for normal prejudgement.[36] Stereotypes are the results of this categorisation process. They are the mindscapes of this process and reflected in cinema as the images of a particular identity groups. According to Richard Dyer, the construction of stereotypes in media is based on the emphasis of similarities of people in a significant group. In this way, the repetitive similar actions and aspects in a group of people standardised through stereotyping to construct "the other".[37] In that sense, stereotyped representation of gender identities are used to create knowledge about them and to transmit that knowledge to the public in order to lead the public opinion and legitimize the inequality. Thus, representations of gender identities become the matter of politics as well as sociology and other relevant areas.

When we consider stereotyping within the context of Sapphists and other queer identities, it is seen that various stereotypes on these identities have been constructed in both mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey. In both cinemas, the tomboy, pansy and effeminate/butch stereotypes have been used to label queer appearance on

[34] Jörg Schweinitz, **Film and Stereotype: A Challange for Cinema and Theory**, trans. Laura Schleussner (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 4.
[35] Walter Lippman, **Public Opinion** (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 95.
[36] John F. Dovidio, Peter Glick, and Laurie A. Rudman, **On the Nature of Prejudice: Fifty Years after Allport** (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 3.
[37] Richard Dyer, **The Matter of Images** (New York: Routledge, 2002), 14-15.

the screen.[38] These stereotypical representations in cinema not only maintained on the character level but also on the narrative level. Since the early examples of cinema, representation of queers and Sapphists have been formed around the plots that relate these characters with crime, sex work, villainy, depravation and ludicrousness.[39] As to Tamsin Wilton, such narrativities of the Sapphists subordination have been practiced to construct and deploy the heterosexuality.[40] Also Cindy Patton suggests that these kind of stereotyping ways, through gender nonconformity or victimization of the queer characters, have been used in Hollywood in order to make the queer characters legible and distinctive in films.[41]

1.3. Methodological Framework

This study aims to explore the representation of Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey. However, it is important to note that this study also aims to provide a general discussion on the representation of queers in both mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey. Therefore, this study will be tracing the transformation of the queer stereotypes in the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey in the historical context while focusing on the (re)presentation of Sapphist images. To that extent, the representation of queers and Sapphists will be explained through common narrative styles and the examples of stereotypes in the films from different eras.

To this aim, the relevant films, which include Sapphists in major roles, (*Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), *Böcek / The Cockroach* (1995), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007), *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011)) of the cinema in

[38] Harry M. Benshoff, Sean Griffin, **Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America** (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 14-17.
[39] Sevgi Kesim Güven, "Zenne: "Erkek"(çe) Ölmek Üzerine Bir Ağıt," **Gözdeki Kıymık: Yeni Türkiye Sinemasında Madun ve Maduniyet İmgeleri**, ed. Hüseyin Köse, Özgür İpek (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015): 290-294.
[40] Tamsin Wilton, introduction to **Immortal, Invisible: Lesbians and the Moving Image**,ed. Tamsin Wilton (London, Routledge, 1995): para. 20.
[41] Cindy Patton, "What is a nice lesbian like you doing in a film like this?" **Immortal, Invisible: Lesbians and the Moving Image**, ed. Tamsin Wilton (London, Routledge, 1995): 4-5.

Turkey will be analysed under the concepts of binarity, misandry and lesbian feminism, masculinity and violence, obscurity and villainy regarding their repetitive usage for the Sapphist representation. These are common concepts and they have become quite rigid for the representation of Sapphists when the fifty seven year old history of Sapphist visibility in the cinema in Turkey is considered.

As these films generates the overall Sapphist cinematography in the cinema in Turkey, other Sapphist images in minor roles will be excluded. In order to clarify the value of these Sapphist images in the relevant films, these films will be analysed by the sociological film interpretation method. As a significant method of content analysis, sociological film interpretation method elicits a link between the creation of the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey and the inherited perception of Sapphists by the people in Turkey. By using this method, this study will focus on explaining the insight of the characterisation of the Sapphist images. To that extent, this study analyses the Sapphist characters' body languages, occupations, physical appearances and their relations with other characters including some of the significant dialogues in the films. Thus, this study aims to disclose the matter of Sapphist images.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

Although Sapphists have been represented in the cinema in Turkey since the 1960s, the Sapphist images in the 1970s cinema in Turkey are excluded from the scope of this research regarding to the acontextuality and superficial representation of Sapphists as side-characters. In the 1970s cinema in Turkey, erotic-comedy genre was extremely popular and the Sapphist characters were playing side-characters. To that extent, the films *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), *Böcek* / *The Cockroach* (1995), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007), *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011) will be analysed to understand the context of representation of the Sapphists.

Besides, Hollywood's production of queer and Sapphist images in almost every period of film history standardises these images. Hollywood's dominance in the film

industry in the world allows Hollywood productions to influence the cinemas of other countries like Turkey. In that sense, Hollywood becomes the backbone of the concept of mainstream cinema. Hence, this study mainly center on the Hollywood productions and the queer and Sapphist images in Hollywood. However, a limited number of examples from European cinema will be given in the relevant parts of this study to shed light on the changing representation of queers and Sapphists. To that extent, reading the mainstream cinema mainly through Hollywood allows us to follow the patterns of queer and Sapphist images that provide the insight of how these images have been created.

As this study focus on the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey, this study does not include any box-office statistics and other quantitative data both from the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey regarding the popularity of these films. Hence, this study only criticises the construction and transformation of the images of Sapphists from sociological aspects to understand the embedded reason(s) of the stereotyped Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey.

Also, the crossdressing and transgender Sapphist images are left out of the scope because of the insufficient number of the films that includes these types of representation in the cinema in Turkey. It is important to note that the only film which gives the implication of transgender Sapphist appearance, *Şöhretin Sonu / Yüz Karası* (1981), is also the autobiography of the Turkish classical music artist Bülent Ersoy. In that sense, the film *Şöhretin Sonu / Yüz Karası* (1981) is not sufficient alone without variant examples in order to do a specific analysis on the essence of the transgender Sapphist identity and its representation.

A significant obstacle that has been encountered during the research process of this study is the limited access to the relevant media sources that have been used for this study. During the research process, I could reach these films by courtesy of scholars and film collectors. Unfortunately, most of these films' copies are not preserved in the public libraries or university archives in Turkey and they fall into oblivion. As the sources of visual history and many other areas in the academia, it is vitally important for everyone to protect these visual materials not only to further different researches but also to pass these historical evidences on the future generations.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study aims to contribute to the sociology literature by examining the queer images, specifically the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey. As it is well known, sociology has always been interested in the issue of representation and ways of practicing it.[42] When the relationship between the representation and the social reality is considered, it is seen that there is a bilateral link between these two. On the one side of the coin, the subjects in a society could establish their own ways to represent themselves in different social arenas and make their own statements as social beings. On the other side of the coin, these subjects could be represented by others and become the objects of a discourse on their existence.[43] Similarly, the queer identities in Turkey, as well as in other parts of the world, have been either completely denied or misrepresented in different social arenas. Thus, queers, as an identity group, could not speak, objected for a definition and represented as something "other" as a subaltern.[44] Therefore, this study aims to discuss the concept of "representation" and its relations and effects on queer identity in social life by examining the Sapphists' case.

Another contribution of this study is to the film studies literature by questioning the representation of queers and the ways in which they have been stereotyped in cinema. As an important field of art and a mass media, cinema has always had a universality on the representation of symbols and stories. To that extent, cinema not only stands out as the art of creating characters and stories but also as the transmitter to convey these characters and meanings. When the narrativity on queers considered, it is seen that they do not only create stereotypes on a particular identity group, but also reiterate the former narrative to keep them as subalterns. Therefore, this study

[42] Bülent Diken, Carsten Bagge Laustsen, **Filmlerle Sosyoloji**, trans. Sona Ertekin (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2008), 23.

[43] Vito Russo, **The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies** (New York: Harper&Row Publishers, 1987), 4-6; Richard Dyer, **The Matter of Images** (New York: Routledge, 2002), 11-26.; Harry M. Benshoff, Sean Griffin, **Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America** (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Barbara Mennel, **Queer Cinema: Schoolgirls, Vampires and Gay Cowboys** (New York: Wallflower Press Book, 2012), 2-5.

[44] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" **Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture**, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988): 271-313.

also tries to pave the way for questioning whether a better representation and narrative for queers in cinema is possible.[45]

This study also reveals another problem about the studies on queers. Although there are a number of studies on queer identity in social sciences, few of them focus on the Sapphists and their representation in different social areas.[46] Hence, a vital part of the studies on queers remains absent. In that sense, this study aims to fill this gap and contribute to the studies on queers and Sapphists to a certain extent.

Another issue is the limited number of researches that have been done on the Sapphist identity and its representation in Turkey. On The Council of Higher Education's Thesis Center website, it is seen that there are fifteen available thesis which have been written in Turkey between 2010-2017 and include either the words "lesbian" or "bisexual women" in the title. Three master dissertations in sociology, five master and one doctorate dissertations in psychology, one master and one specialization in medicine dissertations in psychiatry, one specialization in medicine dissertations in forensic medicine, one master thesis in obstetrics and gynaecology and two master dissertations in nursing.[47] It is seen that a number of dissertations approach Sapphist identity from a medical perspective as well as other studies approach Sapphists from a sociological perspective. Contrary to the Western sources that focus on queer identity, existence and representation in cinema,[48] several studies

[45] On the representation of queers in the cinema in Turkey, also see Sevgi Kesim Güven, "Zenne: "Erkek"(çe) Ölmek Üzerine Bir Ağıt," **Gözdeki Kıymık: Yeni Türkiye Sinemasında Madun ve Maduniyet İmgeleri**, ed. Hüseyin Köse, Özgür İpek (İstanbul:Metis Yayınları, 2015): 289-311.; Özlem Güçlü, "Silent Representation of Women in the New Cinema of Turkey," **Sine/Cine: Journal of Film Studies**, vol.1, no. 2 (2010): 71-85.; Eren Yüksel, "Güneşi Gördüm ve Teslimiyet Filmlerinde Trans Kimliklerin Mekânsal Örgütlenmesi ve Sınırlılıkları" **Fe Dergi**, vol.8, no. 2 (2016): 138-148.; Özlem Güçlü, "Yeni Türkiye Sinemasında LGBTT Temsilleri: İmalar, İmkanlar, Sınırlar," **18. Onur Haftası Kitabı** (2010): 58-60.

[46] Gönül Dönmez-Colin, **Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging (**London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 156-165.; Agah Özgüç, **Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi** (İstanbul: Broy Yayınları, 1988).; Hasan Gürkan, Rengin Ozan, "Türkiye Sinemasında Lezbiyen Stereotipinin Temsili" **Erciyes İletişim Dergisi**, vol.4, no. 4 (2016): 44, doi: 10.17680/akademia.58107. Özlem Güçlü, "Maksadını Aşan Yakınlaşmalar: 2 Genç Kız ve Vicdan'da Kadın Homososyalliğinin Sınırı," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 427-448.

[47]"Lesbian," Ulusal Tez Merkezi, https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp. [13.05.2019].

[48] Some of these studies are Judith Mayne, **Framed: Lesbians, Feminists and Media Culture** (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Andrea Weiss, **Vampires and Violets: Lesbians in Film** (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); Shameem Kabir, **Daughters of Desire: Lesbian Representations in Film** (London, Bloomsbury, 2016); Patricia White, **UnInvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability** (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Clare Whatling, **Screen Dreams: Fantasising Lesbians in Film** (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997); Tamsin Wilton, **Immortal, Invisible: Lesbians and the Moving Image** (London, Routledge, 1995); Richard Dyer, **Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film** (New

in Turkey have tended to study queers through questioning the male homosexuality and transwomen. By considering the secondary position of Sapphist women in many studies in Turkey, queer studies have been in the same tendency when it comes to Sapphists and their sexual identity.[49] As a significant study area and a social movement, I suggest that queer studies ought to focus on women and female identity in order to develop complementary studies not only for the studies on femininity and masculinity but also for the future of queer political agenda. In that sense, this study aims to give a different point of view and enrich the studies on women and queers by questioning their representation in cinema and introducing the term "Sapphist" to the researchers in Turkey.

Finally, this study aims to reclaim the archive of Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey as well as encouraging Sapphists in both academic and social arenas to become visible. Since these films form a collective memory on Sapphist identity from the perspective of heteronormativity, these films are quite significant to explore the cinematic representation value of the image and the alternation, repetition and pattern of the future Sapphist images.

1.6. Organisation of the Study

This thesis aims to examine the representation of the Sapphists through analysing the relevant films on Sapphists and reading the transformation of the queer representation in the cinema in Turkey. Among those representations, it is seen that there is a practice of stereotyping which has conveyed the clichés on Sapphists. To this aim, this dissertation has five chapters. In addition to the first chapter which grounds for the theoretical and methodological frameworks of this study as well as for the other contextual parts, the following parts are given as follows:

Chapter 2 will be tracing the creation and transformation of the queer images in mainstream cinema. In this chapter, the narrativity in films that creates stereotypes on queer identity will be examined by the film examples that shares similar features on these relevant issues. Regarding to its leading position on the production of stereotypes and the representation of queers, this chapter will be mainly focusing on

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York:Routledge, 2003); Ellis Hanson, **Out Takes:Essays on Queer Theory and Film** (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Lucille Cairns, **Sapphism on Screen: Lesbian Desire in French and Francophone Cinema** (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

[49] Yasemin Öz, "Görünmezlik Kıskacında Lezbiyenler," **Cinsiyet Halleri: Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Kesişim Sınırları**, ed. Nil Mutluer (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları ,2008): 204-205.

the Hollywood cinema and will also include some important turning points in the mainstream cinema.

Chapter 3 will be focusing on an overall queer discussions of representation in the cinema in Turkey within the scope of social changes in different areas as in economy and politics. To that extent, this chapter will be reading not only the construction and transformation of the queer images in cinema in Turkey, but also the social atmosphere that these changes have happened. For a better explanation, this chapter also aims to question the constructions of masculinity and femininity in Turkey and the place of queer identities between these two.

Through the films selected, chapter 4 aims to look closer this transformation process of queer images through scrutinizing the Sapphists representation in five main categories; binarity, misandry and lesbian feminism, masculinity and violence, obscurity and villainy. In that sense, this chapter will also analyse characters' body languages, occupations, physical appearances and their relations with other characters in the films have been constructed.

Chapter 5 will be providing a summary of this thesis and presents an overview on the creation of the Sapphist images in cinema. In that sense, an evaluation and interpretation of the queer representation in cinema will be given based on the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey. This chapter also includes suggestions for further research.

2. REPRESENTING THE QUEER IN THE MAINSTREAM CINEMA

This chapter will explore the transformation of the queer images and the Sapphist images in the mainstream cinema to understand the ways in which the images of these identity groups created, reproduced and (re)presented in the mainstream film industry. For this reason, the significant theories which are fundamentally form the further structure of this thesis, will be given in the beginning of this chapter. Secondly, a summary on the history of queer cinema will be given by emphasizing the significant changes in the mainstream cinema. In this way, it is aimed to examine the relationship between the major transformation in cinema and their effects on the queer images. In this part, the evolution of Hollywood will be on the forefront regarding to its dominance in the film industry and the leading position on the cinematic representation of queer identity and the production of queer and Sapphist stereotypes. Finally, an overview of this chapter will be given to evaluate the queer and Sapphist images in mainstream cinema before going further to examine the representation of queers and Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey.

2.1. Cinema and Representation

The concept of representation has a significance for many study areas from media to art, from politics to sociology or psychology. According to Stuart Hall, the significance of the representation concept comes from its vital role as a link by connecting meaning and language to culture.[50] By connecting these two, representation appears as an essential concept that produces the meaning of a phenomenon and distributes that meaning among the members of a cultural group in time.[51] In this production and the distribution process of meaning, language also plays an important role not only verbally but also symbolically. The symbols that we

[50] Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," **Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices**, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publishing, 2003): 15.
[51] **Ibid.**, 15.

have been surrounded in our daily lives convey the meanings of phenomenon which they stand for. Thus, these symbols appear as the components of a non-linguistic structure.

The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who is the founder of the modern linguistics, defined language as a constructed system of signs that is not only consisted of sounds, letters or written words but also consisted of images, paintings and photographs.[52] For Saussure, the system of signs includes two major elements: the *signifier* (the form of a thing as a sound or image etc.) and the *signified* (the concept or idea of a thing that appears in our head).[53] For example, when we use hear or see the word "dog" as a signifier, it correlates with the signified, the concept of a four legged, tailed animal.[54] Although the signifier and the signified seem as if they are separate entities, they can only exist as the elements of the sign itself.[55] Since there is no cohesion between the signifier and the signified, Saussure argued that the signs are arbitrary and there is no permanently fixed relationship between the signifier and the signified. In other words, words can shift their meanings depending on the historical changes and vary from culture to culture.[56]

In addition to the Saussure's dual structure of the signs, Charles Sanders Peirce has taken the ideas of signifier and signified a step further and looked the ways in which we can use these concepts outside of written or spoken language. On the contrary to Saussure's approach on not having a cohesion between the signifier and the signified, Pierce suggested that there are a number of different ways to link signifier to the signified in certain conditions. To that extent, Pierce argued that there are mainly three different kind of sign: *an icon* (which has a resemblance of the thing that it is indicating), *an index* (which has a direct or causal link with the thing it is representing) and *a symbol* (which has no relation between signifier and signified but other than the fact that a society attributes a meaning to it).[57] For example, a photograph of a tree is an icon because we know the photograph is not the tree. When we see smoke, we think that there may be a fire around because of the direct relation between smoke and fire. In this case, smoke is an index and it evokes fire.

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[52] **Ibid.**, 31.
[53] Jonathan Culler, **Saussure**, trans. Nihal Akbulut (İstanbul: AFA Yayıncılık, 1985), 20.
[54] Nick Lacey, **Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies** (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 57.
[55] Jonathan Culler, **Saussure**, 20.
[56] Stuart Hall, **Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices**, 32.
[57] Nick Lacey, **Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies**, 66.

Generally, there is no inherent link between the colour red and the idea of stopping and the colour green and the idea of going. But over many years these two ideas (stopping and going) have attributed to the colours and practiced in traffic.[58]

In his famous work *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes approached the concepts of Saussure's signifiers and signified from a different perspective. According to Barthes, a sign, which is comprised of the signifier and the signified, can creates another signifier on a second-order signification and its reference on the second level not only creates a connotation, but also creates a myth.[59] In Barthes' understanding, myth does not refer to an archetype like goddesses or heroines in classical tales which has lasted for centuries. Instead, it refers to a sign that is valued by a significant dominant ideology in a society to repurpose it. Thus, the limited arbitrariness between the signifier and the signified completely disappears in the mythological signification.[60] The myth becomes a connotation that serves to the dominant ideology's apparatus. For instance, the advertisements of cars always identified with men and masculinity. The word "car" used as a signifier of a four wheeled vehicle. However, it is seen in the image of a car in an advertisement that the speed of a car and its technological advances are used to evoke power and strength. Thus, the symbol of a means of transport symbolizes these aspects of masculinity.[61] Furthermore, Barthes also suggested that these myths are inured by the society. In time, these myths are naturalised in the historical context. Barthes said:

> "The starting point of these reflections was usually a feeling of impatience at the sight of the 'naturalness' with which newspapers, art and common sense constantly dress up a reality which, even though it is the one we live in, is undoubtedly determined by history." [62]

As in any other symbols that have been used to create myths, the masculinity/femininity practices are also indicated by the symbols to create myths on these phenomena. To that extent, Barthes arguments on myths do not only gives a point of view on the creation of signs, but also on their reproduction as myths and redefinition in different concepts and how these myths become naturalised in the non-linguistic utterance.

On the contrary of Barthes, Claude Levi-Strauss explained myths as the preliminary ways of perceiving and explaining the world based on our physical

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[58] **Ibid.**, 66.
[59] **Ibid.**, 67.
[60] Roland Barthes, **Mythologies**, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1972), 124.
[61] Nick Lacey, **Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies**, 68.
[62] Roland Barthes, **Mythologies**, 10.

experiences that have been shaped and become myths in a particular culture. For Levi-Strauss, myths provide various options and explanations on the basic intellectual problems that people must solve while circulating the structural core of the myths.[63] However, the structure of myths is based on a binary opposition which allows them to create inversions in Levi-Strauss' arguments. The characters, actions, and events can exchange positions in different tales, but the structure remains thanks to the binary oppositions.[64] In that sense, Levi-Strauss' arguments of binary oppositions allow us to understand the structure of signs and the way in which they are positioned to create an equilibrium in the narrative of films by constructing a binary opposition between the good and the evil, the white and the black, the men and the women, the heterosexuality and the homosexuality etc.

The role of the cinema is as important as the sign itself. Throughout the history, cinema, as a mass communication and art, has always used not only to entertain people, but also creating stories which have been rendered in an ideology. To that extent, cinema is considered as a cultural "Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)" as Althusser suggested.[65] On the contrary to the "Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA)," which are governmental practices and institutions that are used to enforce law and order in the society, Ideological State Apparatuses seek consent and free will of the people. In that sense, RSAs use direct or indirect physical violence and "repression" but ISAs function "on ideology."[66] As to Althusser, people's real conditions of existence are represented in an imaginary way by the ideology, which means ideology interprets the real conditions to the individuals.[67]

By considering Althusserian term of Ideological State Apparatuses, Baudry applies Althusser's relevant term to cinema and suggests the cinematographic apparatus which represents the real conditions of existence by an imaginary relation.[68] As to Baudry, the cinematographic apparatus is fundamentally ideological, and it serves to guarantee the advanced position of the bourgeois classes.[69]

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[63] Arden Ross King, "Review Essay: Claude Levi-Strauss: Les Mythologiques." **Ethnomusicology**, vol. 18, no.1 (1974): 103.
[64] **Ibid.**, 103.
[65] Louis Althusser, **On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses**, trans. G. M. Goshgarian (London: Verso, 2014), 77.
[66] **Ibid.**, 78-79.
[67] **Ibid.**, 183.
[68] Richard Rushton and Gary Bettinson, **What is Film Theory? An Introduction to Contemporary Debates** (Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press, 2010), 36.
[69] **Ibid.**, 35-36.

Cinematographic apparatus use the optical instruments which constitutes the vanishing point for the audience that requires the transcendence of the viewer. Baudry calls it as the "transcendental subject" which exists beyond corporeality as an idealised subject who is self-centred.[70] Thus, individuals are interpellated as transcendental subjects by the cinematographic apparatus.[71]

In "The Culture Industry," Adorno and Horkheimer point out the significant position of the media owners or proprietors as the regulators of the capitalist system. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the media owners or proprietors have been imposed the standardised interests and functions to the public through political, economic and cultural areas in our daily lives.[72] As one of these cultural production spheres in the entertainment business, cinema predominates the imagination of the moviegoers and leads them for the continuity of the production in the real life.[73] In that sense, the ideological representation in films carried out by the people to the real world where the representation is reproduced. As Adorno and Horkheimer noted that:

> "The whole world is passed through the filter of the culture industry. The familiar experience of the moviegoer, who perceives the street outside as a continuation of the film he has just left, because the film seeks strictly to reproduce the world of everyday perception, has become the guideline of production. The more densely and completely its techniques duplicate empirical objects, the more easily it creates the illusion that the world outside is a seamless extension of the one which has been revealed in the cinema."[74]

As there are represented ideologies that surround people in all social spheres, the possibility to reach the substance of reality becomes quite impossible. This is not because of the lack of access to the reality that obscures the meaning, but rather because of the proliferation of images that makes the meaning unreliable.[75] According to Jean Baudrillard, the media products which have been represented as the reality only creates a simulation of the real world.[76] Hence, the images that have been screened in films or in any media products have nothing to do with the reality.

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[70] **Ibid.**, 39-40.
[71] **Ibid.**, 40.
[72] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," **Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments**, trans. Edmund Jephcott (California: Stanford University Press, 2002): 94-95.
[73] **Ibid.**, 99.
[74] **Ibid.**, 99.
[75] Jean Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations," **Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings**, ed. Mark Poster (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001): 166-167.
[76] **Ibid.**, 167.

Another significant point about Baudrillard is his way of seeing the contemporary society as a consumption driven mass. In Baudrillard's approach, consumption is not rendered simply by goods or needs, but rather, consumption is explained with the symbolic order as "a systematic act of the manipulation of signs." [77] In this system of signification, the total secularization of signs of recognition on the universal level forms the "codes" of socialisation which makes the social reality illegible.[78] Thus, the substance of the reality remains obscure.

2.2. Creating Stereotypes in Representation

As in the construction of symbols and their variations from culture to culture, the transformation and the representation of these symbols also important to understand the context of films as well as any other media literature. To that extent, the construction of stereotypes and the narrative style which is used to support of these stereotypes become more important for this study.

The cultural group, which has been constantly circulating the culture itself by images, ideas and concepts, create and exchange meanings among the members. Thus, shared codes of the relevant cultural group allow all members of the group to interpret the world similarly.[79] To express the significance of the representation and its effects on the being represented, Richard Dyer notes that:

> "How we are seen determines in part how we are treated; how we treat others is based on how we see them; such seeing comes from representation" [80]

Furthermore, the meanings that have been produced and circulated in a cultural group become rigid concepts, which turn into stereotypes in time. According to Richard Dyer, the construction of a stereotype is based on the common and repetitive gestures, mimics, behavioural patterns and other characteristics of a social group.[81] As to Dyer, stereotypes are the expressions of the consensus about a social group; it is a consensus which always had been in the minds of the others about that relevant group and it is evoked by the stereotypes.[82] To that extent, stereotypes have been constructed based on the supposed "common behaviour" of a social group which

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[77] Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Objects," **Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings**, ed. Mark Poster (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001): 21-22.
[78] **Ibid.**, 19-21.
[79] Stuart Hall, **Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices**, 4.
[80] Richard Dyer, **The Matter of Images**, 1.
[81] **Ibid.**, 14.
[82] **Ibid.,** 14.

usually conflict with the values of others. Thus, boundaries for the determination of "normal" behaviours in a society are drawn and legitimized through construction of "Others" by stereotypes.[83]

According to Stuart Hall, the shared images, codes and concepts have become the elements of representation system that create a common meaning among the members of a cultural group.[84] Hall draws the distinction between three approaches on the representation: the *reflective* (representation is the reflection of reality), the *intentional* (representation is the expression of the writers'/artists' intended meaning) and the *constructionist* (a mixture of the creators intentions, the audience's response and the thing itself) approaches. By considering Dyer's arguments on stereotypes and Foucault's arguments on power-knowledge and the deployment of sexuality and alliance, Hall defines stereotypes as the symbols that reduces people down to oversimplified clichés and they maintain the society through creating the symbols of the "Others" which are usually created negatively. Thus, the practice of stereotyping deploys a strategy that Hall's defines as *splitting*; the separation of normal and abnormal, the acceptable and the unacceptable.[85] In that sense, Hall's approach depicts stereotypes as they result from inequality of power.

Besides, Tessa Perkins opposed to the rigidity and negativity of the stereotypes. As to Perkins, stereotypes do not always perform an ideological function and they are not always about the oppressed groups.[86] Various groups like WASP, heterosexuals and upper-class people are also stereotyped and they are not represented in a negative way. In addition, Perkins asserted that stereotypes are not rigid but rather flexible. They can change based on the social changes and because of these changes for some stereotypes, it becomes harder to remain in media.[87] For an instance, Perkins points out the changing stereotype of women. Women used to be stereotyped as housewives, but they are now more associated with being more career driven.[88]

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[83] **Ibid.,** 16.
[84] Stuart Hall, **Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices**, 4.
[85] **Ibid.**, 258.
[86] Tessa Perkins, "Rethinking Stereotypes," **The Media Studies Reader**, ed. Tim O'Sullivan, Yvonne Jewkes (London: Arnold, 1997): 80.
[87] **Ibid.**, 81.
[88] **Ibid.**, 84.

2.3. Pre-1968 and the Queer Images in Mainstream Cinema

The etymological definition of the term "mainstream" is the "principal current of a river" in the literal meaning and "prevailing direction in opinion, popular taste, etc." in the figurative meaning.[89] In Oxford Living Dictionaries, the definition of mainstream is given as "The ideas, attitudes, or activities that are shared by most people and regarded as normal or conventional."[90] The combination of the term "mainstream" with cinema is mainly used to refer to the productions of Hollywood studio system or the productions which are conformed with the aesthetic codes of Hollywood. However, the term "mainstream cinema" has been defined mainly on what it is not. As to Mirosław Przylipiak, intercontextuality of the term gives it a vagueness which makes it hard to demarcate.[91] Hence, mainstream cinema mediates a significant part of this study. When its arbitrariness and ratification by its unlikeness considered, the term mainstream cinema simulates the other cinemas in the world. To that extent, mainstream cinema mobilises the mass consciousness and reconstructs itself in order to impose the simulation of mainstream cinema through advertisement.

When the term "mainstream cinema" is thought, the Hollywood film industry and its productions come to mind first. Among many other different film industries from all around the world, Hollywood has an important place on the creation of queer and Sapphist stereotypes regarding to its highly effective tradition of "dream production" and dominance in the global film industry. Since the early examples of the film history, Hollywood has been creating queer stereotypes in different genres. Even these stereotypes that have been constructed by the producers in Hollywood, have created clichés in the Hollywood films and the industry has become notorious in that sense.[92]

The first known example of the queer images in mainstream cinema is *The Gay Brothers* (1895) which was shot in The Edison Studio and showing two men dancing.[93] In this short snippet, two men were dancing waltz while another man was playing violin. Although it is hard to say that the men who were dancing in the shot

[89] "Mainstream." Index, https://www.etymonline.com/word/mainstream. [30.04.2019].
[90] "Mainstream." Oxford Dictionaries English,https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/mainstream. [30.04.2019].
[91] Mirosław Przylipiak, "The Notion of Mainstream Film in Contemporary Cinema," **Panoptikum**, no. 19 (2018): 14-31. Doi: 10.26881/pan.2018.19.01.
[92] Steven Paul Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, trans. Ali Toprak (İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık, 2010), 17-18.
[93] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America**, 21.

were doing it to represent the queer image deliberately, this shot can be accepted as the first sample of the same-sex intimacy on screen.[94] This film was followed by *Wings* (1927) and *Pandora's Box* (1929). In *Wings* (1927), Rogers and Arlen were acting combat pilots who were in love with the same woman and fighting for their country during the World War I. It is hard to say something about the insight of gender presentation in these two films because of not having enough documentation of them and their effects on the spectators during the early era. As both represents homosocial bounds between heterosexual people or homosexual intimacy between the characters, they still can be considered as queer representative films.[95]

According to Andrew Butler, these type of homosocial bonds between men of the same age or same social group in cinema create a "fratriarchy", which means the fraternity among men that produces and constitutes a regulating patriarchal system in the filmic universe.[96] In this fratriarchy, women are excluded from the fratriarchal system not only because they are seen as the threat against the masculine unity, but also because of their existence out of the system warrant the heterosexuality of the in-group men.[97]

Besides, other relevant images from the silent era [98] had the very same ambiguity about the representation. The queerness of the characters was preferred to be implied rather than revealing the sexual identity because of the litigation possibility of the U.S. Government. Hence, the tendency was demonstrating the gender-binary representation through courtship behaviours and queer identities were rarely shown through gender conversion by crossdressing.[99] In the very early examples of the queer images in cinema, Sapphists had been represented through crossdressing as a classical queer coding style in mainstream cinema. As an example, *A Florida Enchantment* (1914) had followed the crossdressing way for coding the Lillian Travers character's Sapphist desire by inverting her into a man named Lawrence. Also, in the film *A Woman* (1915) Charles Chaplin dressed up as a woman and flirted with men.

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[94] **Ibid**., 21.
[95] **Ibid**., 22.
[96] Andrew M. Butler, **Film Studies**, 94.
[97] **Ibid.**, 94.
[98] This term is used to indicate the timeline between 1895-1930 in Hollywood when dialogues between characters did not take part in the film and, instead, there were dialogue shots inserted between two shots in a film due to the lack of synchronic sound technology.
[99] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 24.

According to Vito Russo, the embodiment of Western understanding of men is based on the emphasis of power and not being sentimental which have been defined as the opposite characteristics of women.[100] Russo also noted that the relevant definition of western "real men" accompanied the fear of losing these characteristics inevitably and this created the myth of sissy on the contrary of the myth of "real men."[101] The crossdressing performances of the early period, in that sense, awaken this fear of sissy on the symbolic level.

As to Steven Paul Davies, there were a lot of stereotyped clichés about the representation of gay men on screen as if they were sassy and ludicrous types during the 1930s, 1940s and the 1950s.[102] As an important aspect of the queer presentation in the 1920s, the stereotypical image of *pansy* men had emerged as queer men that were effeminate, limp wristed sort of ladyboys and *mannish* women as queer women.[103] According to Dyer, these pansy image and mannish woman image have been used to designate the difference between homosexuality and heterosexuality to create a taxonomy between the legitimate and the illegitimate sexual acts.[104] On the social and political levels, these queer and Sapphist images have been identified with moral degeneracy and illness.[105]

One of the early evidences of pansy representations is Charlie Chaplin's *Behind the Screen* (1917). In *Behind the Screen* (1917), Chaplin kisses Edna Purviance who dressed up as a man and Eric Campbell sees them. Then, Campbell starts to tease Chaplin by sashaying and doing some gestures as if he were imitating a pansy.[106] [107]

In addition, mannish women representation appeared in *Morocco* (1930) and *Queen Christina* (1933) through similar crossdressing styles. In the first one, Marlene Dietrich sings in a night club wearing a tuxedo and finishes her song by kissing a woman in the audience. In the latter, Greta Garbo wearing "men's clothes" and kisses Elizabeth Young. In both films, heroines were coded queer while they were crossdressing. In many other films which belonged to this early era such as *My Lady of Whims* (1925), *The Clinging Vine* (1926), *The Crystal Cup* (1927), and *The*

[100] Vito Russo, **The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies** (New York: Harper&Row Publishers, 1987), 5.
[101] **Ibid.**, 4-6.
[102] Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 23-33.
[103] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 24.
[104] Richard Dyer, **The Matter of Images**, 19-20.
[105] **Ibid.**, 21.
[106] **Ibid**., 25.
[107] Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 24.

Office Wife (1930) Sapphist relations were implied through gender inversion.[108] That sort of a representation also carries the embedded anxiety of men about women taking control in the social life. About these films and the mannish women coding, Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin noted that:

"…these movies may have been not so much about lesbians per se but about the "New Woman," an image associated with the era's feminist movement. As women gained the right to vote in 1920 and moved further into the public workforce, these films may have been expressing worries that all women (and not just lesbians) were on the verge of becoming like men."[109]

The most significant breaking point in the Hollywood cinema was the legalisation of the Production Code in 1927 that was used to regulate productions from the 1930s until the late 1960s. As films became more and more popular in the American society, some people started to worry about the public affect of them due to the context of the films that were assumed to produce cynicism, sexual behaviour or materialism. Hence, various church groups in the U.S. started to be troubled with films like *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) which had "abnormal" sexual content and nudity. Thus, Catholic Church created the *Legion of Decency* by the 1933, which was organised to carry out lobbying activites in the studious and protesting some theaters, to interfere the production process of films.[110] [111] As the result of these incidents and the proof of the industrialisation of the filming process in the United States, main production studios in the U.S. gathered and established the *Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of Americ*a (MPPDA) in 1922 which would regulate and standardized censorship to smarten up the Hollywood's image.[112] They hired Will Hays in 1922 who was a postmaster general under Warren Harding then.[113]

Hays' controlling strategy in the 1930s was based on the elimination of the "offensive contents" and "sexual immorality" from films and encouraging "moral values".[114] To that aim, a list of rules named "Don'ts and Be Carefuls" was published in 1927 and it was replaced with an elaborated version of the Production Code in the

[108] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 26.
[109] **Ibid**., 26-27.
[110] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 29.
[111] Gregory Black, **The Catholic Crusade Against The Movies, 1940-1975** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-15.
[112] Jody W. Pennington, **The History of Sex in American Film** (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 4.
[113] Warren Gamaliel Harding was the 29th President of the United States from March 4,1921 until August 2,1923.
[114] Paul Monaco, **A History of American Movies: A Film-by-Film Look at the Art, Craft and Business of Cinema** (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 31.

early 1930s.[115] Importantly, the list foresaw the screening some of the vice actions of the characters as long as virtue triumphed in the end. Because of the increasing conservativism and the "immorality" of the Jazz Age, MPPDA members had to adopt these rules, also known as Production Code or Hays Code, as industry policy by the early 1930s.[116] In Hays Code, some presentation types were not allowed to be used such as white slavery, miscegenation[117], sex hygiene and venereal diseases scenes and any inference of sexual perversion.[118] [119]

One of the most significant example of the interference of Hays Code on the presentation of Sapphist images in mainstream cinema is Lillian Hellman's play *The Children's Hour*. The original version *Maedchen in Uniform* (1931) was directed in Germany based on the original story. Although the producer Samuel Goldwyn attempted to film this story, Code officials did not allow Goldwyn because of the story of the play that is about Sapphist love between two teachers at an all-girls school. Instead, the film called *These Three* (1936) by William Wyler was produced and the plot was changed with two teachers fighting over a man.[120] Importantly, Victor Fleming's *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) had become and iconic film in the 1930s by referencing gays through hidden codes and symbols such as "somewhere over the rainbow."[121] The starring character Dorothy Gale was played by Judy Garland and she became a queer icon over generations.

However, producers had found different ways to portray the pansy images during the Code era and mostly preferred to demonstrate queer images by purging the queerness in order not to be blocked by the Code officials. On the one hand, producers mostly followed the way to present pansies as heterosexually married pansies, like in *Top Hat* (1935), or asexual pansies.[122] On the other hand, mannish

[115] Thompson and Bordwell, **Film History: An Introduction**, 146-147.
[116] **Ibid**., 216.
[117] Sex relationships between the white and black "races".
[118] "Sexual perversion" was used to refer homosexuality in that period.
[119] Richard Maltby, "Censorship and Self-Regulation", **The Oxford History of World Cinema**, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 239.
[120] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 30.
[121] As the symbol of LGBTQ movement, rainbow flag and each colours represent a certain sexuality. In the relevant film, this colourful world supported by the usage of technicolor when Dorothy travels to the Land of Oz from her black and white town. See also Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 38-41.
[122] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 31.

women's presentation were turned into asexual tomboys and agressive maidens and mostly dies like in *Rebecca* (1940) and *The Uninvited* (1944).[123]

In the 1940s, the stereotypical images of queers was turned into a new shape which appeared based on the binary opposition of good and evil that were created based on the relevant era's social and political changes. The newly constructed image of queer turned into an evil character which was combined with the political enemies. One of the most significant aspects of this changing was the increasing anti-Nazism in the Western world. This tendency also reflected itself on the mainstream cinema. A significant point about the 1940s is the representation of queer identities through being embodied as Nazis that demonstrates the pansies as villains that were chosen from the figures of the political atmosphere during the World War II.[124] In the films like *Saboteur* (1942) and *The House on 92nd Street* (1945) queer images were depicted as Nazi agents. In the first one, a Nazi agent were presented as an effeminate person and in the latter, another Nazi agent presented as a butch woman in male drag. Furthermore, other films that have queer images in the World War II era, prefered to show these images as psychotic villians like in *Laura* (1944), *Dragonwyck* (1946), *Shock* (1946), *I Wake Up Screaming* (1941), *The Lodger* (1944), and *Hangover Square* (1945).[125]

The 1950s were also important for the social and political agency of the queer people. The first postwar American queer magazine, *Vice Versa*, was published in Los Angeles in both 1947 and 1948. The first *homophile*[126] organizations in the U.S., The Mattachine Society (1951) and The Daughters of Bilitis (1955) were founded in the 1950s.[127] [128] [129] Most of the homophile groups despised flamboyant or overtly queer behaviours and advocate the equality between heterosexual and homosexual people in social life throughout the 1950s.[130] [131] Especially psychiatrists' approach to homosexuality as a curable mental illness had affected most of the people in the U.S.

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[123] **Ibid**., 32.
[124] **Ibid.**, 35.
[125] **Ibid.**, 35.
[126] According to Benshoff and Griffin, this term was deliberately used to draw the attention of people to the same-sex love instead of same-sex sexuality.
[127] Jody W. Pennington, **The History of Sex in American Film** (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 138.
[128] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 89.
[129] Heather M. Campbell, **The Britannica Guide to Political and Social Movements That Changed The Modern World** (New York, Brittanica Educational Publishing, 2010), 346.
[130] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 89.
[131] As Benshoff and Griffin note that most of the homophile groups in the U.S. tended to see homosexuality as a "bedroom issue."

and made them consider homosexuality as a moral failure.[132] An interesting example for that perception on homosexuality as an illness was *Tea and Sympathy* (1956) which was Robert Anderson's stage play. In this film, a boarding school student named Tom (John Kerr) was harassed by his classmates because they thought that Tom was queer. At the end of the film, Tom is "cured", and he proves his masculinity and heterosexuality by going bed with housemaster's wife (Deborah Kerr).[133] Furthermore, the Sapphist presentation in the 1950s tended to depict them as hardened prisoners like in *Caged* (1950), *Girls in Prison* (1956), and *Reform School Girl* (1957). Another film *Touch of Evil* (1959) represents Sapphist images as a butch female (Mercedes McCambridge) character who wants to peep her male buddies while they are sexually assaulting the heroine of the film.[134]

Besides, the 1960s images of queer men in mainstream cinema were formed by the victims, villains or suicidal typologies such as in *The Leather Boys* (1963), *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967), *The Sergeant* (1968) and *Advise and Consent* (1962).[135] One can also see in this period that the pansy stereotype continued to be reflected as another image in Hollywood. In some films like *Lover Come Back* (1961) and *A Very Special Favour* (1965), male characters disguised themselves in feminine looks in order to steal the ladies' hearts. [136]

William Wyler's *The Children's Hour* (1963) is an important example for this type of presentation. In the film, two housemistresses, Martha and Karen, of an elite boarding school were accused by one of the students that they were in a lesbian relationship. However, this accusation let one of those teachers (Martha) to discover her sexuality and her feelings for the other teacher (Karen). At the end, Martha feels dirty and sick and she commits suicide. As to Steven Paul Davies, the Martha character has given the image that demonstrates 1960s' American society's perception on the lesbian identity as a shameful and self-destructive illness.[137] Similarly, The U.K. production Robert Aldrich's *The Killing of Sister George* (1968) depicts the life of an old, aggressive and ribald lesbian actress who behaves very bad

[132] Tristan Poehlmann, **The Stonewall Riots: The Fight for LGBT Rights** (Minnesota: Abdo Publishing, 2017), 21.
[133] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 92.
[134] **Ibid**., 90.
[135] Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 64-66.
[136] **Ibid.**, 67.
[137] **Ibid**., 81.

to her partner. In one part of the film, George tries to harass two nuns and she is arrested.

Although Hollywood cinema had been under the censorship of Hay's Code until the late 1960s, there were also significant films that had been directed without stereotyping the queer images like Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (1942) or Jean Cocteau's *Orphéé* (1956).[138]

2.4. Stonewall Riots and 1968 Onwards in The Mainstream Cinema

In the late 1960s, different social movements, which were based on the liberation of different identities and featured the individuality, emerged mainly in Europe and the U.S. Especially LGBTQ movement played a vital role on the identity-based politics among all other civil right movements like feminist movement and black movement in the U.S.[139] As it is mentioned on the previous parts, the hegemonic idea on homosexuality was a curable mental illness and the queer people were considered as the malefactors of moral corruption in the American society. This perception on homosexuality as a curable mental illness continued until 1973 when Board of Trustees of the American Psychiatric Association decided to remove homosexuality from their official list of mental illnesses.[140] However, the homophile groups that were founded in the 1950s had tried to change this perception about queer people. They were inspired by a black gay man Bayard Rustin, who was also the adviser of Martin Luther King Jr. during the civil rights movement in the U.S., and his nonviolent activism tactics such as marches, sit-ins or preparing picket signs.[141] Most of these sit-ins were in bars where the owners refuse to serve queer people in Los Angeles and San Francisco. These protests were quite successful and in 1967, state court concluded that queer people could be served.[142]

Similarly, in the Stonewall Riot of 27 June 1969[143], police raided Stonewall Inn accusing the owner "Fat Tony" Lauria of being a member of Mafia and acting

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[138] **Ibid.**, 27.
[139] Heather M. Campbell, **The Britannica Guide to Political and Social Movements That Changed The Modern World**, 337-350.
[140] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 155.
[141] Poehlmann, **The Stonewall Riots**, 23-24.
[142] **Ibid.**, 25.
[143] They day when Stonewall Riots first occurred, there was also the funeral of the gay icon Judy Garland who was mentioned in the previous part.

against the liquor laws of the state.[144] Yet, the patrons and many others stood out against the police forces when police tried to evict people from the Stonewall Inn.[145] Some of the people in the bar, and most of them were transgender women, were handcuffed while other evicted queers were protesting the raid on the outside of Stonewall Inn.

After the Stonewall Riot, a new era started in the mainstream cinema for queer people. This new era not only consisted of the shifts on the queer images, but also the filming techniques in the mainstream cinema and the mass communication channels. The occurrence of the queer liberation movement did not only increase the efficiency of queers on commercial sector and media, but also did accelerate the movement's effects on society and solidify the queer images in the West.[146]

In the 1970s, the narrative of the mainstream cinema has nurtured both movements and been in the tendency of reflecting the struggles of different identity groups. As a minority group, LGBTQ people and queer images also affected that new tendency and queer representation has showed changes since the 1970s. In the early 1970s, some movies like *Sunday, Bloody Sunday* (1971) or *Cabaret* (1972) approach sedately the queer subjectivity. Although these movies could give us a glimpse of the change on the male-gaze position of the camera, the traditional comedy/villain/victim stereotypes of queer men had continued to appear in the films.[147] Besides, Luchino Visconti's *Death in Venice* (1971), which was adapted from Thomas Mann's famous novel, approached queer desire in a very artistic way and even today, it takes place as an important queer drama.[148]

Interestingly, the 1970s Sapphist images in European cinema was mostly given by the horror genre and the demonstration of her was intensely intertwined with the possessed women images. In the movies like *The Vampire Lovers* (1970), *Lust for a Vampire* (1971), *Daughters of Darkness* (1971), and *Vampyros Lesbos* (1971) lesbian vampire images appears as evil people who were possessed by the dark force and generally lesbian vampire images are hunted by men.[149] Although these movies were imported from Europe, the first lesbian love story on mainstream American television, *The War Widow* (1976), was also broadcasted in that time. In the film, a

[144] Poehlmann, **The Stonewall Riots**, 8.
[145] Pennington, **The History of Sex in American Film**, 139.
[146] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 156.
[147] Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 98.
[148] **Ibid.**, 99.
[149] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 145.

lonely housewife Amy, whose husband is away at war, meets Jenny, a photographer, and Amy discovers her feelings while spending time with Jenny. The film *The War Widow* not only questions the feelings of a woman as a lesbian, but also make the audience think about the roles of women that were expected by the others in a patriarchal society.

In the 1980s, LGBTQ society had to confront with the problem of AIDS disease and it not only affected their health in sexual life, but also caused to be stigmatized by the rest of the society and to be labelled as the main "bearers" and "contaminators" of the disease. Thus, a new cinema movement that issued HIV/AIDS patients emotional gay images emerged with *An Early Frost* (1985) and *As Is* (1986) and continued by *Parting Glances* (1986), *Buddies* (1985) and *Philadelphia* (1993).[150]

One of the 1980s Sapphist images appears in Gordon Wills' *Windows* (1980), which tells the story of Elizabeth Asley who is a psychopathic bad lesbian and the Talia Shire who is a good straight woman. The story goes around the Elizabeth's subtly behaviours to convince Talia to a lesbian relationship. In that sense, one can see that *Windows* is demonstrating the 1960s made traditional lesbian stereotype who has psychological breakdown because of her feelings and her misfit to the society.[151] However, the movies like *Personal Best* (1982) and *Silkwood* (1983) brought different and successful representatives to the lesbian images.[152] Other important and successful films that include Sapphist images and were shot during that period are *Lianna* (1982)[153] and *I've Heard the Mermaids Singing* (1987)[154]. As an important aspect of this period, there was no film that issues the Sapphist who suffers from HIV/AIDS on the contrary of other queer film genres.

Simultaneously, the rise of the American independent cinema and its influence over the queer images, especially in the 1990s, played a big role for breaking that labelled perception of queer people like in *My Own Private Idaho* (1991), *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1993), *Go Fish* (1994) and *The Birdcage* (1996). Although *The Birdcage* includes several over-the-top gay men images, the plot line and its critiques on the structure of the 1990s nuclear family are quite successful. The 1980s

[150] Davies, **Eşcinsel Sineması Tarihi: Sinemada Görünür Olmak**, 140-196.
[151] Benshoff and Griffin, **Queer Images**, 181-182.
[152] **Ibid.**, 184-190.
[153] Alison Darren, **Lesbian Film Guide** (New York: Cassell, 2000), 131-132.
[154] **Ibid.**, 115-116.

melancholic and dangerous queer characters who were labelled with HIV/AIDS themed films started to shift with trans and queer comedy genres like *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) or *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar* (1995).[155]

In the beginning of the 1990s, Sapphist images were also given in a different context with the film *Thelma & Louise* (1991). Although the lesbian desire was not enounced directly in this film, the characteristic changes in Thelma and the kissing scene between two were proven the audience's doubts. [156] Besides, Catherine Tramell in the erotic thriller *Basic Instinct* not only appeared as a dangerous *femme fatale* murderer woman, but also appeared as a strong bisexual character who raises doubts in the male protagonist's mind that leads him to face with his latent homosexuality.[157] Also, Wachowskis' *Bound* (1996) is an important film that stands out with being able to contain female transgression via the lesbian love between two bandits. Lisa Cholodenko's *High Art* (1998) and Kimberly Pierce's *Boys Don't Cry* (1999) are also important films in this period which directly focus on lesbian love. Another significant point of *Boys Don't Cry* is that this film also criticises the sexual identity and social norms. Furthermore, the 1990s TV shows and series contain important productions like *Ellen DeGeneres Show*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* or *Queer as Folk.*

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the mainstream film industry has started to increase the number of the movies that were based on the queer images and stories. On the one hand, strong love stories like in *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) or *Transamerica* (2005) have given us a chance to understand the different variations of the substance of the queer identities, on the other, movies like *Prayers for Bobby* (2009) and *I Love You Phillip Morris* (2009) have us to question the social boundaries like sexual and emotional boundaries and the identity. Besides, new Sapphist images that have been enriched with different subjects have started to emerge. On the one hand, the movies like *By Hook or By Crook* (2001), *The Hours* (2002) and *Lost and Delirious* (2001) approached to the Sapphist images in very different ways and provided us to witness their own stories. On the other hand, some Sapphist themed movies like *Mulholland Dr.* (2001), *The Gymnast* (2007), *Milk*

[155] **Ibid.**, 178.
[156] **Ibid.**, 182.
[157] **Ibid.**, 183.

(2008), *The Purple Sea* (2009), *Blue Is the Warmest Colour* (2013) and *Carol* (2015) have been nominated and awarded in several film festivals.

2.5. Queer Representation in The Mainstream Cinema and LGBTQ's Standpoint

When it is considered from the perspective of mainstream cinema, specifically Hollywood, the representation of queers has always been a problematic one because of the acceptance and visibility problems in the Western societies.

Based on the latest researches on the visibility/invisibility issues in mainstream cinema, it is seen that the representation of queers in Hollywood remains on an insufficient level. The Studio Responsibility Index 2018[158], which was published by GLAAD[159] (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) founded in the U.S. in 1985, proves that the rate of LGBTQ representation in cinema is 12.8 per cent which equals to 14 films out of 109 films in total in 2017.[160] The same index also shows the huge difference on the ratio between the representation of male LGBTQ characters as 71 per cent and female LGBTQ characters as 29 per cent.

The criteria that have been considered during the evaluation of these relevant production companies' films are named as "The Vito Russo Test" which was inspired by the LGBTQ activist, film historian and the co-founder of GLAAD Vito Russo. The Vito Russo test mainly seeks three elements in the films:

1. The identifiably representation of LGBTQ characters in films

2. Whether these characters are solely or predominantly defined by their gender identity or sexual orientation or not.

3. Whether these characters are tied up to the story very effectively or not.[161]

Based on the results of the research, the index shows that there is not any representation of transgender identity and there is a lack of reflecting the full diversity in Hollywood films especially in the comic book films like Marvel and DC adaptations. Also, it is seen in the index that the LGBTQ characters and stories are

[158] The Studio Responsibility Index 2018 provides the data on the LGBTQ representation in Hollywood films which have been produced by seven major production companies which are 20th Century Fox, Lionsgate Entertainment, Paramount Pictures, Sony Pictures, Universal Pictures, The Walt Disney Studios and Warner Brothers.
[159] Also see https://www.glaad.org/about/history.
[160]"2018 GLAAD Studio Responsibility Index." GLAAD. https://www.glaad.org/files/2018%20GLAAD%20Studio%20Responsibility%20Index.pdf. [01.05.2019].
[161] **Ibid.**, 6.

relegated to subtext and audience is expected to interpret the characters' queerness because of the obscurity on the representation of them in the relevant films.

Within the context of representation in mainstream cinema, the ways of representation have become a questioned issue as much as the visibility itself. As it is seen in the findings of the index, the obscurity of the characters' sexual orientations and gender identities becomes an issue for the queers. The recent discussions on the issue on online platforms accompany two major term within the context of representation which makes it harder to understand the identity of the represented characters as well as puzzles the audience. These are *queer coding* and *queer baiting*.

Queer coding, as it could be understood by the term "coding," mainly refers to a process which repeatedly use specific gestures and characteristics to demonstrate the queer characters as less "straight" without articulating their sexual orientation or gender identity as queer.[162] When the output of the queer coding practices become rigid and characterised, these codes turns into stereotypes of the identity that is not articulated in the filmic universe. Although queer coding dates back to the 1800s and first appears in European literature, it has been started to practice in Hollywood cinema since 1930s when the Hays Code was brought into the force.[163]

Queer baiting is also another significant problem for the LGBTQ community which is not only confused with queer coding when the images are closely examined, but also inherently treats the film as a commodity and the audience as the consumer. Ilana Masad defines the queer baiting as a phenomenon or a tactic that draws the attention of LGBTQ representation seeking audience to the relevant media product while comforting the rest of the audience who do not seek any LGBTQ representation.[164]

When the GLAAD's demands for a better representation in the mainstream cinema are considered, the issues of queer coding and queer baiting become as much problematic as the issue of visibility. On the one hand, the practices of queer coding play a definitive role which directly target the identity, the substance of the being represented. On the other hand, queer baiting appears as a practice in a presumed

[162] Tricia Ennis. "The Strange, Difficult History of Queer Coding." SYFY WIRE, https://www.syfy.com/syfywire/the-strange-difficult-history-of-queer-coding. [01.05.2019].
[163] Inés Mendoza-Pérez, "Queer-Coding and Horror Films." Control Forever, https://controlforever.com/read/queercoding-and-horror-films/. [01.05.2019].
[164] Ilana Masad, "Harry Potter and the Possible Queerbaiting: Why Fans Are Mad Over A Lack Of Gay Romance." **The Guardian**. August 16, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/aug/16/harry-potter-possible-example-queerbaiting-cursed-child. [01.05.2019].

heteronormative and "hetero-dominant" understanding of a structured cinema which relies on the needs and demands of the cisgender community while creating deceitful plots and characters in order to expand their market share.

Also, feminist organisations and project leaders in the U.S. are remarking the negative representation of queers as well as women in mass media. One of these organisations, The Representation Project published the "Impact Report 2018" that includes their attempts to change the media representation of people by using the social media effectively and directing and releasing films called *Miss Representation* (2011) and *The Mask You Live In* (2015) which criticise the construction of masculinity and femininity in media and social space.[165]

2.6. Conclusion

The representation of queers has changed in the course of mainstream film history. As an important aspect of the mainstream cinema, it is seen that the films represent queer identity mostly focus on male homosexuality and their performance of masculinity. To that extent, it is seen that the pansy stereotype has been used in many films as well as mannish woman stereotype has been used to identify Sapphist characters. For both, crossdressing has been used to support the effects of these stereotypes in films. Besides, it is also seen that the female homosexuality and Sapphist images have been pushed into the background. Stereotypically, queer men's representation has mainly identified with humorous acts in different genres by emphasizing the pansy image. Yet, queer women's images have usually been reflected by the malevolent characters or horrific myths. Importantly, Hollywood cinema and the representation of queers have started to change after the Stonewall Riot in 1969. Although this change has been disrupted by AIDS themed melancholic and suicidal queer images during the 1980s and 1990s, it has resulted award winning and successfully representing productions. In that sense, mainstream cinema has been progressive on the representation of queers.

As the contemporary problems about the representation of queer in the mainstream cinema, queer coding and queer baiting doubles the disruptive effects on the representation of queers. On the one hand, the continuity of queer coding as a

[165]"Impact Report: 2011-2018." The Representation Project, http://therepresentationproject.org/about-us/#press. [05.05.2019].

cliché practice in the mainstream cinema causes the emergence of stereotypes which have nothing to do with the reality of the queer identity. On the other hand, commodification of the films as the significant media products and the comprehension of the audience as a group of consumers do not only diminish the overall aestheticism of the films, but also creates a new market based on selling the visibility and identity as commodities. This is an extremely crucial point for the audience. The commodification of the representation much more effective for cisgender audience as well as disruptive for the queers because of the created conformity that requires the consumption of the "self."

Next chapter will be focusing on the historical journey of queer images in the cinema in Turkey and the substantial value of queer and Sapphist identities in Turkey.

3. QUEER IMAGES IN THE CINEMA IN TURKEY

This chapter aims to trace back to the creation and transformation process of queer and Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey. To that aim, this chapter is formed around the significant breaking points in the history of Turkey to highlight this transformation and reproduction process. In that sense, this chapter begins with a part which explains the codes of gender perception and construction in Turkey. Then, the depiction of queer and Sapphist identities in the cinema in Turkey will be given by the socially significant breaking points in the history of Turkey. Finally, an overall evaluation of the findings will be given in the end of this chapter.

3.1. Gender Construction in Turkey and Queer Identities

Gender has been one of the significant issues in social sciences and an intricate question for Turkey. The intricacy of the question for Turkey's case can be seen by the appearance and effects of gender in various social areas like politics, culture, education, economy and so on. Perhaps the reason why gender still appears as an important question in these areas in Turkey can be traced back to the foundation of the Turkish nation-state. For this reason, this part aims to provide an overall explanation about the main idea(s) of the construction of gender-regime in Turkey.

The gender identities and their boundaries have been constructed on a binary structure that legitimizes the assigned gender roles within the dominant culture in Turkey.[166] In this binary structure in Turkey, it is seen that the acceptance of the hegemonic role of men and masculinities do not only legitimizes their roles as the powerholder in the society, but also allow them to define women and femininity as the binary opposite of the masculine existence and ostracize the other sexualities and gender identities as well as in other parts of the world.[167] [168][169] Thus, the definition and

[166]Fatmagül Berktay, "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı" **Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düsünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık,** ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2007), 3: 275-285.
[167] Serpil Sancar, **Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009), 17.

legitimisation of the "Other" sexualities are made by the hegemon and locate around the phallocentric structure.[170]

The establishment of the new Turkish nation-state had brought along a turning point between the traditionalist and modernist ideology on how Turkish nationalism and the national identity would be designed. As a matter of fact, the practices for constructing Turkish nationalism and the national identity had aimed to be equal with the Western world in order to preserve national culture and tradition, which indeed started in the nineteenth century.[171] Thus, national identity construction process had brought along a modernisation movement and it projected itself on gender construction under the new state ideology that stipulated androcentrism.[172] This ideology had conceived a bilateral nation design. On the one hand, some specific areas like science, technology or economy, which were consubstantiated with Western world, were defined under the masculine realm and on the other, national culture, religion and other traditional aspects were assigned to the feminine realm.[173] Such a binary separation had also effects and consequences about presentation of genders in various areas and it caused the division of spaces as public space and domestic space. As a Western mindset, the division of public and private spaces is gendered[174] [175], and it aims to legitimize heterosexism and patriarchal power on the public space.[176] However, this does not make women the authority in the private space, but rather prevents them from taking the power and tries to define them within the borders of their duties that encumbered by the dominant male authority itself. Sylvia Walby describes this issue as the constrained domestication of women which was practiced by employment and the state through dominating the public

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[168] Serpil Sancar, **Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar** (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 23-28.
[169] Gerda Lerner, **The Creation of Patriarchy** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 217.
[170] At this point, the phallocentrism and the patriarchal society ought not to be read as a phenomenon that only works in favor of men, but rather this ought to be considered as an intricate and intertwined concept of existence.
[171] Serpil Sancar, **Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar** (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 126-127.
[172] Fatmagül Berktay, "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı" **Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düsünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık,** ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2007), 3: 275.
[173] Sancar, **Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti**, 127.
[174] **Ibid**., 196-197.
[175] Deniz Kandiyoti, **Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 164.
[176] Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces," **BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality,** ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996): 128.

patriarchy.[177] Likewise, the national identity construction in Turkey had followed the same pattern to legitimize the male-dominance in politics, economy and military during the modernisation process. The modernisation period in Turkey has been proceeding by prioritising men in these social areas.[178] Even today, these areas remain male dominant.

Furthermore, the ongoing construction of female identity in Turkey by the patriarchal authority also requires *honourableness* for women since the establishment of the new Turkish nation-state. This term mostly refers to her virginity rather than a set of decent behaviours. In that sense, virginity of a women is glorified in Turkey and every men and women are taught to protect it to have an honourable life.[179] This sacralization of virginity also appears itself on the identification of female body and homeland. Representation of homeland as a female body is a classical understanding in Turkey that is entitled to masculine dominance and surveillance.[180] Thus, the identification of virginity and the borders of the homeland has been evoked by the saying *Vatan Namustur (Homeland is our honour)*.

Besides, the designation of the hegemonic masculinity in Turkey base on the clichés like aggression, strength, violence, anger and antagonism as opposed to the "feminine" assigned characteristics like clemency, conciliatoriness and benignity of women.[181] [182]Such determinations of masculine identity do not only aim to create a strong image in society, but also imprisoned the subject of the definition within the border of socially constructed set of behaviours and practices such as being the breadwinner,[183] or being subjected to the compulsory military service in order to be accepted as a citizen in Turkey.[184] The stereotyped discourse *Erkekler Ağlamaz (Men do not cry)*[185] is a good example for this imprisonment of men when it is considered

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[177] Sylvia Walby, "Woman and Nation", **Mapping the Nation,** ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996): 243-244.
[178] Sancar, **Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti**, 134.
[179] Ayşe Parla, "The "Honor" of the State: Virginity Examinations in Turkey" **Feminist Studies**, vol.27, no.1 (2001): 66-70. Doi: 10.2307/3178449.
[180] Fatmagül Berktay, "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı," **Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık**, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 3: 278.
[181] Tayfun Atay, ""Erkeklik" en çok erkeği ezer!," **Toplum ve Bilim**, , vol. 101 (Fall 2004): 11.
[182] See also Kurtuluş Cengiz, Uğraş Ulaş Tol and Önder Küçükural, "Hegemonik erkekliğin peşinden," **Toplum ve Bilim**, vol. 101 (Fall 2004): 50-70.
[183] Serpil Sancar, **Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009), 64-66.
[184] **Ibid.**, 153.
[185] By considering the cultural artefact of masculinity in Turkey, which separates the identity "man" from "boy", the relevant translation is done as such.

that the reflection of emotions among men are ashamed by the brotherhood.[186] To that extent, the power which have been tried to remain control and reproduce by masculinity turns into a system that confines men as well as others.[187]

Since men perceive and embrace the heteronormative hegemonic masculinity, the roles that have been obliged them to perform require loyalty to the brotherhood and the values of masculinity. Men, as the subjects of masculinity, are expected to perform the required behaviours to have the power and the masculine identity. For this reason, men have spent their lives to protect this identity and the power that comes with the masculinity.[188] According to Raewyn Connell, the power relationship among men and their construction and obedience of the masculinity create different performances among men that forms hegemonic, complicit, subordinated and marginalised patterns. Hence, the regulative performances are gathered in the hegemonic and complicit masculinities as well as the disruptive and undesirable ones are gathered in the subordinated and marginalised group.[189] Queer performativity, as a subordinated and marginalised phenomenon among the masculinity performances, is defined in the heteronormative structure in Turkey. Heteronormativity both dominates the naturalised heterosexuality and reproduce its' practices and codes by legitimising the gender-binary system while subordinate and ostracize the "Other" gender identities.[190] In that sense, queer identity and performance manifests itself with maintaining a stance against the heteronormativity in Turkey. At that point, it is important to note that queer's stance against heteronormativity is actually an embracement of the "self" in Turkey as well as other counterparts in the world.

However, the common misunderstanding on queer in Turkey is its being put on par with LGBTQ.[191] As in other parts in the world, especially in the Western culture, the formula which codes queer = LGBTQ defines the term within the context of rejected sexual orientations and gender identities by excluding some sexual practices like age difference, kinky fantasies, usage of the sex toys, polygamy and polyamory,

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[186] Tayfun Atay, ""Erkeklik" en çok erkeği ezer!," **Toplum ve Bilim**, vol. 101 (Fall 2004): 22.
[187] **Ibid.**, 26.
[188] **Ibid.**, 26.
[189] R. W. Connell, **Masculinities** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 76-81.
[190] Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice, "Yerel ile Küresel Arasında Türkiye'de Cinsellik. Kültür ve Toplumsallık," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, edited by Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 11.
[191] Tuna Erdem, "Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya ve Çıkıntı Olmaya Dair: Kimlik Değil, Cinsellik! Tektip Cinsellik Değil, Cinsel Çeşitlilik!," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, edited by Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 44.

crossdressing and BDSM (Bondage, Discipline/Domination, Sadism and Masochism) etc.[192] These practices are fundamentally cultural and reproduced among both LGBTQ and cisgender people. To that extent, monolithic gender-binary structure in Turkey presupposes the inexistence of these widely common practices and only focuses on the appearance of "divergent" genders which have been tried to be banished from the public space and pushed into the private one.[193] [194] At that point, LGBTQ's stance against the heteronormativity in Turkey as an organisational movement does not just include a set of demands like "taking advantage of the positive discrimination, struggle with the homophobia, biphobia and the transphobia on the state level, decreasing the social force to secure our constitutional rights or putting the sentence 'gender identity' and 'sexual orientation' into constitution, protection for LGBTT individuals from the murders related to the phobias"[195] for their individual rights, but also includes the reclamation of the public space for everybody to create a gender-neutral space. LGBTQ's other demands in Turkey such as "statement of an emphasized discourse on equality between men and women in the constitution, extraction of the ambiguous and relative concepts like "public morality", "public order" and "national value" from the constitution and demanding the emphasis of "individuality" rather than "the state" or "the family", redefinition of the social rights based on the individuality, freedom of thought and speech and their privacy, norm-governed equality of people in the constitution and extraction of the ethnic and ideological references from the constitution"[196] also aim to protect and advocate the rights of all citizens in Turkey.

Among all of these demands of LGBTQ's in Turkey, the legal sanction against hate crimes and honour crimes (also known as honour killings) have been important items of the queer agenda. On the one hand, the problematic definition of hate crime in the Turkish Penal Code and the determination of the certain conditions which are accepted as the causes of the hate crimes create loopholes against the victims of the

[192] **Ibid.**, 44-47.
[193] **Ibid.**, 47-48.
[194] Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces," **BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality,** ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996): 128.
[195] "Our Mission," Our Mission-Istanbul LGBTT, http://www.istanbullgbti.org/lgbtt/haber_detay.asp?haberID=120. [03.05.2019].
[196] "LGBT'lerin Yeni Anayasa'nın İçeriğine Yönelik Somut Talepleri." **Lambdaistanbul**. http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/s/medya/lgbt%E2%80%99lerin-yeni-anayasa%E2%80%99nin-icerigine-yonelik-somut-talepleri/. [03.05.2019].

hate crimes.[197] [198] [199] On the other hand, as a phallocentric practice of power, honour crimes have been executed on women in Turkey for a long time and they are widely seen as a cultural practice and/or tradition by various actors like political parties, media, state institutions etc.[200] [201]On July 15, 2008, the murder of Ahmet Yildiz, who was named by the media as the first victim of honour killing in Turkey, did not only cause a series of investigation and a long judicial process but also remarked the toxic patriarchal practices in a family and the heteronormative obsession against queer bodies.[202] [203]

3.2. LGBTQ Movement and Sapphist Identity in Turkey

The visibility of Sapphists among queers in the queer organisations in Turkey has been obscured and toned down. Although the first Sapphist organisations in Turkey, *Venüs'ün Kız Kardeşleri / The Sisters of Venus* (İstanbul), *Sappho'nun Kızları / The Daughters of Sappho* (Ankara) and *Öteki-Ben / The Other-Me* (Ankara), were established in the 1990s, these organisations could not continue to their activities as separate Sapphist organisations.[204] Many Sapphists activists have been collaborating with other queers in the organisations such as Lambdaistanbul, Kaos GL or Spod (Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği) so far.

In social life, Sapphist women have been encountered various problems. In *Eşcinsel Kadınlar: Yirmi Dört Tanıklık*, these obstacles are noted as self-significance and identity problems (self-identification and coming out to family), lack of social spaces for Sapphists and being stuck in online chatrooms and bars or cafés, the

[197] Timur Demirbaş, "Nefret Söylemi ve Nefret Suçları," **DEÜ Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi**, vol.19 special issue (Prof.Dr. Şeref Ertaş'a Armağan). (2017): 2693-2701.
[198] As an important identity group among queers, transgender people have always been the major victims of hate crimes in Turkey.
[199] Gözde Kazaz, " TCK 122 Hayal Kırıklığı: Nefret Suçu Kağıt Üstünde Kaldı." **Agos**. December 15, 2016. http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/17260/tck-122-hayal-kirikligi-nefret-sucu-kagit-ustunde-kaldi. [05.05.2019].
[200] Dicle Koğacıoğlu, "The Tradition Effect: Framing Honor Crimes in Turkey," **A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies**, vol.15, no. 2 (Summer, 2004): 118-119.
[201] Ülkü H. İnci, "Basında Yer Alan Namus Cinayetlerinin Sosyolojik Analizi." **Journal of History Culture and Art Research**, vol.2, no. 3 (September, 2013): 282-296. Doi: 10.7596/taksad.v2i3.273.
[202]Nicholas Birch, "Was Ahmet Yıldız the Victim of Turkey's First Gay Honour Killing?" **The Independent**. October 22, 2011. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/was-ahmet-yildiz-the-victim-of-turkeys-first-gay-honour-killing-871822.html. [05.05.2019].
[203] SPOD, **LGBT Hak İhlalleri Emsal Dava Analizleri** (İstanbul,2013), 25-30.
[204] Yasemin Öz, "Görünmezlik Kıskacında Lezbiyenler," **Cinsiyet Halleri: Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Kesişim Sınırları**, ed. Nil Mutluer (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları ,2008): 206.

negative representations of Sapphists in mass media and being uncomfortable with the performers of the female masculinity (dykes, butches, tomboys etc.).[205]

Among all of these problems, the issue of (in)visibility has a great importance for the Sapphist individuals in Turkey. On the one hand, the hegemonic perception in society which seeks the homosexuality and queerness among males has ignored the queerness of Sapphists based on relatively simple "diagnosticity" of male homosexuals in social life.[206] Hence, Sapphists have had an elbow room for having a privacy with their partners even when they are under the gaze of patriarchy. On the other hand, this concealability has caused a social invisibility for the Sapphist identity which has been either subjected to eroticization or abjection in the social life. As a result of this dichotomy, Sapphist activists' main slogan Lezbiyenler Vardır! (Lesbians Exist!) remains intact.[207]

It is also seen that this elbow room becomes questioned in the adulthood of Sapphist people. Especially, the Sapphists who perform a sort of female masculinity and/or have relatively different outlook are subjected the heteronormative questioning gaze in public space.[208] Having conversations with colleagues or relatives on marital status or dating with men, living alone or with partner(s) as a "legally single woman" and adult show how the control mechanism of heteronormativity penetrates itself in different public and private spaces in Sapphists lives.[209]

As other queer identities, Sapphists have also been subjected to hate crimes and honour crimes in Turkey. Significantly, the statement of the Sapphist relationship as an excuse by the murderer Emrah Gümüş during the murder trials of a university student Pınar Türkmen was protested by Lambdaistanbul and Kaos GL in Turkey by criticising the hypocrisy of media.[210] [211]

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[205] Cenk Özbay, Serdar Soydan, **Eşcinsel Kadınlar: Yirmi Dört Tanıklık** (İstanbul: Metis, 2003), 23-24.
[206] **Ibid.**, 20.
[207] **Ibid.**, 20.
[208] Yasemin Öz, "Görünmezlik Kıskacında Lezbiyenler," **Cinsiyet Halleri: Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Kesişim Sınırları**, ed. Nil Mutluer (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları ,2008): 204-205.
[209] **Ibid.**, 204-206.
[210] Yusuf Kılıç, "Lezbiyen İlişki Yaşıyordu, Uyardım, Dinlemeyince Öldürdüm." **Habertürk**. March 07, 2011. https://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/608083-lezbiyen-iliski-yasiyordu-uyardim-dinlemeyince-oldurdum#. [05.05.2019].
[211] "Medyanın Fantezisi Lezbiyen Cinayetlerinin Üstünü Örtmemektedir!" Lambdaistanbul, http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/s/medya/%E2%80%9Cmedyanin-fantezisi-lezbiyen-cinayetlerinin-ustunu-ortmemektedir%E2%80%9D/. [05.05.2019].

3.3. The Representation of Queers in The Cinema in Turkey

Although the queer representation in cinema in Turkey started in the 1960s, the first queer image, which had been played by Behzat Butak, had appeared as a crossdresser man who wanted to save his daughter in Muhsin Ertuğrul's *Leblebici Horhor* (1923).[212] Although it did not seem to have an accuracy to refer the queer identity in *Leblebici Horhor*, it can still be considered as the first visual example of something one can call a queer representation in cinema and that crossdressing images on both male and female characters was repeated in different films in Turkey like Metin Erksan's *Şoför Nebahat/ Nebahat, the Driver* (1960),[213] Memduh Ün's *Belalı Torun* (1962) and Hulki Saner's *Fıstık gibi Maşallah/Thank God She is Cute* (1964). Yet, the audience in Turkey was almost clearly acquainted with queer images seeing the relationship between Mualla Kavur (as Seher) and Leyla Sayar (as Türkan) in the film *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962). But, the kissing scene between two was cut by the censors.[214] After two years, in the film *Fıstık gibi Maşallah/Thank God She is Cute* (1964), which was an adapted Turkish version of Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* (1959),[215] İzzet Günay and Sadri Alışık plays two best friends who dressed up as women and tried to steal the ladies' hearts that they have fallen in love. Moreover, another director, Osman Fahir Seden, had directed many successful films like *Berduş* (1956), *Altın Kafes* (1958) and *Kınk Plak* (1959) which feature the iconic queer Turkish art music singer Zeki Müren.[216] However, these films do not refer to Müren's queer side, but rather his naive artist side.

According to Agah Özgüç, "the lack of queer images in cinema before the 1960s is because of the conservatism of Turkish society about sexuality."[217] Importantly, it is seen that the queer representation has been dominated by lesbian representation between the 1960s and the 1980s. This preference may be explained with the male based narrative tendency that did not want to focus on male sexuality or could not attempt to do so regarding to the political and cultural conservativity during those times. However, it is clear that the usage of the female images includes a perception

[212] Agah Özgüç, **Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi** (İstanbul: Broy Yayınları, 1988), 39.
[213] Deniz Kandiyoti, **Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 238.
[214] Dönmez-Colin, **Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging**, 156.
[215] Özgüç, **Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi**, 41.
[216] Teksoy, **Rekin Teksoy'un Sinema Tarihi**, 1: 480.
[217] Özgüç, **Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi**, 108.

about women and the female body that dominates her and perceives her body as a space which is shaped by the male gaze. As to Laura Mulvey, the separation of the gaze between men (as the bearer of the look) and women (as the subject that being looked) poses them in active/men and passive/women positions.[218]

In 1963, the film *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side*, which was directed by Atıf Yılmaz, was released. As to Agah Özgüç (1988), the kissing scene in between Suzan Avcı and Sevda Nur was the first conscient try-out for "testing the water."[219] After that, Halit Refiğ's *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965) was issued the oppressed women and closet lesbianism in a subject that takes place during the late Ottoman period.

The period which started with the 1960 military coup can be defined as the period of try-outs in the cinema in Turkey that includes new films of different directors and screenwriters. On the one hand, the cinema in Turkey had adopted new narrative techniques and styles with the effects of the importee films and started to issue the stories that were accepted as "taboo" in the cinema in Turkey.[220] By the late 1960s, the actresses like Türkan Şoray, Filiz Akın, Hülya Koçyiğit and Fatma Girik had stood out by their symbolic characteristics and performances in the cinema in Turkey. According to Seçil Büker, Türkan Şoray (also known as Sultana) image as an eternal virgin was the embodiment of the collective unconscious of the men in Turkey as well as Fatma Girik was the symbol of "mannish woman".[221] On the other hand, the changing conjuncture in the cinema in Turkey and the effects of the new techniques brought producers together and created famous *Yeşilçam* industry which was named after the Yeşilçam street where film producers bureaus were located during those times.[222]

The 1970s period had significant breaking points in politics and economy in Turkey as well as in cinema in Turkey. On 12th March 1971, the current government was given a memorandum by Turkish Armed Forces due to create a threat for the future of Turkey.[223] Turkish economy had also been having hard times in the 1970s.

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[218] Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", **Film Theory and Criticism**, ed. Leo Braudy, Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 715.
[219] Özgüç, **Türk Sinemasında Cinselliğin Tarihi**, 108.
[220] Giovanni Scognamillo, **Türk Sinema Tarihi** (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayıncılık, 2004), 159-160.
[221] Seçil Büker, "The Film Does not End with an Ecstatic Kiss," **Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey**, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti, Ayşe Saktanber (New York: I.B. Tauris and Co. Publishers, 2002): 160-165.
[222] Teksoy, **Rekin Teksoy'un Sinema Tarihi**, 1: 477.
[223] Teksoy, **Rekin Teksoy'un Sinema Tarihi**, 2: 913.

After the huge economic crisis in Turkey, Turkish lira was devaluated by twenty percent.[224] Also the political crisis on the international area had affected Turkish economy and Turkey's activities in foreign markets like Greece, Iran, Egypt and Middle Eastern markets where Turkey had been exporting films. On the one hand, Cyprus peace operation had increased the tension between Turkey and Greece and that caused Greece to close their national markets to Turkish products. On the other hand, both Iran and The Middle Eastern markets were closed depending on the ongoing wars between Israel and Arab countries and Shah revolution in Iran.[225] Television was also becoming widespread and that started to increase of the numbers of moviegoers in the 1970s.

As an important aspect of the 1970s, there was an increasing number of the erotic/pornographic-comedy movies that mainly put the female nudity on the locus of the camera such as in Yücel Uçanoğlu's *Anahtarı Bendedir* (1975), Çetin İnanç's *Şipşak Basarım* (1975) and *Ilık Dudaklar* (1978) or Aram Gülyüz's *Hababam Gel Hababam Git* (1975) and *Hasan Almaz Basan Alır* (1975).[226]

Hence, the Sapphist images were transformed to erotic images during the 1970s and it lasted until the mid-1980s. That period was so popular with the erotic-comedy films and the lesbian scenes were used to express a level of eroticism rather than questioning their identity or accepting them as separate beings. Most of these movies depict Sapphist images while having sex with each other and the scene is "completed" with the involvement of other men or two women and one man are deliberately shown while having sex to satisfy the male spectators like in the films *Parayla Değil Sırayla* (1975), *Yok Devenin Başı* (1975) or *Tatlı ve Güzel İstanbul Geceleri* (1979). Such narrative preferences also prove that these films have established a mindset that perceives Sapphists as the subjects of "penis envy"[227] who cannot satisfy their desires and lust without a man. In the film *Sevişmek Bir Dakika* (1975), one of the main characters goes to a film producers house while the producer and his friends having a party. In one scene of the film, she escapes the producer's harassment and finds a room while a half-naked woman dallying with a cushion.

[224] Ertan Tunç, **Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı (1896-2005)** (İstanbul: Doruk Yayımcılık, 2012), 123.
[225] **Ibid.**, 123.
[226] Scognamillo, **Türk Sinema Tarihi**, 178-179.
[227] This term was first used by Sigmund Freud to explain female homosexuality as a result of not having a penis.

When the character enters the room, that half-naked woman tries to kiss our character and she refuses her with calling her as "pervert".

The 1980s had a close resemblance with the previous decade on the representation of Sapphists. However, on 12th September 1980 another military coup happened and each and every institution in Turkey had affected from that as well as Turkish film industry in a bad way. Sex films era was ended by the political authorities and arabesque singers like Orhan Gencebay, İbrahim Tatlıses, Ferdi Tayfur, Müslüm Gürses intensely appeared in the films like Osman F. Seden's *Ben Topraktan Bir Canım* (1980), Remzi Jöntürk's *Çile* (1980), Temel Gürsu's *Yarabbim* (1980).[228] Furthermore, the increasing inflation and unemployment rates had prompted film producers to low-cost productions.[229] The emergence of videotapes and growing use of television were also creating a negative impact on filmgoers.[230]

The 1980's cinema in Turkey also witnessed the shift on audience preferences for directors instead of stars.[231] Since the 1950's, star system had been effective thanks to audience preferences. Yet, stars that were ascribed meanings by the audience could only perform *types* that reflected the values and expectations of audience.[232] In the 1980's, star system ended because of the existing political and social problems like economy, terrorist attacks and rural to urban migration in Turkey.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the film *Beddua* (1980) has led to a new perspective of the queer images which described Ersoy's queer identity as a result of a rape in the film. However, her sexual identity was covered with a naive Turkish art music singer who does not have a sexual relation with the female protagonist throughout the film.[233] *Beddua* (1980) is also the last film that Bülent Ersoy played as a biologically male. After a year in *Şöhretin Sonu / Yüz Karası* (1981), aftermath of Bülent Ersoy's gender transition period was depicted in an autobiographical style. Also, in *Suçlu Gençlik* (1980) and *Acılar Paylaşılmaz* (1986)[234], gay male images,

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[228] Scognamillo, **Türk Sinema Tarihi**, 183.
[229] Tunç, **Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı (1896-2005)**, 161.
[230] Scognamillo, **Türk Sinema Tarihi**, 185.
[231] Levent Yaylagül, **Sinema Toplum Siyaset** (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2018), 35.
[232] Nebat Yağız, **Türk Sinemasında Karakterler ve Tipler: Türk Sinemasının Türk Toplumuna Bakışı:1950-1975 Dönemi** (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2009), 67.
[233] Başak Ertür, Alisa Lebow, "Şöhretin Sonu: Bülent Ersoy'un Kanunla İmtihanı," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 402.
[234] Sevgi Kesim Güven, "Zenne: "Erkek"(çe) Ölmek Üzerine Bir Ağıt," **Gözdeki Kıymık: Yeni Türkiye Sinemasında Madun ve Maduniyet İmgeleri**, ed. Hüseyin Köse, Özgür İpek (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015): 292-293.

who were portrayed as psychologically depressed or immoral characters, were both busted by their relatives in bed, but there was nothing more about these types either. Importantly, Kartal Tibet's *Şabaniye* (1984) narrates the story of a man who tries to escape from an old blood vengeance by disguising as a woman and it must be considered as a milestone in queer comedy genre. Atıf Yılmaz's *Dul Bir Kadın / A Widow* (1985) also an example of a tongue in cheek lesbianism that emerges in the erotic fantasies of two best friends.[235] However this film only evokes a possible Sapphist relation in one shot. In Temel Gürsu's *Sekreter / The Secretary* (1985), one of the characters (Belkıs) opens her house to female protagonist (Hülya) which was played by famous Turkish singer and actress Hülya Avşar. In the film, Hülya comes to Belkıs' house frazzledly. When Belkıs opens the door while wearing a bathrobe and carries her through her bedroom, camera shows that there was a woman lying in bed in her underwear.

In the 1990s, cinema in Turkey had experienced significant changes on different layers. On the economic and artistic layers, the end of star system brought the end of Yeşilçam producers and Hollywood productions became much more dominant.[236] Yet, end of the producers caused directors to find or create their own sources by themselves and it emerged independent and aesthetic works in this era.[237] Furthermore, film-makers and actors/actresses started to be employed by TV channels and different productions systems, like sponsors and co-productions, emerged.[238] As a result of that, art films and popular mainstream films started to differ from one another.[239] Also Turkey's membership on Eurimages (European Cinema Support Grant) helped independent producers in Turkey to solve their financial problems about film production.[240] On the political and sociological layers, the 1990s' Turkey was faced with the resurgence of the cultural and gender diversity.[241] The tendency in Turkish politics was against the different subcultural

[235] Dönmez-Colin, **Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging**, 156-157.
[236] Yaylagül, **Sinema Toplum Siyaset**, 37.
[237] Teksoy, **Rekin Teksoy'un Sinema Tarihi**, 2: 938.
[238] Tunç, **Türk Sinemasının Ekonomik Yapısı (1896-2005)**, 166.
[239] **Ibid**., 167.
[240] Scognamillo, **Türk Sinema Tarihi**, 464.
[241] E. Fuat Keyman, "Nationalism in Turkey: Modernity, State and Identity," **Symbiotic Antagonisms: Competing Nationalisms in Turkey**, ed. Ayşe Kadıoğlu, E. Fuat Keyman (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011): 24-26.

identities and legitimized the authoritarian nation-state power by marginalising Kurdish identity during the 1990s.[242]

Transgender people among all other queers have also been subjected to the state power. Especially during the 1990s, transgender sex workers have been beaten and tortured physically and mentally.[243] In the 1996, there has been a "sweeping / sokak temizliği" before the Habitat meeting in Harbiye and many transgender sex workers have been attacked by the police and evacuated from Tarlabaşı and Harbiye under the pressure of media, government and the Turkish radical nationalists (Ülkü Ocakları) alliance.[244]

Another important factor was the emergence of LGBTQ movement as an organised movement in Turkey for the first time. In 1993, the first LGBTQ organisation, LambdaİstanbuI, in Turkey was founded by the supports of European LGBTI+ organisations. It was followed by publishing of first LGBTQ magazine, Kaos GL in Ankara in September 1994.[245] In 2005, LGBTQ people who have been related to the magazine established Kaos GL association. On 1 May 2001, KaosGL hit the streets for their first demonstration.[246]

The diversity on subcultural identities, including the queers, was reflected in the cinema in Turkey during the 1990s. *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992) by Atıf Yılmaz is a significant example that stands out with many defiant scenes and the scenario that focuses on the love and intricate relationship between two women. *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992) by Yavuz Özkan was also another Sapphist themed film that questioned how political power balance penetrates in social life and how prostitution is perceived in Turkish society. G*ece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar / The Night, The Angel and Our Gang* (1994) and *Dönersen Islık Çal / Whistle If You Come Back* (1993) are both demonstrate the problems of the transgender visibility and the police violence against transgender people during the 1990s.[247] Distinctively,

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[242] Yaylagül, **Sinema Toplum Siyaset**, 37.
[243] Elif İnce, "Darbe Günlerinde Lubunya Olmak," **Radikal Gazetesi,** March 19, 2012. http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/darbe-gunlerinde-lubunya-olmak-1082192/. [05.05.2019].
[244] Erdal Partog, "Queer Teorisi Bağlamında Türkiye LGBTT Mücadelesinin Siyasi Çizgisi," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 171.
[245] Barış Erdoğan and Esra Köten, "Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin Sınıf Dinamiği: Türkiye LGBT Hareketi," **Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi**, no.2 (2014): 106.
[246]Erdal Partog, "Queer Teorisi Bağlamında Türkiye LGBTT Mücadelesinin Siyasi Çizgisi," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 172.
[247] Dönmez-Colin, **Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging**, 148.

Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar also questioned the bisexuality within the context of male prostitution.

Biket İlhan's *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995) and Ümit Elçi's *Böcek* / *The Cockroach* (1995) also represented the Sapphist villain image and her relationship with a man. As another period movie, *İstanbul Kanatlarımın Altında / Istanbul Beneath My Wings* (1996) by Mustafa Altıoklar gave a glimpse of a gay relationship between the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV and Musa Çelebi.[248] Also, Mustafa Altıoklar's *Ağır Roman / Cholera Street* (1997) and Ferzan Özpetek's international co-produced film *Hamam / Hamam: The Turkish Bath* (1997) include queer characters and their love affairs in the backstreets of Istanbul. Kutluğ Ataman's *Lola ve Bilidikid / Lola and Billy the Kid* (1999) is also another important example for different queer images and their relations. This film does not only focus on the life of a group of queers who live in Berlin, but also portrays the queer subjectivity with Turkishness as a subcultural identity.[249]

Since the beginning of the 2000s, Turkish political arena has been under the affect and control of AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/ Justice and Development Party) government which has been constantly trying to legalise conservative identity as an overall identity of people in Turkey and the political life in Turkey has become much more conservative in this period.[250] The increasing conservativism can also be seen on the production code in the cinema in Turkey. The 2 December 1983 dated revised version of the production code of films in the cinema in Turkey (*The Code for Control Regulations of Films and Filmscripts*) has been protected and remained in force since the first version in 1939.[251] Yet, in today's regulations, the authorisation for censorship is given to Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The eleventh article on the current version of the Code generalizes the permission criteria and attributes these criteria to "obedient for public decency and other constitutional principles."[252]

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[248]"Tabular Ağır Ağır Yıkılıyor," Lambdaistanbul, http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/s/yasam/tabular-agir-agir-yikiliyor/. [21.04.2019].
[249] Kyle Frackman, "Lola and Billy the Kid." The Directory of World Cinema: Germany. http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/M6PV1B. [21.04.2019].
[250] Yaylagül, **Sinema Toplum Siyaset**, 39.
[251] Alim Şerif Onaran, "Yeni Film Sansür Düzeni," **İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi**, no.0 (1992): 140.
[252] "Sinema Filmlerinin Değerlendirilmesi ve Sınıflandırılmasına İlişkin Usül ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmelik" **Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Teftiş Kurulu Başkanlığı**, http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-14493/sinema-filmlerinin-degerlendirilmesi-ve-siniflandirilma-html,[27.01.2019].

With the beginning of the 2000s, the visibility and style of the queer images has changed in a certain way. In Kutluğ Ataman's *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), which was adapted from Perihan Mağden's novel *Two Girls* that was published in 2002, the Sapphist relationship between two young girls from different social classes is issued. In Fatih Akın's *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007), the love between two women gets beyond the borders and draws us in a multicultural space. The film *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) by Erden Kıral also creates an ambiguous atmosphere between the characters Songül and Aydanur and implies a Sapphist relationship between the two. Furthermore, Mahsun Kırmızıgül's *Güneşi Gördüm / I Saw the Sun* (2009) and Caner Alper and Mehmet Binay's *Zenne / Dancer* (2011) drew attentions to masculine violence that have been practiced on queers. Furthermore, *Güneşi Gördüm / I Saw the Sun* (2009) has questioned the traditional masculine expectations and practices among men from the Eastern part of Turkey and challenge their masculinities with a transgender figure.[253] On the other hand, *Zenne / Dancer* (2011) has depicted the queer life in İstanbul through different characters and focused on the social and juridical issues such as compulsory military service and honour killing in Turkey. It was also inspired by the story of Ahmet Yıldız who was a victim of honour killing.[254] His homicide was also named as the first homosexual honour killing in the media in Turkey.[255]

Nar / The Pomegranate (2011) by Ümit Ünal also appeared as a psychological drama that issued morality and lesbian relationship in the same year. Besides, Çağan Irmak's *Tamam Mıyız? / Are We OK?* (2013) has given place to the visibility and love of a gay man through hiding his personality and identity and converts his love into a brotherly love in the film. Although Çağan Irmak could successfully depict the masculine conflict between subordinated and hegemonic masculinities through different stereotypes and characters from social classes, he abstained from revealing the emotions and loves of the gay protagonist with an aesthetic shot.

[253]Eren Yüksel, "Güneşi Gördüm ve Teslimiyet Filmlerinde Trans Kimliklerin Mekânsal Örgütlenmesi ve Sınırlılıkları", **Fe Dergi**, vol.8, no. 2 (2016): 141.
[254]Sevgi Kesim Güven, "Zenne: "Erkek"(çe) Ölmek Üzerine Bir Ağıt," in **Gözdeki Kıymık: Yeni Türkiye Sinemasında Madun ve Maduniyet İmgeleri**, ed. Hüseyin Köse, Özgür İpek (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015): 290.
[255] Pınar Öğünç, "Bizimki Büyük Bir Aşktı." **Radikal Gazetesi** . October 3, 2009. http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/bizimki-buyuk-bir-askti-957389/. [21.04.2019].

3.4. Conclusion

The history of queer representation in cinema started in the 1960s with the appearance of the first Sapphist image and that image was followed by other Sapphist representations in Turkey. In the following years, Turkish film industry has undergone a change in different ways. Turkish film industry has become an importer and exporter of the international industry and largely open the local film market for the productions of mainstream cinema.[256] In the 1970s, the construction of the queer images had been done on the lesbian identity by eroticizing the lesbianism and redefining the phallocentric fantasies. Besides, the 1980s and the 1990s queer representation approach queer identity from different perspectives by considering the social reality of the queer substance. Therefore, the films that include queer images in these eras were in drama genre.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, it is seen that the queer representation has become more invisible in the context of production and become a motive that is represented in the independent cinema. Regarding to the limitations of the Production Code in Turkey and the arbitrary definition of "public morality" in the code, the depiction of queer images has become far more purged from the sexuality than the previous examples. However, this new appearance of the queer images in the 2000s has continued to convey some clichés on queer identity that become stereotypes in the cinema in Turkey. Therefore, the following chapter will be examining some of these clichés on the representation of queer identity within the context of Sapphist images through sociologically analysing the relevant films that have been mentioned previously.

[256] Zeynep Erus, "Film Endüstrisi ve Dağıtım: 1990 Sonrası Türk Sinemasında Dağıtım Sektörü", **Selçuk Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Akademik Dergisi**, vol.4, no.4 (2013): 5-16.

4. SAPPHIST IMAGES IN THE CINEMA IN TURKEY

The previous chapters aimed at exploring the transformation and the representation of queers and the constructed stereotypes in Turkey. In this chapter, the representation of queer in the cinema in Turkey will be examined and highlighted within the context of Sapphist representation. To this aim, this chapter is formed around the significant issues such as binarity, misandry and lesbian feminism, masculinity and violence, obscurity and villainy that have become significant for the construction of the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey. Firstly, the cliché of villainy and its identification with Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey will be questioned. Secondly, the binary representation of Sapphist characters will be examined. Then, the representation of Sapphist violence will be questioned. After, the execution of Sapphist misandry will be analysed. Finally, the limits and the problems of visibility for the Sapphist images will be examined and explained. To that extent, Sapphist characters' body languages, occupations, physical appearances and their relations with other characters in the films will be analysed. Also, anecdotes from Sapphist characters in the selected films will be given at significant points. Throughout this chapter, the films *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), *Böcek / The Cockroach* (1995), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007), *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011) will be analysed in the relevant parts.

4.1. Sapphist Films in the Cinema in Turkey

By considering the films that will be analysed in this chapter, it is important to note that there are some significant points which do not exist on the construction of the Sapphist images. During the analysis process of these films, it is seen that the

representation of Sapphists have always done without referring to any cultural and/or ethnic diversity in the relevant films. In other words, the construction of images has always been purged from subcultural and sub-identical codes which give the images a monolithic appearance on the subcultural level. Hence, none of these films includes different identity and religious groups like Kurds, Armenians, Christians or Jewish people. Except the film *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), there is no reference to imply cultural diversity in other films. In *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), this reference for subcultural identity is given by emphasizing the beauties of women as Circassian beauty, Bosnian beauty and Arabian beauty. Thus, the subcultural diversity is overshadowed in this relevant film. Also, *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965) and *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) are only films which have Islamic religious codes. In both films, the reference to religion is given by the images that show Sapphist characters while wearing headscarf. The lack of disabled people as Sapphist characters in these films also shows the directors' consciously or subconsciously dreaming the filmic universe with full of bodily-abled images. The same exclusion is also done in the case of representing the people with HIV.

Furthermore, it is also seen that the Sapphist characters are always portrayed between the ages of 20s and 40s. The only exception about this age issue is broken in *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) because of its adaptation from Perihan Mağden's novel *Two Girls* that was published in 2002 which portrays the Behiye and Handan as teenagers.

Another important point on Sapphist images is the variety of class differences in the narrative. Although dominant characters usually are given as wealthy people in these films, there are still lower class and/or middle class Sapphists in the films. As it will be explained in the further parts, these wealthy Sapphist are usually portrayed as dominant characters who do not only try to protect their advantaged positions, but also tries to subordinate their partners by masculinising their behaviours. Besides, some of the middle class or lower class Sapphists such as Binnur in *Böcek / The Cockroach* (1995), Ayten in *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007) or Aydanur in *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) are depicted as people who have issues with class society and social inequalities. However, these three characters have different ways to deal with these social issues. Interestingly, these three characters have a criminal record in different parts in the films.

Finally, the narrativity in the films usually put these Sapphist characters in a hopeless situation as in *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), or simply kill them as in *Böcek / The Cockroach* (1995), *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007) or in *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008). Apart from these films, the ending for Sapphist characters is usually unclear as in *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011).

4.2. The Problems of Representing the Sapphists

The representation of men and women in the cinema in Turkey has a gender-binary appearance which women are pushed into the background in films.[257] [258] Significantly, the stereotypes that have been produced on the Sapphist images have transformed since the 1960s. In this transformation and representation process, it is seen that the depiction of Sapphist images has been done by male directors in the films. The masculine position of the camera and the phallocentric narrativity in films dominates the bodily performance of the Sapphist images in the relevant films. Even in some films like *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992) or *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) that puts women on the locus of the story in the leading roles, it is seen that masculine references are used to constitute a gender-binary structure in the cinematic universe. In that sense, the problems on the representation of Sapphists mainly occur from the masculine languages of the narrative and the signification.

The position of the masculine gaze could be explained by the position of women in the process of creating meaning through representation. On the semiotic level of the representation of women, there is a dominant/recessive or hegemonic/subordinated binary opposition between the men as the signifier and the women as the signified.[259] This binarity between men and women is constructed by the masculinity as the authority of symbols that locates the phallus as the main

[257]Hasan Gürkan, Rengin Ozan, "Türkiye Sinemasında Lezbiyen Stereotipinin Temsili" **Erciyes İletişim Dergisi**, vol.4, no. 4 (2016): 35. doi: 10.17680/akademia.58107.
[258] Asuman Suner, **Hayalet Ev: Yeni Türk Sinemasında Aidiyet, Kimlik ve Bellek** (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2006), 291.
[259] Connell, **Masculinities**, 70-71.

signifier and the feminine as subordinated regarding the lack of phallus.[260] In that sense, the ways in which bodily representation and identification of women are made by centralizing the phallus on the symbolic level and the redefinition of the female identity.

On the Sapphist images, phallocentric presence reflects itself by either masculinization of one of the Sapphist characters or subordination of these characters under the violence of male characters. In either way, masculinity penetrates itself through narrative and representation to constitute and remain the gender-binary comprehension in many Sapphist themed films in Turkey. On the one hand, the masculinization of one of the Sapphist images in the films appears as a modified performance of socially constructed gender roles for the Sapphists. On the other hand, the lack of the phallus as a physical substance between the Sapphist characters and the anxiety of this absence appear through male side characters as the performance of violence. In the former way, the masculinization of one of the Sapphist images do not only creates Levi-Strauss' equilibrium in the narrative of films but also perpetuates the message that imposes the "abnormality" of the different sexualities other than the "normal" heterosexuality. In the latter way, the practice of violence by male characters portrays the violence as a masculine practice that surrounds the existence of Sapphist phenomenon as a regulative performance to make them assimilated and obey the heteronormative structure.

As the subjected images of violence, Sapphist images had always been invisible in the filmic universe in the cinema in Turkey until the early 1990s.[261] Except from one or two shots in some Sapphist themed films in the cinema in Turkey, Sapphist construction has always been kept in the closet, the identities of Sapphist images have been given as if they were villainous people who try to capture the power and create a free space for their own to become visible. The desires to be visible and free lead the Sapphist images to do bad actions and positions them against the "normal" males indispensably. These acts for freedom and visibility bring along the concept of villainy in the Sapphist films in Turkey.

Another problem about Sapphist images is the identification of Sapphists with villainy. As a stereotypical way of Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey,

[260] **Ibid.**, 70.
[261] Hasan Gürkan, Rengin Ozan, "Türkiye Sinemasında Lezbiyen Stereotipinin Temsili" **Erciyes İletişim Dergisi**, vol.4, no. 4 (2016): 44, doi: 10.17680/akademia.58107.

the concept of villainy has stood out throughout the history of cinema in Turkey.[262] The preference of villainy in the Sapphist representation is a pathological one that does not only express the hostility against Sapphist because of not being articulated in the sexual order of heteronormativity, but also tries to prevent the liberation and emancipation of the Sapphist identity in order to preserve the hegemonic position of men in the heteronormative structure while stigmatizing Sapphist as evil.[263]

Kristeva's arguments on abjection must be considered in the case of Sapphist representation. According to Julia Kristeva, abjection is not simply a loathing from the object, but rather it is the statement of the self which evokes the identity that has been formed by rejecting the phenomenon as well as embracing them.[264] The statement of abjection of the "I" from the loathed phenomenon poses the "I" against the loathsome. Thus, the position of the "I" constructs the identity based on ejecting the refused phenomenon.

Another significant point on the abjection is the codes of abjection which vary from culture to culture and time to time. The statement of abjection on a particular thing has embedded codes that are shaped by the society on the moral level. Ejection of a significant social identity by an individual does not only involve the repulsion for the set of acts which the ejected identity possesses, but also include the reproduction of the rejection of the relevant social identity.[265] On the collective level of abjection, the codes of loathing from a particular identity group are redefined under several areas such as social morality, religion and science to have an agreed cemented collective identity against the ejected group.[266]

In parallel with Richard Dyer, the collective mindset on a specific ejected group which have been led by the similar approaches on the "Other", uses these similarities as the codes of loathing. The repetitive usage of these codes (mimics, gestures, behaviours and even physical appearances) have become presumed characteristics of the members of the ejected group, which eventually embodied in stereotypes. These stereotypes of abjection also differ from culture to culture and time to time as the

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[262] Gönül Dönmez-Colin, **Women, Islam and Cinema** (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 24-25.
[263] Vicki L. Eaklor, "The Kids Are All Right But the Lesbians Aren't: The Illusion of Progress in Popular Film" **Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques**, vol.38, No. 3 (Winter, 2012): 156-160.
[264] Julia Kristeva, **Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection**, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 2-6.
[265] **Ibid.**, 65-68.
[266] Butler, **Gender Trouble**, 181-183.

abjection itself. In that sense, the stereotypes of abjection on the Sapphist images have often been constructed on villainy.

As the concept of villainy was fixated by Sapphist images, the abjection on the Sapphist stereotypically reflected on cinema as a *femme fatale*[267]. The femme fatale is often defined as emotionless and sexualized for the attraction for the men in films.[268] Although the fatal women images have been basically derived from the religious archetypes and myths such as Judith, Delilah, Lilith, Salome, Circe or Medusa [269], their construction as the Sapphist stereotype in the cinema in Turkey is completely purged from the religious and/or sacred texts on the symbolic and narrative level. Instead, the representation of Sapphists is based on the sinister femme fatales that try to acquire the power of men. These femme fatale Sapphists stereotypes often make intricate plans behind men in the films, try to capture the symbols of power which are usually depicted as money, and they do not hesitate to realize these plans to create an existence in a space to satisfy their erotic desires in the films like *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995) and *Böcek* / *The Cockroach* (1995).

In *The Savage Mind*, Levi-Strauss questioned the patterns and characteristics of myths by using the term *bricolage*. As to Levi-Strauss, bricolage is the term which refers to create something new by using the things that appear as distinctive. *Bricoleur* is the performer of bricolage, the producer of the new phenomenon by using these irrelevant things.[270] As opposed to the bricoleur, Levi-Strauss located the *engineer*, a true craftsman that creates a totalizing and stable system.[271] The depiction of the bricoleur as the savage mind and the engineer as the scientific mind is used to describe the relationship between the myths as savage and the science as the regulative justified and stable "truth". When the relationship between the heteronormativity and the Sapphist myths and stereotypes in the cinema in Turkey

[267]This term is used to refer to a stereotype of women who are depicted as dangeorus and determined to achieve their goals and use their femininity in order to succeed. Femme Fatales in cinema has always demonstrated as a threat for the male characters.
[268]Butler, **Film Studies**, 85.
[269]Helen Hanson, Catherine O'Rawe, "Introduction: 'Cherchez la femme'," **The Femme Fatale: Images, Histories, Contexts**, ed. Helen Hanson, Catherine O'Rawe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 3.
[270]Claude Lévi-Strauss, **The Savage Mind: La Pensée Sauvage** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 16-18.
[271] **Ibid**., 18-21.

are deliberated in this perspective, it is seen that the heteronormativity poses itself as the engineer of the society who dominates and regulates the bricoleurs to produce myths from divergent phenomena. By considering these three main codes of stereotyping Sapphist images (misandry, masculinity and violence and villainy), it can be said that these codes follow a pattern to depict and define the existing identity of Sapphists. In that sense, the structured appearance of Sapphist images are tried to be stabilized by the creators and narrators of the stereotypes so that they can centralize the "natural" and "moral" forms of sexuality and gender myths as the Levi-Strauss' bricoleurs of the semiotic system.

4.3. The Villain Sapphists: The Symbols of Loathing

The modern usage of the term "villain" has been derived from the Latin word "villa" meaning "country house." [272] In the medieval French and England, villain (or villein [273]) had been used to refer to the serfs who had been working as bonded tenants for their lords in the feudal system. According to Paul E. Corcoran, the derogative definition of villain had been recorded by the intellectuals of the time which demonstrated the aristocratic point of view against the villains.[274]

Despite the fact that the substance of villain has been based on the malevolent actions and ignobility, the representation of the villain in mass communication varies on the social level. In one of his studies, Orrin E. Klapp categorises the variants of villainy (*Highly visible villains, low or delayed visible villains* and *miscellaneous villains*) the representation of them as *desperado or outlaw*, *oppressor or bully*, *authoritarian*, *rebel*, *flouter*, *trouble-maker*, *claimant of undue privilege*, *intruder*, *suspicious isolate*, *monster*, *rogue*, *renegade*, *underhanded-traitor*, *deceiver*, *sneak-attacker*, *chiseler* or *parasite*, *shirker*, *corrupter*, *social undesirables* and *ambiguous vilifying epithets* in the American society.[275] In the relevant study, queers are defined as *suspicious isolate* and *monsters* as well as women are defined as *flouter*, *chiseller* or *parasite*, *corrupter* and *social undesirables* which mostly given by the fallen women symbol.

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[272] Paul E. Corcoran, "The Bourgeois and Other Villains" **Journal of the History of Ideas**, vol.38, No. 3 (Jul.-Sep.,1977): 482.
[273]"Villein." Lexico Dictionary, https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/villein [22.04.2019].
[274] Paul E. Corcoran, "The Bourgeois and Other Villains" **Journal of the History of Ideas**, vol.38, No. 3 (Jul.-Sep.,1977): 483.
[275] Orrin E. Klapp, "American Villain-Types" **American Sociological Review**, vol.21, No. 3 (June, 1956): 337-340.

The concept of villainy has been used for the representation of Sapphists since the very early examples of the queer films in the cinema in Turkey.[276] However, the construction of the villain Sapphist, or in other words femme fatale Sapphists, has been blended into the narrative through minor characters. However, their malicious description in films has emerged in different concepts based on the social perception of evil as smugglers, frauds, sex workers or terrorists in the history of cinema in Turkey.

The first film in the cinema in Turkey which includes Sapphist images, *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), was also the first film that started this depiction of Sapphists as the villain. In the film, Türkan and Seher appeared as a couple living in Istanbul. Türkan and Seher are white slave traders who find women from inside and outside of Turkey and fool them by promising career in modelling. However, Türkan also works as a double agent and she is in contact with Seher's opponent Hınzır (Halit) throughout film. Both Seher's and Türkan's physical appearances are in coherent with their use of body language. On the one hand, Türkan's body language is extremely feminine, her makeup and her clothes emphasize her curves. The way she speaks portrays her as a reckless and sexy woman. In the film, she uses this part of her to seduce people including Seher. When she demands something like jewellery, clothes or other expensive items from other characters, her sound reminds a child's voice. Her mimicry and gestures change as if she were an innocent girl. On the other hand, Seher portrays a dominant butch character. Her clothes cover her body curves, her hair is pulled back in a bun, she wears glasses that gives her a smart and serious look. She dominates Türkan to achieve her goals to capture the power from men. Even in one scene, Seher inflicts violence on Türkan because of Türkan's visit to Hınzır. In the film, there is a character called Selami who is actually Seher's alter ego. Until the very end of the film, she changes her voice and speaks like a man to set the male characters against one another. However, Selami's existence is hidden until the very end of the film by using successfully motivated camera angles and editing.

Similarly, the film *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963) also depicts the Sapphist image as a villain by Ayten character. In the film, Ayten is portrayed as

[276] Vicki L. Eaklor, "The Kids Are All Right But the Lesbians Aren't: The Illusion of Progress in Popular Film" **Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques**, vol.38, No. 3 (Winter, 2012): 156.

a villain who works with a male hotel owner named Haydar. Haydar whom Aysel works for actually uses Gülsen (Aysel's secret love) for prostitution. In the film, Haydar sells Gülsen to rich and famous men and takes their photographs while they are having sex with Gülsen. Thus, he blackmails over nude pictures of these people. The balance between Ayten and Gülsen is given in similar to the previous film. The portrayal of Ayten is very masculine in her behaviours. Her look is very polished and wealth, but still her body language is strong. On the contrary, Gülsen is demonstrated as a childish woman who appears in her underwear and in her negligee in every scene that she takes place. In the shots that Ayten and Gülsen are given together, they always share a kiss secretly.

Another 1960s' film, *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965) combines the Sapphist images with the mysterious Harem fantasy. In the relevant film, the character Sadık Pasha lives in his mansion with his servants and the women who he gathered from different places for his Harem. In one scene, these women are introduced as such; Arabian beauty Şevkidil, Bosnian beauty Gülfem and Circassian beauty Mihrengiz. Before they are introduced in the film, Şevkidil approaches Mihrengiz to console her and kisses her neck. The intercourse between Şevkidil and Mihrengiz is not directly shown in the film, instead it is implied in the following shot in which they smarten up their hair and clothes after opening the Harem's door. The Sapphist image especially evoked in the Şevkidil character in the film. Her clothes are traditional Ottoman clothes. Her shoulders are always upright to give her character a strong pose, her curves are hidden in the traditional clothes. Şevkidil is the oldest woman in Harem and her position in Harem is to order everything and everyone in Harem including other wives of Sadık Pasha. Hence, Şevkidil tries to gain Sadık Pasha's confidence as well as blackmailing his other wives to protect her authority in Harem.

Besides in *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), the villainy is embodied in prostitute Meryem character who is the mistress of a fur smuggler named Leon. Meryem lives with her partner Hrisula who is a Greek woman. Meryem has long blonde hair with blue eyes. Her clothes are extremely feminine to give her a delicate but stylish mood. Hrisula, however, appears as the stereotyped character of the Christian Greek woman with very short hair and broken Turkish. She is a bit shorther than Meryem. Meryem stands out with her sinister femininity which allows the audience to identify her as a femme fatale. She seduces the melancholic character

Hasan who works as a steward on a ship and smuggles fur for Leon. Throughout the film, Meryem uses her femininity to seduce Hasan to have sex with him as well as to use him as an ally for the smuggling business.

In the 2000s, the representation of villain Sapphists is given in two different forms in two different films. On the contrary to the previous depictions of the Sapphist images, the films *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011) portray the Sapphist images through identification of them with social issues regarding to the increasing Neo-Realist wave in cinema. Firstly, the love between Ayten (aka Gül) and Charlotte (aka Lotte) is demonstrated by using the spaces effectively in *Yaşamın Kıyısında / The Edge of Heaven* (2007). In the film, Ayten, who is a member of a "Resistence Organization"[277], participates the demonstrations in 1 May Worker's Day and took the gun that belongs to one of her comrades and hide it to the roof of a house after eluding the police. When she tries to escape from the police, she drops her cell phone and it causes her to hide her ID and some of her friends to be arrested. Then, she changes her name as Gül and she goes to Germany. When she arrives there, she is welcomed by the other members of the organisation in Germany. However, she has a disagreement with one of the members in there and has to leave their place. One day, she asks a woman (Charlotte) to lend her some money. Lotte takes her to the schools dining hall and buys her some food. Then, Lotte takes Ayten to her house. The physical appearances and the personality descriptions of the two are also constructed again based on an equilibrium between the characters. On the one hand, Ayten wears baggy clothes like hooded top and a long coat that covers her breasts and curves, always has a ponytail. When she feels angry, she does not hesitate to swear. On the other hand, Lotte has very shot blonde hair with blue eyes. She is a bit taller than Ayten. She prefers to wear low cut tops and tight clothes. In contrast to Ayten's revolutionary and idealist character, Lotte is portrayed as an adventurous person who travels abroad and spends time there. In order to emphasize the idealist characteristics of Ayten and prove the differences between her and Lotte, a shot that shows the dialogue between Ayten and Lotte's mother (Suzanne) has been used. In the relevant shot, Ayten defends her ideology

[277]In the film, the name of the organisation is not indicated. However, from the posters of Che Guevara and Deniz Gezmiş that are shown in a scene when a police raid happens in a members' house, it is deduced that the relevant organisation is more likely to related with Radical Leftists.

and her position against the Western capitalist ideology and Turkey's existence in The European Union. As a respond to this, the following dialogue happens:

Suzanne: Maybe you are a person who just likes to fight.

Ayten: You think I am crazy? *(pauses)* If a country kills the people, the folk just because they think different or look different or because they protest to have work and energy and schools, you have to fight back.

Suzanne: Maybe everything will get better once you get into The European Union.

Ayten: Ya fuck The European Union Ya…

Nar / The Pomegranate (2011) uses the spaces in the film very economically and mostly film takes place in one space, Deniz and Sema's house. In the film, the Sapphist relationship is fictionalised between Deniz and Sema. Deniz is an actress who has played in minor roles in three stage plays. She has dark long wavy hair and usually wears colourful and patterned garments. The way she uses her body language is elegant and childish like a little girl. In the film, she is haughty towards Asuman and her behaviours make her look arrogant until the very end of the film. By her artistic style and discourses, Deniz symbolises a romantic person who sees the life through rose-tinted glasses. However, Sema has opposite characteristics to Deniz. She stands out by her rationality and realistic view. As the head physician of her ward, her way of understanding the phenomena leads her to seek the tangible points. She appears through the very late of the film. She is smartly dressed in high heels, a pencil skirt with shirt and jacket. Similar to the previous examples of the films that include Sapphist images, the presentation of Sema as a villain is constructed around moral and social issues. In the film, Sema is depicted as a doctor who has prescribed the wrong drug for a baby that died after the injection of the drug. After the incidence, she writes a report that blames the mother of the baby as the responsible of its death. In the film, Asuman, who is the grandmother of the mistreated baby, goes to Sema and Deniz's house introducing herself as a fortune teller. Asuman's aim is to talk to Sema and make her to change the fake report that Sema has written to protect her name and career.

4.4. Stereotyping

As it was mentioned previously in chapter two, the stereotypical narrativity in the mainstream cinema and the coding practices on Sapphists also appears in the cinema in Turkey. The stereotyping of Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey excludes some significant codes as well as includes certain kind of behaviours and narrativity. In this part, the excluded ones are given before the included ones listed in parts.

Maybe the only good point about these films that includes Sapphist images is not linking the Sapphist identity to rape. In these films, rape is never a subject or a reason of being Sapphist. As in many films in Turkey that includes different queer identities, rape has never been an issue of being queer except Bülent Ersoy's *Beddua* (1980). When the transition process of Bülent Ersoy and the challenges that Ersoy had encountered during those times are considered, it could be said that *Beddua* (1980) was used to make the audience emotional to accept her identity as a queer person. Hence, the narrativity of this film was highly arabesque corresponding to the 1980s popular culture and the cultural codes.

Apart from the concept of villainy in the narrativity of Sapphist images, the stereotyped representation of Sapphist in the relevant films are constructed on four major elements which portrays Sapphists as *binary, mannish, misandrist* and *obscure* characters.

4.5. Binary Sapphists

The execution of binarity on the Sapphist images is based on the symbolic relationship between the signifier and the signified. The substance of this binarity between the Sapphist characters in the filmic universe relies on the accustomed binary categorisation of genders by the heteronormativity. On the symbolic level, this binary structure is emitted only in the films which Sapphist characters are not obscure.

As in the films like *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Gemi Yanyana / Two Ships Side by Side* (1963), *Haremde Dört Kadın / Four Women in the Harem* (1965), *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) and *Nar / The Pomegranate* (2011) one of the Sapphist characters are masculinised and/or portrayed as dominant characters in the films. These masculinised and/or dominant

characters are usually signifiers in the narrativity of the films and usually given as the designer of the story. These dominant and/or masculinised characters always manipulate their partner about what they should do and what they should not do in the story, and even interfere their partners social relations with other characters. This binarity also depicts the codes of heteronormativity in Turkey which are extremely imitated by the Sapphist characters. Thus, the imitation of the heteronormative relationship turns into the impossibility of Sapphist relationship in the storyline. In that sense, a "reasoned" explanation of this impossibility is made while demarcating the abjection.

4.6. Masculinity and Violence: Mannish Women and Other Sapphists

Another significant point on the representation of Sapphists is the masculinisation of the Sapphist images and their identification with violence as the executors. Obviously, the roots of this identification of Sapphists with masculinity and violence must be considered by the gender perception in Turkey. As it was explained previously, the construction of the common understanding of gender in Turkey is based on the heteronormative gender binary system which legitimizes the phallocentric authority that embodied in the presence of patriarchy in politics, economy, social life etc. Their self-involved position in the patriarchal structure as the authority and the owner of the power create attempts to define the "Other" by centralization of men.

The reflections of the gender binary appearance on the representation of Sapphists have emerged as a stereotypical imitation. The model that was created by the designation of legitimate genders in the binary structure has been imposed on the representation of Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey. As a heteronormative interpretation of the Sapphist relationship, this modelling emerged especially on the exaggeratedly masculinisation of one of the Sapphist characters. Thus, it is aimed not only to establish a perception on Sapphist by referring to heteronormative relationships, but also to create and entrench the equilibrium between the characters.

By referring the postulated values of society on gender binary structure, Richard Dyer indicates an extremely significant term which he entitles as *in-betweenism*. As

to Dyer, the queen and dyke[278] stereotypes both represent homosexuality in terms of their misfit in performance of the assumed and/or assigned genders and gender roles.[279] On this misfit and its effects on the queer images, Dyer notes that:

"- dykes are unwomanly but fall short of being truly masculine; queens are unmanly and unwomanly. Both are thus often seen as tragic, pathetic, wretched, despicable, comic or ridiculous figures."[280]

In that sense, the masculinisation of the Sapphist images is proceeded from the relevant understanding of in-betweenism in the cinema in Turkey. Sapphist desire and the period of expression of that desire are often given as a crisis of identity which affects the bodily stylization of the Sapphist characters. Short haircut or tied up hair, baggy clothes that covers breasts or curves, no makeup, using obscene gestures and swearing, avoiding colourful garments, having a stern-face are common symbols of this crisis. These Sapphists are usually described as intelligent and sinister as conspiring against other people, especially men. This is the reason why their occupations are usually related with power, money or illegal businesses.

Besides, even if the Sapphist characters do not have such an identity crisis, their representation is done in a very basic concept which derogates the Sapphist identity. They usually described as not very intelligent, voluptuous, stylish, arrogant, romantic, coquette, sexy, spoilt people. They usually wear skin-tight clothes to display their curves. In this version of Sapphist representation, characters generally do not have any occupations. Except one or two films, they seem dependent to their partners or their family. If not so, they usually described as sex workers in the films. As an alternative to the mannish Sapphists who have identity crisis in terms of in-betweenism, prostitute images have been deliberately used to symbolise Sapphists that are at peace with themselves and have embraced their identity. In that way, the images of lipstick lesbians are tried to be created.

Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight (1992) stands out as a significant example for these relevant identifications. In the film, Nilgün character, who is a well-educated and intellectual but unhappy divorcee doctor, is inducted to a small town in Anatolia after her break up. In her new place of duty, she is asked to examine the sex workers at the local brothel. When she goes to the brothel, she comes across

[278]These are pejorative terms that have been used to refer feminine gay men and mannish lesbian women in the U.S. in the twentieth century.
[279] Richard Dyer, **The Matter of Images**, 30.
[280] **Ibid.**, 32.

with her childhood friend Havva (aka Anjelik) who works as a sex worker at that brothel. From that point, a series of events occur. First, Anjelik is subjected to violence by Nilgün's landlord. Then, they decide to move to İstanbul where Nilgün and Havva can live together without feeling the peer pressure. However, Havva's arabesque style and her illiteracy starts to annoy Nilgün. In a way, there is a class difference that has been evoked during the film and it is rendered in the plot. The description of Nilgün and Havva is based on the mannish woman vs. prostitute woman dichotomy. On the one hand, Nilgün is extremely masculinised character who expresses the identity crisis that she experiences. As a physician, she is described as a wealthy and independent person who dominates people around her. Her hair is short, her clothes are feminine but smart. Especially when Nilgün becomes the breadwinner in the film, her character becomes more masculine and dominant. On the other hand, Havva is depicted as a dull, stupid, basic fallen woman who knows nothing but selling her body. In that sense, Havva appears as a person who wants to be dominated by others, especially by Nilgün. As a sex worker, Havva's reconciliation with her own sexuality increases the tension on Nilgün as an in-betweener. In one scene, when Havva and Nilgün have a conversation on prostitution, Nilgün seems as if she envied Havva because of her job as a sex worker. In fact, Nilgün starts to ask very disturbing questions that causes Havva to rape her. In the further parts of the film, however, Nilgün sleeps with a man who have fancies with her to open her own clinic in İstanbul.

When they move to İstanbul, their relationship starts to become more complicated and interpreted within the heterosexual codes of a relationship. Nilgün's mannish woman image resembles a husband as a breadwinner, the authority of the house, the cheating partner as well as Havva symbolises a submissive and subordinated woman like a housewife. In one scene when Havva is modelling to her artist neighbour, Nilgün comes and sees the canvas that portrays Havva with one of her breasts open. After that scene, Nilgün goes home and Havva follows her. When Havva enters the house, she finds Nilgün while she is having some alcohol. Before Nilgün attacks and batters Havva, they have an argument as such:

Nilgün: Aren't you ashamed of showing your breast?

Havva: She is a woman and artist.

Nilgün: Artist… She is a whore!

Havva: Nilgün don't talk like that.

Nilgün: You slept with her, didn't you?

Havva: You're drunk. Come, I'll put you to bed.

Nilgün: Don't touch me! I've put up with your bad taste, those arabesque songs, this awful lacework… It's my fault for trying to make a lady out of a whore. Say something! You can't go anywhere without answering me!

Long before the relevant shot, when Havva works in the brothel, she is subjected to violence as a result of rejecting Nafiz, the district head of the ruling party. In the scene, Nafiz threatens her because of her visits to Nilgün's house claiming that he is the landlord of the house. In the relevant scene, Nafiz expresses his hatred for lesbian relationship by attacking Havva.

Another mannish Sapphist woman image has been used in the film *Böcek* / *The Cockroach* (1995) which tells the story of a police commissioner (Recai) who lives his last days before his death. Hence, the film is full of flashbacks, which sometimes make it hard to trace the timeline of the story. In the film, Recai is described as an arrogant and authoritarian person who scares everybody around him. This is the reason why people use the nickname "red panther" to call him. Throughout the film, Recai sees other people some kind of trouble makers, a sort of deviant beings. The metaphor of cockroach is used as the reflection of Recai's way of seeing these people. One of these "cockroaches" in the film is Binnur character who is depicted as a mannish Sapphist character. Recai sees Binnur among detainees in the police station. In the beginning of the film, Binnur appears as an innocent person who is just a regular young woman. After that, Recai sees Binnur in front of the police station while waiting under the snow. Recai took her to his house. When they arrive, he tells her to take a shower. While she takes a shower, Recai watches her from the doorway. At that moment, she notices that and starts to yell at him. However, she keeps staying at Recai's house after that incident. In one of the following scenes, the first indication of Binnur's Sapphist identity is given in a dialogue with Recia:

Recai: Why don't you work?

Binnur: I said I was a typist.

Recai: Tell me, he didn't abuse you, did he?

Binnur: No man can dare to screw me… I can prove I'm a virgin. Check it out if you wish. But don't even think of it. Nobody can touch me.

After a while, Binnur turns back to her house and convince her father that she is in love with Recai. She tricks Recai to get marry him. After the civil marriage ceremony, which Binnur appears in very straight shaped dark colour garments, film goes on with their sex scene. In their first sex scene, Binnur appears as if she were tortured and her reluctance is written all over her face. In the further parts, Binnur's identity is evoked by rejecting Recai's gift because of the feminine look of the garment.

After that scene, Binnur's masculinity increases and another significant dialogue gives us a clue on her mannish appearance. In the following dialogue between Recai and Binnur, it is evoked that her mannish characteristic is some kind of a defence against men. In the scene, Recai goes through the bedroom and sees Binnur while having some alcohol and reading magazines in the bed. She wears a robe and her legs are on the forefront. Recai slowly approaches her, sits on the side of the bed and fondles her leg. Later on, Binnur responds:

Binnur: What are you doing? I see, you are horny. If you want to come, do what you did before!

Recai: You're my wife.

Binnur: I'm not supposed to stand your stink.

Recai: What if your filthy moustached friend?[281]

Binnur: OK. You saved me. But don't ever touch me again.

Recai: Then why did you marry me?

(At that moment, he notices a bruise on her leg. He continues.)

Recai: I'll shoot you if you ever cuckold me.

Binnur: You fool… No reason to be jealous. I hate you, my father and all men.

Another significant point about this film is the creation of balance between Recai and Binnur characters. In the film, it is seen that Recai's character becomes more passive while Binnur's character becomes more active. Actually, Recai's pacification

[281] At that point, Recai refers to the guy who was trying to protect her among other detainees in the police station.

starts with an interesting shot which demonstrates Recai while having sex with one of his female colleagues (Haşmet). When the sex ends, Recai notices that Haşmet has just had her period. He feels sick and goes to bathroom. Then, we see Recai when he tries to clean up his penis and his legs very harshly. In the following scene, we see Recai in a doctor's office while doctor is suturing his penis and the following dialogue happens:

Doctor: What was your intention? Doesn't look like an accident… You would be finished if it had gone further deep… Crazy or what?

Recai: Accident… For sure. Razorblade slipped while shaving.

Doctor: No way… I would understand if it were so. You intended to castrate yourself. Look, that's no way to go. You will end up in madhouse. Between us, this time, OK?

After the relevant dialogue, Recai is started to be pacified against Binnur until the very end of the film. In that sense, menstrual blood is used as a symbol of abjection which motivates Recai character attempting to castrate himself. As the result of this attempt, Recai does not lose his penis, instead his dominant position against Binnur.

In *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), the Sapphist characters are described based on these stereotypical mannish vs. basic women images.[282] The story of the film is formed around two teenage girls and their divergent lifestyles.[283] Behiye, who is a rebellious university student, meets Handan, who is preparing for the university exam. In the film, these two characters meet each other through a mutual friend named Çiğdem who helps Handan to sign up for a university preparation course. Handan wears loose dark-coloured garments and has gaudy red hair. She is described as a vicious, angry and rebellious person. Her way of speaking is rude and often yells at people. Besides, Handan appears as a "barbie girl" who usually wears colourful clothes (mostly pink), has blonde hair and speaks like a little child. Handan's "dumb blonde" depiction is supported with dollishness as well as Behiye's masculine appearance is rendered in her rebelliousness. Although Behiye is demonstrated while doing household chores like cooking or cleaning in few scenes, which obviously

[282] The term "basic" is used to refer any kind of idiotic and/or shallow behaviour.
[283] Hasan Gürkan, Rengin Ozan, "Türkiye Sinemasında Lezbiyen Stereotipinin Temsili" **Erciyes İletişim Dergisi**, vol.4, no. 4 (2016): 44, doi: 10.17680/akademia.58107.

point out the gendered division of labour in the Turkish domestic space, they still do not affect the dominant and mannish portrayals of her.[284] As an important point about this film, the Sapphist relationship is not clearly expressed but rather implicated. Throughout the film, the body languages of the two shows that they remain within touch distance of each other. The sense of intimacy is given by the closeness of their bodies in most of their dual conversations.[285] Behiye's feelings for Handan also evoked in the scenes when other boys appear around Handan. It is understood from Behiye's facial expression when the two come across Erim, who wants to sleep with Handan, at the parking lot. When they come across with Erim and his friend, they get into Erim's car and he offers to go to his summer house to hang out. However, Behiye rejects this offer, gets out of the car and turns back to Handan's house. Throughout the conversations, Behiye sits on the backseat with a sulky face.

Similarly, Behiye's manipulations on Handan are seen in the further parts, when Handan says she is thinking about sleeping with Erim while Behiye is making tea for Handan and her mother. At that moment, the conversation between to hints Behiye's feelings for Handan:

Handan: I think I'm gonna sleep with Erim.

Behiye: I can't believe that you're gonna sleep with that prick.

Handan: *(She frowns down and goes to her bedroom. In the next shot, we see Handan lying in her bed and crying. Behiye enters the room and kneels the side of the bed.)*

Behiye: I'd better be off…

(Handan snivels)

Behiye: He is such a spoilt bastard. You deserve better.

Handan: Where can I find the better one? As if they were waiting in the line for me?

Behiye: Do you need him? You're enough for yourself.

Handan: Do you really think so?

Behiye: Absolutely…

Handan: I'm afraid. *(cries and hugs Behiye)*

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[284] **Ibid.**, 44.

[285]Özlem Güçlü, "Maksadını Aşan Yakınlaşmalar: 2 Genç Kız ve Vicdan'da Kadın Homososyalliğinin Sınırı," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 436-439.

Behiye: Afraid of what? Don't be afraid. Everything's gonna be alright.

Handan: I don't wanna be left alone in this house.

Behiye: If we go one day, we'll go together

As it is seen in the dialogue, Behiye does not only express her negativity about Erim (and other boys), but also encourages her by saying that Handan is a self-sufficient person and offers her to go to Australia where Handan's father lives. In that sense, Behiye does not only inculcate her to get rid of Erim, but also tries to convince her to go to Australia in order to start everything in a new place.

4.7. Sapphist Misandry and Lesbian Feminism

Another misconception of the Sapphist identity is its definition within the context of hostility that is reasoned to feminism. To that extent, the feminist statements in the filmic universe have us to link these arguments with the characters' Sapphist desires. As a significant outcome of the second wave feminism, which emerged in the late 1960s and focused on the discrimination, gender and equality issues, lesbian feminists have criticised gender and binary structure.[286] The rejection of the practices that have been enforced by the heterosexual men forms the core of the lesbian feminism. A common fallacy about lesbian feminism which sees lesbian feminist agenda as a politicised and organised hostility against men has been reflected on the screen by stereotyping the Sapphist.[287] However, this identification of the misandry with lesbian feminism has not been openly realized under the term of feminism. Instead, the implications of misandry have been blended in the plot which directly referred to the Sapphist desire and the problem of existence.

In the essay *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence*, Adrienne Rich points out the different practices of compulsion of heterosexuality which includes "erasure of lesbian existence (except as exotic and perverse) and idealization of heterosexual romance and marriage."[288] The previous stereotypes and the elements that have been examined in this study correspond to Rich's suggestions on the forms of compulsion. However, it is also seen that these stereotypes are often supported by

[286] Heather M. Campbell, **The Britannica Guide to Political and Social Movements That Changed The Modern World** (New York, Brittanica Educational Publishing, 2010), 331-332.
[287] Bell Hooks, **Feminism is for Everybody** (Cambridge: South End Press, 2000), 1.
[288] Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." **Signs**, vol.5, no.4 (1980): 640. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834.

the narratives of hostility vis-à-vis men. To that extent, the stereotyped misandry and its execution on the Sapphist images have been represented as a feminist demeanour. The composition of Sapphist misandry with the previous clichés like dyke, lipstick lesbian and villain strengthen the compulsion of heterosexuality within the context of deployment of alliance and deployment of sexuality which Foucault asserted.[289] Thus, the regulatory frame of the sexual behaviour and gender assignment have not only been done by portraying the "normal" and "natural", but also by stigmatizing the undesired characters as "abnormal" and "unnatural".

It is seen that the misandry and Sapphist images have been used together in many films. In *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), Nilgün (as a divorcee) and Havva (as a prostitute) represent two forms of the misandrist Sapphists. In one scene when Nilgün and Havva drink alcohol and talk about their stories, misandry emerges as a common point of their tragic stories. On the one hand, Nilgün defines her sexual experinces with her ex-husband as rape and other men's behaviours towards Nilgün as a divorcee. On the other hand, Havva tells about the men who have asked her about sex work to gain some time to have an erection. In that sense, their positions as victims in the patriarchal society do not only appear as an existential statement but also bound the characters with each other against men. In the following scene, Nilgün tenaciously asks Havva about her sex works and Havva gets very angry. Havva is so blinded by the anger and she rapes Nilgün. In that scene, both Nilgün and Havva characters have a catharsis which turns Havva into one of her clients and makes Nilgün to remember her sexual experiences with her husband.

In *Böcek / The Cockroach* (1995), Binnur's attitudes against Recai are demonstrated with hatred. Throughout the film, Binnur's dominant character and Recai's pacifism challenge the characteristics of the patriarchal family in Turkey. Recai's appearance in the beginning of the film while preparing the breakfast or his obedience to Binnur's demands in many scenes are expostulatory scenes that target the male dominance in the domestic space. In the scenes which Recai and Binnur have a conversation about sex, Binnur insults men through insulting Recai. In that sense, these scenes are motivated as a reflection of suppressed lesbianism which rivals the hegemonic men. Importantly, Binnur's misandrist side reveals in the scene

[289] Michel Foucault, **The History of Sexuality: An Introduction**, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 1:110-111.

when Recai notices the bruise on her leg. When she expresses her anger against men, she directly points out Recai and her own father.

The film *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995) depicts Sapphist misandry through unreliability of men and the rejection of the patriarchal authority in the domestic space. In the scene which Meryem tells Hasan about her past, she confesses the reason why she does not fit the traditional nuclear family portrait.

Meryem: Fifteen years… Easier said than done. Three children…bluster every night… Weep and weep… I was young and beautiful. I had a right to live.

Hasan: It's one o'clock. *(He raises his glass)* Cheers for one o'clock.

Meryem: *(She continues to her story)* Guess what happened? I changed my golds, walked away through Istanbul. What a relief!

In another scene when Hrisula opens the door and gets a bouquet of flowers from the delivery boy, Meryem enters the screen. When she notices that the flowers have come from Şeref (Commission Broker), the following dialogue happens:

Meryem: The broker Şeref… Silly man! He's taking me the night club tonight…

Hrisula: You're doing it on purpose! You drive me crazy! *(She gets jealous and mad)*

Meryem: No, my child![290] They're just men… Damn them! They ought not to be indulged… If you do so, they get spoiled. Look! There are plenty of men in everywhere. I just flick them through, that's all. *(She gently kisses Hrisula)*

In the relevant dialogue, Meryem does not only tries to "clear the air" but also expresses her opinion about men and how she uses men just for their sexuality. The rejection of the authority in the domestic space appears in a significant way in the further scenes. In that unique scene, Meryem and Hasan are kissing on the sofa when Hrisula peeps them through the gateway and then she enters the room. As soon as Meryem notices her coming, she holds her arms and kisses her. At that moment, Hasan, Meryem and Hrisula appear as a heteronormative family while sitting on the sofa. Hasan symbols the father as well as Meryem symbols the mother of the family.

[290]The original expression is παιδί μου [pedimou] which is a Greek word means "my child or my baby."

Hrisula's appearance in the relevant scene, like a tomboy with her very short hair and loose clothes, refers to the child of the family. When Hrisula sits on the sofa, Meryem kisses Hasan first. Then she approaches Hrisula by saying "Come here, my child" in Greek.[291] Right after that scene, we see Meryem from her behind while Hrisula's face is buried in Meryem's breasts and neck while kissing her. In this jump-cut, Hasan appears by the window and rejects Meryem's invitation with these words:

Hasan: That's enough! What you are doing is…

Meryem: What are you? Are you offended? Say the rest! What is this? Is it filthiness, immorality or prostitution? I swear you're both smart and callow! Hrisula is better be with it than you.

In the scene, the intimacy between Meryem and Hrisula challenges the heteronormative gender binary structure by creating family portrait and screening Meryem and Hrisula while kissing each other as if they were performing a domestic sexual intercourse. In that sense, the relevant scene rivals and threatens the heteronormative family not only by demonstrating two Sapphist images while having a sexual act, but also evoking an incest relationship between Meryem as the symbol of a mother and Hrisula as the symbol of a child.

4.8. Obscurity on Sapphist Images

The representation of Sapphists in the films as invisible as in the Sapphists in real life. As a stereotyped way of Sapphist representation, obscurity is coded almost in every film in the cinema in Turkey. Except *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962), *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) and *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) all films that have represented Sapphists either directly states the Sapphist desire or reveal the Sapphist identity in a certain point in the film. However, these four films do not give away the Sapphist identity throughout the films. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962) was censored by the authorities and the kissing scene between two Sapphist characters was cut. However, the Sapphist relation in the

[291] Έλα παιδί μου [Ela pedimou] is an imperative expression meaning "Come/Come here my child."

film is mainly reflected through Seher character's jealousy and masculine and dominant position compared with her partner Türkan.

In the films *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) and *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) Sapphist relationship is evoked under a close friendship, like a sisterhood between the characters. In the essay *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence*, Adrienne Rich also noted how friendship could become a way of resistance against compulsory heterosexuality.[292] The concept of "friendship," in that sense, creates a space for the Sapphist characters in the filmic universe as well as creating a new language for the narrativity in the films.[293]

In *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992), the relationship between Zuhal Olcay and Serap Aksoy is depicted as a "close friendship."[294] In the film, Zuhal Olcay plays a wealthy sex worker who sleeps with upper class businessmen and politicians. Haluk Bilginer, who appears as a minister in the film, meets Zuhal in a hotel room to have sex. However, Haluk rapes Zuhal and Zuhal sues him. By the time, Serap, who is the wife of Haluk, contact to Serap and talk to her about the trial. Although Serap believes Haluk in the beginning, she notices that Zuhal is innocent. Zuhal and Serap meet at Serap's cottage and spend time together. One day, when the trial is concluded in favour of Haluk, he goes to the cottage and sees Zuhal and Serap sleeping on the floor. At that moment, Zuhal and Serap are separated and turn back to their own lives.

Similarly, *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005) and *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008) evoke the Sapphist relationship by disguising the Sapphist identity. On the one hand, in *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), the friendship between Behiye and Handan reaches at a level which makes Handan insist Behiye to live with her for a while. Throughout the film, Handan and Behiye sleeps together, they break into a pool and swim, they have fun together. In the film, the obscurity between the characters are mostly broken by the eye contacts between the two.[295] On the other hand, the eye contacts between

[292]Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." **Signs**, vol.5, no.4 (1980): 650-651. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834.

[293]Özlem Güçlü, "Maksadını Aşan Yakınlaşmalar: 2 Genç Kız ve Vicdan'da Kadın Homososyalliğinin Sınırı," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 428.

[294] In the film, characters are not named. Hence, the players name will be used throughout the analysis.

[295]Özlem Güçlü, "Maksadını Aşan Yakınlaşmalar: 2 Genç Kız ve Vicdan'da Kadın Homososyalliğinin Sınırı," **Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet**, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar, Serkan Delice (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012): 435-439.

Aydanur and Songül are similarly motivated in *Vicdan / Conscience* (2008). In this film, the eye contacts between Aydanur and Songül are mostly kept while the two are in bed. Despite the dominant heteronormative language in the film and the obscurity between the two, the reference for the Sapphist desire between Aydanur and Songül reaches at the highest level in the wedding scene which demonstrates these characters while dancing each other extremely eroticised way before loads of people.[296]

4.9. Conclusion

The codes of Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey have similarities with and differences from the Sapphist individuals problems in real life. As one of the problems that Sapphists have been confronting with, the problem of (in)visibility becomes the most significant one. Even in the films which states the existence of Sapphist relationship clearly, the problem of visibility is seen in the lack of subjectivity and emotional and/or physical intimacy which are constituted by the narrative. Furthermore, the obscure position of the Sapphist identity is completed by an unhappy ending or another obscurity in the storyline.

The concept of villainy also stands out as another significant point in the films that include Sapphist characters. The repetitive identification of Sapphist images by the concept of villainy appears as a cliché that turns the films into far-fetched fictions. However, the same villainy concept also proves the level of threat perception of heteronormativity when it comes to the existence and visibility of Sapphists.

The heteronormative interpretation of Sapphist relationships in a binary structure in the films reveals two major problems. On the one hand, these interpretations reflect the obsessed binarity which does not allow anyone to have multiple partners in relationships, or at least, when it comes to women. In that sense, the signification process of having multiple partners focuses on the stigmatization of female body, which have been done by the sex worker characters. On the other hand, the exaggeratedly masculinisation of the Sapphist images does not only create some kind of an unsuccessful parody of heterosexual relationships, but also hints the fear

[296] **Ibid.**, 442-443.

against women which reflects the most archaic fear, *vagina dentata*.[297] To that extent, the fear of castration emerge from the loss of penis as the lost of masculine performance.

[297]Gary Peters, "The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis by Barbara Creed," by Barbara Creed, **Revue Canadienne d'Études cinématographiques / Canadian Journal of Film Studies**, vol.3, no. 2 (Fall, 1994): 108-113

5. CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, the Sapphist representation and the stereotypical narratives have been tried to explain with film examples from the cinema in Turkey. The study have traced the codes of the Sapphist images in Turkish cinema and their perpetuating representation in different narrative styles. To this aim, the representation styles and the ways in which Sapphist images are constructed in the mainstream cinema has been given in the second chapter. To that extent, the transformation of the stereotypes has been exemplified by films and supported with the history of mainstream cinema. A significant finding about chapter two is that the representations of queers have been negative until the recent examples of the mainstream cinema. The identification of the evils of different eras with queer images has aimed to create an intense feeling of abjection in society. This may not be wrong to say that such a representative tactic achieves two major things; on the one hand, the creation of various evils in media in different eras has aimed to lead the public opinion to create a collective perception of the "other." On the other hand, it also has aimed to construct the "public morality" by combining undesired and loathsome images. Thus, queer existence is linked to a set of performances that have been accepted as "immoral" by the society.

Similarly, the queer representation in cinema in Turkey was also questioned within the historical and social context. One of the important differences between mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey is the times when they emerged. As an important result of its leading position in the world, mainstream cinema has started to issue queer existence earlier than the cinema in Turkey. In the cinema in Turkey, the first queer image was screened in the 1960s. To that extent, the queer representation in the mainstream cinema has always been in the leading position for other countries' cinemas like Turkey. Another significant point that differs the cinema in Turkey from the mainstream cinema is the obscurity of the queer identity. In many examples of the queer representation in the cinema in Turkey, queer identities have always

been blended in the plot by directors and screenwriters as if they did not want to reveal the queer. This intention of hiding the queer may have led the genre and story in the film. Regarding to the obscurity of the films, many queer characters have been given in the drama genre especially since the 1990s. In that sense, the obscurity of the queer characters could be explained in two ways. On the one hand, the queer representation in the cinema in Turkey has been affected by the melancholic and depressed queer images in the mainstream cinema during the 1980s and the 1990s as in G*ece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar / The Night, The Angel and Our Gang* (1994), *Dönersen Islık Çal / Whistle If You Come Back* (1993) and *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992). On the other hand, the apolitical atmosphere in Turkey which had been imposed by the junta in the 1980s reflected to the queer representation by portraying them as quite invisible characters as in *İki Kadın / Two Women* (1992) and *Sekreter / The Secretary* (1985).

In the case of Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey, it could be said that the representation of Sapphists have been continued and clustered around the villainy, Sapphist masculinity and misandry themes. To that extent, these three concepts have been explored in chapter four. Thus, it has been aimed to be enlightened how repetitive presentations affect an overall narrative and create myths. At that point, the problems of representation and the rigidity of stereotypes have been explained by questioning the characters' occupations, body languages, physical appearances and their relations with other characters.

As a potential threat against the heteronormative and phallocentric form of sexuality, Sapphists have been mirrored as fatal people in order to impose the "impossibility" of non-heterosexual relations. Thus, the legitimised "normality" of heterosexuality has been perpetuated by these Sapphist images as fatal and villain. To that extent, phallocentric and heteronormative interpretations of Sapphist identity become more deterministic on the perception of Sapphists. In order to create a strong negative correlation between non-heterosexuality and "normality," binarity is often resorted as an ideal affiliation model. On the one side, in the films like *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995) and *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962) one of the Sapphist characters are overtly masculinised to represent the "male" role as well as their partners represent the "female" role. On the other side, these relations between Sapphist characters in the films are challenged by

a cisgender male character. Thus, the impossibility of Sapphist relations are not only evoked by parodical masculinisation of one of the characters, but aslo interfered by an external cisgender male character which subconsciously reminds the necessity of heterosexual monogamy to be accepted as normal.

Secondly, the representation of Sapphists by coding them as mannish, prostitute or foolish women in stereotyped ways has been aiming to arouse a feeling of loathing that connotes a negativity on the Sapphist identity. As an important image in-between, mannish woman stands out as the most perpetuated stereotype among all the queer films in the cinema in Turkey. As Judith Halberstam notes that this deliberate preference on the Sapphist representation as a mannish woman in cinema has been done to perpetuate the perception of masculinity as a monolithic concept that can only "properly" exist with men.[298] To that extent, the mannish women images have always been demonstrated as an imitation, an imposter of "true masculinity" and thus, the negative and undesired versions of the masculinity myths have been created. Besides, in order to constitute the heterosexist appearance and equilibrium of the Sapphist relations in the films, the mannish women images have been combined with prostitute and/or foolish women images. Hence, the other possibilities for Sapphist existence are demonstrated as a form of moral corruption or mental deficiency. In that sense, these concepts of prostitution and stupidity and their combination with Sapphist images have been used to corroborate the sense of abjection. Another important point about the mannish women representation appears between the masculinised/dominant Sapphist images and other characters in the films. This masculine/dominant position in the filmic universe also creates a chance for the Sapphist characters to enter the masculine realm. As we see the practice of such a versatility in the Disney film *Mulan* (1998),[299] the masculinisation of the Sapphist images allows them to have a space to achieve their goals. In that sense, the main obstacle on the way of gaining power appears as the masculinity and thus, the Sapphist images' performance of masculinity appear as imitated set of behaviours, like parodies.

Furthermore, the portrayals of the masculine Sapphists while performing violence in the cinema in Turkey form another problematic part of the representation not only

[298] Judith Halberstam, **Female Masculinity** (London: Duke University Press, 1998), 2.
[299] Lisa Brocklebank, "Disney's "Mulan"—the "True" Deconstructed Heroine?" **Marvels & Tales**, vol.14, No.2 (2000): 273-276.

for the Sapphists but also for the different kinds of masculinities. On the one side of the coin, these performances of the violence by masculine Sapphists strengthen the abjection on Sapphists. On the other side of the coin, the violence that is imitated by the masculine Sapphists leads us to seek the roots of the concept of violence underneath the "real masculinity." In that sense, if the Sapphist masculinity, which has been depicted in the cinema in Turkey, is completely based on parodying the "real masculinity," then the "real masculinity" involves the concept of violence as an essential characteristic. If not, the performance of violence of the masculine Sapphists appears as a definitive and negative feature of the representation.

Thirdly, misandry and its execution on the Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey cause a misconception on lesbian feminism. Throughout the history of Sapphist images in the cinema in Turkey, this misconception has been supported by masculinised and villain Sapphist stereotypes and they have created rivalry between the male and female masculinities in the films. Therefore, the abjection on the Sapphist identity is carried on the ideological level by relocating the phallus as a victim that is wanted to be castrated by the Sapphist agenda. In *Düş Gezginleri / Walking After Midnight* (1992), *İki Genç Kız / Two Girls* (2005), *Sokaktaki Adam / The Man in the Street* (1995), *Ver Elini İstanbul/ Istanbul Give Me Your Hand* (1962) and *Böcek* / *The Cockroach* (1995) misandry appears as the underlying cause of Sapphist identity. To that extent, the separatist and rejectionist positions of Sapphist images in these films' plots are related to misandry.

Another significant finding of this study is related to the similarities and differences of the Sapphist and queer images in the mainstream cinema and the cinema in Turkey. The pansy/butch stereotypes in the mainstream cinema also adopted by the films from the cinema in Turkey. It is observed that the masculine Sapphist, butch and tomboy figures are mostly used to represent Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey. Unlike mainstream cinema, there is no representational example supported by LGBTQ in the cinema in Turkey. Although there was no separate examination of the genres in this study, it was observed that the Sapphists in the cinema in Turkey were more involved in films of the drama genre when the films analysed were taken into account. Although there are Sapphist images in the horror genre in the mainstream cinema, there are no traces of this type of Sapphist representation in the cinema in Turkey.

Except from the representation and the creation of stereotypes of Sapphist identity, there are two significant issues that have been encountered during this research. First issue is the problem of accessing the films that have been analysed in this study. Second is the lack of academic researches on the representation of Sapphists in cinema. As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, the invisibility of Sapphists in the social and political arena also has its reflections in the films and academic area. The suppressed and quite discouraged positions of Sapphists have been creating space for the people who want to dominate them either by using cultural discrimination or political correctness. Thus, the essence of Sapphist identity becomes indistinct among the fantasised images.

Images that surround us in schools, adverts, newspapers, films... Each of them stands for the things they similitude to convey the meaning they possess. Each of them rivals with one another to create an effect on minds; as well as some of them try to efface the others. As Michel Foucault said: "A day will come when, by means of similitude relayed indefinitely along the length of a series, the image itself, along with the name it bears, will lose its identity."[300] By which time the "others" shall be there and "us" shall be heard.

[300] Michel Foucault, **This Is Not a Pipe**, trans. James Harkness (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 54.

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